

Women in the Pure Land : The Karuṣṣāpuṣṣarīka and the Dà āmituó jīng 大阿彌陀經

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Women in the Pure Land:

The *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka* and the *Dà āmítuó jīng* 大阿彌陀經*

浄土へ往生する女性たち

— 仏教漢語学の新視点 —

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Key words: No Women Existing in *Sukhāvātī*, Rebirth by Transformation on a Lotus Flower, Women's Rebirth in *Sukhāvātī*, Transformation of Women into Men, *Dà āmítuó jīng*, *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka*

Introduction

This paper is a study of the formation of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*¹ 大阿彌陀經, the earliest version of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha*, on the basis of a comparative study between the 2nd and the 11th vows of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* and

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¹ T12, No. 362, *Fóshuō āmítuó sānyēsānfó sàlófótān guòdù rěndào jīng* 佛說阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓佛檀過度人道經, hereafter the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. *Siglum*: 大阿.

their counterparts in the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīkā*².

One of the typical features in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is that some vows are combined with several items – in Japanese, *ganji* 願事. The second vow is a concrete example of this as it is completely different to its counterparts in other versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* (which consists of only one item). On the other hand, the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* and its counterparts in all four extant versions of the *Bēihuá jīng* show striking similarities, but some items of the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* do not have a counterpart in the other versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. This suggests that there must be some relationship between the vows in two sūtras — a question that deserves further study. Although the problem of the 2nd vow has been discussed in previous papers, it seems that scholars have not realized that the 2nd vow plays a very important role in addressing the problem of the original form of Pure Land Buddhism and the early Mahāyāna sūtras³.

It is commonly believed that Amitābha Buddha's original Vows in the

² Four versions exist at the present time; two Chinese translations, a Sanskrit version and a Tibetan translation. The two Chinese translations are: 1) *Dàshèng bēifēn-tuóli jīng* 大乘悲分陀利經, T 3 No.158, translated in *Qín dynasty* (fl. c. 384 — 417), unknown translator. *Siglum*: 分陀; 2) *Bēihuá jīng* 悲華經, T 3, No.157, attributed to *Dharmakṣema, Tānwúchēn* 曇無讖 (fl. c.419). *Siglum*: 悲華. In this paper I will use, for convenience, the *Bēihuá jīng* 悲華經 as a generic reference to this sūtra, because the context of each version regarding no women being born in Amitābha's land are extremely similar in meaning. The Sanskrit version of this sūtra I will be referring to is the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīkā* (*Siglum*: KP).

³ For example, Hirakawa's considers that this problem is connected to the concept of *ryūnyo jyōbutsu* 龍女成佛 'dragon girl attaining Buddhahood' as found in the *Lotus Sūtra, Saddharma Puṇḍarīkā Sūtra* (see Hirakawa 1969, pp. 262-266). Harrison is a distinguished scholar in this field and his conclusion is followed not only by western scholars, but by Japanese scholars. His paper, namely 'Women in the Pure Land: Some Reflections on the Textual Sources,' that published in 1988 has been translated into Japanese and published in Japan (Harrison 2013).

Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* had an influence on their counterparts in the *Bēihuá jīng*⁴. On the other hand, because the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is considered as not only the oldest version of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*, but one of the earliest Mahāyāna sūtras, no scholars, as far as I know, dispute the fact that the period of the *Bēihuá jīng*'s vows' formation is later than those in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* so much so that much representative research on the *Dà āmítuó jīng* does not mention the *Bēihuá jīng* at all⁵. According to my recent studies, there is now, however, considerable evidence, to suggest that the *Dà āmítuó jīng* does not represent the earliest form of the original text, because many contexts in this version indicate that the *Dà āmítuó jīng* were probably created and compiled by its Chinese translator(s)⁶. Moreover, there is no concrete evidence verifying that the vows of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* represent earlier forms than the *Bēihuá jīng*'s, although the *Dà āmítuó jīng* was translated in around 220 (see Fujita 2011, p. xvi.) – earlier than the period of the *Bēihuá jīng*. In particular, it seems that no one can deny that the vows of the *Bēihuá jīng* represent a more original form than those found in

⁴ See especially Ujitani (1969, pp.1-27). Also see Fujita 2007, p.341. According to Ujitani, the Amitābha's original vows in the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka* Sūtra is just a revision of the vows of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. However, Ujitani's study was undertaken over forty years ago, whereas there has been more progress, in recent decades, on the *Dà āmítuó jīng*'s formation which indicates that the *Dà āmítuó jīng* probably is just a revision by its Chinese translator(s).

⁵ For example, Karashima 1999; Kagawa 1993; Harrison 1998, etc.

⁶ For example, rather than having been translated from the original Indian texts, the contexts of *zhāijiè* 齋戒 and stupa religion appearing in the 6th Vow and 7th Vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, as well as their fulfillment articles appearing in the later part of the sūtra, are probably derived from the sūtra's Chinese translator's creations. For some of the evidence, see Xiao (2011). Also, on the formation of the 'Five-Evils Paragraphs' in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, see Xiao (2012a).

⁷ One of the best examples is that the exact number of vows in the *Bēihuá jīng*'s are still a subject of controversy, because their forms are so indeterminate that scholars hold a diverse views about them. (see Iwagami 2012)

the *Dà āmítuó jīng*⁷. These clues suggest that it is necessary to reconsider the relationship between the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka* and the oldest version of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*, an enduring problem in studying the formation of early Pure Land sūtras. One of the most appropriate methods with which to approach this problem is by a comparative study between the second Vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* and its counterparts in the *Bēihuá jīng* because they show striking similarities, both in content and sequence.

This paper aims to make some progress towards this goal. It will aim to show why the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* comprises five items, and to explain the formation of each item. This paper will also highlight some distinct features that appear in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. It will consider previous studies in the field by scholars and point out their shortcomings. The paper will discuss two kinds of *huàshēng* 化生 in the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. It will also consider the formation of the 11th vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* and the relationships between the 2nd and the 11th vow in this version. Finally, the chronological order of the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka* and the *Dà āmítuó jīng* will be considered.

1. Women in the Vows of the Larger Sukhāvativyūha

1.1 Five Items of the 2nd Vow in the Dà āmítuó jīng

The idea of that no women exist in *Sukhāvātī* is widely accepted as one of typical distinguishing features of *Amitābha* Buddha's land. In the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*'s vows, however, the most detailed account illustrative of *Amitābha*'s *Sukhāvātī*⁸, the fact of no women existing in *Sukhāvātī* has been

⁸ Pure Land, referring to *Amitābha*'s *Sukhāvātī*, is just a free translation derived from its Chinese counterpart, *Jīngtǔ* 淨土. On when and why the religion based on *Amitābha* is labeled as Pure Land Buddhism, see Xiao (2009a, 2012a).

disclosed only in the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. Instead of addressing the question of there being no women in *Sukkhāvātī*, the counterparts of the 2nd vow in all remaining versions simply relate which women in other Buddhas' land transform their bodies into men's. However, other Buddhas' lands present a completely different situation. For example, that women exist in *Akṣobhya's Abhirati* has been clearly depicted in one of the earliest Mahāyāna sūtras⁹, the *Āchūfōguó jīng* 阿闍佛國經 (the *Akṣobhya Sūtra*).

In the five versions of the Chinese translations of the Larger *Sukkhāvātīvyūha*, the two earliest versions, the *Dà āmítuó jīng* and the *Píngděngjué jīng*¹⁰, both comprise twenty-four vows and belong to the Early Recension, even though their contents and orders show marked differences. The remaining three Chinese translations, as well as the Sanskrit version and a Tibetan translation, belong to the Later Recension¹¹. The second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is as follows.

【大阿】第二願：使某作佛時，令我國中，無有婦人，女人欲來生我國中者即作男子；諸無央數天人民、娟飛蠕動之類¹²，來生我國者，皆於七寶水池蓮華中化生，長大皆作菩薩、阿羅漢都無央數。得是願乃作佛，不得是願終不作佛（T12, p. 301a27-03）。

The Second Vow: If, when I attain Buddhahood, may there be no women existing in my country. Women who desire to be born in my country

⁹ For example, in the *Āchūfōguó jīng* reads, 舍利弗！其佛刹女人無有女人之態，如我刹中女人之態也（T11, p. 756b06-07. “*Śāriputra, the women in that Buddha's land (Akṣobhya's Abhirati) do not have the attitudes they do in our land*”).

¹⁰ T12, No. 361. *Fóshuō wúliàngqīngjìng Píngděngjué jīng* 佛說無量清淨平等覺經, hereafter the *Píngděngjué jīng*. *Siglum*: 清淨.

¹¹ For convenience I would like to follow the previous study of Fujita. By no means do the original texts of the two versions of the Early Recension also have twenty-four vows as we find in the present form, because it was revised and created by their Chinese translators. In this paper, I will not be addressing the issue of the original style of the two versions of the Early Recension.

¹² The translation of the term 娟飛蠕動 and the second vow cf. Harrison 1998, p. 557.

will forthwith transform their bodies into those of men. All of the human beings and the species that flit and wriggle in the countless heavens who are reborn in my country will be transformed on a lotus flower in the pond of seven treasures, and they will become numberless bodhisattvas or arhats when they mature. Only if this vow is fulfilled, will I attain Buddhahood. If this vow is not fulfilled, may I never attain Buddhahood.

According to Fujita, this vow consists of two parts: the first part is called *Tennyō jyōnan* 轉女成男 “Transformation of Women into Men” and, the second part is known as *Renge kesyō* 蓮華化生 “Rebirth by Transformation on a Lotus Flower”¹³. In fact, the above vow is a combination of five items and the first part comprises three items:

- (i) *Guówú nǚrén* 國無女人 “No Women Existing in *Sukhāvātī*”;
- (ii) *Zhuǎnnǚ chéngnán* 轉女成男 “Transformation of Women into Men”;
- (iii) *Nǚrén wǎngshēng* 女人往生 “Women’s Rebirth in *Sukhāvātī*”.

In addition to *Renge kesyō* suggested by Fujita, the second half of the 2nd vow also involves another important feature, namely *Púsà āluóhàn wúshù* 菩薩阿羅漢無數 “Innumerable Bodhisattvas and Arhats”¹⁴. This feature can be inferred from the context of 長大皆作菩薩，阿羅漢都無央數. It is a special feature only appearing in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*¹⁵, and provides one of the most telling clues in determining its author’s purpose. Unfortunately,

¹³ Fujita 1970, pp. 382–384, also Fujita 2007, pp. 302–308.

¹⁴ This point is based on the following contexts in the second vow: 長大皆作菩薩、阿羅漢都無央數.

¹⁵ The following two significant points should have had more attention drawn to them. First, in the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha*, only the *Dà āmítuó jīng* has this characteristic. On the contrary, in all other versions of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha*, 菩薩阿羅漢無數 becomes 聲聞無數 or 弟子無數 (see Ōta 2004, pp. 52–53). Secondly, this feature not only appears just once in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, but repeatedly, even in the vows, in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. For example, in addition to the second vow, the 20th vow also states this meaning clearly.

as far as I know, why these words are combined in the later part of the second vow, which is probably one of keys to approaching the original form of the early Pure Land sūtras, is not taken seriously in any earlier studies. As a result, the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is a combination of five items. And almost all of them are unique with one only appearing in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*'s vow; in particular, items 1, 4 and 5 do not have a counterpart in any other versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. By contrast, almost all of them have a counterpart in all versions of the *Bēihuá jīng*'s vow. The following table shows the corresponding relationships between the second vow and its counterpart in the *Bēihuá jīng*.

Table 1

the 2nd Vow of 大阿	the <i>Bēihuá jīng</i> . ¹⁶
Item 1 : 国無女人	No. 12 無有女人
Item 2 : 轉女成男	No. 49 聞名轉女 /No. 50 滅後轉女
Item 3 : 女人往生	N/A
Item 4 : 菩薩阿羅漢無數	No. 42 菩薩無數
Item 5 : 蓮華化生	No. 13 悉皆化生

From the above table(cf. Table 4 below), we see that the first part of the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is in a combination of three items. Item 1 and the 12th vow of the *Bēihuá jīng* are identical in meaning. Item 2 parallels the 49th and 50th vows of the *Bēihuá jīng*. By contrast, item 3, which refers to women's rebirth in *Sukhāvātī*, can only be seen in two versions of vows from the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* – the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*

¹⁶ The numbers and their titles of the vows in the *Bēihuá jīng* are dependent on Ujitani's research (see Ujitani 1969, pp.65-145).

and the 27th vow of the *Zhuāngyán jīng*¹⁷. On the other hand, there is nothing that corresponds with the notion of “Women’s Rebirth in *Sukhāvātī*” in the vows of all the versions of the *Bēihuá jīng*. Moreover, the 12th and 49th vows are respectively regarded as two individual vows in the *Bēihuá jīng*. This is why I believe that the first part of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is in a combination of three items, and each of them doubtlessly has its own history to account for its different formation from the two others.

On the other hand, it is notable that what the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* addresses is something different to what we find in its counterpart in the other versions, except for the 27th vow in the *Zhuāngyán jīng*¹⁸. The second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* and its counterpart in the *Bēihuá jīng* are very similar, both in content and order. The arrangement of the 12th and 13th vows in the *Bēihuá jīng* is similar in order to the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* (in which items 1 and 5 are compiled in the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*). Moreover, there are three vows – the 13th, the 49th, and the 50th¹⁹ – referring to women Buddhist practitioners in the *Bēihuá jīng*. In each version of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha*, except the *Dà āmítuó jīng*²⁰, by contrast, only one vow refers to female Buddhists. These points suggest that the first part of the second vow, namely items 1–3 of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, corresponds

¹⁷ T12, No. 363, *Dàshèng wúliàngshòu zhuāngyánjīn* 佛說大乘無量壽莊嚴經. *Siglum*: 莊嚴.

¹⁸ We must not assume that the 27th vow of the *Zhuāngyán jīng* represents its original Indian form, because another possibility can be considered (which is quite likely), namely that the 27th vow is just a copy of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* (see below).

¹⁹ In Ujitani’s study, No. 49 was labeled as *Monmyō tennyō* 聞名轉女, which is the counterpart of the 35th vow of the *Wúliàngshòu jīng* and the Sanskrit version of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha*; No. 50 was labeled as *Metsugo tennyō* 滅後轉女 (Ujitani 1969, pp. 31–145).

²⁰ In addition to the 2nd vow, the 11th vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* also refers to women in *Sukhāvātī*. Even in the 2nd vow, the first part comprises three items referring to female Buddhist practitioners, which is a special feature of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha*.

more to the vows of the *Bēihuá jīng* than to the vows in the Later Recension of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*.

Concerning items 4 and 5 of the 2nd vow, at least the following points are worthy of attention. First, item 4, ‘Innumerable Bodhisattvas and Arhats’, is completely different to its corresponding content in all other versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. Specifically, instead of the content of ‘innumerable bodhisattvas and arhats’, the corresponding content in other versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* is innumerable *śrāvaka* 聲聞無數²¹. Secondly, the 42nd vow of the *Bēihuá jīng* is quite consistent with item 4 of the second vow in meaning, namely ‘innumerable bodhisattvas’. Thirdly, the characteristic of ‘Innumerable Bodhisattvas and Arhats’ is deliberately repeated many times in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, even in the vows of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*²² (at least two instances can be found). Moreover, Item 5 has no counterpart in any other versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*, but its counterpart in the *Bēihuá jīng* is arranged in the same order to the one in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. The crux of the problem is: Where did these five items come from?; Were they in the original Indian text of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* or are they just a revision or creation by the sūtra’s Chinese translator? This is not only a fundamental issue in the study of the origin of Pure Land Buddhism, but a significant problem related to the formation of early Mahāyāna Buddhist sūtras.

²¹ The counterpart in the *Píngděngjué jīng* is translated as 諸弟子無數 in the 12th vow (T12, p. 281b10-13). Or, see Ōta 2004: pp.52-53.

²² The 20th vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is the one referring to “Innumerable Bodhisattvas and Arhats”. It reads: 第二十願者：使某作佛時，令八方、上下各千億佛國中，諸天人民、蜎飛蠕動之類，皆令作辟支佛、阿羅漢，皆坐禪一心，共欲計數我國中諸菩薩、阿羅漢，知有幾千億萬人，皆令無有能知數者。得是願乃作佛，不得是願終不作佛 (T12, p. 302a22-27).

1. 2 The counterparts in the *Bēihuá jīng*

Below is a comparative table showing the contexts referring to *Huàshēng* 化生 “Rebirth by Transformation on a Lotus Flower”, which correspond to item 5 of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, in all versions of the *Bēihuá jīng*.

Table 2²³

KP	sarvasattvās copapadukāḥ syuḥ (KP, p. 107 : 9) (‘ <i>May all sentient beings be reborn by transformation</i> ’)
Tibetan Translation	sems can thams cad rdsus te skye bar gyur cig/(P, p. 196a1) (‘ <i>May sentient beings all be reborn by transformation</i> ’)
悲華	一切衆生等一化生 (T3, p. 183c23) (‘ <i>All sentient beings are equally reborn by transformation on a lotus flower</i> ’)
分陀	願其中衆生悉皆化生 (T3, p. 249c11) (‘ <i>May all sentient beings in that land be reborn by transformation</i> ’)

The following two points can be confirmed based on the above table. Firstly, the vow regarding *Huàshēng* appears in all versions of the *Bēihuá jīng*, and their contents are consistent. Secondly, by contrast with the *Bēihuá jīng*, only the *Dà āmítuó jīng* contains the vow regarding the *Huàshēng*, item5 of the 2nd vow, in the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha* (see Table 4).

Below is a comparative table of the vow of “No Women Existing in *Sukhāvātī*”, *Guówú nǚrén* 國無女人, which corresponds to item1 of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, in all versions of the *Bēihuá jīng*.

²³ Cf. Ujitani’s translation 1969, pp. 80-81. Also cf. Iwagami 2012.

Table 3

KP	na tatra mātṛgrāmasya prajñāptir bhavet (KP, p.107:9-10) (‘ <i>There should not exist a female assembly</i> ’ ²⁴)
Tibetan Translation	de na bud med du gdags pa yañ ma mahis par gyur cig/ (P, p. 195a1) (‘ <i>May there not even be the concept of women there</i> ’)
悲華	願我世界無有女人及其名字 (T3, p. 183c22-23) (‘ <i>May no women and their names exist in my world</i> ’)
分陀	使其中無有女人 (T3, p. 249c11) (‘ <i>May no women exist in that realm</i> ’)

Similarly, we can draw at least two conclusions from Table 3. First, the vow of *Guówú nǚren* “No Women Existing in *Sukhāvati*” in different versions of the *Bēihuá jīng* is very consistent. Secondly, the vows of *Guówú nǚren* and *Huàshēng* in the *Bēihuá jīng* are similar in arrangement to the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, item 1 and item 5, where one is placed next to another in the *Bēihuá jīng* in comparison with the fact that the two items are compiled in one vow in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. In particular, item 1 and item 5 do not have a counterpart in the vows of any other versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. Undoubtedly, there is a substantial correlation between the *Dà āmítuó jīng* and the *Bēihuá jīng*.

1.3 The Counterparts in the Later Recension of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*

In order to make the problem better understood, let us examine the counterparts to the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* in different versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*.

First, there is no corresponding vow to the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* in the *Píngděngjué jīng*, whose established period was slightly later than the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, which also has 24 vows and belongs to the Early Recension, though the fulfillment articles also exist in the later part of the

²⁴ Cf. Ujitariani 1969, p. 6 (start from the back). Also cf. Iwagami 2012.

*Píngděngjué jīng*²⁵. Obviously, these lines in the *Píngděngjué jīng* are just copies from their counterparts in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. Hence one cannot determine the original form of the *Píngděngjué jīng* based merely on the contexts that appear in this version.

Secondly, the counterparts of item 2 in the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* in different versions of the Later Recension of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* can be divided into two categories based on their meaning. The 35th vow of the Sanskrit version, the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*²⁶, the *Rúláihui*²⁷, and the 36th vow of the Tibetan translation are in one group (Group A), and the 27th vow of the *Zhuāngyán jīng* is in another group (Group B). The 35th vow of the Sanskrit version of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* corresponds to item 2 (see Table 4 below) of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, as discussed below.

*sacem me bhagavan bodhiprāptasya samantād aprameyāsaṃkhyeyācintyātulyā-
parimāṇeṣu buddhakṣetreṣu yāḥ striyo mama nāmadheyam śrutvā
prasādam saṃjānayeyur bodhicittam cotpādayeyuḥ strībhāvaṃ ca vi-
jugupseraṅ jātivyativṛttāḥ samānāḥ saced dvitīyaṃ strībhāvaṃ prati-
labheran mā tāvad aham anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambudhy-
eyam||*²⁸

*Blessed One, may I not awaken to unsurpassable, perfect, full awaken-
ing if, after I attain awakening it is the case that women in measureless,
countless, inconceivable, incomparable, and limitless buddha-fields in*

²⁵ Although the *Píngděngjué jīng* contains some text about this content, which reads: 其國中悉諸菩薩、阿羅漢、無有婦女、壽命極壽、壽亦無央數劫。女人往生者則化生，皆作男子(T12, p.283a19-21), it is just a copy of its counterpart in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, which reads: 其國中悉諸菩薩、阿羅漢、無有婦女、壽命無央數劫。女人往生，即化作男子(T12, p. 303c08-09).

²⁶ T12, No. 360, *Fóshuō wúliàngshòu jīng* 佛說無量壽經, hereafter the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*. *Siglum*: 無量.

²⁷ T12, No. 310.5, *Wúliàngshòu rúláihui* 無量壽如來會, hereafter the *Rúláihui*. *Siglum*: 如來.

²⁸ Fujita 2011, p.22. cf. Ashikaga's version (Ashikaga, 1965, p. 18).

*all regions of universe upon hearing my name have serene thoughts of faith, generate in their mind the aspiration to attain awakening, feel disgust at their female nature, and yet are born again as women when they leave their present birth*²⁹.

Although the 35th vow of the Sanskrit version of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* is also labeled as *Nyonin ōjyō* 女人往生 by Kagawa³⁰, the content of this vow is somewhat different to item 2 of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmituó jīng*, which both “Women’s Rebirth in *Sukhāvati*” and “No Women Existing in *Sukhāvati*” are not mentioned at all in this vow. Accordingly, Kagawa probably confused items 1–3 with their counterparts in the versions of the Later Recension of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* (Group A and Group B). In fact, this confusion is commonplace in previous studies. Items 1–3 of the 2nd vow are not the same concept, and each of them has a unique story about its formation different to the two others, which is the key to understanding the formation of the early Pure Land’s sutras. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the 35th vow of the Sanskrit version relates to women in other Buddha’s lands who wish to renounce their womanhood but item 2 of the 2nd vow, by contrast, is about women who wish to be reborn in *Sukhāvati*, although two of them pertain to the transformation of women into men. On the other hand, the 35th vow of the Sanskrit version is more similar in meaning to the counterparts in

²⁹ This translation is based on Ashikaga’s version in 1965, cf. Gómez 1996, p. 74.

³⁰ See Kagawa 1984, pp.45–46. In Fujita’s research, he notices the differences between the first part of the 2nd vow and the 35th vow of the Sanskrit versions; hence the two vows are respectively known as *Tennyō jyōnan* 転女成男 and *Syari jyosei* 捨離女性 (see Fujita 2007, pp. 305–308). Kagawa, by contrast, considered the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmituó jīng* as a whole, with the same title as its counterparts in all other versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*, *Nyonin ōjyō* 女人往生 (Kagawa 1984, pp. 45–46).

all versions of the *Bēihuá jīng*³¹. Accordingly, *Wénmíng chéngnán* 聞名成男 is a more suitable title for the 35th vow of the Sanskrit version based on its meaning. It is worth noting that the 49th vow of the *Bēihuá jīng* is more similar in meaning to the 35th vow of the Sanskrit version and its counterparts in the same group of the Later Recension of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*, than to item 2 of the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, though the 12th and 13th vows of the *Bēihuá jīng* are closer to item 1 and item 5 of the second vow in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*.

Thirdly, in the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*, the 35th vow corresponds to item 2 of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, as discussed below (see Table 4 below).

【無量】設我得佛，十方無量不可思議諸佛世界，其有女人聞我名字，歡喜信樂、發菩提心、厭惡女身，壽終之後復為女像者不取正覺
(T12, p. 268c21–24)。

*If, when I attain buddhahood, women in the immeasurable and inconceivable Buddha-lands of the ten directions who, having heard my Name, rejoice in faith, awaken aspiration for enlightenment, and wish to renounce womanhood should, after their deaths, be reborn again as women, may I not attain perfect enlightenment*³².

Similarly, although the 35th vow of the *Wúliàngshòu jīng* is also known

³¹ The 49th vow of the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka* is as follows. “*bodhiprāptasya ca me gaṇanātīkrānteṣu buddhakṣetreṣu yāḥ striyo mama nāmadheyaṃ śṛṇuyus tāḥ paramapṛitiprāmodyaṃ pratilabheyuḥ, anuttarāyāṃ samyakasaṃbodhau cittāny utpādayeyuḥ, yāvad bodhiparyantena na bhūyaḥ strīvaṃ pratilabheyuḥ* (KP, pp. 111: 19–112:3). A preliminary translation referred to Ujitali’s version (1969, p.14) is as follows, “Since I have obtained Bodhi, women in immeasurable Buddha countries, after having heard my name, will possess the highest delight and ecstasy, and raise their thoughts to perfect knowledge. They will then not assume the female nature again, until their attainment of Bodhi”.

³² Inagaki 1996, p.16.

as *Nyonin ōjyō* 女人往生³³ by some Japanese *Jōdo shū* and *Jōdo shinshū* scholars, there is somewhat of a difference in meaning between this vow and item 2 of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. Both instances of “Women’s Rebirth in *Sukhāvātī*” and No Women Existing in *Sukāvātī* do not appear at all in the 35th vow of the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*. In the same way, the 35th vow of the *Wúliàngshòu jīng* is very similar in meaning to its counterparts in all versions of the *Bēihuá jīng*’s vow. Accordingly, *Wénmíng chéngnán* is a more suitable title for the 35th vow of the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*.

Fourthly, in the *Rúláihui*, another Chinese version translated in the Tang and also with 48 vows, the 35th vow is similar in meaning to the 35th vow of the Sanskrit version and the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*. The context is as follows.

【如來】若我成佛。周遍無數不可思議無有等量諸佛國中，所有女人聞我名已，得清淨信、發菩提心、厭患女身，若於來世不捨女人身者不取菩提 (T11, p. 94b14–17)。

“If, when I have become a Buddha, all the women in countless, inconceivable, matchless and measureless Buddha-lands everywhere, on hearing my name, come to have pure faith, conceive the aspiration for bodhi and become disgusted with the female body, if they do not discard their female body in their future lives, I shall not attain bodhi³⁴”.

The 35th vow of the *Rúláihui* is similar in meaning to the 35th vow of the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*. This vow also emphasizes three conditions after hearing the Buddha’s name, “come to have pure faith”, “conceive the aspiration for Bodhi” and “become disgusted with the female body”. Similarly, *Wénmíng chéngnán* is a more appropriate title for the 35th vow of the *Rúláihui*³⁵.

³³ In Fujita’s research, the 35th vow of the *Wúliàngshòu jīng* is labeled as both *Nyonin ōjyō* 女人往生 and *Nyonin jyōbutsu* 女人成佛 (see Fujita 2007, pp. 305–308).

³⁴ Harrison 1998, p. 558.

³⁵ In Fujita’s study, this vow is labeled as *Enkan nyosin* 厭患女身 (Fujita 2007, pp. 305–308).

Finally, the *Zhuāngyán jīng* is unique in that it contains 36 vows and its formation process is obscure. The 27th vow of the *Zhuāngyán jīng* is probably the closest one to the first part of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, corresponding with items 2 and 3 (see Table 4 below).

【莊嚴】世尊！我得菩提成正覺已，所有十方無量，無邊，無數世界一切女人，若有厭離女身者，聞我名號發清淨心，歸依，頂禮，彼人命終即生我剎成男子身；悉皆令得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提 (T12, p. 320b08-12)。

“Lord, after I have attained bodhi and achieved perfect awakening, as for all the women in all the countless numberless worlds in the ten quarters, if any of them are disgusted with the female body, and hear my name, have pure thoughts and take refuge in me with prostrations, those persons shall at the end of their lives be born in my kṣetra assuming male bodies, and they shall all be made to achieve anuttara-samyak-saṃbodhi”³⁶.

According to above context, the 27th vow of the *Zhuāngyán jīng* has characteristics of the 35th vow of the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*, *Wēnmíng chéngnán* and item 3, *Nǚrén wǎngshēng*, of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. In the 27th vow of the *Zhuāngyán jīng*, the words “No Women Existing in *Sukhāvati*” are not to be found. Hence, “*Wēnmíng wǎngshēng* 聞名往生, and *Wēnmíng chéngnán* 聞名成男” are arguably more suitable titles for the 27th vow of the *Zhuāngyán jīng*.

The following table shows the corresponding relations between the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* and its counterparts in the different versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*.

³⁶ Harrison 1998, p.558.

Table 4

The 2 nd vow of 大阿	The counterparts in versions of the Later Recension of the <i>LSukh</i>	
大阿 (item 2, 轉女成男) This vow is about women who wish to be reborn in <i>Sukhāvātī</i>	Group A Sanskrit (第 35 願, 聞名成男) 無量壽經 (第 35 願, 聞名成男) = 如來會 (第 35 願, 聞名成男) = Tibetan (第 36 願, 聞名成男)	These vows are about women in other Buddha's lands who wish to renounce their womanhood.
大阿 (item 2 轉女成男 ; item 3 女人往生)	Group B 莊嚴 (第 27 願, 聞名往生, 聞名成男)	
大阿 (item 1 國無女人)	N/A	
大阿 (item 5 蓮華化生)	N/A	
大阿 (item 4 菩薩阿羅漢無數)	N/A	

In light of above investigation, it is clear that the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* at least has the following three characteristics.

First, in the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha*, the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is quite different to its counterparts, both in form and in meaning, in other versions of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha*. For example, the 2nd vow contains five items, but only the second has a counterpart in the vows of each remaining version in the system of the 48 vows. Only the 27th vow of the *Zhuāngyán jīng* has two items corresponding to items 2–3 of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. Accordingly, the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is a good example demonstrating the formation of the vows of this version because of the fact that it consists of five items, the most in the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha*. In the other versions of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha*, by contrast (in particular, the Sanskrit version), almost every vow comprises only one item. As matter as fact, this is a typical characteristic and repeatedly appears in different places, even in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*'s vows. For instance, the 6th vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is also a combination of two parts, the first part is on the stupa belief and the later part is on the *zhāijiè* 齋戒, but all of

them are probably the production of the sutra's Chinese translator³⁷.

Secondly, only the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* specifically expounds the meaning of “No Women Existing in *Sukhāvati*” in the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. In other words, although a corresponding vow to the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* exists in the remaining versions in the Later Recension of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*³⁸ they only correspond to item 2, but not to the other items.

Finally, the counterparts of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, 4 of 5 items, can be found in all the versions of the *Bēihuá jīng*'s vows, and they are quite similar in meaning to each other (see Table1). Also, the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* and its counterparts in each version of the *Bēihuá jīng* show striking similarities when the vow of “No Women Existing in *Sukhāvati*” is placed together with the vow of “Rebirth by Transformation on a Lotus Flower”. If the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* truly derived from its original Indian text, why have some items of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, such as “No Women Existing in *Sukhāvati*”, disappeared in all other versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*; and why are so many items compiled in the 2nd vow, a feature that only appear in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*? Is it true that this feature represents the most primitive form of Pure Land Buddhism as suggested by other scholars³⁹ or is it just the production of the sūtra's translator? All of these problems are significant questions regarding the

³⁷ For some of arguments see Xiao 2011.

³⁸ It is worthy of attention that no counterpart of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* appears in the *Píngděngjué jīng*'s vows.

³⁹ Several scholars suggested that the *Dà āmítuó jīng* represents the most primitive form of Pure Land Buddhist sūtras based on the fact it is the oldest Chinese translation of Pure Land. (see Karashima 1999, pp. 135–137).

formation of both Pure Land Buddhist and early Mahāyāna sūtras. In order to approach the nature of these problems more objectively, a brief review on some special features of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, and the problems evident in preceding studies, is discussed as the follows.

2. Special Features in the Dà āmítuó jīng

Considerable research has been published concerning the differences between the two oldest versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* – the *Dà āmítuó jīng* and the *Píngděngjué jīng*. Masao Shizutani’s work is one of the most representatives in the field. He undertook a detailed discussion on the differences between two versions based on the development of early Mahāyāna Buddhism (1974, pp. 51–118). In recent years, the formation of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* has received increasing attention from scholars. In addition to the suggestions by Shizutani, the following points are also significant, and must be examined at the same time, while we try to determine the issue of the formation of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*.

2. 1 Several Items Compiled in One Vow

It is well-known that in the versions of the Later Recension of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*, one vow always addresses a single content. This can be clearly seen in not only almost all Chinese versions of the Later Recension — the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*, the *Rúláihùi*, — but the Sanskrit version and the Tibetan translation. By contrast, the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is altogether quite different, as some of vows are composed of two or more items⁴⁰ (in Japanese, *ganji* 願事). For example, the sixth vow is composed of two,

⁴⁰ In addition to the second vow discussed in the last section, according to Fujita, there are four vows, the 2nd–4th; the 9th; the 17th, comprised of two items, or more, in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* (see Fujita 1970, pp. 382–384).

which the first part states stupa religions, the second part states *zhāijiè* 齋戒 (see Xiao 2011). The question is whether this feature is derived from its original source text, or it simply reflects editorial traces retained by the translator(s).

2. 2 *Five-Evils Paragraphs in the Dà āmítuó jīng*

The issue of ‘Five-Evils Paragraphs’ (hereafter FEP) is a significant problem that has attracted much scholarly attention over the past century. Scholars have focused on two issues: (i) whether FEP was faithfully translated from the original Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* text; or (ii) whether it was simply the fabrication of the sutra’s translator(s). It is now commonly believed that FEP was the work of the translator(s). So far, most scholars consider FEP as a separate text inserted in the later part of the sūtra⁴¹. However, the issue of who did this, and when, remains unclear.

According to my recent research, on the other hand, the formation of FEP can be divided into three stages. The first stage is in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, where FEP does not comprise the independent passages placed in the later part of that text, but the ones which are closely related to the first part

⁴¹ Here ‘the sutra’ means that some scholars are still not sure FEP was originally formed in which version of Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha*. For example, Karashima suggested three possibilities on FEP: 1) in the latter half of 2nd century, after the *Dà āmítuó jīng* had been translated by *Lokakṣema*, person(s) unknown translated, or created FEP, and then attached it to the *Dà āmítuó jīng*; 2) in the third century, the translator of the *Píngděngjué jīng*, *Zhī Qiān* 支謙, first translated, or created FEP, and then *Zhī Qiān* inserted FEP to the *Dà āmítuó jīng* later; 3) shortly after the *Píngděngjué jīng* had been translated, person(s) unknown translated, or created FEP, and then he inserted it both to the *Dà āmítuó jīng* and the *Píngděngjué jīng* (see Karashima 2010, p.2). It is no doubt that Karashima’s suggestion are very vague, because historical fact has only one, not to say, of course, it is one of three hypotheses suggested by Karashima. This is why I disagree with the methodology supposing the version’s the authorship in advance, and that the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is the version which it represents the earliest form of Indian Pure Land in advance.

of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, including the vows portion. This feature only appears in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, so we can clearly see that the author of the FEP is also the translator, or one of the translators⁴², and that was created based on the translator’s own notions⁴³. Furthermore, I discovered that the first and the second half of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, including FEP, is a unified whole, addressing the same issues. This feature significantly assist in determining the authorship of the sūtra and dispelling on opaque state of affairs⁴⁴.

2. 3 Two-Fold Corresponding Relationships

It is well-known that almost all of Amitābha’s vows in the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* hold a corresponding relationship with the fulfillment articles that stand behind the vows. However, in addition to this corresponding rela-

⁴² See Xiao 2012a. The formation of the FEP in the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* can be divided into three stages. The first stage is in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. In this case, we cannot accurately determine the beginning or the end of FEP in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. The second stage is in the *Píngděngjué jīng*. Because the translator of the *Píngděngjué jīng* re-translated the vows, — though some vows followed or revised the ones in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* —, the FEP in the *Píngděngjué jīng* is not connected to the vows like those of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. The last stage is in the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*. The FEP has been revised, and abbreviated to a shorter version. The vows in that version, of course, become forty-eight vows, and FEP has become an independent part placed in the later of the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*.

⁴³ By no means do I deny that the translator referred to some Buddhist texts; after all, there is no doubt that the author of FEP was a Buddhist, even though he has a strong background in Chinese literature.

⁴⁴ Sueki also mentioned that FEP is the work of the translator of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* based largely on some Chinese terms appearing both in the first part of the sūtra and the FEP. His view is that, at present, it is very difficult to determine the correct position regarding the status of the FEP. Sueki has pointed out that “Simply depending on some Chinese terms used in FEP, even if it was added in China, it must be the work of the sutra’s translator” (see Sueki 1984, pp. 259-260). On the other hand, it seems that Sueki did not realize that FEP is also connected with the vows of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, both in literature and in doctrine.

tionship, another kind of relationship exists in the *Dà āmituó jīng*. Preceding the vows, there is a short passage where *Lokeśvararāja* Buddha encourages *Dharmakara* Bodhisattva to unremittingly cultivate his practice. These words comprise 129 Chinese characters as follows.

【大阿】我欲求佛為菩薩道，令我後作佛時，於八方，上下諸無央數佛國中，最尊，智慧勇猛，頭中光明如佛光明，所焰照無極；所居國土，自然七寶極自軟好；令我後作佛時，教授名字，皆聞八方，上下無央數佛國，莫不聞知我名字者；諸無央數天人民，及蜎飛蠕動之類諸來生我國者，悉皆令作菩薩，阿羅漢，無央數都勝諸佛國。如是者寧可得不⁴⁵？(T12, pp. 300c-301a)

This might be tentatively translated as follows:

I aspire to attain Buddhahood by cultivating the Bodhisattva path. When I attain Buddhahood, among all Buddhas in the eight quarters, as well as above and below, may I become foremost in sublime wisdom and bravery, and may brilliance shine from my head as immeasurably as the Buddhas' light. May my land abound with seven natural jewels, extremely soft and excellent. When I attain Buddhahood, my name will be taught, and all beings, in measureless buddha lands of the eight quarters, as well as above and below, will know my name. All beings in the measureless heavens and all species that flit and wriggle⁴⁶ who are reborn in my land, will become bodhisattvas and arhats. The bodhisattvas and arhats in my country are measureless beyond that of other buddhas lands. How may I be able to realize this aspiration?

According to Sueki, this passage corresponds to the 24th, the 3^d and the 4th vow of the *Dà āmituó jīng*, and Sueki also supposed that these 129 characters represent the oldest form of Amitābha's original vows⁴⁷. I tend to disagree with this conclusion. In my previous paper, I argued, based on the

⁴⁵ For an excellent Japanese translation, see Karashima 1999, p. 138.

⁴⁶ The term 蜎飛蠕動's translation, cf. Harrison 1998, p. 557.

⁴⁷ See Sueki 1980, p. 256, or, 2013, pp. 233-234.

logical relationships between the contexts in different versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*, that this text reflects the translator's intention. I pointed out that the translator of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* compiled several vows, which are regarded as the most significant vows to these 129 characters⁴⁸. I would like to add the following three points to support my conclusion.

First, in addition to three corresponding relationships suggested by Sueki above, 悉皆令作菩薩, 阿羅漢, 無央數 should be given greater attention as this corresponds to the 20th and the 2nd (in part) vows.

Secondly, it is worth noting the two Chinese terms in the lines, *wújí* 無極 'measureless', and *zhìhuì* 智慧 'wisdom'. The term *wújí* is a Chinese Daoist term appearing 28 times in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. Because some of these terms also appear in FEP, this clue suggests that the term is an innovation of the translators, and not taken from the original text of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*.

On the other hand, the term *zhìhuì* is another significant term in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*⁴⁹. As I suggested in my previous study, the aim of rebirth in Sukhāvātī in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* was not only for overcoming samsara as we find in the Later Recension of Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*, but, primarily⁵⁰, for the attainment of identical wisdom to Amitābha's. The term *zhìhuì* appears repeatedly in the 7th, the 18th, and the 22-23th vows of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. Although the content of these four vows vary, the term *zhìhuì* is common to all of them. Hence it is worth noting that above 129 characters also hold something of relationship with the 7th, the 18th, and the 22-23th vow of the

⁴⁸ For some evidence of this, see Xiao 2012b.

⁴⁹ Although Karashima suggested (1999, p. 137) the term *zhìhuì yǒngmèng* 智慧勇猛 corresponds to *prajñāvān adhimātraṃ vīryavān* in the Sanskrit version of Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*, it is worthy of attention that *zhìhuì yǒngmèng* appears 17 times (*zhìhuì* alone is used up to 43 times) in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, and almost all of them do not have a counterpart in the Sanskrit version, and this feature almost disappeared in versions of the 'Later Recension'.

⁵⁰ The *Píngděngjué jīng* just followed the ones of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. For some evidence of this, see Xiao 2009, pp. 59-63; and Xiao 2012b.

Dà āmítuó jīng, and this feature probably plays an important role which can help us to approach the translator's intention⁵¹.

2. 4 Two Kinds of Repetition in the Vows

Another feature in the vows of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is the appearance of simple repetition and verbal repetition. For example, in the second part of the 6th vow, “斷愛欲齋戒清淨一心念我晝夜一日不斷絕皆令” repeats “齋戒清淨一心念欲生我國晝夜不斷絕” in the 7th vow.

Verbal repetition is not rarely used in the vows of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. *Zhihui* discussed above is a good example. This feature sometimes manifests in diverse forms, either as synonyms or antonyms. For example, in the 11th vow, the lines 無有淫泆之心 “have not lascivious minds” are synonymous with the words 終無念婦女意 “never have minds thinking of women”, and the synonym of the term *chēngnù* 瞋怒 “angry” and the term of *yúchī* 愚癡 “stupidity”⁵². It is of interest that all of these words do not have a counterpart in the later versions of Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*; in particular, the Sanskrit version. All of these clues suggest that these words are simply created by the translator's mind and but not derived from the original Indian text (for a detailed discussion see section 6 below).

All of these features discussed above are significant issues which have been overlooked by scholars. I suggest that, while we discuss any issues in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, all of the above considerations must be considered to-

⁵¹ The term *zhihui* is the most significant item in the Six Perfections (*ṣaṭpāramitā*, *liù bōluómi* 六波羅蜜), and the Six Perfections items appear in the vows of the *Dà āmítuó*. All these features are probably not derived from its original text, but are the creations of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*'s translator(s). For a detailed discussion of this feature see Xiao 2014a, b.

⁵² Sometimes they may not be synonymous strictly in literary, but specific to the *Dà āmítuó* they are synonymous. Although “avarice, anger and stupidity” are called as three poisons in Buddhism, they are the antonym of the term *zuòshàn* 作善 ‘gaining merit’, which it repeatedly appears over 40 times in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*.

gether. Almost all previous research has ignored the above features. The following discussions on the 2nd and 11th vows of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* will draw on these features.

3. Problems Evident in Previous Studies

There is a large amount of research on the topic of women in Pure Land Buddhism. Some of it is associated with views of women in ancient India. The problems evident in four of the most representative researchers in this area are discussed below.

3.1 Akira HIRAKAWA

Harakawa has paid most attention to the problem of women in the Pure Land. Concerning the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, Hirakawa has considered this issue in connection to one of the features of early Mahāyāna Buddhism⁵³. However, the following matters have been overlooked in Hira-kawa's research.

Firstly, he did not realize that the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is a unique vow in the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*, which states that no women exist in the Pure Land and that the formation of this vow might be more complicated than he thought.

Secondly, he did not realize that the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* has a special structure which comprises several aspects; in particular, he did not consider why several items have been compiled in combination with one vow.

Furthermore, Hira-kawa did not realize that the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is exceptional among early Mahāyāna texts, in that he assessed the special features of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* according to the general principles of early Mahāyāna Buddhism.

⁵³ Hira-kawa 1969, pp. 262-282.

3. 2 *Kotatsu FUJITA*

A revision of the Sanskrit version of the Larger and Smaller *Sukhāvativyūha*, edited by Fujita, was published in 2011, and a new Japanese translation based on this text will also be published soon. Two works by Fujita which have been published separately — in 1970 and 2007 — are milestones in the field. Concerning the formation of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, Fujita’s research is distinguished by the following characteristics:

Firstly, the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* and its counterparts in various versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* have been categorized in such a way so that the differences in form and meaning between them can be identified clearly. In his representative book, the first and the second parts of the 2nd vow’s titles in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*’s are labeled as “*Tennyō jyōnan* 転女成男” and “*Renge kesyō* 蓮華化生” respectively; the 35th vow of the Sanskrit version’s title is designated as “*Syari jyosei* 捨離女性”; the 35th vow of the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*’s title is “*Nyonin ōjyō* 女人往生” or “*Nyonin jyōbutsu* 女人成仏”; the 35th vow of the *Rúláihui*’s title is *Enkan jyosin* 厭患女身; the 36th vow of the Tibetan translation is *Syari jyosei*, the same title as the 35th vow of the Sanskrit version; the 27th vow of the *Zhuāngyān jīng*’s title is “*Tenyō jyōnan*”, see Table 5 below. As far as I know, this is the only research which has proposed different names for the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* even though I hold different views on this matter. We can clearly understand, based merely on the titles suggested by Fujita that: (i) the 35th vow of the Sanskrit version and the 36th vow of the Tibetan translation have been classified as one group; (ii) the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* and the 27th vow of the *Zhuāngyān jīng*’s has been classified as another group; (iii) the 35th vow both in the *Wúliàngshòu jīng* and the *Rúláihui* appear to be considered as one group. The following is a comparative table of the titles of the vows in the versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* suggested by Fujita⁵⁴ and the titles used in this paper.

Table 5

<i>LSukh</i>	Titles by Fujita	Titles in this paper
大阿	轉女成男 蓮華化生	Item 1 = 國無女人 Item 2 = 轉女成男 Item 3 = 女人往生 Item 4 = 菩薩阿羅漢無數 Item 5 = 蓮華化生
平等	N/A	N/A
無量	女人往生 (女人成仏)	聞名成男
如來	厭患女身	聞名成男
梵本	捨離女性	聞名成男
藏訳	捨離女性	聞名成男
莊嚴	轉女成男	Item 1 = 聞名往生 Item 2 = 聞名成男

Secondly, the first part, *Tennyō jyōnan*, and later part, *Renge kesyō*, of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* have been considered separately in Fujita's studies which, as far as I am aware, are the only ones which discuss the formation of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* by means of two ways.

Thirdly, concerning the development of the philosophical view regarding women in the Larger *Sukhāvāṭṭyūha*, Fujita suggests that undoubtedly the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is the earliest form, with the differences between the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* and its counterparts in the remaining versions representing an evolutionary process beginning from the *Dà āmítuó jīng* to the Later Recension of the Larger *Sukhāvāṭṭyūha*.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ See Fujita 1970, pp. 382–384=Fujita 2007, pp. 305–308.

⁵⁵ Cf. Fujita 2007, pp. 339–340.

3. 3 *Takao KAGAWA*

Another representative study on the formation of primitive Pure Land Buddhism was undertaken by Kagawa. It is widely accepted that his comparative study of all extant versions of the Large *Sukhāvativyūha* (1984), provides a valuable reference for scholars working in the field. Considering his research methodology, Kagawa deliberately splits some of the vows in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* (those whose structures are difficult to understand), based on the Sanskrit version in order that certain corresponding relationships between each version can be revealed. Instead of the expected results, however, this methodology results in the fact that the sequence orders of twenty-four vows have been demolished, and the original form of the vows in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* has become more vague than before⁵⁶. In addition to this, Kagawa's research faces problems specific to the formation of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* as discussed below.

Firstly, Kagawa did not realize the fact that the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* consists of several items, though Fujita had clearly suggested that this vow consists of two parts. Even the term *huàshēng*, the late part of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, does not appear in his comparative table showing the relationships between this vow and its counterparts in other versions. Also, in a list of significant terms attached in his book (1993), the term *huàshēng* just appears two times, but both of them are not connected to the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*⁵⁷.

Secondly, the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, the 35th vow of the three versions — the Sanskrit version, the *Wúliàngshòu jīng* and the *Rúláihui* — the 36th vow of the Tibetan translation, as well as the 27th vow of the

⁵⁶ Cf. Kariya 2003, p. 2. This situation did not change until Ōta's comparative study appeared in 2004. I would like to thank Dr. Rishō Ōta for his excellent contributions to the field, and for the kind gift of his book to me.

⁵⁷ See Kagawa 1993, p. 292.

Zhuāngyān jīng are designated under the same title, namely *Nyonin ōjyō*⁵⁸. Accordingly, he confused these vows as forming part of the same system. In fact, Kagawa's views on this problem represent not only his individual perspective but one that is typical in this field, because many scholars — in particular those of the Japanese *Jōdo shū* — only refer to Kagawa's comparative study. For example, this tendency can readily be seen in *Jōdoshū daijiten* 淨土宗大辞典 *The Glossary of Japanese Jōdo shū*⁵⁹.

3. 4 Paul HARRISON

In addition to the above two Japanese scholars, Western scholars have also shown their interest in the oldest version of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* and have tended to pay more attention to the primitive forms of Pure Land – and early Mahāyāna – Buddhism as well as . Harrison's study is representative of research in the field. Below are some observations of the shortcomings in Harrison's paper "Women in the Pure Land: Some Reflections on the Textual Sources" (1998).

Firstly, Harrison does not appear to be aware that the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is probably comprised of several items and that the formation of each item might hold a different story. Obviously, the later part of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, *huàshēng*, which also plays an important role, has been overlooked, although the goal of his research is to discuss the problem of women in the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*.

Secondly, Harrison ignores the distinct difference between the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* and its counterpart in the versions of the system with forty-eight vows. Hence, he considers those vows referring to women in the versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* as the same system.

Thirdly, those contexts which address the fact of there being no women

⁵⁸ Kagawa 1984, pp. 45-46.

⁵⁹ Cf. terms 女人往生 or 転女成男 in *The Glossary of Japanese Jōdo Shū*, Vol. 3, p. 140.

in *Sukhāvātī* in the *Píngděngjué jīng* cannot be used as evidence for reconstructing the original text of this version, because most of these contexts are just a copy of their counterparts in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*.

Finally, the importance of FEP in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* has been overlooked in Harrison's study. As I pointed out in above section 2.2, one who wants to understand the authorship of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* must study the formation of FEP carefully in advance, because the author of FEP must be the translator or one of the translators of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*⁶⁰.

4. Two Kinds of *Huàshēng* in the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha*

In the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha*, the term *huàshēng* 化生 is used together with the term *tāishēng* 胎生 “embryonic birth” in the versions of the Later Recension of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha*, except the *Zhuāngyán jīng*. According to Fujita⁶¹, the origin of this Chinese term is probably the Sanskrit term *aupapāduka* or *upapāduka*. Indeed, *aupapāduka* and *upapāduka* appear both in the Sanskrit version of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha* and the *Karuṇāpuṣarīka*, and this term is translated as *huàshēng* in two sūtras. I agree with Fujita's suggestion insofar as the term *huàshēng*, in the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*, the *Rúláihui* and the Tibetan translation, is the translation from *aupapāduka* or *upapāduka* in the Sanskrit version of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha*. However, this term in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* has a different sense. The following is a comparative table on the term *huàshēng* in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, the *Píngděngjué jīng*, the *Wúliàngshòu jīng* and the Sanskrit version. In order to easily look through the contexts containing this term in all versions of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha*, the page numbers of those contexts in Ōta's comparative study (2004) are also shown in the list.

⁶⁰ See Xiao 2012a. Also cf. Sueki 1980, p. 259; and Sueki 2013, pp. 233–234.

⁶¹ Fujita 2007, pp. 403–404.

Table 6

大阿	平等	梵本	無量
(1) p. 301a27-b03 (cf. \bar{O} ta : 66-67)	(1) N/A	N/A	N/A
(2) p. 303b274-26 (cf. \bar{O} ta : 90-91)	(2) p. 283a07-09	N/A	N/A
(3) p. 303c08-09 (cf. \bar{O} ta : 158-158)	(3) p. 283a19-21	N/A	N/A
(4) p. 303c29-p.304a01 (cf. \bar{O} ta : 142-143)	(4) p. 283b14-16	N/A	N/A
(5) p. 304a06-07 (cf. \bar{O} ta : 142-143)	(5) p. 283b21-22	N/A	p. 271a25-26
(6) p. 304b12-13 (cf. \bar{O} ta : 150-151)	(6) p. 284a04-06	N/A	N/A
(7) p. 304b15-19 (cf. \bar{O} ta : 160-161)	(7) p. 284a08-12	N/A	N/A
(8) p. 305c03-07 (cf. \bar{O} ta : 168-169)	(8) p. 285b16-21	N/A	N/A
(9;10) p. 306a12-14 (cf. \bar{O} ta : 214-215)	(9;10) p. 286a04-12	N/A	N/A
(11-13) p. 307a07-a19 (cf. \bar{O} ta : 156-157-67)	(11-13) p. 287b3-16	N/A	N/A
(14) p. 310a04-08 (cf. \bar{O} ta : 184-185)	(14) p. 291c24-27	N/A	p. 272b12-20
(15) p. 310b04-10 (cf. \bar{O} ta : 188-189)	(15) p. 292a25-b101	N/A	N/A
(16) p. 310c21-27 (cf. \bar{O} ta : 192-193)	(16) p. 292c14-c18	N/A	N/A
(17) p. 31 1b09-13 (cf. \bar{O} ta : 196-197)	(17) p. 293a20-29	N/A	N/A

Based on the above table, the following features of the *huàshēng* in the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* become apparent.

Firstly, the contexts containing the term *huàshēng* in the two oldest versions, the *Dà āmítuó jīng* and the *Píngděngjué jīng*, present marked differences with those contexts containing *aupaṭāduka* or *upaṭāduka* in the Sanskrit version, and the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*⁶². The contexts containing the term *huàshēng* in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* appear 17 times, and all of them are placed in the first part of the sūtra. On the other hand, in the Sanskrit version, *aupaṭāduka* or *upaṭāduka* only appear five times, with all of them found in the last part of the sūtra.

⁶² The contexts containing the term *huàshēng* in the *Píngděngjué jīng* are those copied from their counterparts in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*.

Secondly, the usage of this term in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is also different to the Sanskrit version of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. In the Sanskrit version, the term *huàshēng* is used in opposition to the *tāishēng* (*jalābuja-yoni*) placed in the last part of the sūtra. On the contrary, the term *tāishēng* does not appear in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*⁶³, which is consistent with *Bēihuá jīng* (see Table 1). This point can readily be seen in the 13th vow of the *Bēihuá jīng* labelled known as *Sikkai Keshō* 悉皆化生.

Thirdly, I do not agree with the idea that the contexts containing the term *huàshēng* in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* are derived from its original text but, believe rather, that they have been created and inserted by the translator. The following four observations are offered in support of my view: (i) This is not an accidental phenomenon in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. Even though it is conceivable that the original text of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* evolved during the historical development of the sūtra, it is, nevertheless, hard to image that all 17 examples used in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* disappeared without any traces in the versions of the Later Recension of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*; (ii) In addition to *huàshēng*, some vows of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, such as discussed in section 2 above, have characteristics that are akin to *huàshēng* which appear in the vows of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* that have disappeared altogether in the later versions' vows. No matter how much evolution took place, it is difficult to image that so many of these features in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* disappeared altogether in the later versions. Therefore, only one possibility comes to mind; namely that those texts which include the term *huàshēng* are not original but apocryphal; (iii) As suggested by Fujita (2007, p. 44), two examples — (15) (16) in above table — the contexts containing this term in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* and the *Píngděngjué jīng* are very similar in contents to the those where we find the contexts containing the term *huàshēng* in the

⁶³ Cf. Fujita 2007, pp. 403–404, or, Fujita 1970, pp. 523–525.

Sanskrit version and the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*, though they do not contain a counterpart in those two versions. The problem is how to understand this phenomenon. In my opinion, two examples in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* are revisions by the translator⁶⁴, because these contexts are partly included in FEP, and some of the special terms, such as *zhìhuì* 智慧 “wisdom”, *zhāijiè* 齋戒 “the precept of *zhai*”, *jīngjiè* 經戒 “the precepts addressed in sūtras”, *chēngnù* 嗔怒⁶⁵ “angry”, *bùdāng yǔ nǚrén jiāotōng* 不當與女人交通⁶⁶ “not having sexual intercourse with one’s wife”, appear in those lines; and (iv) Items 1 and 5 of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* are extremely similar to the 12 and 13th vows of the *Bēihuá jīng* in both contents and their combination, which one is placed next to another.

Moreover, two items in the above table — (5) and (14) — should be considered further. They, separately, have a counterpart in the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*, but we do not find a parallel text in the Sanskrit version. The counterparts in *Wúliàngshòu jīng* are just the revisions of the ones in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*.

In summary, the contexts containing the term *huàshēng* in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* are quite different to what we find in the Sanskrit version. Although the origin of the term *huàshēng* in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is the same as the one in the Later Recension of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*, their formations are completely different. The term *huàshēng* in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* must be derived from another system different to the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. The *huàshēng*, placed in the later part of the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, is the work of the translator who referred to the vows of the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka* in order to compile this item as well as item 1; namely, the reference to there being no women in *Sukhāvātī* in the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*.

⁶⁴ Concerning the formation of these contexts, cf. Xiao 2012a.

⁶⁵ Cf. Xiao 2012a.

⁶⁶ A Japanese translation cf. Karashima 2005, p. 8.

5. The Formation of the First Part of the 2nd Vow

As discussed in section 1 above, the first part of the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* comprises three items: (i) *Guówú nǚren*; (ii) *Zhuǎnnǚ chéngnán*; and (iii) *Nǚren wǎngshēng*. Item 1, *Guówú nǚren* only appears in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*⁶⁷. Item 3, *Nǚren wǎngshēng*, has only one counterpart in the vows of the Large *Sukhāvativyūha*, which is a part of the 27th vow in the *Zhuāngyán jīng*. Item 2, *Zhuǎnnǚ chéngnán*, has counterparts in the vows of all versions, except the *Píngděngjué jīng* (see table 4 above).

In this section, I will focus on the following two questions. Firstly, whether the first part of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is the original form translated from the original text, or whether it is just a combined version prepared by the translator. Secondly, I will undertake a discussion on the formation of each item based on philological methodology.

5.1 Item 3 of the 2nd Vow in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*

The 27th vow of the *Zhuāngyán jīng* comprises two items, *Wēnmíng wǎngshēng* 聞名往生 and *Wēnmíng chéngnán* 聞名成男⁶⁸. *Wēnmíng wǎngshēng* corresponds to item 3 of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* and the *Wēnmíng chéngnán* corresponds to the 35th vow of the Sanskrit version, as well as of the *Wúliàngshòu jīng* and the *Rúláihùi*. It is worth noting that the doctrine of “hearing Amitābha’s Name” does not appear in the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, but is found in the 35th vow of the Sanskrit version, the *Wúliàngshòu jīng* and the *Rúláihùi*, as well as the 36th vow of the Tibetan translation⁶⁹.

⁶⁷ On the different suggestions regarding these the titles cf. above footnote No. 30 of this paper.

⁶⁸ Our knowledge of the formation of the *Zhuāngyán jīng* is still quite vague but it is a significant question deserving amore detailed discussion than is possible here.

⁶⁹ The 4th and the 5th vow, and the 129 characters in front of the vows in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, concern the doctrine of “hearing Amitābha’s name.” The formation of the “hearing Amitābha’s Name” is a significant doctrine deserving a more detailed discussion than is possible here.

Concerning the vows of the *Zhuāngyán jīng*, however, I would like to introduce two scholars' ideas on this problem. First, Fujita pointed out that this version is probably derived from an unknown system based on either an original Indian text with about forty-eight vows, or a Chinese version with forty-eight vows⁷⁰. Secondly, Kagawa almost follows Fujita's suggestion insofar the formation of the *Zhuāngyán jīng* was derived from a version with forty-eight vows, but he argued that the thirty-six vows of the *Zhuāngyán jīng* had already existed in its Indian original text, instead of having been formed during the period of its Chinese translation. He emphasizes that we not only should consider the vows themselves, but also the fulfillment passages (1984, pp. 49-51).

Further to the above suggestions, another likely possibility can be considered; namely that the *Zhuāngyán jīng* is just a combined version according to the translator's own notions instead of having been derived from a particular version of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. The following two contexts, as shown in tables 7 and 8, will assist in demonstrating this:

Table 7

阿彌陀經	莊嚴經
舍利弗！如我今者，讚歎阿彌陀佛不可思議功德；東方亦有阿閼鞞佛，須彌相佛，大須彌佛，須彌光佛，妙音佛，如是等恒河沙數諸佛，各於其國出廣長舌相，遍覆三大千世界，說誠實言：『汝等眾生，當信是稱讚不可思議功德一切諸佛所護念經』…… (T12, pp. 347b18-348a06)。	復次，阿難！東方有恒河沙數世界，諸佛如來出廣長舌相，放無量光說誠實言，稱讚無量壽佛不可思議功德。南方亦有恒河沙數世界……如是四維，上，下恒河沙數世界，諸佛如來出廣長舌相，放無量光說誠實言，稱讚無量壽佛不可思議功德 (T12, p. 323a27-b18)。

In the above table, the contexts placed in the left-hand column are lines from the *Fóshuō āmituó jīng* 佛說阿彌陀經 (T12, No. 366), a Chinese translation of the Smaller *Sukhāvativyūha* attributed to *Kumārajīva* 鳩摩羅什 (344–

⁷⁰ Cf. Fujita 1970, pp. 386–388, or cf. Fujita 2007, p. 309.

413), and in the right-hand column are the lines from the *Zhuāngyán jīng*. It is worth noting that the thirty-eight Buddhas' Names of the six directions (east, south, west, north, zenith and nadir) are illustrated in Kumārajīva's version. By contrast, fifty-two Buddhas' Names of the ten directions (six directions plus *sīwéi* 四維 "four midpoints") are being addressed in Xuánzàng's 玄奘 version, *Chēngzàn jìngtǔ fó shèshòu jīng* 稱讚淨土佛攝受經 (T 12, No. 366). Accordingly, the words placed on the right are abbreviated referring to both Kumārajīva's version and Xuánzàng's.

Table 8

大阿彌陀經	莊嚴經
<p>諸欲往生阿彌陀佛國者，雖不能大精進，<u>禪定，持經戒者，大要當作善</u>：一者，不得殺生。二者，不得盜竊。三者，不得姪，<u>洩姪愛他人婦女</u>。四者，不得調欺。五者，不得飲酒。六者，不得兩舌。七者，不得惡口。八者，不得妄言。九者，不得嫉妬。十者，不得貧餐，不得心中有所慳惜，不得瞋怒，不得愚癡，不得隨心嗜欲。不得心中悔，不得狐疑。當作孝順，當作至誠忠信，當信受佛經，語深，當信作善後世得其福。奉持如是，其法不虧失者，在心所願可得往生阿彌陀佛國。至要當齋戒一心清淨，晝夜常念欲往生阿彌陀佛國，十日十夜不斷絕，我皆慈哀之，悉令生阿彌陀佛國 (T12, p. 311a19-20)。</p>	<p>復次，阿難！若有善男子，善女人，發十種心，所謂：一，不偷盜，二，不殺生，三，不姪欲，四，不妄言，五，不綺語，六，不惡口，七，不兩舌，八，不貧，九，不瞋，十，不癡。如是晝，夜思惟極樂世界無量壽佛，種種功德種種莊嚴，志心歸依頂禮供養。是人臨終，不驚，不怖，心不顛倒，即得往生彼佛國土 (T12, p. 323b23-c02)。</p>

The contexts placed in the left-hand column above are the words from the *Dà āmítuó jīng*; by contrast, that on the right are the lines from the *Zhuāngyán jīng*. Both of them discuss rebirth in *Sukhāvātī* through the practice of the 'ten goodnesses'. It is worth noting that the lines in left-hand column have a counterpart neither in the Sanskrit or Tibetan versions, and the underlined passages in the this column are special terms, which are considered the creations of the sūtra's translator because they also frequently

appear in FEP⁷¹. Therefore, the passage of the *Zhuāngyán jīng* the right-hand column is just a revision of its counterpart in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. This indicates that, instead of being derived from a version with forty-eight vows as suggested by Fujita and Kagawa, the *Zhuāngyán jīng* must be a revision, at least in part, in accordance with the translator’s own notion.

Another example of this is the 27th vow of the *Zhuāngyán jīng* which is arguably a revision of the combination of the first half of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, item 3 (*Nǚren wǎngshēng*), and the 35th vow of the the *Rúláihùi, wēnmíng chéngnán*. Part of the 27th vow of the *Zhuāngyán jīng* reads: “若有厭離女身者，聞我名號發清淨心”。 (T12, p. 320b08-12). Meanwhile, part of the 35th vow of the *Rúláihùi* reads: “所有女人聞我名已，得清淨信，發菩提心，厭患女身” (T11, n. 310, p.94b14-17). Accordingly, the 27th vow of the *Zhuāngyán jīng* is very close to the 35th vow of the *Rúláihùi*, and the 27th vow of the *Zhuāngyán jīng* is just a revision of the combination of the 35th vow of the *Rúláihùi* and item 3 of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*.

In sum, there appears to be no evidence to verify that the rebirth of women in the 27th vow of the *Zhuāngyán jīng* is derived from the original text. In the same way, there is no evidence to verify that item 3 of the second vow (women’s rebirth in *Sukhāvātī*), is that which was translated from the original text of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. Item 3 is likely to be the product of the translator in order that the text would correspond to the features in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, a typical sūtra addressing “rebirth in *Sukhāvātī*.”

5. 2 Item 1 and Item 2 of the Second Vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*

Concerning the formation of item 1 (no women are born in *Sukhāvātī*), two points should be considered. First, the forms of items 1 and 5 of the 2nd vow in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* are akin to the 12th and the 13th vows of the

⁷¹ On the formation of the FEP and these lines, see Xiao 2012a.

Karuṇāpuḍarīka, where “no women born in *Sukhāvati*” is placed next to “Rebirth by Transformation on a Lotus Flower” — these vows appear in all versions of the *Bēihuá jīng*. Secondly, items 1 and 5 of the second vow in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* are unique among the vows of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*, in that no counterparts appear in the vows of any versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*.

On the other hand, the fulfillment passages in the *Píngděngjué jīng* cannot be considered as evidence, because almost all of the fulfillment passages in the *Píngděngjué jīng* are just a copy of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, as I pointed out above⁷². Accordingly, item 1 paired with item 5 in the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is unique in the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. I do not agree with Fujita’s suggestion⁷³ that the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* represents the original form, which must be earlier than its counterparts in versions of the Later Recension of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. If Fujita’s suggestion is true, we might not be able to answer the question of why some items of this vow have disappeared together with those features discussed in section 2 above. For example, both the doctrine of the stupa in the 6th vow and the doctrine of *zhāijiù* in the 6th and the 7th vow have disappeared in all later versions⁷⁴.

Item 2, “Transformation of Women into Men”, is the most popular item of the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, which has its counterpart in all remaining versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*, except the *Píngděngjué*

⁷² Cf. footnote 25 of this paper.

⁷³ Cf. Fujita 2007, pp. 339–340.

⁷⁴ According to Shizutani, in the period of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, the doctrine of “No Women in *Sukhāvati*”, “Rebirth by Transformation on a Lotus Flower”, etc. were very popular in the period of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. In the *Píngděngjué jīng*, these doctrines had become accepted throughout the period of the *Píngděngjué jīng* so that the author forgot to compile those into the vows owing to negligence. At the period of the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*, the author of the sūtra restored this vow, the 35th, again in the vows of the *Wúliàng shòu jīng* (see Shizutani 1974, p. 56). This idea, of course, does not appear to be founded on any philological evidence.

jīng. It is worth noting that its counterparts in other versions are connected to the doctrine of “hearing Amitābha’s name,” known as *Wēnmíng chéngnán* (see table 4). On the contrary, the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is the one without this feature, although the doctrine of “hearing Amitābha’s name” still appears in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. Accordingly, the original form of the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is probably akin to the 35th vow of the Sanskrit version and the *Wúlàngshòu jīng*.

In sum, the first part of the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is not in the original style of the Indian text. It is just a revision by its Chinese translator(s). The original form is probably in a form akin to the 35th vow of the extant Sanskrit version. The translator compiled a number of items in combination in one vow as we find in the extant form of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*.

6. The Formation of the 11th Vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*

In addition to the 2nd vow, the 11th vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* also refers to women in the Pure Land. In the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* scene, only the *Dà āmítuó jīng* contains two vows referring to women in the Pure Land⁷⁵. On the other hand, it is notable that two vows, the 2nd and the 11th, are problematic in meaning. That no women exist in *Sukhāvātī* has been clearly stated in the 2nd vow in advance; nevertheless, the 11th vow repeatedly emphasizes that all bodhisattvas and arhats in *Sukhāvātī* neither have minds that think of women, nor lascivious minds. The context of the 11th vow and a preliminary translation is as follows:

【大阿】第十一願：使某作佛時，令我國中諸菩薩、阿羅漢，皆無有淫
 泆之心；終無念婦女意，終無有瞋怒、愚癡者。得是願乃作佛。

⁷⁵ In contrast, the *Bēihuá jīng* contains three vows on women in each version. Their numbers and titles in Ujitani’s book are as follows: the 13th vow, *muyū nyonin* 無有女人; the 49th vow, *monmyō tennyō* 聞名轉女; the 50th vow, *metsugo tennyō* 滅後轉女 (Ujitani 1969, pp. 74-109).

不得是願終不作佛。(T12, p.301c17–c20)

The Eleventh Vow: When I attain Buddhahood, may all the bodhisattvas and arhats in my country not have lascivious minds, minds that think of women, or be angry and stupid. Should this vow be fulfilled, then I will become a Buddha. Should this vow not be fulfilled, I will never become a Buddha.

According to Harrison, “neither of these passages⁷⁶ in T361 and T362 appear in any other version of the text, but their message is clear enough. They reinforce the point that women take rebirth in *Sukhāvātī* as men, and having done so, have no more thought of women⁷⁷.....” It is tempting to agree that what Harrison has stated is true; namely that the author of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* reinforces the point that women take rebirth in *Sukhāvātī* as men. After all, both the 2nd and the 11th vows refer to women in the Pure Land, and this feature does not appear in other versions of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha*. Yet Harrison’s idea is simply based on the point that the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is the version that closely reflects the original form of Pure Land Buddhism. Obviously, Harrison did not consider of the possibility that the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is just a revision by its Chinese translator. Another problem with Harrison’s idea is that he did not realize that the non-existence of women in the Pure Land is just one of the features in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, and we should seriously consider whether something of an internal relationship is evident between this feature and others⁷⁸.

As a matter of fact, there are three internal corresponding relationships

⁷⁶ “These passages” in Harrison’s suggestion probably means that the 11th vow, and its fulfillment article, which reads: 皆心淨潔、無所貪慕、終無瞋怒、淫泆之心、愚癡之態。無有邪心念婦女意……(T12, pp. 303c22–23); cf. the counterpart of these lines in the *Píngděngjué jīng* (T12, p. 283b7–8)

⁷⁷ See Harrison 1998: 563.

⁷⁸ If we simply conclude that this is an original feature of Pure Land Buddhism, the historical fact will continue to be buried for a long time. This problem not only appears in Harrison’s research but exists in academia generally.

— syntaxes, morphology and contents — between the 11th vow and the FEP placed in the later part of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, all of which have been overlooked in Harrison’s study. The 11th vow is simply a typical example demonstrating that the vows of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* have something of a connection to the FEP placed in the late part of the *sūtra*⁷⁹. When one pays attention to the morphology, the syntax and the contents, it is not difficult to see through the internal relationships implied by the 11th vow, and to discern the author’s intention in revising it.

Considering the morphology of the 11th vow, it comprises four synonyms⁸⁰. They are *yīnyì zhīxīn* 淫泆之心⁸¹ “lustful minds”; *niàn fùnǚyì* 念婦女意⁸² “minds thinking of women”, *chēnnù* 瞋怒⁸³ “anger” and *yúchī* 愚癡⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Concerning the FEP, see Xiao 2012a. Also cf. footnote 41 of this paper.

⁸⁰ In addition to these synonyms, the term 菩薩阿羅漢 also plays an important role in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. A detailed discussion on this term see Xiao 2014a, b.

⁸¹ This character is also written as *yín* 淫 in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. On the character 淫 see HD5: 1389; and 淫 see HD4: 373. The term 淫泆 or 淫泆 appear seven times in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* and there is no counterpart in the Sanskrit version of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. It is worth noting that this term also appears in the FEP. In contrast, this term does not appear in the *Píngděngjué jīng*’s vows. For a discussion of this term, see Xiao 2012a, pp. 37–38.

⁸² The term 婦女 appears six times, 婦人 appears two times, and the character 婦 appears 17 times in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. All of them have no counterparts in the present Sanskrit version of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. These suggest that the contexts, together with above terms or characters, are probably not derived from the Sanskrit version of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*, but are simply the work of the sutra’s translator.

⁸³ This term 瞋怒 appears 12 times in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*; in particular, this term also appears in the FEP. In contrast, this term is not used in the vows of the *Píngděngjué jīng*.

⁸⁴ The term 愚癡 appears 12 times in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, as well as in the FEP; for example, “心不計慮，愚癡於愛欲，不解於道德，迷惑於瞋怒” (T12, pp. 312b26–27), so we can clearly see that 愚癡, 愛欲, and 瞋怒 etc. are repeatedly reinforced here and there in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. The term *dàodé* 道德 is a typical Chinese term in Daoism, the *Lao Tzu* 老子 is also abbreviated as the *Dàodé jīng* 道德經.

“stupidity”. Here, three poisons — avarice, anger and stupidity — are addressed by these four synonyms but avarice is highlighted by two synonyms referring to sexual desires. On the other hand, it is notable that these four synonyms are just the antonyms of the terms *zhāijiè qīngjìng* 齋戒清淨⁸⁵ ‘purifying ascetic practice’, *duàn àiyù* 斷愛欲 ‘discarding sexual desire’ and *zhìhuì* 智慧 ‘wisdom’, appearing in the 6th and 7th vows. Because the 6th and the 7th vows are the ones that state the conditions of rebirth in *Sukhāvātī*⁸⁶, undoubtedly these terms play an important role in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. In fact, we can clearly read the intention of the translator’s amendment of the vows of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* on the basis of these terms placed in the following table.

Table 9

Synonymis in 大阿	Antonyms in 大阿
淫泆之心 ⇄ 念婦女意 ⇄ 愛欲 ⁸⁷ ≡ 行亂他人婦女 ⁸⁸	無淫泆之心 ⇄ 斷愛欲 ⇄ 齋戒清淨 ⇄ 不當與女人交通 ⇄ 莫與婦人同床 ⁸⁹
瞋怒 ⇄ 愚癡	智慧 ⁹⁰ ⇄ 作善 ⁹¹
No counterpart exists in the vows of the Sanskrit version of the <i>LSukh</i> .	

⁸⁵ On the term *zhāijiè qīngjìng* in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, see Xiao 2010, and 2012a.

⁸⁶ On the formation of the 6th–7th vow, see Xiao 2011.

⁸⁷ The term 愛欲 appears 16 times in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, and it does not have a counterpart in the Sanskrit version of the Large *Sukhāvātīvyūha*.

⁸⁸ This line appears in the FEP (T12, p. 314b17).

⁸⁹ Both of the contexts 不當與女人交通 and 莫與婦人同床, which can be considered synonyms of the term 齋戒清淨, appear in the articles of three grades of rebirth in *Sukhāvātī*. Of course, neither of them have a counterpart in any version of the Later Recension of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha*, particularly the Sanskrit version and the Tibetan translation. Accordingly, these words, including the contexts of 齋戒清淨, are the creations of the translator of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*.

⁹⁰ The term 智慧 appears 43 times in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, and needs to be studied more in future. Rebirth in *Sukhāvātī* in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* not only aims at overcoming Samsara but also at attaining the wisdom of *Amitābha* Buddha, see Xiao (2009, p. 77).

⁹¹ It is worth noting that this term - *zuōshàn* 作善 ‘gaining merit’ - repeatedly appears over 40 times in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, and does not have a counterpart in the Sanskrit version. For a discussion of this term, see Xiao 2012a, pp. 35–37.

Consider the syntax of the 2nd and 11th vows. The syntax used here is completely the same — a typically negative form 無有⁹². It is worth noting that, in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, the syntax 無有 repeatedly appears about 80 times; in particular, this syntax both frequently appears in the vows⁹³ and in the FEP, which suggest to us that the first part of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, (including the vows), and the FEP placed in the second part of the sūtra were the work of the same person.

Or consider the content of the 11th vow. The content of three poisons also corresponds to the FEP, because these are also labeled as *Sandoku goakudan* 三毒五惡段 by Japanese scholars. In Buddhism, the discarding sexual desire is known as *fànhèn* 梵行⁹⁴ and, in Japanese, *bongyō* (“ascetic practices”). The purpose of the translator is to reinforce that sexual desire is the worst of three poisons, hence the importance of cultivating ascetic practices for one’s rebirth in *Sukhāvatī*. The translator’s tendency can be clearly seen in not only in the 11th vow, but also in the 6th and the 7th vows; indeed, even in the whole of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. No words are better than the following contexts which express the author’s intention in the 11th vow:

⁹² Cf. HD7:97, see character *wú* 無. One example from the 19th chapter of *Lao Tzu* 老子 reads: 絕巧棄利, 盜賊無有 ‘Banish skill, discard profit, And thieves and robbers will disappear’ (Waley 1999, p. 30).

⁹³ For example, this syntax can be seen in the 1st-2nd, the 11th vow and the 19-20th vow. By contrast with the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, in the *Píngděngjué jīng*, 無有 only appears in the 1st and 15th vows. On the other hand, in the 12th and 14th vows of the *Píngděngjué jīng*, which, separately, correspond to the 20th and 19th vows of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, 無有 has been revised to 無能, even though they are similar in meaning.

⁹⁴ Its Sanskrit term is ‘*brahmacarya*’, cf. Nakamura 2001, p.1544, see the term *bonggyō* 梵行.

【大阿】諸愚癡者即更點慧，諸有姪者皆是梵行，諸瞋怒者悉皆慈心作善⁹⁵
(T12, p. 316c19–20)。

This might be tentatively translated as follows:

Stupid people will become crafty and intelligent, and those who have lustful desires will all preform ascetic practices. Fractious people, also, will perform good deeds with benevolent minds.

The counterpart of this vow in the *Píngděngjué jīng* is the 10th vow which may be rendered as:

【清淨】十，我作佛時，我國中人民有愛欲者，我不作佛(T12, p. 281b06–07)。

No.10: When I become a Buddha, if people in my country have lustful desires, may I never become a Buddha.

Please note: the syntax of the 10th vow of the *Píngděngjué jīng* is not a negative sentence such as the syntax used in the 11th of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, but has changed into an affirmative sentence. This clue suggests that the author of the FEP is no one other than the *Dà āmítuó jīng*'s translator, or one of the translators, because the negative syntax 無有 appears frequently in the FEP. On the other hand, although the 11th vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, and the 10th of the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*, are labeled as *Sokutoku rojin* 速得漏尽⁹⁶, this suggestion is probably based largely on the premiss that the 10th vow of the *Píngděngjué jīng* is the counterpart of the 11th vow of the *Dà*

⁹⁵ The counterpart of this line in the *Píngděngjué jīng* reads: 愚癡者則皆有點慧，諸有姪洗瞋怒者皆悉慈心作善，諸有被毒者毒皆不行 (T12, pp. 298c21–22). The term 作善 also in contrast with appears in the 5-6th, the 22th and 24th vow in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, this term only appears in the 13th vow of the *Píngděngjué jīng*, which it simply follows its counterpart, the 24th vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* (See Ōta 2004, pp. 50–51) .

⁹⁶ Cf. Kagawa 1984, pp. 45–46, or pp. 112–113; also cf. Karashima 1999, p. 146 footnote No. 74; also see Ōta 2004, pp. 48–49. In addition to this suggestion, Fujita labeled the 11th vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* as *mu-injinchi* 無淫嗔癡 “discarding sexual desire, anger, and stupidity”, which it is closer to its original meaning, but he suggests a different point on its counterpart in other versions of the Larger *Sukkhāvativyūha* (Fujita 1970, pp. 382–384, or 2007, pp. 305–308).

āmítuó jīng, and that the order of all vows in the *Píngděngjué jīng* are almost the same as the order of the first half of the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*. Obviously, it has been overlooked that the features of ‘discarding sexual desires’ and ‘cultivating ascetic practices’ are deliberately emphasized in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* by the translator. The 36th vow of the *Wúliàngshòu jīng* is just about constantly cultivating ascetic practice, namely *jyōsyū bongyō* 常修梵行, and I prefer to think that the 11th vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* should be the parallel with the 36th vow in the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*. Undoubtedly, the 10th vow of the *Píngděngjué jīng* is just a revision of the 11th vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, and is, in turn, similar in meaning to the following words which resemble the 36th vow of the *Wúliàngshòu jīng* as follows:

When I become a Buddha, if people in my country do not perform ascetic practices, may I never become a Buddha.

【無量】設我得佛，十方無量不可思議諸佛世界，諸菩薩眾聞我名字，壽終之後常修梵行至成佛道；若不爾者，不取正覺 (T12, p. 268c25 — 27).

A translation by Inagaki is as follows:

*If, when I become a Buddha, the Bodhisattvas in the immeasurable and inconceivable Buddha-lands of the ten quarters who have heard my Name should not, after their passing, always perform sacred practices until they reach Buddhahood, may I not attain perfect enlightenment.*⁹⁷

The 37th vow in the Tibetan version⁹⁸, the 36th vow of the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*

⁹⁷ See Inagaki 1995, p. 37. Cf. Gómez 1996, p. 170. Please note: in Inagaki’s work, *bongyō* is considered as ‘sacred practices’, but as ‘continuously live the chaste life of the renunciant’ in Gómez’s work.

⁹⁸ The 37th vow of the Tibetan version is: *bcom ldan ’das gal te bdag byang chub thob pa’ i tshé / sangs rgyas kyi zhing d’bag tu ma mchis / grangs ma mchis bsam gyis mi khyab / mtshungs pa ma mchis / tshad ma machis pa dag na sems can gang dag gis bdag gi ming thos par gyur la ming thos pa tsam gyis byang chub kyi snying po’i mtha’i bar du tshangs par spyod par ma gyur pa de srid du bdag bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa’i byang chub mngon par rdzogs par ’tshang rgya bar mi bgyi’ol* (Jōzen Vol. 23, p. 250). Cf. Fujita 2011, p. 22.

and the *Rúláihùi*, and the 27th vow of the *Zhuāngyán jīng* correspond to the 11th vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, though no counterpart exists in the existing Sanskrit version. The corresponding relationship of the 11th vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* to its counterpart in other versions of the Large *Sukhāvatīvyūha* can be shown as follows:

Table 10

大阿	清淨	無量	如來	莊嚴	Sanskrit Version	Tibetan Translation
The 11 th	The 10 th	The 36 th	The 36 th	The 27 th	N/A	The 36 th

In contrast with the Large *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, there is a parallel vow appearing in all versions of the *Bēihuá jīng*. The counterpart in the Sanskrit version of the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka* is the 26th vow, which is also entitled *Jyōsyū bongyō*. Its Sanskrit context and a preliminary translation is as follows.

“*ye cātra sattvā upapadyeyur yāvad bodhiparyantena brahmacāriṇaḥ syuḥ*” (KP, p. 108: 9–10)⁹⁹

“*All beings who are born there must perform ascetic practices until they attain Buddhahood*”.

Through the above comparison, we can see clearly that the 11th vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, and the 10th vow of the *Píngděngjué jīng*, are closer in meaning to their counterparts in all versions of the *Bēihuá jīng*, than to their counterparts in the Large *Sukhāvatīvyūha* system indicated in the above table, though both of the them relate to ‘Cultivating Ascetic Practices’. The vows in the *Bēihuá jīng*, and two oldest versions of the Early Recension of

⁹⁹ Its counterpart in 悲華 reads: 所有眾生乃至成阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。不行不淨 (T3, p. 184a06–08); and in 分陀 reads: 願使眾生來生中者, 乃至菩提際常具梵行 (T3, p. 249c24–25). Also cf. Ujitani 1969, p. 88.

the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*, pertain to the people¹⁰⁰ in *Sukhāvātī*, by contrast with the bodhisattvas in the immeasurable and inconceivable Buddha-lands of ten quarters who heard Amitābha’s Name in the versions of the Later Recension of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* .

In summary, the 11th vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is not the one faithfully translated from its original text, but a revision by the translator. The original text of the 11th vow is in the same style as that of the 26th vow of the Sanskrit version of the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka*, namely *Jyōsyū bongyō*. The intention of the translator’s amendment is to reinforce the importance of “Constantly Cultivating Ascetic Practice”, as he did in different ways through the 6th vow and the 7th vow, as well as here and there throughout the sūtra. The 10th vow of the *Píngděngjué jīng* is just a revision of the 11th vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*.

7. The *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka* and The *Dà āmítuó jīng*

With regard to the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka*, over the last century many scholars have expended considerable effort in researching the relationship of the vows in the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* and the *Bēihuá jīng*. I would like to thank Kazunori Iwagami for his detailed investigation of the *Bēihuá jīng* which has made it easier for others working in this field¹⁰¹.

7. 1 Kazunori IWAGAMI

In 2012, Kazunori completed his dissertation on the *Bēihuá jīng*, entitled 悲

¹⁰⁰ It is notable that the 11th vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is the one relating to all the bodhisattvas and arhats. A detailed discussion on the formation of the term 菩薩阿羅漢 in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* will be undertaken in a separate paper (see Xiao, 2014b).

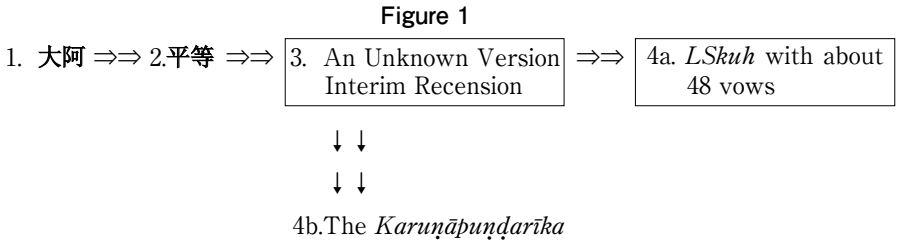
¹⁰¹ Cf. Iwagami 2010. An English translation on the previous studies on the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka* and the *Dà āmítuó jīng* based on Kazunori’s investigation will be undertaken in a separate paper (cf. Xiao 2014b).

華經)の研究—釈迦五百誓願を中心として(*A Study of the Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka: Focusing on Śākyamuni's Five-hundred Vows*), arguably the most substantial research on the *Bēihuá jīng* since Ujitani. In the last chapter of his work, Kazunori pays attention to the relationships between the vows in the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka* and those in the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. He follows the lead of previous scholars which suggest that Amitābha's vows in the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka* were formed later than those in the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. Iwagami also have paid attention to the fact, however, that at least four vows¹⁰² and the feature of that Amitābha Buddha's lifespan is not measureless in the *Bēihuá jīng* are quite consistent with those counterparts in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, which are unique in the vows of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. With regard to lifespan of Amitābha, two situations appear in the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. In the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, Amitābha's lifespan is not measureless, but be in *nirvāṇa*. By contrast, Amitābha's lifespan is measureless in the remaining versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. On the other hand, in the all versions of the *Bēihuá jīng*, Amitābha's life is not measureless, which is akin to that in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. Accordingly, Kazunori pointed out that previous scholars are unable to explain that the vows of the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka* are a revision of those in a version of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* with about 48 vows (see Iwagami 2012; 2013, pp. 239-259).

In order to overcome the limitations of some of the traditional approaches to this problem, Iwagami proposed a new hypothesis. He suggested that there was an unknown version of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* - an 'Interim Recension' - which existed earlier than the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka* and the vows

¹⁰² The four vows in the *Bēihuá jīng* are : 1) the 13th, *guówú nǚrén* 国無女人 'No Women Existing in that Land'; 2) the 12th, *huàshēng* 化生 'Rebirth by Transformation on a Lotus Flower'; 3) the 35th, *rú dìliùtiān* 如第六天 'Like in the Sixth Heaven and; 4) the 42nd vow, *Púsà wúshù* 菩薩無數 "Immeasurable Bodhisattvas". As we discussed in above, whether seen from the perspective of structure or content, both the 12-13th vow of the *Bēihuá jīng* and the 2nd vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* are extremely similar.

derived from it (see figure 1). As far as knowledge I am aware, Kazunori was not the first scholar to focus on this traditional point of view, but was the first to offer a new suggestion to help overcome this difficulty. The unknown Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* was supposed to contain about forty-eight vows; nevertheless, some special features in the *Dà āmituó jīng*'s vows were retained. The following figure depicts Iwagami's idea¹⁰³.



I agree with Iwagami's suggestion that previous scholars' assumption is unable to explain that the vows of the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka* are a revision of those in a version of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* with about 48 vows, seeing as at least four vows in the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka* correspond to the those in the *Dà āmituó jīng* (which do not have a counterparts in later versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*)¹⁰⁴.

However, I do not agree with his hypothesis that an unknown version of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* — an 'Interim Recension' — ever existed, and that it was the source of the vows of the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka*. At least the following two points have been overlooked in Iwagami's assessment. First, why were some features of the *Dà āmituó jīng*'s vows retained in this pur-

¹⁰³ Cf. Iwagami 2012, or 2013, pp. 239–259.

¹⁰⁴ In addition, at least one more vow, the 11th vow of the *Dà āmituó jīng* discussed in the sixth section above, is closer to its counterparts in the all versions of the *Bēihúá jīng* rather than its counterparts in the remaining versions of the Later Recension of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*.

ported version, but do not appear in the *Píngděngjué jīng*, which was an earlier version than that supposed unknown version? Secondly, why did these features, corresponding to the *Dà āmítuó jīng*'s vows, remain in the alleged Interim Recension but have disappeared in later versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* without trace? In other words, Iwagami has overlooked the insights provided by the *Píngděngjué jīng*¹⁰⁵.

7. 2 *The Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka and the Dà āmítuó jīng*

In light of above investigation, undoubtedly, previous scholars' assumptions are unable to explain how the vows of the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka* are a revision of those in the version of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* with about 48 vows. Neither can Iwagami's assumption explain this difficulty. However, the following points suggest another possibility.

The first question is why the forms of the vows in the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka* are more original, so much so that they are undeveloped, than those in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. The *Dà āmítuó jīng* is the oldest version of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* and is also considered one of the earliest Mahāyāna sūtras, and thus as the earliest form which represents the original Pure Land sutras and earliest Mahāyāna sūtras. It seems, however, that the fact is just the opposite of this conventional understanding. In the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, the form of the vows are very neat and complete so that no one doubts that it comprises twenty-four vows, though some of them comprise more than one item. One feature in the vows of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*, for instance, is an ordinal numeral indicating the vows' order, such as “第一願; 第二願; ……第二十四願,” which has been specially attached in front of each vow. But this feature can only be seen in two of the oldest versions of the Larger

¹⁰⁵ On the importance of the *Píngděngjué jīng* in the field of the formation of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*, see Xiao 2010.

*Sukhāvativyūha*¹⁰⁶. However, in the vows of the remaining versions, this kind of ordinal numeral has altogether disappeared. This suggests that the *Dà āmituó jīng*, the so-called the oldest version of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*, does not represent the original form of the Indian text. On the contrary, the forms of the vows in the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka* represent more original ones than those in the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* – even the question of how many vows in the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka* is still vague due to a lack of uniformity in their structure. This feature has been discussed in Ujitani’s book, but they did not realize that the *Dà āmituó jīng* is just a revision so he did not take the matter seriously¹⁰⁷.

The second problem is why so many features discussed in section 2 above, together with the items 1 and 3 of the second vow, along with the 11th vow and 20th vows of the *Dà āmituó jīng*, all disappeared in the remaining versions of Large *Sukhāvativyūha*. On the contrary, all these features have been retained in all versions of the *Bēihuá jīng*. Scholars commonly believed that the formation of the vows in different versions of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* has undergone an evolutionary process, which proceeded from the earliest version of twenty-four vows, to the second version of twenty-four vows¹⁰⁸, and then to thirty-six vows, finally ending in forty-eight vows. If this is true, then one might ask why such an evolutionary process

¹⁰⁶ In the *Píngděngjué jīng*, they are revised to a cardinal numeral: “一；二；……；二十四。” Obviously, those cardinal numbers attached in the front of each vow of the *Píngděngjué jīng* are a revision of those in the vows of the *Dà āmituó jīng*. And those ordinal numerals in the vows of the *Dà āmituó jīng* are created by the translator of the *Dà āmituó jīng*.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Ujitani 1969, pp. 45-145.

¹⁰⁸ Please note: the oldest version of Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* was not recognized as the *Dà āmituó jīng* until Fujita published his research in 1970. So, except for Iwagami, all of the other scholars discussed in Iwagami’s dissertation probably considered that the oldest version of Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* is not the *Dà āmituó jīng*, but the *Píngděngjué jīng*.

only occurs in the Chinese translations of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. On the contrary, the vows in all versions of the *Bēihuá jīng* do not represent these differences at all, although two Chinese translations of the *Bēihuá jīng*, 分陀 and 悲華, present marked differences both in the names of bodhisattvas and the names of Buddhas¹⁰⁹.

The third problem is why the form of the vows referring to “No Women Existing in *Sukhāvati*” and “Rebirth by Transformation on a Lotus Flower” in two sūtras are extremely similar. Items 1 and 3 of the second vow in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* have been compiled in combination with one vow, and the 12th and 13th vows in the *Bēihuá jīng* have been grouped together, in proximity to one another. This kind of corresponding relationship suggests that the two sūtras must have some kind of connections. However, it is difficult to consider that items 1 and 2 of the second vow are the translation from the original text of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, but are the productions by the translator at the time while the *Dà āmítuó jīng* was translated into Chinese.

The fourth question is why the 11th vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is closer to the 26th vow of the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka* than to the 36th vow of the *Wúliàngshòu jīng* as discussed earlier. Obviously, the 11th vow in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* does not retain its original form, but constitutes a revision based on the translator’s notion. If the difference between the 11th vow in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* and the 36th vow in the *Wúliàngshòu jīng* can be considered as an evolution from the earliest version to the later version of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*, why did this evolution not occur in the vows of the *Bēihuá jīng*? Furthermore why does the 26th vow in all versions of the *Bēihuá jīng* still retain an earlier form, which is akin to the 11th vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, than the 36th vow of the the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*, the *Rúláihuì*, and the Tibetan translation of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*?

When one considers the above-mentioned features with the conclusion

¹⁰⁹ Ujitani 1969, p. 14.

that the *Dà āmítuó jīng* does not represent its original form, but is only just a revision as pointed out in my previous paper (see Xiao 2011, and 2012a, b), one can only conclude that the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is a combined revision, and some of the vows in this version, for instance the second vow, referred to those in the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka*. In other words, in the period when the *Dà āmítuó jīng* was translated into Chinese, the forty-eight vows of Amitābha presented in the *Bēihua jīng* were already in existence.

Conclusions

The following conclusions can be drawn based on the above investigations:

Firstly, the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* comprises five items with the first half of the second vow consisting of three items: (i) 国無女人, (ii) 轉女成男 and (iii) 女人往生; the second half of this vow includes two items: (iv) 菩薩阿羅漢無數 and (v) 蓮華化生. The second vow does not reflect the original form of the original Indian text but is a combined revision, a part of which is fabricated based on innovations of the translator.

Secondly, the three items of the first part of the second vow do not represent the original form and the first part has been combined by the sūtra's translator into three items. The original form of this part is probably similar in form to the 35th vow of the Sanskrit version of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*.

Thirdly, item 3, “Women’s Rebirth in *Sukhāvātī*,” comprises fabricated content that was inserted by the translator in order that the doctrine of “Transformation of Women into Men” in its original text could correspond to the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, which is a typical sūtra relating, in detail, rebirth in *Sukhāvātī*. The corresponding item in the 27th vow of the *Zhuāngyán jīng* is just a combined version of item 3 of the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* and the 35th vow of the *Rúlāihui*.

Furthermore, the formation of item 1 is paired with item 5 of the second

vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*. They are not a translation from the original text of the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, but were compiled in combination with other items into the second vow when the sūtra was translated into Chinese. Concerning item 5 of the second vow (in relation to *huàshēng*), I agree with Fujita's suggestion that the origin of this term is *aupaṭāduka* or *upaṭāduka*, which is same as the one in the Later Recension. However, the formation of this term in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is derived from a system different to that of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. In other words, item 5 together with item 1, was compiled into the second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* at the time the sūtra was translated into Chinese.

Moreover, the 11th vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is not the form found in the original text, but a revision of the translator based on a vow regarding *Jōshu bongyō* 常修梵行 “Constantly Cultivating Ascetic Practice”. The intention of the translator was to reinforce the importance of cultivating ascetic practice as he also aimed to do in the 6th vow, the 7th vow and, here and there, in the whole sūtra. The 11th vow is a typical example which serves to demonstrate that there is a connection between the vows of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* with the FEP that are placed in the later part of the sūtra. The 11th vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is more similar to the 26th vow of the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka* than to the 36th vow of the *Wúliàngshòu jīng*, the *Rúláihui* and the Tibetan translation of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*.

Moreover, item 4 of the second vow in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, 菩薩阿羅漢無數, a significant feature in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, has not been discussed here due to space limitations. A Japanese summary and a detailed discussion in English connected with this topic will be undertaken in a separate paper. By way of conclusion, item 4 of the second vow was inserted by the translator in order to emphasize the importance of the bodhisattva doctrine (see Xiao 2014a, b).

Finally, concerning the relationship between the vows in the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka* and the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, no evidence can establish that

the vows in the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka* are a revision of a version of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*. On the contrary, much evidence indicates that the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is just a revision based on the translator's ideas. Therefore, only one possibility suggests itself – some vows of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* had been compiled with reference to those in the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka*. The second vow of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is simply an example of this, with items 1 and 5 of this vow having been derived from the 12th and 13th vows of the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka*. It is difficult to imagine that there was an original text with twenty-four vows, akin to those in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, even though scholars continue to look for it. Therefore, during the time when the *Dà āmítuó jīng* was translated into Chinese, the forty-eight vows, akin to those in the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka*, had already been in existence. Twenty-four is a special number in Chinese culture, as it corresponds to twenty-four solar terms, so-called *jiéqì* 節氣, of a year as I suggested in an earlier paper¹¹⁰. The translator of the *Dà āmítuó jīng* deliberately compiled the vows into twenty-four so that the number of the vows was able to correspond to the concepts of *zìrán* 自然 “nature” and *wúwéi* 無爲 “no-ado”, in number, which are significant terms that frequently appear in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*¹¹¹.

Concerning Karashima's crafted argument¹¹², not all the sūtras that were translated into Chinese have been preserved. FEP in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* is a good example of this. Even though FEP has been revised based

¹¹⁰ Cf. Xiao 2009a, p. 272. The whole of twenty-four solar terms firstly appears in the chapter of the *Tiānwén* 天文 in *Huáinánzi* 淮南子, a typical Taoist work formed in the Han dynasty.

¹¹¹ On the term of *zìrán* in the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*, cf. Sueki 1980, or, Mori 1986, pp. 195–218.

¹¹² I appreciate Karashima's suggestion very much, and this problem will also be discussed in detail in another paper. He argued that if an unknown version of the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka* had existed in advance during the period when the *Dà āmítuó jīng* was translated into Chinese, why was that Indian manuscript of the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka* not translated into Chinese?

on one or several unknown texts, and been inserted in the *Dà āmítuó jīng*, it must have been derived from one or more Buddhist texts. Obviously, the author of FEP was a Buddhist, though he is likely to have had a strong background in Chinese literature and culture.

Abbreviations

- HD=*Hànyǔ dàcídiān* 漢語大詞典, 13 vols. Shanghai: *Hànyǔ dàcídiān chūbānshè* 漢語大詞典出版社。
- Jōdo shū=*Jōdo shū daijiten* 淨土宗大辭典, 3 vols. *Jōdo shū daijiten hensan iinkai* 淨土宗大辭典編纂委員會, 1980.
- Jōzen=*Jōdo shū zenshyo* 淨土宗全書, vol.23, *Sankibo busho rin*, Tokyo.
- KP= *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka*, *Edited with Introduction and Notes*, ed. by Isshi Yamada, vol. vol.II

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Women in the Pure Land

『大阿弥陀経』の本願文の菩薩思想の観点から —, [The *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka* and the *Dà āmituó jīng*. On the Basis of the Bodhisattva Doctrine in the Vows of the *Dà āmituó jīng*] *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, 印度學佛教學研究, Vol. 62 (2).

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The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Amitābha's Original Vows: The *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka* and the *Dà āmituó jīng*.

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〈概要〉

浄土へ往生する女性たち

— 仏教漢語学の新視点 —

肖 越

本論は、仏教漢語学の方法論を通じて、『大阿弥陀経』の第2願と第11願の成立を焦点とし、『大阿弥陀経』の誓願文と〈悲華経〉の誓願文との成立関係に関して、文献学的視点から再検討するものである。全論は、七章からなる。

第一章では、『大阿弥陀経』の第2願の構成を中心に検討する。その第2願は、前半の「国無女人」「転女成男」「女人往生」という三つの願事と、後半の「菩薩・阿羅漢無数」「蓮華化生」という二つの願事からなる。そして、以上のそれぞれの願事と〈無量寿経〉諸本の願文との関係を改めて検討した。更に、「国無女人」と「蓮華化生」は、〈悲華経〉の第13願と第12願によく対応することを焦点とし、『大阿弥陀経』の第2願が、〈悲華経〉の誓願文と深い関連性を持つことを示した。

第二章では、『大阿弥陀経』における四つの特異性を論じる。その一つ目は、複数の願事を一つの誓願に纏めること。二つ目は、「五悪段」と誓願文を含む経典前半とは、同じ主旨で書かれたこと。三つ目は、誓願文には二重対応関係を持つこと。四つ目は、誓願文には純粹の重複と用語の重複という二重重複の特異性を持つこと。『大阿弥陀経』の成立を検討するには、単に個別に問題を検討するだけでなく、以上の四つの特異性を取り入れながら総合的に判断すべきであるという方法論を指摘した。

第三章では、平川彰、藤田宏達、香川孝雄、Paul Harrison 四氏の研究を取り上げながら、〈無量寿経〉における「女人往生」に関する研究状況を紹介する。それを通じて、この課題を検討する際に、第2願の前半の女人に関する内容だけではなく、第2願の後半の内容、及び第二章に示した

諸特異性を合わせて同時に検討すべきであるという方法論を強調した。

第四章では、〈無量寿経〉諸本における二つの「化生」について検討する。『大阿弥陀経』における第2願の「化生」は、「後期無量寿経」の原語 (aupapāduka *or* upapāduka) と同じであるが、それぞれの成立が異なる。「後期無量寿経」のものは、藤田氏の指摘されたように、〈無量寿経〉の原典から訳され、「胎生」と相対の概念として使用されているものである。一方、『大阿弥陀経』における第2願の「化生」は、『大阿弥陀経』の原典から翻訳されたものではなく、漢訳者により〈悲華経〉を参考にして付加されたものであると考えている。

第五章では、『大阿弥陀経』の第2願の前半における三つの願事の成立を検討する。第2願前半は、『大阿弥陀経』の原初形態ではなく、漢訳者が意図的に三つの願事を纏めたものである。具体的に言えば、「国無女人」は、〈無量寿経〉系統から翻訳されたものではなく、後半の「蓮華化生」と同時に別の経典から漢訳者の手により付加されたものだと考えている。「女人往生」は、具体的な経典から出来たものではなく、漢訳者により、往生を説く『大阿弥陀経』の性格と合わせるために付加されたものだと考えている。その第2願の原初形態は、おそらく後期経典の梵本の第35願と同じような形態であると考えている。そして、『莊嚴経』の第27願は、『大阿弥陀経』の第2願の「女人往生」と「後期無量寿経」の『如来会』の第35願に見られる「聞名成男」を参考にして修訂されたものであると考えている。

第六章では、『大阿弥陀経』の第11願の成立を文献学的に解明する。まず、第11願の用語、語法、思想は「五悪段」と対応関係を持つこと、漢訳者によって「常修梵行」を強調するためにその第11願が修訂されたことが明らかになった。そして、『大阿弥陀経』の第11願は、「後期無量寿経」の魏訳の第36願（常修梵行）より、〈悲華経〉の第26願のほうによく類似していることを明らかにした。更に、その第11願の原初形態は、おそらく梵本〈悲華経〉の第26願（常修梵行）と同じような形態ではないかと指摘した。

第七章では、〈悲華經〉の誓願文と『大阿彌陀經』の誓願文との成立順位を再検討する。まず、石上和敬氏の観点について、氏の、従来の説では両經の關係が説明できないところがあるという指摘に、筆者は賛成するが、その問題を解明するための「中期無量壽經」の氏の仮説には、文献学的な基礎がないので筆者は反対する。次に、〈悲華經〉の誓願文は、〈無量壽經〉系統の誓願文を受けたという通説の成立の根拠は、合理的な説明が全く存在しないことを指摘した。一方、『大阿彌陀經』には、修訂、あるいは付加された記が随處に見られるので、合理的な可能性は一つしか考えられない。即ち、『大阿彌陀經』の第2願の「国無女人」「蓮華化生」、また第11願は、〈悲華經〉の誓願文を参考にしたものである。それによれば、『大阿彌陀經』を漢訳した際には、〈悲華經〉の誓願文が、既に成立していたことを、筆者は指摘した。