

The Funeral of Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and Her Followers in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*

Bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā*

This is the second article in a two-part study of the hagiographic narrative of the *parinirvāṇa* of Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and her five hundred *bhikṣuṇī* companions, as told in the *Kṣudrakavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* extant in Tibetan and Chinese translation. Here I take up for translation and study the story of the nuns' funeral, in the aftermath of the *parinirvāṇa* itself.¹

The whole *parinirvāṇa* account is inserted within a *Vinaya* narrative and functions as the origin (*nidāna*) for the promulgation of a minor rule on how a monastic should behave when someone sneezes. In the introductory setting, while teaching the Dharma to the nuns, the Buddha sneezes, leading Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī to wish him long life. The Buddha reproaches Gautamī for such an unsuitable reaction.² Next comes the nuns' *parinirvāṇa*, followed

* Department of Buddhist Studies, Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts, Taiwan.

¹ The first part has appeared in the previous issue of this journal, see Dhammadinnā (2015a). I focus only on the Mūlasarvāstivāda versions; a comprehensive study and translation of the narrative in its parallel versions is under preparation by Jan Nattier. A Sanskrit fragment of Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmanditikā*, SHT 638aa IX in ed. Lüders (1926: 206) [= 1979: 324] that contains a parallel to the first part of the *parinirvāṇa* narrative should be added to the Sanskrit fragments mentioned in Dhammadinnā (2015a: 29–30 note 3).

² The introductory setting is found in D 6, '*dul ba, tha* 110a6 to 111a6 [= Si-K 6, vol. 10, '*dul ba, tha* 277,3 to 279,13, with notes on p. 805] and P 1035, '*dul ba, de* 105b8 to 106b6 and T 1451 at T XXIV 248a18 to b12. I translate and discuss the *Vinaya* introductory setting and the promulgation of the rule that

by their funeral and a discourse on impermanence delivered by the Buddha. When back in his monastery after the nuns' cremation, the Buddha declares that from then on improperly responding to a sneeze is considered a light offence of the wrongdoing class (*duṣkṛta*). After the promulgation of the rule the Buddha relates an *avadāna*, the story of a past life of Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and her followers at the time of the dispensation of the Buddha Kāśyapa. She was the chief queen of King Kṛkī and the five hundred *bhikṣunīs* were his royal concubines. Neglected by the king when they became old, they wished they could have, life after life, youthful bodies until the end of their lives. Through the power of a meritorious action the women performed together, their wish came true in every birth up to the last.

Funerary Homage and the *Avadāna* of Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and Her Followers: Translation of the Tibetan Version³

When they saw that Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and her retinue of five hundred had attained *parinirvāṇa*, they [i.e., the *bhikṣus*] thought: “When the Buddha’s aunt has attained *parinirvāṇa*, an effort should be made in the duties of homage to her body. We must go!” They went to Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī’s residence carrying finely fragrant wood. The Blessed One too, accompanied by his great disciples, including Ājñātakaundīnya, Mahākāśyapa, Vāṣpa, Mahānāma, Aniruddha, Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana and others, as well as another large group of *bhikṣus*, together went to Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī’s residence.

In the same way the King of Kośala, Prasenajit, attended by his retinue of queens, princes, ministers, citizens and people of the countryside, the householder Anāthapiṇḍada surrounded by his own following, Mrgāra’s mother *Sagā, chamberlains *Rṣidatta⁴

encapsulate the *parinirvāṇa* hagiography in a study in preparation on rules of sneezing in the canonical *Vinayas*.

³ The section translated here is from D 6, *'dul ba, tha* 113a1 to 114b4 [= Si-K 6, vol. 10, *'dul ba, tha* 283,12 to 287,18 with apparatus on pp. 806–807] and P 1035, *'dul ba, de* 108a6 to 109b8. The folio numbers within square brackets refer to the text in the Derge edition.

⁴ The proper name of the chamberlain *Rṣidatta, *drang srong byin* (D 6, *'dul ba, tha* 113a4 [= Si-K 6, vol. 10, *'dul ba, tha* 284,4] and P 1035, *'dul ba, de* 108b2), corresponding to 仙餘 in the Chinese version translated below (T 1451 at T XXIV 249a5) and Isidatta in the Pali tradition, cf. Malalasekera

and Pūraṇa, and, in addition to them, crowds of people who had gathered from various places, went to Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī's residence. Then King Prasenajit offered five hundred biers decorated with variegated gems and garments, perfumes, incense, flowers, garlands, parasols, banners and ensigns, and all kinds of musical performances [were executed].⁵

Then the venerable ones Nanda, Aniruddha, Ānanda and Rāhula lifted up Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī's bier. The Blessed One, too, grasped it with his right hand. The rest of the *bhikṣus* lifted up the biers of the remaining *bhikṣuṇīs*. Then they carried them very reverentially and placed the biers in a secluded open area.

Then the Blessed One removed the upper robes from the corpses of Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and the five hundred *bhikṣuṇīs* and addressed the *bhikṣus* thus: ^[13b] “Behold, O *bhikṣus*! Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and these five hundred *bhikṣuṇīs*, even though they are one hundred and twenty years old, have no wrinkles on their bodies, and no grey hair,⁶ just as if they were sixteen-year-old virgins!”

Then the King of Kośala, Prasenajit, his retinue of queens, princes, ministers, citizens and people of the countryside, made piles of different varieties of fragrant woods and cremated Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and the five hundred *bhikṣuṇīs*.

The Blessed One taught the Dharma on the subject of impermanence, and returned to his residence.⁷

After [the Buddha] had returned [to the monastery], he sat

(1997 [1938]: I.320–321, s.v. 2. Isidatta), is, to the best of my knowledge, unattested in the extant Sanskrit sources.

⁵ This scene echoes that of the Malla crowds flocking to pay homage to the Buddha upon hearing of his death; cf. the Sanskrit Mūlasarvāstivāda *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, ed. Waldschmidt (1951: III.418,16–420,7) (§ 47.21–23), the Tibetan Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, ed. Waldschmidt (1951: III.419,18–421,7) (§ 47.21–23), and the Chinese Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1451 at T XXIV 401a3–8, translated in Waldschmidt (1951: III.419–421); for a comparative study of this episode in the different discourse parallels to the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* cf. Waldschmidt (1948: II.282–284).

⁶ The absence of wrinkles and grey hair is not mentioned at the corresponding juncture of the Chinese parallel.

⁷ On the recitation of a Dharma discourse on the theme of impermanence in this passage in the context of monastic funerals in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* cf. Schopen (1997a: 208 with note 25).

down on a seat arranged in the midst of the assembly of *bhikṣus*.

When he had sat down, he told the *bhikṣus*, “*Bhikṣus*, if somebody sneezes, it is a fault to say: ‘May you recover.’ When a *bhikṣu* sees someone who is sneezing, he should refrain from saying: ‘May you live on.’ If one says that, it is an offence of wrong-doing (*duṣkṛta*).”

The *bhikṣus* were perplexed, and questioned the Buddha, the Blessed One, who cuts through all doubts: “What sort of deed did Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and the five hundred *bhikṣuṇīs* personally perform,⁸ whereby, even when they were one hundred and twenty years old, their bodies were without wrinkles and grey hair, with an appearance like sixteen-year-old maidens?”

The Blessed One replied: “*Bhikṣus*, [the result of] the accumulation of [good] deeds is personally received by Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and the five hundred *bhikṣuṇīs*,⁹ the conditions have ripened – persisting almost like a flood – and surely have to be experienced. Who else would experience the deeds that were personally performed and accumulated by this Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and the five hundred *bhikṣuṇīs*?¹⁰

Bhikṣus, the deeds that are performed and accumulated do not ripen in the exterior earth element, water element, fire element and wind element.^[114a] On the contrary, the deeds that are performed and accumulated, be they good or bad, ripen in the aggregates, the elements and the sense bases that are being grasped at.

Not even in hundreds of millions of aeons
Do deeds dwindle away.
When the [necessary] accumulation [of *karma* has been
reached] and the time has come,
The fruit [of *karma*] matures for embodied beings.¹¹

⁸ All editions read *skye dgu'i bdag mo chen mo la sogs pa dge slong ma lnga brgya po dag nyid kyis*, in which the reading *dag nyid kyis* could be grammatically improved to *dag bdag nyid kyis* or *bdag nyid kyis*; see also notes 9 and 10 below.

⁹ For an improved reading see note 8 above.

¹⁰ For an improved reading see note 8 above.

¹¹ The module with the Buddha's exposition is available in Sanskrit in a number of Sanskrit texts stemming from the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition, e.g., the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*'s *Saṅghabhedavastu*, ed. Gnoli (1977: I.145,21–32): *kiṃ bhadanta āyusmatā yaśasā evaṃ bhikṣavaḥ karmāṇi kṛtāny upacitāni*

Bhikṣus, in the bygone past, in this same fortunate aeon, when the life span of human beings used to be twenty thousand years, a Sage (*muni*), the Teacher by the name of Kāśyapa had emerged in the world. He was living in dependence on the city of Vārāṇasī, at the *Rṣivadana, in the Mṛgadāva ... *the same as above*

At the time when the Rightly Fully Awakened One Kāśyapa had already performed all the deeds of a Buddha (*buddha-kārya*) and had attained *parinirvāṇa* – *nirvāṇa* without remainder like a flame that is extinguished – a king called Kṛkī performed the worship of the body (*śarīra-pūjā*) for his body. At the main crossroad he had a *stūpa* built. Made of the four kinds of precious stones, it was one *yojana* in circumference and half a *yojana* in height.

When King Kṛkī's five hundred women, headed by the chief queen, had become old, and wrinkles and grey hair appeared on their bodies, the king abandoned them. They started to talk to each other: 'Why does the great king abandon us now?' [Some] concubines said: 'Why is the lord now abandoning us? Is it because of some action that has been committed by one [of us]? What do you think about it? Is it the case that he abandoned us because our bodies have now become wrinkled and grey-haired?'

Others replied: 'It is indeed so. Now what should we [do] for our lord? Our female bodies being aged, is there anything else we can do together to please him? For that purpose, we should go to the site of the *stūpa* of the Blessed One Kāśyapa, make offerings,¹² and make the aspiration (*prañidhāna*): 'From now on, as long as *samsāra* lasts, may our body be without wrinkles and grey hair.'

They said: 'It will be good, let us do in this way.' They

labdhasambhārāṇi pariṇatapratyayāny oghavat pratyupasthitāny avasyaṃbhāvīni; yaśasā karmāny upacitāni ko 'nyaḥ pratyānubhaviṣyati; na bhikṣavaḥ karmāṇi kṛtāny upacitāni bāhye pṛthivīdhātau vipacyante, nābdhātau, na tejo-dhātau, na vāyudhātau, api tu upāttesv eva skandhadhātāvāyātaneṣu karmāṇi kṛtāni vipacyante, śubhāny aśubhāni ca; na pranaśyanti karmāny api kalpa-śatair api, sāmagrīm prāpya kālam ca phalanti khalu dehinām, the Divyāvadāna II, ed. Cowell and Neil (1886: 54,1–10) and the Avadānaśataka XVI, ed. Speyer (1902–1906: I.91,5–12). The Tibetan is a very close rendering. The module is abbreviated and marked accordingly in the Chinese parallel translated below.

¹² My translation follows the variant reading *mchod pa byas* (cf. the apparatus in Si-K 6, vol. 10, p. 806).

made offerings to the *stūpa* of the Rightly Fully Awakened One Kāśyapa consisting of perfumes, garlands, ^[114b] ointments, parasols, banners and ensigns, spread bouquets of various kinds of sweetly fragrant flowers that would not fade and lovely garlands, and made the aspiration: ‘By whatever wholesome root (*kuśalamūla*) there may be, by our having made these offerings to Kāśyapa, the Blessed One, the Rightly Fully Awakened One who is worthy of offerings and unsurpassable, may we, even when being one hundred and twenty years old, have a body without wrinkles and grey hair.’

Bhikṣus, what do you think? Those who were the chief queen and the five hundred women of King Kṛkī are this Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and the five hundred *bhikṣuṇīs*.

When making offerings to the *stūpa* of the Rightly Fully Awakened One Kāśyapa they had made the aspiration that, whatever result might derive from that deed, might it be such that, even when being one hundred and twenty years old, they might have a body without wrinkles and grey hair and with a bodily appearance like that of sixteen-year old maidens.”

Funerary Homage and the *Avadāna* of Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and Her Followers: Translation of the Chinese Version¹³

At that time all of the *bhikṣus* thought thus: “The loving foster mother of the World Honoured One has attained *parinirvāna*. We should go and assist each other to pay homage to her bodily remains.” Having had this thought, each according to their ability took hold of different varieties of fragrant wood and went to pay homage to the place where Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and the other [*bhikṣuṇīs*] had attained *parinirvāna*. ^[249a]

At that time the World Honoured One came together with Kauṇḍinya, Vāṣpa, Mahānāma, Aniruddha, Maudgalyāyana, Śāriputra, and others, as well as another large group of disciples, to pay homage to the bodily remains of Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and the other [*bhikṣuṇīs*].

¹³ The section translated here is from T 1451 at T XXIV 248c27 to 249b18; a summary is given by Dash (2008: 147–149).

At that time King Prasenajit, the princes, the ministers and the whole entourage arrived at that place [where the corpses were] in order to pay homage to the bodily remains.¹⁴

The honourable Anāthapiṇḍada, the honourable *R̥ṣidatta, the honourable ones Pūraṇa and Mṛgāra-mātā and others, also with their own retinues, arrived at that place too.

Furthermore, there were various regional kings with their innumerable entourages of hundreds of thousands who all came together.

At that time King Prasenajit had five hundred gem-studded biers completely adorned with variegated gems, garments and ornaments. And then [the people] held various types of incense, flowers, banners and precious canopies, and [played] music of different kinds.

Then the venerable Nanda, Aniruddha, Ānanda and Rāhula – four *bhikṣus* in total – lifted Mahāprajāpatī’s bier. The World Honoured One, too, held up the bier with his right hand. The other *bhikṣus* lifted all the biers of the [other] *bhikṣuṇīs*. With sincerely respectful hearts, having lavishly adorned and decorated [the biers], they carried and placed them in a wide and secluded area.

At that time the World Honoured One lifted the upper robes that were covering Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and the five hundred *bhikṣuṇīs*, and told the *bhikṣus*: “Behold! Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and the other [*bhikṣuṇīs*] are one hundred and twenty years old, but their bodies have no sign of old age, and they look like sixteen-year-old virgins.”

At that time King Prasenajit and [the members of] his large entourage each took hold of various fragrant woods and cremated the bodies [with them].

After the World Honoured One gave the assembly a teaching on impermanence, he returned to his monastery. He washed his feet, sat down on the seat that had been arranged, and told the *bhikṣus*: “You should know, these sorts of things are all due to wishing for long life when seeing someone sneezing. Therefore, *bhikṣus*, when someone sneezes you should not say, ‘Long life.’ One who says it incurs an offence of wrong-doing (*duṣkṛta*).”

¹⁴ For a literary parallel to this passage see note 5 above.

Then the *bhikṣus* who had witnessed this event were all perplexed. They said to the Buddha: “World Honoured One, what deed have Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and the five hundred *bhikṣuṇīs* performed in the past so that, due to the power of that deed, they had bodies which, being aged one hundred and twenty years, showed no sign of old age and were like sixteen-year-old maidens?”

The Buddha told the *bhikṣus*: “Listen carefully to the deeds performed by Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and the five hundred *bhikṣuṇīs*. On account of their own deeds ... *up to* ... they in turn received their own retribution.

Bhikṣus, in the distant past of this fortunate aeon, when the life span of humans was twenty thousand years, a Buddha, a World Honoured One by the name of Tathāgata Kāśyapa, an arhat,¹⁵ fully awakened, endowed with the ten epithets, had emerged in the world. He was living in Vārāṇasī, at the Ṛṣipātana, in the Mṛgadāva.

At that time that World Honoured One had already accomplished [the purpose of his] appearance [in the world]¹⁶ and had entered *nirvāṇa* without remainder, like the extinguishing of a flame when its fuel is consumed.

At that time the regional king, named Kṛkī, in order to make offerings to the relics of the Tathāgata, had a *stūpa* raised which was made of the four [kinds of] precious stones, one *yojana* in length and width, and half a *yojana* in height.

The king had a chief queen and five hundred concubines. They had become old, and the king disregarded them. They said to each other: ‘Why does the great king now disregard us and ignore us?’

They congregated and discussed it together: ‘Because we are getting old, he ignores us.’ Then a concubine said: ‘Sisters,

¹⁵ The text has 應, which, I take as abbreviation for 應供, a literal rendering of the epithet “worthy of offerings”, “to whom offerings should be made”, *dakṣiṇīya* or *dakṣiṇeya* in Sanskrit and *dakkhiṇeya* in Pali. In the present string I understand 應(供) as representative of arhat, rather than as one of its epithets (being endowed with the ten epithets is in fact mentioned later). On this term see the discussion in Nattier (2003: 215–217). The Tibetan version translated above does not mention the ten epithets.

¹⁶ An alternative rendering of the sentence 時彼世尊化緣已盡 (T 1451 at T XXIV 249b2) could be: “At that time the World Honoured One had already accomplished [the task of] guiding (已) [beings to liberation]”.

what deeds should we cultivate to make our wish be fulfilled that we do not become old?’

The chief queen replied: ‘If we make offerings to the *stūpa* of the Buddha Kāśyapa’s relics, all our wishes will be fulfilled.’

They all said: ‘Very good.’ They requested the king’s permission and immediately gathered various types of incense powder, unguents, flower garlands, diadems, banners, jewelled canopies and fine foods. They went to the *stūpa*, lavishly arranged offerings, paid homage to it with five-limbed [prostrations], praised and circumambulated it, keeping it to their right.

Kneeling down and with palms joined, they made this aspiration: ‘By this offering to the supreme field of merit, by whatever wholesome roots we possess, we wish that, birth after birth, our bodies will not show signs of old age until the end of our lives.’

Bhikṣus, the king’s chief queen and the five hundred concubines are now Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and the five hundred *bhikṣuṇīs*. Because of the power of this merit, until this present life, at the age of a hundred-and-twenty years they did not show signs of old age, being like sixteen-year old maidens. *Bhikṣus*, you should know, this is all because of the power of their own deeds, as I have expounded at length earlier.”

Study

The nuns’ *parinirvāṇa* (translated in the first article of this study) was spectacular, and their funeral continues to display prodigious and supernormal features, *post mortem*. The corpses of the old, decrepit nuns, just deceased, turn out to be exquisitely well preserved, maidenly physiques, a detail that, on first reading, may appear bizarre, all the more so since it is the Buddha himself who invites the monks to behold them. In appreciating this scene, it needs to be kept in mind that he is not necessarily exposing them in their nudity, as I discuss in more detail below.

In my previous article I have shown how the existential and ideological absolute of *nirvāṇa* (and *parinirvāṇa*) motivates Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and her followers’ choice to approach their final physical and mental extinction willingly and intentionally. This overarching value shapes the rest of the narrative and the praise of the old nuns’ youthful corpses.

The main questions raised by the description of the funerary proceedings seem to be: (a) What is the function of the role played by the Buddha and his monks in the funeral proceedings, and (b) What is the function of the display of the youthful bodies? These two questions can best be tackled by situating all these events at the interface between ancient Indian social conventions and funerary practices on the one side and the early Buddhist value system on the other side. I will start from the first.

Significance of the Funerary Proceedings

The Buddha expresses his filial devotion by participating in the funeral and taking hold of his aunt and foster mother's bier with his right hand. As I show in the next few pages, the way the *śarīra-pūjā* or *pūjā* for the corpse is performed is in tune with the practices common in early and mediaeval India (as well as the present-day).¹⁷

In terms of Buddhist monastic etiquette or spiritual values, that the Buddha and the monks honour the dead bodies of the nuns does not seem to present any real problem to the monastic transmitters of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*.

The carrying of the biers in a reverential manner cannot be compared to the normal monastic paying homage or worship, at least not in the sense of bowing, or of performing the *añjali* gesture

¹⁷ As explained by Schopen (1997b: 106), “*śarīra-pūjā* was understood to be an activity directed toward the body of the deceased which took place after the individual's death, but before or as a part of his cremation. It could not, therefore, have anything to do with relics for the simple reason that there were none.” Schopen refers to the present account of the funeral of Mahāprajāpatī and her companions as a passage confirming that only after “the full performance of the ritual worship of her body” had been carried out by the monks did the actual cremation take place, as in other descriptions of eminent funerals in Mūlasarvāstivāda text. He further adds (p. 108) that “[a]ll of the evidence we have ... would seem to argue for the fact that *śarīra-pūjā* did not originally mean ‘the worship of relics’ and did not have anything to do with a relic cult. It would seem to strongly suggest—if not establish—that, originally, it referred to that part of the funeral ceremony that took place primarily between the time of death and the cremation and construction of a *stūpa*, and involved primarily what we would call ‘preparation of the body.’ The construction of a *stūpa*—if it is included at all—signaled the end of the *śarīra-pūjā*, not its beginnings.” On *śarīra-pūjā* in general see de La Vallée Poussin (1937), Schopen (1997a), Silk (2006) and Werner (2013).

to a spiritually or socially superior person. Performing reverential salutation to a nun is not allowed to monks and would entail an offence of wrong-doing;¹⁸ this would be relevant to the case at hand only as a behavioural guideline in general, given that the nuns are dead. Carrying a bier is also not part of activities that seem to constitute types of paying homage. With this observation I am not suggesting that we should be necessarily applying the legal specifics of *Vinaya* to a narrative context that was likely not to be really concerned with the issue of homage or worship (*vandanā*) per se. Within narrative contexts that specifically provide the aetiology for the promulgation of a specific rule concerned with a certain behaviour there could be other behaviours described without being censored that are nonetheless not acceptable from a *Vinaya* perspective. However, since the Buddha (in himself not

¹⁸ The list of the four individuals who should receive homage, *catvāro vandyāḥ*, in the *Śayanāsanavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, after stating that all those who have received *upasampadā* later should pay homage to those who have received *upasampadā* earlier, specifically indicates that this is so with the exception of a *bhikṣuṇī*, *sarveṣāṃ upasaṃpannānāṃ pūrvopasaṃpannā vandyāḥ sthāpayitvā bhikṣuṇīm*, to which it adds that a *bhikṣuṇī* who has received her *upasampadā* even a hundred years earlier should pay homage to a newly ordained *bhikṣu*, see ed. Gnoli (1978: 4,37–5,5), and D 1, 'dul ba, ga 188b2–4 [= Si-K 1, 'dul ba, ga, vol. 3, p. 453,9–18 with apparatus on p. 780] and P 1030, 'dul ba, nge 180b2–4: *bsnyen par rdzogs pa thams cad kyis phyag bya ba ni sgra bsnyen par rdzogs pa yin no. dge slong ma ma gtogs te* (the references are to the entire list, which is not included in the Chinese translation of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, cf. the concordances in Clarke (2014b: I.69)). The latter injunction corresponds to *gurudharma* no. 8 (Sanskrit and Tibetan) and no. 6 (Chinese) for nuns in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, cf. the *Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācānā* ed. Schmidt (1993: 246,8–12), the Tibetan translation of the *Kṣudrakavastu*, D 6, 'dul ba, da 103a3–4 [= Si-K 6, 'dul ba, da, vol. 11, p. 247,15–20 with apparatus on p. 860] and P 1035, 'dul ba, ne 100a4–6, the *Abhidharma-kośopāyikā-ṭīkā*, Up 4024 at D 4094, *mngon pa, ju 213b5–6* [= Si-T 3323, *mngon pa, ju*, vol. 82, p. 521,10–14] and P 5595, *mngon pa, tu 243b6–8*, and the Chinese translation of the *Kṣudrakavastu*, T 1451 at T XXIV 351a16–18. The *Śayanāsanavastu*'s subsequent passage listing the ten individuals who should not receive homage from the monks, *daśāvandyāḥ*, does not specifically mention women, but women in general would be covered by the heading of all householders, *sarvo grhī*, see ed. Gnoli (1978: 5,7–10), and D 1, 'dul ba, ga 188b4–6 [= Si-K 1, 'dul ba, ga, vol. 3, p. 453,18–454,2 with apparatus on p. 780–781] and P 1030, 'dul ba, nge 180b4–6. Women are instead explicitly mentioned in the list of *puggalā avandiyā* in the *Senāsanakkhandhaka* of the *Cullavagga* of the Theravāda *Vinaya* at Vin II 162,23–28.

subject to *Vinaya* law in his capacity of law-maker) and arhat *bhikṣus*, exemplary in conduct, are shown as behaving in a certain way in the context of a *Vinaya* text, this means that the *Vinaya* transmitters must have felt comfortable with the actions in question as these were being portrayed.

The ceremony described in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* entails the monk's management of a customary ritual (*pūjā*) and is best considered as an expression of respect rather than ceremonial paying homage or worship (*vandanā*). As already noted by Werner (2013: 82), the performance of a *pūjā* as a ritual or ceremonial act before the cremation is different from performing *vandanā* or reverentially saluting a living person or the body of a departed person.

The present instance seems to me to be a sign of dutiful and affectionate performance of the funerary ceremony and at the same time a sign of respect – although not *vandanā* – for fellow arhats. In fact, the Buddha is on record in other discourses for requesting the monks to take care reverentially of the bodily remains of monks who have passed away as arhats.¹⁹ That there can be no 'homage' as such involved is made clear by the traditional Buddhist idea that if the Buddha (or the Bodhisattva) were to bow down to the feet of someone, that person's head would split apart.²⁰

The *Śarīra-pūjā* for Gautamī in the **Mahāprajñā-pāramitopadeśa* (大智度論)

A version of Gautamī's funeral as presented in the **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* (大智度論) throws some light on the way the later Buddhist tradition conceptualised the conventional dimension of this funerary performance.

In this work, the episode of the Buddha doing so-called homage to Gautamī's body is taken to exemplify a case of the Buddha expressing respect towards a disciple.

¹⁹ For instance, the Buddha's injunction to the monks to build a *thūpa* for the deceased *arahant* Bāhiya in *Udāna* I.10 at Ud 8,21–9,2, and SĀ 1025 at T II 268a15–16.

²⁰ See, e.g., the *Nidānakathā* to the Pali *Jātaka* collection at Jā I 54,22–29, translated in Jayawickrama (1990: 72).

In the **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*, the Buddha’s paying tribute to Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī is in turn part of an answer to the question as to why the Buddha pays tribute to the Buddhas in the East. The answer to the question is that the Buddha has no superior but can nevertheless express homage. Even though the Buddha does not seek (karmic) reward, he does pay homage. The Buddha’s homage to Gautamī – in this case an homage to her bodily remains, a *śarīra-pūjā* – is classified as an instance of a lower type of ritual of reverence (*pūjā*) that can be performed by a Buddha. This in turn is one of the three kinds of *pūjās* – superior, middling, and lower – that are general, not particular to Buddhas.²¹ The lower type is homage to someone lower than oneself, the superior type is to a superior, and the medium type to an equal. Homage to other Buddhas (by a Buddha) is a medium ranking homage, whereas the Mahāprajāpatī episode is given as an example of lower homage.

In passing, the *pūjā* in question is classified as of a lower grade in contrast to the medium-range *pūjā* performed by Śākya-muni in honour of other Buddhas as his equals. This highlights that a reading of Gotamī’s *parinibbāna* such as that advocated by Walters (1994) – with Gautamī put on a par with the Buddha, considered a ‘female Buddha’ – is inconsistent with traditional Buddhologies. In the funeral the Buddha does not treat Gautamī as his peer, an *alter* Buddha, but as an arhat and stepmother with a lower status. The **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*’s tradition is different from that of the Pali materials read by Walters, but it is a significant source that concurs with the general Buddhist position on the distinct roles occupied by the Buddha and Gautamī.²²

Here is a rendering of the narrative part found in the **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*:²³

“... It is like the *bhikṣuṇī* Mahāprajāpatī with the five hundred arhatī *bhikṣuṇīs* who attained *parinirvāna* on one day, at one time. On that occasion, laymen who had attained the three paths held up

²¹ T 1509 at T XXV 132a2, translated in Lamotte (1949: I.587–588).

²² Cf. also Schopen (2004: 358 note 66) and Crosby (2014: 251–252): “Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī functions as a female Buddha or ‘quasi-Buddha’ in the *Apadāna* ... being on a par with Gotama Buddha and in some ways preceding him.” See the critical appraisal of Walter’s (1994) position given by Anālayo (2015a) as well as the conclusions in Dhammadinnā (2015a: 53).

²³ T 1509 at T XXV 132a6–13, already translated into French by Lamotte (1949: I.587–588).

the five hundred biers [with the bodies of the *bhikṣuṇīs*] and the Four Great Kings held up the bier of the Buddha's foster mother Mahāprajāpatī. The Buddha, at the front [of the funeral procession], himself expressed respect by burning incense, holding an incense burner. The Buddha told the *bhikṣus*: 'You should help me. I am expressing respect to the body of [my] foster mother.' Then the arhat *bhikṣus* went up to the top of the Malaya Mountain by supernormal power.²⁴ Each took red sandal incense firewood [back with them] and assisted the Buddha making a pile [of wood for the cremation]. This is a low [form of] paying respect."

With this remark on paying respect the relevant narrative excerpt in the **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* concludes. Even though the storyline in the **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* is abridged, it is clear that the tradition underlying this summary differs substantially from that of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* versions. In this version, the Buddha and the monks do not carry the biers, but gods and non-returner laymen do, while it was also felt that only laymen who were noble ones ("laymen who had attained the three paths") could hold them. The Buddha, the 'son' of his foster mother Mahāprajāpatī, carries an incense burner at the front of the funeral procession. This appears to mirror the Brahmanical funerary ritual of the eldest son holding an earthen pot with the sacred domestic fire (with which he will light the pyre) in front of the funerary procession of the parent.²⁵ The eldest son is

²⁴ T 1509 at T XXV 132a12: 摩梨山 'Mali Mountain'.

²⁵ Cf. also the remark by Dash (2008: 156) with reference to the parallel passage in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, EĀ 52.1 at T II 823a21–23: "[i]n the *Ekottarāgama*, the Buddha himself with Nanda, Rāhula and Ānanda carry the four legs of Mahāpajāpatī's bier – a deep-rooted custom in the countries of South Asia in general and India in particular, that the first privilege comes to the sons and grandsons to carry the bier." According to Dash (2008: 144) when Indra and Vaiśravaṇa step forward and request the Buddha to be allowed to handle the dead bodies on his behalf, it is Śāriputra who stops them and explains that this should be done by the Tathāgatha himself in recognition of his debt of filial gratitude rather than by *devas*, *nāgas* and *yakṣas*, as all past Buddhas have done for their mothers who all passed away before them; cf. also Heirman (2015: 48 note 56). This seems based on taking 舍利佛 (舍利弗 in the Ming (明) edition) as representing Śāriputra and thus functioning as the subject of the following declarative construction. Legittimo (2009: 60) understands this passage differently, with the Buddha speaking, thus taking 舍利 (*śarīra*) as the object of the previous verbal clause, after which the Buddha tells the *devas* (佛告諸天) to stop, see EĀ 52.1 at T II 823a7–17. The same passage from the *Ekottarika-āgama* is

the one who opens the funeral procession and is appointed to celebrate all the rites once the officiating Brahmin has completed the preliminaries within his purview. In the excerpt translated above, apparently the monks kept to the side, since only upon the Buddha's request did the arhat monks help him to build the cremation pyre for his foster mother, which again seems to mirror the Brahmanical ritual, wherein the eldest son lights the pyre.²⁶

Putting aside the textual differences vis-à-vis the Mūlasarvāstivāda version, the **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*'s description of the funerary honours paid to Gautamī helps situate them within the Indian ritual setting. A closer look at such ritual setting will also clarify a few other features of the narrative.

A Closer Look at Gautamī's *Śarīra-pūjā* in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*

Apropos the funeral description in the Tibetan Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, Finnegan (2009: 235) comments that “[t]he final curious gesture of revealing Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī's naked upper body to the monks foreshadows Ānanda's removing Buddha's robes after his passing so that a group of *bhikṣuṇīs* could

also cited at length by the Chinese *Vinaya* master Daoshi (道世), see T 2122 at T LIII 1000a15–29 (here it is the Buddha who speaks to the gods). In a discussion of filial piety and debt to one's parents, the Chinese *Vinaya* master Daoxuan (道宣) refers to the *Ekottarika-āgama*'s account of the Buddha's personal involvement with Mahāprajāpatī's funeral, by helping to lift her deathbed, and also mentions that when his father Śuddhodana passed away, the Buddha also transported his corpse, see T 1804 at T XL 140c26–28. On this passage Heirman (2015: 46) comments that that such remarks “focus on the continuous respect paid to their parents by Buddhist monastics, despite their having left home ... Daoxuan is quite concerned to ascertain that a monastic life does not in any way undermine the respect one owes to one's parents, both mother and father.”

²⁶ For an instance of a son paying funerary homage to his grandmother, see SĀ 1227 at T II 335b10–11, in which King Prasenajit is reported to take care of his greatly esteemed and beloved grandmother's bodily remains. Two Chinese *Vinaya* commentaries by Daoshi repeat the argument that the Buddha is unable to acquire merit but nonetheless pays homage to his deceased foster mother as a token of gratitude and in order to set an example for others, showing them how to gain merit by honouring their parents, see T 2122 at T LIII 606b24–c16 and T 2123 at T LIV 40a25–b17 translated and discussed by Heirman (2015: 46 with note 51), who also notes the reliance of this presentation on the exposition in the **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*.

see the one feature among the 32 that mark a great person that women had not been able to view—an act for which Ānanda will be harshly criticized later by Mahākāśyapa. Since it is Buddha who uncovers the nuns publicly, there is no question that it be seen as inappropriate, *but it bears asking just how we are to take this post-mortem display of the women's bodies.*"²⁷ (emphasis mine.)

Now, taking the rules on nuns' robes and the ancient Indian context into account may give us some useful clues on how we are to take these seemingly peculiar events. That the Buddha would be "revealing Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī's naked upper body to the monks", may not be what is actually meant. Nuns are supposed to wear a vest to cover their upper bodies. So, the naked upper bodies of the nuns would not have been exposed if only their upper robes (*uttarāsaṅga*) had been taken off.²⁸

Although all *Vinayas* agree that a nun must wear one or two pieces of undergarments to cover the breasts, the exact shape and the differences among the different types of robes adopted by the various *Vinaya* traditions is uncertain. In the case of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, two pieces of robe, a *saṃkkaṣikā* and a *kusūlaka*, are used to cover the upper body (breasts and presumably shoulders in this case).²⁹

²⁷ Cf. D 6, 'dul ba, da 308b2 [= Si-K 6, vol. 11, 'dul ba, da 745,19] and P 1035, 'dul ba, ne 291b7, and T 1451 at T XXIV 405b25.

²⁸ The 'upper robe' (*uttarāsaṅga*) is translated as *bla gos* in D 6, 'dul ba, tha 113a7 [= Si-K 6, vol. 10, 'dul ba, tha 284,16] and P 1035, 'dul ba, de 108b5, and as 上衣 in T 1541 at T XXIV 249a14.

²⁹ E.g. the Chinese Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1443 at T XXIII 944b9, has the phonetic transcriptions 俱蘇洛迦 (with the variant reading 俱蘇落迦 in the Song (宋), Yuan (元), Ming (明) and the Old Song (宮) editions) and 僧脚崎 for *kusūlaka* and *saṃkkaṣikā* respectively; the *Mahāvīyūtpatti* 8936–8937, ed. Sakaki (1926: 573), has *rngul gzan* for *saṃkkaṣikā* and *rngul gzan gyi gzan* for *pratisaṃkkaṣikā*; cf. also the Sarvāstivāda *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa-sūtra* in ed. Waldschmidt (1926: 157). The *saṃkkaṣikā* is one of the five robes a Buddhist nun must possess at the ordination ceremony. A nun wears it when entering a village according to the Theravāda, Dharmaguptaka and Mahāsāṅghika *Vinayas*, *pācittiya* no. 96, *pācittika* 160 and *pācattika* 181 respectively. According to the survey in Kabilsingh 1984: 120, this rule is absent in the Mūlasarvāstivāda and Sarvāstivāda *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa-sūtra pāyantikas*. On the *saṃkkaṣikā*, see von Hinüber (1975) [= 2009], Heirman (1997: 52–53 note 90), Heirman (2002: II.802–805 note 199) and Heirman (2008: 150–151 and 154 note 25); cf. also Dhirasekera (1984: 184).

Conceivably, the upper robes that the Buddha removed were covering the nuns' bodies from top to toe, similar to the way a funerary cloth is used to cover the corpses in traditional Indian Brahminical funerals to this day. The description might also assume that the outer monastic robe (*saṅghāṭī*) was used as a further layer to cover the nuns' corpses, which may have been fully clothed with all of the five robes of a *bhikṣuṇī* and thus cremated wearing the complete requisite set of a nun's robes. Thus the Buddha would have just exposed the nuns' faces and arms.

In Brahminical funerals, normally the eldest son is at the fore during the procession, leading and carrying the sacred home fire in a pot or carrying a firebrand kindled from the home fire, with which he will ignite the cremation fire. The eldest son, with his head ritually shaven and clad in white, is also responsible for cutting the shroud of the deceased open before igniting the pyre from the home fire. This suggests a connection between the Buddha taking off the upper robe of Gautamī and the eldest son cutting open the shroud in the funerary performance.

As described by Filippi (2010: 131–132), “[t]he corpse is laid on a straw mat on top of a stretcher in the form of steps, made of *udumbara* wood. This mat substitutes the black antelope skin or perhaps the skin of the sacrificial *anustaraṇī* cow, which represented the placenta in which the being was enfolded while awaiting a new birth, during ancient times. The dead man is invited to take off his old clothes and wear new and purer robes. ... Then his big toes and also his thumbs are tied together, his arms are tied tightly along his sides, and his legs in their winding sheet are tied together. The shroud must be of unused new silk, and the body is tied to form a bundle resembling an Egyptian mummy. ... The silk chosen for men is white, sometimes yellow, while it is always red for women, symbolizing the whiteness of semen and the redness of blood, in view of a new conception.”

In the case of (elderly) Gautamī and her nuns, the *śramaṇa* robes of a shaven headed *bhikṣuṇī* replace the symbol of the red clothing of a potentially or effectively fertile woman in a new birth. The nuns' saṃsāric journey ended when they became arhatis. With the death of their physical bodies any remainder of their earlier saṃsāric existence ends altogether. Their funeral is not a *rite de passage* for the continuation of existence into new life, a ritual towards a new conception and sustained fertility. From the

perspective of early Buddhist ideology, the funeral is empty of the ritual purpose that serves Vedic and Brahminical ontology. It rather celebrates its opposite, the passing out of existence. How this was exactly perceived by Middle-Period audience and text transmitters in India, with several Buddhist communities undergoing a process of Brahmanisation, is open to question.³⁰

In short, the description of the funerary homage paid to the nuns follows a standard pattern of similar rituals in India.³¹ Therefore it might be no coincidence that in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* account the relatives of the Buddha and Mahāprajāpatī carry and hold the bier of Mahāprajāpatī – the Buddha’s cousins and Mahāprajāpatī’s nephews Aniruddha and Ānanda and Nanda, the latter the son of Mahāprajāpatī, and the Buddha’s son Rāhula and Mahāprajāpatī’s ‘grandson’.³² Just as in Brahminical funerals, the men who carry the corpse of Gautamī are her close relatives.

³⁰ See for example the Buddhist reframing of fire rituals in Gandharan Buddhism discussed by Verardi (1994), with remarks in Muldoon-Hules (2011: 250–253).

³¹ On the carrying of the bier in Indian funeral sacraments, the ‘sacrament of death’ (*mṛtyu-saṃskāra*) or ‘last sacrifice’ (*antyeṣṭi-saṃskāra* or *antyeṣṭi-śrāddha*), see, e.g., Filliozat and Renou (1947–1949: 365–368 [§§ 740–744] and 582 [§1196]), Auboyer (1961: 263–274), Pandey (1969: 263–274), Filippi (1996: 89–100), especially Filippi (2010: 129–145) and Klostermaier (2007: 152–155).

³² On the personal bonds between Gautamī and the monks, of whom she takes leave before her *parinirvāṇa*, see Dhammadinnā (2015a: 49). This is an example of the extended family and clan (*kula*) dimension of monastic clan-cum-family early Buddhist history, family networks etc., which is one facet of the ‘family matters’ in Indian Buddhist monasticism examined by Clarke (2014a), reviewed by Ohnuma (2014) and with a critical response in Anālayo (2014a). For a study of the monastic significance of family ties focusing on two Buddhist nuns in Tang China see Chen (2002), and, on the early social history of the nuns’ *saṅgha* in China, Georgieva (2000). Daoshi’s *Vinaya* commentaries conclude a citation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* version of the funeral account by explicitly remarking that Mahāprajāpatī is not only the Buddha’s foster mother but she is also a biological mother, namely, of Nanda, who is assisting the Buddha with her funeral (referring therein to the *Samyukta-āgama*, T 99 at T II 277a11, where Nanda is presented as the biological son of Mahāprajāpatī), see T 2122 at T LIII 1000a28–29 and T 2123 at T LIV 179c15, noted in Heirman (2015: 47). An early Pagan mural depicting the *parinirvāṇa* of Gotamī includes a caption translated as follows in Luce (1969: I.383): “This is when the lady *Pajāpatī Gotamī* came and addressed the Buddha; and after performing miracles of various kinds, made her *parinirvāṇa*. At that time all of the Buddhas, together with Devas and

Notably, no *bhikṣuṇīs* – the closest disciples of Gautamī and her arhatī nuns – are on record as having attended. There is also no mention of *bhikṣuṇīs* being present in the earlier part of the funerary rite, though women may be present before the actual cremation.³³ In Indian funerals only close male relatives are supposed to do the cremation. Women are expected to stay at home (except for the widow) while men carry out the cremation rituals at the cremation ground. Once the body has been smeared with ghee or other ointments and covered with flowers it is carried by male relatives on a bier to the cremation site, the procession being led by the eldest son or the eldest living male blood relative, as mentioned above. On a more literalist reading of the narrative, one gets the impression that there are no *bhikṣuṇīs* left on the scene because all those who are present in the area have passed away together with Gautamī. In the short period between death and cremation, no other *bhikṣuṇīs* arrive either in person or by psychic powers.³⁴ The absence of nuns on the scene seems to be the combined result of the narrative time framework and the standard performance of Indian funerals. Last, it has to be kept in mind that this is hagiography and not factual history.

In sum, the point I am trying to make is that, as it stands, the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition can be profitably and coherently explained in the light of ancient Indian funerary customs. There are a variety of ways to perform the funeral sacrament (*samskāra*) in India. The covering of the body, the scattering of flowers on the body, the eldest son walking in front with the sacred fire, close relatives (sons and grandsons) carrying the bier (*arthī*) (with members of the same clan and friends also following, in the order of their age), the pyre being made from fragrant wood, the place chosen as cremation ground being situated outside the city gates (with the exception of special

men, went and cleansed (the corpse), and the Rev. *Ānan* took the Relics of *Pajāpatī Gotamī* and brought and gave them to the lord Buddha.”

³³ A detailed comparative study of the presence and role of various male and female individuals and groups of individuals in the various versions of the funeral narratives is outside the scope of this article.

³⁴ Filippi (2010: 131) explains that “[t]he waiting period, from ascertained death to the elimination of the corpse by cremation, can extend up to three and a half days. However, the climate furnishes the definite unpleasant proof of the *jīva*’s detachment from his gross body (*sthūla śarīra*). Often, when putrefaction is evident, the funeral takes place a few hours after death. Because of the horror provoked by bodily corruption, it is now the custom to carry the corpse to the cremation site as soon as death has been ascertained.”

locations such as for example the cremation ghats in Varanasi), are the basics common to different forms of the procedure.

Ideologically, the Vedic and Brahminical home fire carried in order to ignite the funerary pyre is out of the question, since the sacrificial fire was renounced by the Buddha and after him by all Buddhist monastics. The **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* version, as we have seen, replaces this with an incense burner carried by the Buddha. Also obviously missing in Gautamī's funeral is the presence of an officiating Brahmin priest. Whether in Middle-Period Buddhist communities that transmitted the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* Brahmanical rituals always remained historically out of the question is of course another matter.

The funerary proceedings are presented as the *bhikṣu-saṅgha*'s respectful tribute to Gautamī and the nuns, formally carried out in accordance with the conventions of the time. In conclusion, the *Vinaya* record memorialises the founder of the *bhikṣuṇī-saṅgha* and her arhatī *bhikṣuṇī* followers.

Absence of *Stūpas* and Memorialisation of Nuns

The account of the funeral concludes without mention of the raising of a *stūpa* or *stūpas* for Mahāprajāpatī and her fellow nuns. Such an absence is not particularly striking. If *stūpas* were raised at all – in reality or reportedly – that did not need to be considered as part of the main body of the narrative and therefore did not necessarily require inclusion.

Schopen (2004: 348) observes that: “[b]oth the Pāli Canon and the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya* ... explicitly mandate the erection of *stūpas* by monks for deceased fellow monks, but in neither is there – as far as I know – a similar statement in regard to nuns. This omission is also narratively or hagiographically highlighted in at least the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya*: when the Monk Śāriputra dies he gets a *stūpa*; when the Monk Kāśyapa dies he too gets a *stūpa*; when the Monk Ānanda dies he gets two – he also refers to the *stūpas* of the others when, on the point of dying, he describes himself by saying “I am alone, isolated, like the remaining tree in a forest of *stūpas*.” When, however, Mahāprajāpatī – the most senior nun and in a sense the foundress of the order of nuns – dies, she gets none, and the funeral proceedings,

which are elaborately described, are entirely in the hands of the monks.”³⁵

This elicits a few comments. From the viewpoint of *Vinaya* jurisprudence, a distinction obtains between *skandhaka* (*Kṣudrakavastu* in the present case) rules and *prātimokṣa* rules.³⁶ As regards *skandhaka* rules, in the absence of a prohibition expressly issued to nuns, the lack of a mandate (in this case to raise a *sthūpa*) specifically addressed to the nuns does not automatically mean that a rule does not apply to them. Needless to say, the same holds for descriptions in non-*Vinaya* materials such as the discourses.³⁷ Unless a certain behaviour or element is implicitly inapplicable or inappropriate to nuns on account of gender or other differences, or a rule is adjusted so as to apply to their situation, it is safe not to draw any inference based on a perceived omission. *Skandhaka* rules issued to monks are also applicable to nuns.

Moreover, in his article Schopen analyses the narrative found in the Theravāda *Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga* on nuns' *pācittiya* no. 52, which tells the story of the notorious group of six nuns who had made a *thūpa* after the cremation of an eminent nun.³⁸ The nuns were mourning at that *thūpa* and the noise annoyed the monk Kappitaka who angrily demolished and scattered the mound around. The nuns, upset, planned to go to kill the monk, but

³⁵ For the relevant textual references see Schopen (2004: 358 note 66).

³⁶ For the canonical *Vinaya* references see Bareau (1962).

³⁷ E.g., the above quoted Buddha's injunction to the monks to build a *thūpa* for the deceased *arahant* Bāhiya, *Udāna* I.10 at Ud 8,21–9,2, an example given also by Schopen (1997b: 92). In passing, Bāhiya here is declared a *bhikkhu* by the Buddha, even though he attained arhatship and died before he could receive admission into the *saṅgha*. He is referred to as one of the monks' fellows in the holy life, *sabrahmacārī vo, bhikkhave*. According to the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* commentary, Mp I 282,18–283,9, after Bāhiya's cremation monks were wondering whether he was a *sāmaṇera* or a *bhikkhu*. The Buddha said that Bāhiya was wise, and declared him an *arahant*. Later he declared Bāhiya as the foremost *bhikkhu* in quickly attaining higher knowledge. The *Udāna* commentary, Ud-a 97,6–12 explains that since he practised the *brahmacariya* equal to the *bhikkhus'* he was a *sabrahmacārī*. An *arahant* as *asekho bhikkhu* is also given in the *Vibhaṅga* among a whole list of possible *bhikkhus*, Vin III 24,3–12 (in terms of legality the *Vibhaṅga* settles only for the last type of *bhikkhu*, the *bhikkhu* ordained by the *saṅgha* through a *ñatticatutthakamma*).

³⁸ The evidence in the Theravāda *Vinaya* for *thūpas* for deceased nuns, which were built by nuns, is given by Schopen (2004: 330–336) [1996]; for *bhikkhunī-pācittiya* no. 52 see Vin IV 308,8–309,22.

another nun reported the plot to the venerable Upāli, who in turn warned Kappitaka. Kappitaka left his dwelling and remained in hiding. The nuns reached the venerable's dwelling, covered it with stones and clods of earth, and left claiming the venerable was dead. The following day Kappitaka came out of his hiding place and went into town for alms. The nuns saw him still alive and heard that it was certainly the venerable Upāli who had told him of their plan, so they verbally abused and insulted Upāli. The Buddha, informed about the events, promulgated a rule for nuns against verbally abusing or reviling a monk.

Thus, the rule in question has nothing to do with *stūpas* (*thūpas*), but it is about nuns verbally abusing or reviling a monk. Neither in this rule nor elsewhere in the Theravāda *Vinaya* does one find a prohibition concerning nuns raising *stūpas* for their fellows in the holy life. Nor is there even an indication that such raising of *stūpas* is inappropriate in itself. Here it needs to be kept in mind that a behaviour or an action featured in a narrative, which illustrates the laying down of a rule that is related to quite a different behaviour or circumstance, does not in itself imply that the behaviour or action described is not censurable, as already remarked in passing above. The same behaviour might in fact be targeted by different *Vinaya* rules. In this case, however, rules limiting nuns from raising *stūpas* are completely absent in the Theravāda *Vinaya* (as well as other extant canonical *Vinayas*).

A third point is that, as regards the description of Mahāprajāpati's funeral proceedings as being "entirely in the hands of the monks", I would take this description as (a) reflecting the normal state of affairs as per the ancient Indian custom, and (b) functioning as an expression of a complimentary and laudatory attitude towards the arhatī nuns on the part of the transmitters of the *Vinaya*, as I have discussed in the foregoing pages.

In fact, *stūpas* are not absent in other versions of the funerary proceedings not taken into account by Schopen. In the *Ekottarika-āgama*, once the pyre is extinguished, the Great General (Vaiśravaṇa) collects the relics and erects a *stūpa* for Gautamī, at which the Buddha proclaims that he should do the same for the other five hundred *bhikṣuṇīs* as this will bring about immeasurable merit for a long time. Next, the Buddha affirms that there are four individuals for whom a *stūpa* should be raised, namely, a Buddha,

a *cakravartin*, a *śrāvaka*, and a Pratyekabuddha.³⁹ In the version of the story included in Kumārajīva's translation of the *Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā* (大莊嚴論經), it is rather the venerable Ānanda who exhorts all who are present to collect the cremation's remains in order to raise a *stūpa* so that all beings could revere it. An unspecified person expresses doubts as to who is worthy of a *stūpa* and veneration, at which the Buddha proclaims that there are three categories of individuals worthy of a *stūpa* and of veneration, namely, a Buddha, an arhat, and a *cakravartin*.⁴⁰

According to Schopen's proposed reading of the *Vinaya* narratives that feature two monks demolishing *stūpas* erected by

³⁹ EĀ 52.1 at T II 823b8–14, translated in Dash (2008: 146); cf. also note 25 above. The statement in Legittimo (2009: 60) that “[t]he Buddha then orders the construction of *stūpas* over the relics of all of these holy women” seems not accurate in that the Buddha is not portrayed as ordering the construction of the *stūpa* or taking the initiative himself, but it is the Buddha's disciple Śāriputra who speaks; cf. also Heirman (2015: 48 note 56). The *Ekottarika-āgama* account is cited by the Chinese *Vinaya* master Daoshi, who relates how the Buddha praises the practice of respectfully taking care of the funeral of one's parents, just as done by former Buddhas, and states that a *stūpa* should be erected in honour of Gautamī, see T 2122 at T LIII 1000a15–28 and T 2123 at T LIV 179c1–14, discussed and translated in Heirman (2015: 47–48) (in this case it is the Buddha who speaks). In a summary of the ‘Sūtra of the *Mahāparinirvāna* of the Buddha's Mother’ (T 145 at T II 870b18–23), Daoshi relates that, after the funerary homage and cremation, Mahāprajāpatī's relics are brought to the Buddha. The Buddha declares that his mother and her followers have been freed from their dirty (female) bodies full of negative emotions and are now able to act as men, which will lead them to arhatship (!). He then orders a temple to be built, see T 2122 at T LIII 1000a12–14 and T 2123 at T LIV 179b27–179c2 in Heirman (2015: 47). Thus in this passage Daoshi implies that there is a further rebirth for Mahāprajāpatī and that, by inference, she would not have yet attained full emancipation from existence in spite of her present passing into *parinirvāna*. Such a proposition (females must be born as males to attain the highest goal, here worded in terms of arhatship), which is extraneous to arhatship soteriology and ideology, would be quite at home in the fully-fledged Mahāyāna soteriological model that was prevalent at Daoshi's time in seventh-century China. It reads as if Daoshi is projecting Mahāyāna ‘gendered soteriology’ on the *parinirvāna* of a female arhat who has in fact attained full liberation well before the time of her death and thus could not be reborn at all, be it in a female or male body. In addition to the necessity of a change of sex to attain bodhisattva investiture in Middle-Period Indian Buddhism (on which cf. Dhammadinnā (2015b)), an overall ideology of masculinisation seems to have affected Chinese monasticism down to this very day, see Crane (2001).

⁴⁰ T 201 at T IV 336b6–10, translation in Huber (1908: 402).

nuns, the two groups of nuns involved are left “with neither an important means of support [derived from the cultural activities connected to the *stūpa*] nor an organizational focus.” This would be “not just ritual murder but something more akin to political assassination of a group’s special dead.” Schopen (2004: 349) then suggests a possible explanation of the lack of surviving archaeological and inscriptional evidence for nuns’ *stūpas*: “[t]hat such actions did occur in Buddhist India may account, far better than does historical accident, for the fact that nowhere in either the archaeological or epigraphical records do we find an instance of a *stūpa* having been built for a nun. It is perhaps unlikely that once having built such structures, and having had them pulled down, groups of nuns would have continued doing so knowing that this would be again for them – as it must now be for us – the end.”⁴¹

As regards the absence of archaeological, epigraphic and artistic evidence, it is true that the nuns contributed enormously to the Tathāgata’s *caityas* but their own *caityas* did not seem to be marked.⁴² Nor, usually, did those of the monks, however. It appears as if the early *saṅgha* did not conceive of the *stūpas* of the ‘local monastic dead’ as long-term memorials and perhaps not as places of sustained devotion.

We know very little of the material culture of the early Buddhist communities. The early *caityas* in the Gangetic plain were made of clay, mud-bricks (in some cases, to be eventually covered by layers of baked bricks). These have mostly vanished, with a few exceptions, such as the *stūpas* at Lauriya Nandangarh and Piphrawa. Their disappearance was often due to poorly executed or documented excavations. In the Vindhyas such *caityas* were mostly built with stone blocks, and those of Andhra were made of brick and stucco. At a later but still comparatively early date, there are

⁴¹ Schopen (2004: 359 note 69) does sound a final note of caution, in that “much remains to be seen ... [m]ore may well show up”, and he also refers to a then unpublished paper by Silk (1997: 244) in which reference is given to a parallel story in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* of a meditating monk who is annoyed by the nuns and destroys the *stūpa* built by them; cf. T 1428 at T XXIV 766c3–10. I have not been able to find comparable stories in the other canonical *Vinayas*.

⁴² For donative inscriptions featuring nuns as donors see Khan (1990), Barnes (2000) and Milligan (2015) (all on Sāñcī), Skilling (1993), Schopen (1997c), Schopen (2014) and Skilling (2014b: 167–168); see also the remarks in Kieffer-Pülz (2000: 302–303).

the remarkable exceptions of the preserved *stūpa* galleries at Bhaja, Kanheri, Karle, which do show a convention of recording the name and even the status of the occupants. These are, however, all males.⁴³

Yet even this is not conclusive, since these sites were located outside settlements, where nunneries could not be built and nuns could not take up residence. Moreover, it needs to be taken into account that excavations of urban settlements are only exceptional – for instance the site of Taxila (Sirkap). Unless they come with inscriptions *in situ*, the excavated *stūpa* structures, be their urban or outside settlements, cannot be attributed to either monks or nuns. Thus, it seems to me that we are not in the position to arrive at a balanced assessment of the situation due to territory imbalance between suburban or wilderness *stūpas* for others (in whose construction nuns could and did participate and to which they contributed financially but which were outside their direct control), and urban *stūpas*, possibly including also *stūpas* built by nuns for nuns, where the nuns could also take cultural initiative with regard to the relics of the members of their own communities. In relation to urban *stūpas* the nuns could have been in charge to varying degrees, possibly challenged by the competition – as Schopen points out – with Buddhist monks and other religious groups as well.

In terms of historical records, in Xuanzang's (玄奘) 'Records of the Western Countries' (大唐西域記) mention is made of a *stūpa* he visited in the Vaiśālī area at the site where Mahāprajāpatī and her followers were believed to have passed into *parinirvāṇa*. The site is associated with the former residence of a woman (菴沒羅, Āmrapāli?), possibly the former courtesan who offered a garden of mango trees on the outskirts of Vaiśālī to the *saṅgha* and later went forth as a *bhikṣuṇī*.⁴⁴ It is not possible to establish when this attribution first appeared.

⁴³ See the inscriptions in Gokhale (1991).

⁴⁴ T 2087 at T LI 908b27–29: 去此不遠有窣堵波，是菴沒羅女故宅，佛姨母等諸苾芻尼於此證入涅槃， translated in Beal (1884: 68); on the association with Āmrapāli see Beal (1884: 68–69 with note 79). A case of a *stūpa* raised for a nun, the Buddha's former wife who also became a fully awakened saint, is recorded in the *Bimbābhikkhuni-nibbāna*, a Pali work transmitted in Thailand, which relates the cremation of the nun Bimbā and the erection of a *stūpa* with her relics (reference from Peter Skilling, 16 November 2015; on this work see Skilling (2014a: 355–357)). A parallel tradition is found in the Sinhala *Yasodharāvata* 'The Story of Yasodharā' (also known as *Yasodharā*

In sum, given the present state of the evidence at our disposition, the absence of documented nuns' *stūpas* has as much historical weight as the general absence of monks' *stūpas*, which are not found at all or, at best, only rarely.

vilāpaya 'Yasodharā's Lament'), see stanza 117 translated in Obeyesekere (2009: 55–56): "Her relics were enshrined in a beautiful *stūpa*. All paid their respects with a rain of flowers. Siddharta (sic), now a Buddha, rained Merit on her, With his Buddha-hand placed flowers on her bier." The Sinhala prose *Yasodharāpadānaya* (a text expanding on the Pali *Yasodharāpadāna* in the *Khuddaka-nikāya*) includes Yasodharā's ritual farewell from the Buddha before attaining her *parinirvāṇa*, after which "the Buddha with a host of gods, Brahmas and a huge crowd [of people] gathered and performed the funeral rites. Thereafter the Buddha took the relics and had a *stūpa* constructed, offered flowers and lights, and instructed the residents of Dambadiva to make daily offerings in order to acquire the blessings of heaven and *nirvāṇa*. Thus, because of that great *stūpa* all men could perform Acts of Merit and arrive at the city of heaven and the city of *nirvāṇa* and escape the sufferings of *samsāra*", translated in Obeyesekere (2009: 79). As regards archaeological evidence of nuns' *stūpas* outside India, for China see for example a recent study by Assandri (2013: 20 note 69), who discusses entombed epitaphs of Buddhist nuns in Luoyang, which commemorate their leaving behind this world expressed with a combination of Buddhist concepts of liberation and Daoist lexicon. More nuns among the donors of Luoyang are recorded and studied in McNair (2007: 56–59, 189 note 35, 130–131, 133–135, 139, 205 notes 147–149, 170–171). McNair (2007: 130–131 and 205 note 35) also brings attention to a Tang-period nun's stamped brick from Xi'an; these bricks with Buddha figures and inscriptions were known as "good *karma* clay" images because they were moulded from clay mixed with the cremation ashes of a monk or nun. In his detailed study of the ecclesiastical careers of two nuns in Tang China, Chen (2002) points out that in both cases the epitaphs were authored by the nuns' male relatives, whose values and interests are reflected through the medium of epigraphic convention. Adamek (2009a) explores a unique collection of seventh-century memorial niches for Chinese Buddhist nuns at Lanfeng shan, a site in the Bao shan area. The two memorial epitaphs studied by Adamek (2009a: 12 and 17) mention the collection of the relics and the building of *stūpas* for the nuns. In the case of Bao shan's nuns, according to Adamek (2009a: 15), there is no reason to discount the claims of female disciples that they wrote such highly literary memorials for their teachers (as well as family members). See also Adamek (2009b) on poems inscribed on a memorial niche at the same site dedicated to another nun of the same period. *Stūpas* were also erected for the two Tang-period nuns studied by Chen (2002). For a reliquary *stūpa* in Western Tibet believed to contain a nun's robe, that of the well-known *dge slong ma* dPal-mo from Kashmir, see Vitali (1999: 101 with note 110) and Linrothe and Kerin (2015: 74 fig. 6); on *dge slong ma* dPal-mo see Vargas-O'Brian (2011). These are just a few examples.

It is possible that the description of the *thūpa* raised by the nuns for their eminent elder in *pācittiya* no. 52 in the *Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga* is a simple reflection of the real-life situation on the ground. Disposing of the cremation's remains in funerary mounds would have been normal practice. Funerary mounds of especially eminent local nuns would have been a focus of worship and cult at least for some time. It is possible that in the early days of the Buddhist community *stūpas* were simple and unsubstantial funerary mounds where the ashes – unless scattered elsewhere – would be deposited, perhaps not intended as 'perennial' memorials and for special maintenance and preservation, while of course all markers for the dead, however they may fare, are at least 'meant' to endure. As Schopen (2004: 343) himself remarks, "in the Pāli text the *thūpa* appears to have been a small, relatively insubstantial construction – it could be destroyed by one man in a short time – in or near a cemetery; in the Mūlasarvāstivādin text the *stūpa* was at least more substantial – it took five hundred men to destroy it, although they made quick work of it – it was made of brick and sited 'at a spacious spot.' ... what little we know about *stūpas* for local monks in Sri Lanka suggests that they were insubstantial affairs. Long ago Longhurst [(1936: 14)] reported in regard to what he had seen in Sri Lanka that 'the *stūpas* erected over the remains of ordinary members of the Buddhist community were very humble little structures'; Richard Gombrich [(1991: 142)], more recently, [reported] that 'small *stūpas* (closer to molehills than mountains) cover the ashes of monks in Sri Lanka to this day.'" In fact, *stūpas* in Thai monasteries, of monks, nuns, and lay people, are very common, whereas almost absent in Sri Lanka.

Thus, Schopen's argument on the absence of nuns' *stūpas* seems substantially an argument from silence, which I think needs to be considered interpreting both the archaeological evidence for early Buddhist material culture and the principles of *Vinaya* jurisprudence in a different way.⁴⁵ It is, in my opinion, too far-fetched to build a political argument on the basis of *Vinaya* narratives whose purpose is at best tangential to the topic at hand. Certainly, because the material is somewhat incidental, it is particularly useful and informative. But I find it also noteworthy that narratives with a clear didactic function are taken at face value

⁴⁵ Not to say that an argument from silence can never be a meaningful or a strong argument when no other coherent explanation is possible.

as historical documents whenever this suits a particular scholar's purpose.⁴⁶

As to the monks' political assassination of the nuns, unquestionably the female monastic community presented a challenge to the male monastic community in terms of competition for patronage, support, power and prestige (and this would also hold for other groups of monks). The very textual history of the canonical *Vinayas* testifies to these tensions, tensions that appear aplenty throughout the history of Buddhist monasticism. From conflicting ideologies to monastic faults in daily life in ancient India, one could well imagine a real-life vignette of a monk intent on his intensive meditation practice knocking down the *thūpa* where raucous nuns would gather for devotional chanting and perhaps to socialise with each other, with laywomen joining the group from time to time. This being said, an exercise in historical imagination should not slip into losing perspective on the didascalic and legal rather than historical nature of *Vinaya* narrative. The stories studied by Schopen may not be incredible stories, but I fail to see how they could provide primary evidence for the type of historical interpretation he suggests. The main point is that the *Vinaya* stories are conceived as didactic tales rather than factual records. The presence of factual or likely elements or details in the construction of any form of didactic literature does not document the historicity of the tale, in the same way as an edifying fable written in fifth-century Greece or eighteenth-century Europe would be based on the material culture, ideas and prevalent ideologies of the time, encoded into fantastic and phantasmagorical stories which certainly should not be read as factual reports of what actually happened.

In sum, regardless of the historical events – whether a *stūpa* was raised or not – there may be various reasons of narratological economy why the construction of a *stūpa* may not have been

⁴⁶ It is then easy for an argument such as the one built by Schopen to be taken as an authoritatively established fact by scholars working in adjacent fields, as exemplified by a remark in Adamek (2012: 51), that “[a]s Buddhist scholar Gregory Schopen has pointed out, reliquary *stūpas* ... sometimes became the focus of violent contestation.” This is not to say that Buddhist holy places do not become the focus of, at times, violent contestation, competition and division within the Buddhist communities themselves. Schlingloff (1964), von Hinüber (1996: 13–15) (§§ 22–25), Anālayo (2012a) and Anālayo (2014a) put into perspective the nature of *Vinaya* narrative in general and in its relationship to the rules.

inserted at all in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* account. After the group *parinirvāṇa*, no nuns are left on the scene who could have erected a *stūpa*, but it would have been easy enough to have some nuns standing by. With narratives, it is often futile to speculate on what and why is not present in the picture.

In the present case, with the funerary proceedings being respectfully carried out by the Buddha himself together with the most eminent members of the *bhikṣu-saṅgha*, the description is quite different from a ‘murdering of the dead plot’ or of a conflict between two communities of monks and nuns. It is a textual memorialisation – in lieu of a *stūpa* – rather than a *damnatio memoriae*.

I would now like to look at the second question to be addressed in the reading of the funeral account, that is, the question of the function of the Buddha’s display of the nuns’ youthful bodies.

Physio-morals of Corpses & Teaching the Dharma

The *post mortem* condition of the bodies of the *bhikṣuṇīs* being shown off by the Buddha is described as resembling the appearance of sixteen-year-old maidens, with the Tibetan version adding that they have neither wrinkles nor grey hair.⁴⁷

The *avadāna* recounted by the Buddha gives the background story of meritorious intentions, deeds and aspiration (*praṇidhāna*) that matured not only in Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and her followers’ present life but in many of their previous lifetimes as well. The story serves the didactic purpose of educating and inspiring the audience to merit and virtue. Since the story is transmitted in the *Kṣudrakavastu*, a *Vinaya* section shared by the two monastic communities, as I have already noted above, the story of these women’s virtue is considered exemplary and thus suitable to instil positive values in both male and female monastic audiences.

In the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, the Buddha himself is on record as having displayed his own body and having invited the monks to look at it. The Buddha proclaims that the monks should behold the body of the Tathāgata because the

⁴⁷ Cf. note 6 above.

appearance of a Samyaksambuddha is extraordinarily rare, like the blossoming of the (semi-mythical) *udumbara* flower.⁴⁸

However, here the Buddha's aged body is not as extraordinary as that of Gautamī and the *bhikṣuṇīs*. Its physicality, frailty and impermanence are not erased. It is still his ageing mortal body. In a version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* independently translated into Chinese, the Buddha tells the *bhikṣus* that even if he now has "this *vajra*-body" – indestructible by definition – he too is not exempt from being changed by impermanence.⁴⁹

The bodies of the nuns and the invitation to contemplate them appear instead to function as the fulcrum of an incipient discourse on both body and persona *extraordinaire*, quite a departure from the earlier humanity of the Buddha and the ordinariness of his body.⁵⁰ Thus the parallelism between the Buddha uncovering his own body just before passing away – whose original point would have been to deliver a graphic teaching on impermanence – and the Buddha showing off of the nuns' bodies to give a Dharma teaching appears to have got somehow obscured due to the tendency to increasingly embellish narratives that become more and more miraculous.

While from a strictly chronological perspective it may be said that the uncovering of the bodies of the nuns by the Buddha does foreshadow Ānanda's uncovering of the Buddha's body after the Teacher's *parinirvāṇa*, as pointed out by Finnegan in the quoted passage above, from an ideological viewpoint I think it is useful to make a distinction between the teachings and messages involved.

⁴⁸ Sanskrit and Tibetan in ed. Waldschmidt (1951: II.394–395) (§ 42.10) and Chinese in T 1451 at T XXIV 399a27, translated in Waldschmidt (1951: II.395) (§ 42.10).

⁴⁹ T 7 at T I 204c26, translated in Waldschmidt (1967 [1939]: 82); cf. the comments in Waldschmidt (1967 [1939]: 87–88), Waldschmidt (1948: 248) and the discussion in Anālayo (2014b: 7 with note 24). On the notion of *vajrakāya* in general, see Radich (2012).

⁵⁰ Anālayo (2014b: 6–7), who takes up the parallel passages in other versions, suggests that "[a]n earlier version of this description might have been about the Buddha displaying how old age had affected his body, thereby providing a vivid reminder of impermanence to the assembled disciples. With the growth of docetic tendencies this would then have become an act of revealing the extraordinary nature of the Buddha's body."

The Dharma teaching conveyed by the Buddha ‘revealing’ the nuns’ corpses after the funeral differs from the showing of the Buddha’s private parts to women in the aftermath of the Buddha’s *parinirvāṇa*. The doctrinal significance of the Buddha’s gesture could have been just about pointing out impermanence (even of unchanged bodies), and then in the course of creative embellishing this would have become a display of their youthfulness.

Ānanda’s showing the Buddha’s private parts to women is quite different. To expose the private parts of the corpse of a celibate monastic to members of the opposite sex feels difficult to imagine in ancient India. Such an incident seems related to the trajectory of the development of an emphasis on the marks on the Buddha’s body – here the *kośagatavastiguhyatā*, the Buddha’s pudenda hidden in the abdomen, comparable to the retracted penis of a horse or an elephant.⁵¹

Ānanda’s initiative is recorded in the Mūlasarvāstivāda and Sarvāstivāda accounts – among others – of the first communal recitation of the *Dharmavinaya*, the first *saṅgīti*. One of the many allegations to be levied against the Master’s attendant by the emerging traditionalist sectors of the *saṅgha* during this first *saṅgīti* is precisely that he showed the Buddha’s pudenda to a group of female disciples.⁵² Thus, the criticism of Ānanda’s display

⁵¹ On this *lakṣaṇa* see, e.g., Verardi (1999/2000), Sferra (2008), the remarks in Egge (2003: 205 note 18), Anālayo (2009: 181–182 note 54) and Anālayo (2011: 46 with note 53).

⁵² The Mūlasarvāstivāda version is found in D 6, ‘*dul ba, da* 308b2 [= Si-K 6, vol. 11, 745,19–21] and P 1035, ‘*dul ba, ne* 291b7, and T 1451 at T XXIV 405b25; for the Sarvāstivāda parallel see T 1435 at T XXIII 449c12–14. Przyluski (1920: 13–14) [= 1920: 175–176] comments: “Dans plusieurs récits du Premier Concile, Mahā-Kācyapa fait encore un autre reproche à Ānanda. Il le blâme d’avoir exposé aux regards des pleureuses les organes sexuels du grand ascète. Ānanda répond qu’il espérait qu’après avoir contemplé la nudité du Buddha, les femmes seraient délivrées des passions. L’excuse est aussi étrange que l’acte qu’elle tend à justifier. Mais tout s’explique très simplement, si on admet que la toilette funèbre du Bienheureux fut confiée aux femmes de Kuṣinārā. On verra plus loin que, selon l’usage brahmanique, le corps du défunt devait être lavé. Que ce rite eût été accompli par des femmes ou simplement en leur présence, c’en était assez pour scandaliser les prudes théologiens de certaines sectes et pour leur fournir un nouveau prétexte de censurer Ānanda dont la coupable faiblesse avait toléré de tels abus.” The implications of this allegation are discussed in Anālayo (2016, 159–177).

of the Buddha's private parts needs to be positioned against the backdrop of the first *saṅgīti*'s institutional currents and the textual dynamics they gave rise to.

The two occasions on which the Buddha shows off bodies, his own to the monks and those of the nuns to the monks, are instead considered by the tradition in a positive light (and naturally so as the Buddha is the agent). The gesture is clearly considered as appropriate. Ānanda's revealing of the Buddha's private parts to women is, conversely, seen as inappropriate. The contrast between a focus on just the body in the first case and the zooming in on a limited and private part of a celibate body is also noteworthy.

In sum, the early story of the Buddha uncovering his own body is likely to be the textual antecedent. The motif of Ānanda's revealing the Teacher's body after the *parinirvāṇa* seems to be grafted into it.

As for the nuns' one hundred and twenty year-old bodies – to which not only the king and the populace, but also the Buddha and the *bhikṣus*, render homage – these seemingly imply, I feel, a subtle interplay of aesthetics and ethics.

These are bodies that are at once 'prodigious', if not miraculous, *super*-natural and *un*-natural. It seems to me that this praise of the corpses as eternally youthful presumes an aesthetic of 'physiomorals' that pervades the cultural and religious dimensions of body discourse across many communities of Middle-Period Buddhism in India. Bodies are 'virtuous bodies' that express the physical dimension of morality in Buddhist ethics.⁵³ The nuns' bodies defy decay, old age and death, in stark contrast to the reality of impermanence and cessation. This is a result of the nuns' past merit, as the *avadāna* related by the Buddha makes clear. It is rather doubtful that the different elements of the hagiography – the meditative performance, its marvels, the supernormal preservation of the maidenly bodies and the *avadāna* anecdote – came into being at the same time. Notwithstanding the historically layered nature of this account of supernormal feats and supernatural

⁵³ For a reading of 'Buddhist bodies' in the light of physiomoral discourse theories on bodies see Mroziak (2007) reviewed by Clayton (2009), and for a reading of Gautamī's miraculous passing away methodologically inspired by Mroziak (2007) see Finnegan (2009: 213 note 422, 233–236 and 240).

physiques, all such elements appear all well harmonised in a synchronic reading that serves the didactic purpose of the narrative.

These supernatural bodies are dead and ready to be cremated. Living bodies that were once ‘ascetic’ in the sense of being vehicles for the spiritual self-discipline of cultivation (*āskēsis*), become now ‘ascetic corpses’ to teach others. They are meant to teach not only that the non-beautiful and impure body (*aśubha* and *aśuci*) contemplated in meditative practice is constantly decaying and will eventually rot away, but also that the excellent, apparently ageing-free, bodies of saints such as Gautamī and the five hundred *bhikṣuṇīs* are not worthy of being attached to and will have to be discarded.

Whether they are painful to bear, old, decrepit, and falling apart like an old cart as with the Buddha’s own eighty-year-old body before his final extinction,⁵⁴ or whether they are intact and seemingly still youthful like those of Gautamī and the five hundred *bhikṣuṇīs*, the bodies served as vehicles for spiritual practice when alive, and now, when dead, serve as a communication code for Buddhist teachings. The bodies of the nuns have become embodiments of the teachings, embodiments of spiritual excellence, of attaining to the deathless, and of the truth of death and cessation at once.

There is yet another contrast between the miraculous bodies of the nuns and their respective literary antecedent in the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition provided by Dravya Mallaputra’s self-cremation.⁵⁵ Dravya Mallaputra also goes up into the sky, enters and emerges from the fire-element attainment, and passes away into *parinirvāṇa*, at which his body goes up in flames without leaving any remainder.⁵⁶ Because he has become ‘quenched’ or ‘extinguished’ (*parinirvṛta*), his body immolates but, miraculously, there are no ashes left; the body burns up completely.

⁵⁴ D 6, *'dul ba, da* 246b7 [= Si-K 6, vol. 11, *'dul ba, da* 596,13] and P 1035, *'dul ba, ne* 235b4; cf. also Finnegan (2009: 235–236).

⁵⁵ I have discussed the model provided by the case of Dravya Mallaputra narrative discussed in the earlier part of this study, see Dhammadinnā (2015a: 32 note 10 and 48).

⁵⁶ On meditative attainments connected to the fire element see, e.g., Dantinne (1983: 272–274), Anālayo (2015b), and the first article of my study, Dhammadinnā (2015a).

In contrast, the nuns in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* go up into the sky, display their prodigious meditative feats based on the fire-element attainment, go through their *samādhi*-progression, and attain *parinirvāṇa*. There is no mention that they come down again from the sky, so presumably the narrative module is abridged. Dravya's self-cremation is a miraculous textual development built on the fire-attainment.⁵⁷ The nuns do enter the fire attainment but their bodies are not burnt. They are miraculously preserved and have even become young thanks to their virtue and merit. This seems also a manifestation of a tendency to textual development, embellishment and amplification in the direction of the miraculous.

Thus the fire-element attainment, the 'physio-moral' *tapas* and the final attainment of timelessness and deathlessness with *parinirvāṇa* (rather than, needless to say, the attainment of Brahminical immortality) provide a symbolic continuum and the key to decode the *imaginaire* of the nuns' youthful bodily remains.

The hagiographic account of Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī's *parinirvāṇa* and funeral is intertextually positioned in relation to the literary model of the Master's *parinirvāṇa* and funeral. It is worthwhile to recall a sequence of verses in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* that encapsulates the essence of the Dharma teachings conveyed. The famous stanza pronounced by Śakra just after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* highlights the supreme happiness of cessation:

"The moment when the Buddha, the Blessed One, became fully extinct, Śakra, the Lord of the *devas*, pronounced the verse:

'Formations are impermanent,
They have the nature of arising and disintegrating.
Having arisen, they cease.
Their stilling is happiness.'"⁵⁸

⁵⁷ The case of Dravya Mallaputra's self-cremation is discussed at length in Anālayo (2012b) [= 2015c: 389–414]; Anālayo (2015b) further discusses the textual developments of fire-miracles observable across early Buddhist texts transmitted by various traditions of reciters.

⁵⁸ Sanskrit Mūlasarvāstivāda *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, ed. Waldschmidt (1951: III.398,17–23) (§ 44. 4–5); cf. the Tibetan Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, ed. Waldschmidt (1951: III.399,20–26) (§ 44.4–5), translation by Lévi in Przyluski (1918: 494–495) [= 1920: 14–15]; and the Chinese Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1451 at T XXIV 399c28–400a1, translation Przyluski (1918:

In the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel version of the funeral narrative, this stanza is pronounced by the Buddha as he prepares Gautamī's sandalwood pyre.⁵⁹ Following suit, the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* continues with the god Brahmā affirming the mortality even of excellent bodies of excellent beings.⁶⁰ The venerable Aniruddha extols the excellence of final extinction of a fully liberated mind with the imagery of an extinct flame.⁶¹ Lastly, Ānanda celebrates the flames that consumed the Buddha's body,⁶² again with a poetic and evocative use of the imagery of fire.

489–490) [= 1920: 9–10] and Waldschmidt (1951: III.399) (§ 44.4–5); SĀ 1197, T 99 at T II 325b16–18, translation Przyluski (1918: 500) [= 1920: 20]. Cf. also *Avadānaśataka* X.10, ed. Speyer (1906–1909: II.198,8–10), translation Feer (1891: 431). The Pali counterpart, DN 16 at DN II 157,8–9, is recited to this day at funerals and cremations, both monastic and lay, in the Theravāda societies of South and Southeast Asia.

⁵⁹ EĀ 52.1 at T II 823b2–6, translated in Dash (2008: 145–146).

⁶⁰ Sanskrit Mūlasarvāstivāda *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, ed. Waldschmidt (1951: III.398,18–340,7) (§ 44.6–7); cf. the Tibetan Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, ed. Waldschmidt (1951: III.399,27–401,9) (§ 44.6–7), translation by Lévi in Przyluski (1918: 495) [= 1920: 15]; and the Chinese Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1451 at T XXIV 400a2–6, translated in Przyluski (1918: 489) [= 1920: 9] and Waldschmidt (1951: III.399) (§ 44.6–7); SĀ 1197, T 99 at T II 325b19–23, translated in Przyluski (1918: 500) [= 1920: 20]. Cf. also the *Avadānaśataka* X.10, ed. Speyer (1906–1909: II.198,8–10), translated in Feer (1891: 431).

⁶¹ Sanskrit Mūlasarvāstivāda *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, ed. Waldschmidt (1951: III.400,8–14) (§ 44.8–11); cf. the Tibetan Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, ed. Waldschmidt (1951: III.401,10–16) (§ 44.8–11), translation by S. Lévi in Przyluski (1918: 500) [= 1920: 20]; and the Chinese Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1451 at T XXIV 400a7–13, translated in Przyluski (1918: 500–501) [= 1920: 20–21] and Waldschmidt (1951: III.401–403) (§ 44.8–11); SĀ 1197, T 99 at T II 325b24–325c1, translated in Przyluski (1918: 500–501) [= 1920: 20–21]. Cf. also the *Avadānaśataka* X.10, ed. Speyer (1906–1909: II.198,11–199,2), translated in Feer (1891: 431) with the remarks in Przyluski (1918: 490 note 2) [= 1920: 10 note 2].

⁶² Sanskrit Mūlasarvāstivāda *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, ed. Waldschmidt (1951: III.430,10–21) (§ 49.22–24); cf. the Tibetan Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, ed. Waldschmidt (1951: III.431,16–29) (§ 49.22–24), translation by S. Lévi in Przyluski (1918: 495) [= 1920: 15]; and the Chinese Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1451 at T XXIV 401b19–22, translated in Przyluski (1918: 495) [= 1920: 15] and Waldschmidt (1951: III.431) (§ 49.22–24). Cf. also the *Avadānaśataka* X.10, ed. Speyer (1906–1909: II.199,3–199,11), translated in Feer (1891: 432). On the *mahāparinirvāṇa* narrative transmitted in the *Avadānaśataka* and the series of stanzas, see in more detail the study by

Read against the backdrop of these verses in the Teacher's *parinirvāṇa* description, the presence of the fire imagery through the nuns' extraordinary meditative performances, based on the fire-element attainment, and then their final cessation without residue, feels particularly poignant.

However, the body-and-corpse discourse that emerges from the Buddha's own *parinirvāṇa* in the same Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition, while not devoid of its own marvels, does not hold comparison with that of the arhatī Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and her five hundred *bhikṣuṇīs*. In this the nuns excel the Teacher.⁶³

Conclusion

The portrayal of (arhat) monks behaving so respectfully towards (arhatī) nuns is in accordance with the funerary ritual conventions of the time, without infringing conventional principles of *Vinaya* hierarchy and etiquette. The Indian funerary rites influenced the details, yet the fact that this depiction has come into existence is not just because of ancient Indian funerary rituals.

The physiomoral excellence of the nuns' bodies reflects a positive attitude towards nuns in this narrative. I find it remarkable that a *Vinaya* text – a canonical narrative transmitted by male monastics that inherently sets a normative and exemplary paradigm for all monastics – should have been able to negotiate these aspects so successfully.

The Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* corpus has long been known – as testified by the various embellishments and amplifications evident in the narrative studied here – for its comparatively long

Vaudeville (1964). The flames burnt all five-hundred layers of cloth in which the Buddha's corpse had been wrapped with the exception of the innermost and the outermost layers. For a comparative study of the evolution of the description of the funeral of the Buddha, and the tendency to represent his cremation as that of a *mahāpuruṣa-cakravartin* rather than as that of a monk, see the classical study by Przyluski (1920) and, more recently, von Hinüber (2009) (with references to earlier literature).

⁶³ A 'body discourse' – in this case centered on the notion of the authentic body of the Tathāgata – surfaces again in a *Vinaya* quotation in the **Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa* related to the theme of *parinirvāṇa* and to the same rule that is formulated at the end of Gautamī's narrative; cf. ed. Lévi (1932: 158,17–159,18) and Kudo (2011: 25–28), translated in Lévi (1932: 173–174). I discuss it in a study in preparation.

redactional history through the Middle Period of Indian Buddhism, which made it (or parts of it) naturally more open to development and reconfiguration. It is therefore also notable that alongside its creative embellishments, this canonical *Vinaya* narrative has preserved a positive attitude towards nuns on the part of the male monastics who were in charge of the textual transmission. This *Vinaya* narrative is thus significant in that it has preserved one among the widely dispersed voices in the multiplex gender discourse(s) that emerged in the early and mediaeval Buddhist communities in India. *Vinaya* narrative and monastic Buddhism in India – which no doubt in many instances evolved to reflect and sanction male hegemony and institutional control over nuns individually and communally – was not all about power over nuns, misogyny, or “aggression by one religious group against another”, or other such dynamics.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ In the words of Schopen (2004: 337). As noted by Dimitrov (2004: 17), “[w]e hear different voices, and this multivocality ... is but the normal state of affairs.” Sponberg (1992: 3) clarifies well the existence of such a multiplicity of voices “each expressing a different set of concerns current among the members of the early [and mediaeval] community [communities].” I return to the role of male monastic transmitters, with special reference to the female audience of the oral and aural performance of narrative texts, in Dhammadinnā (2015b). An overall evaluation of the multivocality of early and mediaeval Buddhist attitudes to nuns and of the complex historical developments in this area falls outside my present scope.

Acknowledgments

I thank bhikkhu Anālayo, bhikkhu Ariyadhammika, Ann Heirman, Karashima Seishi, Petra Kieffer-Pülz, bhikkhu Ñāṇatusita, Peter Skilling, Dan Stuart, Vincent Tournier and Giovanni Verardi for comments and criticism, and Hung Peiying for reading the Chinese Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* with me.

Abbreviations

Ap	<i>Apadāna</i>
D	Derge edition (Tōhoku)
DĀ	<i>Dīrgha-āgama</i>
DN	<i>Dīgha-nikāya</i>
EĀ	<i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> (T 125)
H	Lhasa (zHol) Kanjur edition
Mp	<i>Manorathapuraṇī</i>
N	Narhang edition
P	Peking edition (Ōtani)
SĀ	<i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 99)
SHT	Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfan Funden
Si-K	Sichuan (Beijing) collated Kanjur (= <i>dpe bsdur ma</i>)
Si-T	Sichuan (Beijing) collated Tanjur (= <i>dpe bsdur ma</i>)
T	Taishō edition (CBETA, 2014)
U	Urga (= Phyi sog khu re) Kanjur
Up	<i>Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭikā</i> (P 5595)
Y	Yongle (g.Yung lo) Kanjur

Note

For Pali texts, all references are to the editions of the Pali Text Society, unless otherwise indicated. For all text editions I have adjusted the sandhi, punctuation, capitalisation etc., and simplified some of the text-critical conventions for ease of readability.

References

- Adamek, Wendi Leigh 2009a: “A Niche of their Own: The Power of Convention in Two Inscriptions for Medieval Chinese Buddhist Nuns”, *History of Religions*, 49.1: 1–26.
- Adamek, Wendi 2009b: “The Literary Lives of Nuns: Poems Inscribed on a Memorial Niche for the Tang Nun Benxing”, *T’ang Studies*, 27: 40–65.
- Adamek, Wendi 2012: “The Agency of Relations at Baoshan”, *Literature & Aesthetics*, 22.2: 50–71.
- Anālayo, Bhikkhu 2009: “The Bahudhātuka-sutta and Its Parallels on Women’s Inabilities”, *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, 16: 137–190 [= id., *Madhyama-āgama Studies* (Dharma Drum Buddhist College Research Series, 5), Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation, 2012, 249–288].
- Anālayo, Bhikkhu 2011: “The Conversion of the Brahmin Sela in the Ekottarika-āgama”, *Thai International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 2: 37–56.
- Anālayo 2012a: “The Case of Sudinna: On the Function of Vinaya Narrative, Based on a Comparative Study of the Background Narration to the First Pārājika Rule”, *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, 19: 396–438.
- Anālayo 2012b: “Dabba’s Self-cremation in the Saṃyukta-āgama”, *Buddhist Studies Review*, 26.2: 153–174 [= id. 2015c: 389–414].
- Anālayo, Bhikkhu 2014a: “The Mass Suicide of Monks in Discourse and Vinaya Literature”, *Journal of the Oxford Center for Buddhist Studies*, 7: 11–55.
- Anālayo, Bhikkhu 2014b: “The Buddha’s Last Meditation in the Dīrgha-āgama”, *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 15: 1–43.
- Anālayo, Bhikkhu 2015a: “Miracle-working Nuns in the Ekottarika-āgama”, *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 1–27.
- Anālayo 2015b: “The Buddha and Fire Miracles”, *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*, 9: 9–42.

- Anālayo, Bhikkhu 2016: *The Foundation History of the Nuns' Order* (Hamburg Buddhist Studies, 6), Bochum and Freiburg: Projekt Verlag.
- Assandri, Friederike 2013: "Examples of Buddho–Daoist interaction: concepts of the afterlife in early medieval epigraphic sources", *The electronic Journal of East and Central Asian Religions*, 1: 1–38. DOI: 10.2218/ejekar.2013.1.726
- Auboyer, Jeannine 1961: *La vie quotidienne dans l'Inde ancienne*, Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1961.
- Balk, Michael 1984: *Prajñāvarman's Udānavargavivaraṇa, Transliteration of its Tibetan version (based on the xylographs of Chone/Derge and Peking)* (Indica et Tibetica, Arbeitsmaterialien A), Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag.
- Bureau, André 1962: "La construction et le culte des stūpa d'après les Vinayapitaka", *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 50: 229–294.
- Barnes Nancy J. 2000: "The Nuns at the Stūpa, Inscriptional Evidence for the Lives and Activities of Early Buddhist Nuns in India", in Ellison Banks Findly (ed.), *Women's Buddhism, Buddhism's Women: Tradition, Revision, Renewal*, Sommerville: Wisdom Publications, 17–36.
- Beal, Samuel 1884: *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World, Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629)*, vol. 2, London: Trübner & Co.
- Chen, Jinhua 2002: "Family Ties and Buddhist Nuns in Tang China: Two Studies", *Asia Major*, third series, 15.2 (2002): 51–85.
- Clarke, Shayne 2014a: *Family Matters in Indian Buddhist Monasticisms*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Clarke, Shayne 2014b: *Vinaya Texts* (Gilgit Manuscripts in the National Archives of India Facsimile Edition, 1), New Delhi and Tokyo: The National Archives of India and The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University.
- Clayton, Barbra R. 2009: Review of Mroziak 2007, H-Buddhism (H-Net Reviews). <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=23879>

- Cowell, E.B. and R.A. Neil 1886: *The Divyāvadāna, A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends, Now First Edited from the Nepalese Sanskrit Mss in Cambridge and Paris*, Cambridge: University Press.
- Crane, Hillary 2001: *Men in Spirit, The Masculinization of Taiwanese Buddhist Nuns*, PhD thesis, Brown University.
- Crosby, Kate 2014: *Theravada Buddhism, Continuity, Diversity, and Identity* (Wiley Blackwell Guides to Buddhism), Chichester: Wiley.
- Dantinne, Jean 1983: *La splendeur de l'inébranlable (Akṣobhya-vyūha)* (Publications de l'Institut orientaliste de Louvain, 29), vol. 1: *Chapitres I-III: Les auditeurs, Śrāvaka*, Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique de Louvain, Institut orientaliste.
- Dash, Shobha Rani 2008: *Mahāpajāpatī, The First Bhikkhunī*, Seoul: Blue Lotus Books.
- Dhammadinnā, Bhikkhunī 2015a: “The Parinirvāṇa of Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and Her Followers in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya”, *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 16: 29–61.
- Dhammadinnā, Bhikkhunī 2015b: “Predictions of Women to Buddhahood in Middle-Period Literature”, *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, 22: 481–531.
- Dhirasekera, Jotiya 1984: "Cīvara", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, id. (ed.), vol. 4.2: *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa—Democracy*, Sri Lanka: The Government of Sri Lanka, Department of Buddhist Affairs, 183–186.
- Dimitrov, Dragomir 2004: “Two Female Bodhisattvas in Flesh and Blood”, in Ulriche Roesler and Jayandra Soni (ed.), *Aspects of the Female in Indian Culture, Proceedings of the Symposium in Marburg, Germany, July 7–8, 2000* (Indica et Tibetica, 44), Marburg: Indica et Tibetica Verlag.
- Egge, James R. 2003: “Interpretative Strategies for Seeing the Body of the Buddha”, in John Clifford Holt, Jacob N. Kinnard and Jonathan S. Walters (ed.), *Constituting Communities, Theravāda Buddhism and the Religious Cultures of South and Southeast Asia* (SUNY Series in Buddhist Studies), Albany: State University of New York Press, 189–208.

- Eliade, Mircea 1954: *Le Yoga, Immortalité et liberté* (Petite Bibliothèque Payot, 120), Paris: Peyot.
- Feer, Léon 1891: *Avadâna-çataka, Cent légendes bouddhiques: La centaine d'avadânas, commençant par Pûrṇa (Pûrṇa-mukha-avadâna-çataka), traduit du sanskrit, avec une introduction analytique, notes linguistiques et explicatives et trois index* (Annales du Musée Guimet, 18), Paris: E. Leroux (reprint: Amsterdam: Apa – Oriental Press, 1979).
- Filippi, Gian Giuseppe 1996: *Mṛtyu, Concept of Death in Indian Traditions, Transformation of the Body and Funeral Rites*, Antonio Rigopoulos (tr.), (Reconstructing Indian History and Culture, 11), New Delhi, D.K. Printworld.
- Filippi, Gian Giuseppe 2010: *Il mistero della morte nell'India tradizionale* (Collana Indoasiatica), Bassano del Grappa: Itinera Progetti.
- Filliozat, Jean and Louis Renou (in collaboration with Pierre Meile, Anne-Marie Esnoul and Liliane Silbourn), 1947–1949: *L'Inde classique, Manuel des études indiennes* (Bibliothèque scientifique), vol. 1, Paris: Payot.
- Finnegan, Damchö Diana 2009: 'For the Sake of Women Too', *Ethics and Gender in the Narratives of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*, PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Georgieva, Valentina 2000: *Buddhist Nuns in China: From the Six Dynasties to the Tang*, doctoral thesis, University of Leiden.
- Gnoli, Raniero (with the assistance of T. Venkatacharya) 1977: *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu, Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin* (Serie Orientale Roma, 49.1), part 1, Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- Gnoli, Raniero 1978: *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsana-vastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu, Being the 15th and 16th Sections of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin* (Serie Orientale Roma, 50), Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- Gokhale, Shobhana 1991: *Kanheri Inscriptions*, Pune: Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute.

- Gombrich, Richard 1991: “Making Mountains without Molehills: The Case of the Missing Stūpa”, *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 15: 141–143.
- Heirman, Ann 1997: “Some Remarks on the Rise of the bhikṣuṇī-saṃgha and on the Ordination Ceremony for bhikṣuṇīs according to the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya”, *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 20.2: 33–85.
- Heirman, Ann 2002: *The Discipline in Four Parts’, Rules for Nuns according to the Dharmaguptakavinaya, part 2: Translation*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Heirman, Ann 2008: “Yijing’s View on the Bhikṣuṇīs’ Standard Robes”, *Zhonghua foxue xuebao 中華佛學學報 / Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal*, 21: 145–158.
- Heirman, Ann 2015: “Buddhist Nuns through the Eyes of Leading Early Tang Masters”, *The Chinese Historical Review*, 22.1: 31–51.
- Hinüber, Oskar von 1975: “Kulturgeschichtliches aus dem Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya: die saṃkākṣikā”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 125: 133–139 [= id., in Harry Falk and Walter Slaje (ed.), *Kleine Schriften* (Glacnapp Stiftung, 47), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, vol. 1, 2009, 805–813].
- Hinüber, Oskar von 1996: *A Handbook of Pāli Literature* (Indian Philology and South Asian Studies, 2), Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Hinüber, Oskar von 2009: “Cremated like a King: The Funeral of the Buddha within the Ancient Indian Cultural Context”, *Kokusai bukkyōgaku daigakuin daigaku kenkyū kiyō 國際仏教学大学院大学 研究紀要 / Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies*, 13: 33–66
- Huber, Édouard 1908: *Açvaghōṣa Sūtrālaṃkāra, Traduit en français sur la version chinoise de Kumārajīva*, Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- Jayawickrama, N.A. 1990: *The Story of Gotama Buddha, the Nidāna-kathā of the Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, Oxford: The Pali Text Society.

- Kabilsingh, Chatsumarn 1984: *A Comparative Study of Bhikkhunī Pāṭimokkha* (Chaukhambha Oriental Research Studies, 28), Varanasi: Chaukhambha Orientalia.
- Khan, J.A. 1990: “Position of Women as Reflected in Sāñcī Stūpa Inscriptions”, *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (Baroda), 39.3–4: 231–237.
- Kieffer-Pülz, Petra 2000: “Die buddhistische Gemeinde”, in H. Bechert et al. (ed.), *Der Buddhismus I, Der indische Buddhismus und seine Verzweigungen* (Aus der Reihe Die Religionen der Menschheit, 24.1), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 281–402.
- Klostermaier, Klaus K. 2007: *A Survey of Hinduism*, third edition, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Kudo, Noriyuki 2011: “The Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa: A Transliteration of the Nepalese Manuscript A (3)”, *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, 14: 25–33.
- Lamotte, Étienne 1949: *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra)*, vol. 1 (1949) (Bibliothèque du Muséon, 18): *Chapitres I–XV*, Louvain: Bureau du Muséon.
- La Vallée Poussin, Louis de 1937: “Staupikam”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 2.2: 276–289.
- Legittimo, Elsa 2009: “Relics, Relic Worship and Stūpas in the Chinese Translation of the Ekottarika-āgama”, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 / *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, 57.3: 57–62 [1199–1205].
- Lévi, Sylvain 1932: *Mahākarmavibhaṅga (Le Grande Classification des Actes) et Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa (Discussion sur le Mahākarmavibhaṅga)*, *Textes sanscrits rapportés du Népal, édités et traduits avec les textes parallèles en sanscrit, en pali, en tibétain, en chinois et en koutchéen, illustré de quatre planches, Le Karmavibhaṅga sur les bas-reliefs de Boro-Boudor, à Java*, Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- Linrothe Rob and Melissa Kerin 2015: “Recollecting Kashmir: Cleveland’s Eleven-headed, Thousand-armed Avalokiteshvara”, *Orientalism*, 46.1: 68–76.

- Longhurst, A.H. 1936: *The Story of the Stūpa*, Colombo: Ceylon Government Press.
- Luce, Gordon H. (in collaboration with Bo-Hmu Ba Shin and U Tin Oo) 1969: *Old Burma: Early Pagán (Artibus Asiae, Supplementum, 25)*, vol. 1: *Text*, New York: J.J. Augustine Publisher.
- Lüders, Heinrich 1926: *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmandītikā des Kumāralāta* (Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, 2), Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft in Kommission bei F.A. Brockhaus [reprinted in *Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie*, 1, Wiesbaden: Steiner Verlag, 1979, 113–375].
- Malalasekera, G.P. 1997: *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, Oxford: The Pali Text Society, 3 vols. [originally publ.: London: Pali Text Society, 1938].
- McNair Amy 2007: *Donors of Longmen, Faith, Politics, and Patronage in Medieval Chinese Buddhist Sculpture*, Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Milligan, Matthew D. 2015: “Five Unnoticed Donative Inscriptions and the Relative Chronology of Sanchi Stūpa II for the Evaluation of Buddhist Historical Traditions”, *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, 18: 11–22.
- Mrozik, Susanne 2007: *Virtuous Bodies: The Physical Dimensions of Morality in Buddhist Ethics* (Religion, Culture and History Series), New York: Oxford University Press.
- Muldoon-Hules, Karen Maria 2011: *Brides of the Buddha and Other Stories: Reading the Women’s Stories of the 8th Varga of the Avadānaśataka in Context*, PhD dissertation, University of California Los Angeles.
- Nattier, Jan 2003: “The Ten Epithets of the Buddha in the Translations of Zhi Qian 支謙”, *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, 6: 207–250.
- Obeyesekere, Ranjini 2009: *Yasodharā, The Wife of the Bōdhisattva, The Sinhala Yasodharāvata (The Story of Yasodharā) and the Sinhala Yasodharāpadānaya (The*

Sacred Biography of Yasodharā), Translated with an Introduction and Notes, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

- Ohnuma, Reiko 2014: Review of Clarke 2014a, H-Buddhism (H-Net Reviews). <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=42417>
- Pandey, Rajbali 1969: *Hindu Samskāras, Socio-Religious Study of the Hindu Sacraments*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass (second revised edition).
- Przyluski, Jean 1918–1920: “Le parinirvāṇa et les funérailles du Buddha”, *Journal asiatique*, 11 (1918): 485–526; 12 (1918): 401–456; 13 (1919): 365–430; 15 (1920): 5–54, republished as “Le parinirvāṇa et les funérailles du Buddha, première partie”, *Extrait du Journal Asiatique*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1920.
- Radich, Michael 2012: “Immortal Buddhas and their Indestructible Embodiments, The Advent of the Concept of Vajrakāya”, *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 34.1/2 (2012) [2011]: 227–290.
- Sakaki, Ryōzaburō 榑 亮三郎 1926: *Mahābiyuttopatti [Mahāvvyutpatti]: bonzō kanwa yon yaku taikō Bonzō* 翻譯名義大集: 梵藏漢和四訳対校梵・藏索引, Kyoto: Shingonshū Kyōto Daigaku (reprint: Kyoto: Rinsen shoten 臨川書店, 1998).
- Schlingloff, Dieter 1964: “Zur Interpretation des Prātimokṣasūtra”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 113: 536–551.
- Schmidt, Michael 1993: “Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācānā, Die Handschrift Sansk. c.25(R) der Bodleian Library Oxford”, in Reinhold Grünendahl, Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Petra Kieffer-Pülz (ed.), *Studien zur Indologie und Buddhismuskunde* (Indica et Tibetica, 22), Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 239–288.
- Schopen, Gregory 1997a: “On Avoiding Ghosts and Social Censure: Monastic Funerals in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya”, in id., *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks, Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India* (Studies in the Buddhist Traditions), Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 204–237 [originally publ.: *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 20.1 (1992): 1–39].

- Schopen, Gregory 1997b: “Monks and the Relic Cult in the Mahāparinibbānasutta: An Old Misunderstanding in Regard to Monastic Buddhism”, in id., *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks, Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India* (Studies in the Buddhist Traditions), Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 99–113 [originally publ.: id. and Koichi Shinohara (ed.), *From Benares to Beijing, Essays on Buddhism and Chinese Religions in Honour of Prof. Jan Yüan-hua*, Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press, 1991, 187–201].
- Schopen, Gregory 1997c: “On Monks, Nuns and ‘Vulgar’ Practices: The Introduction of the Image Cult into Indian Buddhism”, in id., *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks, Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India* (Studies in the Buddhist Traditions), Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 238–257 [originally publ.: *Artibus Asiae*, 46 (1988): 153–158].
- Schopen, Gregory 2004: “The Suppression of Nuns and the Ritual Murder of Their Special Dead in Two Buddhist Monastic Codes”, in id., *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters, Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India* (Studies in the Buddhist Traditions), Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 329–359 [originally publ.: *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 24 (1996): 536–592].
- Schopen, Gregory 2014: “On the Legal and Economic Activities of Buddhist Nuns: Two Examples from Early India”, in Rebecca Redwood French and Mark A. Nathan (ed.), *Buddhism and Law, An Introduction*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 91–114.
- Sferra, Francesco 2008: “Appendix: Kośagatavastiguhyatā”, in Ellen M. Raven (ed.), *South Asian Archaeology 1999, Proceedings of the Fifteenth International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists held at the Universiteit Leiden, 5-9 July, 1999* (Gonda Indological Studies, 15), Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 9–13.
- Silk, Jonatan A. 2006: *Body Language, Indic Śarīra and Chinese Shèlì in the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra and Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* (Studia philologica buddhica Monograph Series, 19), Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.

- Silk, Jonathan A. 1997: “Further Remarks on the Yogācāra Bhikṣu”, in Bhikkhu Tampalawela Dhammaratana and Bhikkhu Pāsādika (ed.), *Dharmadhūta, Mélanges offerts au Vénérable Thích Huyền-Vi à l’occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire*, Paris: Éditions You-Feng, 233–250.
- Skilling, Peter 1993: “A Note on the History of the Bhikkhunī-saṅgha (II): The Order of Nuns after the Parinirvāṇa”, *The World Fellowship of Buddhists Review*, 31.1: 29–49.
- Skilling, Peter 2014a: “Reflections on the Pali Literature of Siam”, in Paul Harrison and Jens-Uwe Hartmann (ed.), *From Birch Bark to Digital Data: Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research (Papers Presented at the Conference Indic Buddhist Manuscripts: The State of the Field, Stanford, June 15–19, 2009)* (Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, 80, Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse, 460), Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 347–366.
- Skilling, Peter 2014b: “Stūpas, Aśoka and Buddhist Nuns: Early Buddhism in Ujjain and Malwa”, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, new series, 25 (2011 [2015]): 157–173.
- Speyer, J.S. 1902–1909: *Avadānaśataka, A Century of Edifying Tales Belonging to the Hīnayāna*, vol. 1 (1902–1906): Varga 1–7; vol. 2 (1906–1909): Varga 8–10 (Bibliotheca Buddhica, 3), St. Pétersbourg: Commissionnaires de l’Académie Impériale des Sciences.
- Sponberg, Alan 1992: “Attitudes toward Women and the Feminine in Early Buddhism”, in José Ignacio Cabezón (ed.), *Buddhism, Sexuality and Gender*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 3–36.
- Vargas-’O Brian, Ivette 2011: “The Life of dGe slong ma dPal mo: The Experience of a Leper, Founder of a Fasting Ritual, a Transmitter of Buddhist Teachings on Suffering and Renunciation in Tibetan Religious History”, *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 24.2: 157–185.
- Vaudeville, Charlotte 1964: “La légende de Sundara et les funérailles du Buddha dans l’Avadānaśataka”, *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient*, 52.1, 73–91.

- Verardi, Giovanni 1994: “Homa and Other Fire Rituals in Gandhāra”, *Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, 54.2 (Supplemento, 79).
- Verardi, Giovanni 1999/2000: “The Buddha-Elephant”, *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, 6 (Papers in honour of Francine Tissot): 69–74.
- Vitali, Roberto 1999: *Records of Tho.ling, A Literary and Visual Reconstruction of the “Mother” Monastery in Gu.ge*, New Delhi: High Asia.
- Waldschmidt, Ernst 1926: *Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins*, vol. 1 (Königlich Preußische Turfan-Expeditionen, Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, 3), Leipzig: Brockhaus (reprinted Monographien zur Indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie, 2, Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1979).
- Waldschmidt, Ernst 1948: *Die Überlieferung vom Lebensende des Buddha, Eine vergleichende Analyse des Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra und seiner Textentsprechungen*, vol. 2: *Vorgangsguppe V-VI* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 3. Folge, 30), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Waldschmidt, Ernst 1951: *Die Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra Text in Sanskrit und Tibetisch, verglichen mit dem Pāli nebst einer Übersetzung der chinesischen Entsprechung im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins auf Grund von Turfan-Handschriften herausgegeben und bearbeitet*, vol. 2: *Textarbeit, Vorgang 1–32* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen; Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 1950.2); vol. 3: *Textarbeit, Vorgang 33–51 (Inbegriffen das Mahāsudarśanasūtra)* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen; Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 1950.3), Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Waldschmidt, Ernst 1957: *Das Catuṣpariṣatsūtra, Eine kanonische Lehrschrift über die Begründung der buddhistischen Gemeinde; Text in Sanskrit und Tibetisch, verglichen mit dem Pāli nebst einer Übersetzung der chinesischen Entsprechung im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins auf Grund von Turfan-Handschriften herausgegeben*, vol. 2: *Text Bearbeitung: Vorgang 1–21* (Abhandlungen der Deutschen

- Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, 1956.1), Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Waldschmidt, Ernst 1967 [1939]: “Beiträge zur Textgeschichte des Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra”, in *Von Ceylon bis Turfan, Schriften zur Geschichte, Literatur, Religion und Kunst des indischen Kulturraums, Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag am 15. Juli 1967 von Ernst Waldschmidt*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 80–119 [originally published in *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse. Fachgruppe III; Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft. Östliche Kulturkreise, Neue Folge*, 2.3, 55–94].
- Walters, Jonathan S. 1994: “A Voice from the Silence: the Buddha’s Mother’s Story”, *History of Religions*, 33: 358–379.
- Werner, Karel 2013: “The Place of Relic Worship in Buddhism: An Unresolved Controversy”, *Buddhist Studies Review*, 30.1: 71–87.

बौद्ध अध्ययन की भारतीय अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय पत्रिका

THE INDIAN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF BUDDHIST STUDIES

अङ्क १७

२०१६/२०१६

Number 17

सूची / Contents

I शोधलेख / Articles

- Bhikkhu Anālayo, 1-24
The Gradual Path of Training in the *Dirgha-āgama*,
From Sense-restraint to Imperturbability
- Bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā, 25-74
The Funeral of Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and
Her Followers in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*
- Bruce J. Stewart, 75-146
Sa skya pa Perspective on Self-cognizing
Direct Perception Based on Sa skya Paṇḍita's
Tshad ma rigs gter and his auto-commentary
Along with Go-rams pa, Gyag ston and
Glo-bo mkhan's sub-commentaries
- Gaganjot Kaur, 147-165
Buddhist Meditation: A Brief Examination of
Samatha and *Vipassanā* in Theravāda Tradition
- James B. Apple, 167-202
"The Knot Tied with Space": Notes on a
Previously Unidentified Stanza in Buddhist
Literature and Its Citation
- James Duerlinger and Siddharth Singh, 203-270
Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla on the
Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Theory of a Self
- Tomoko Makidono, 271-305
Dge rtse Mahāpaṇḍita's Interpretation of the
Bsam yas Debate