

**THE BODHISATTVA IDEAL IN SELECTED
BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES
(ITS THEORETICAL & PRACTICAL EVOLUTION)**

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Abstract

This thesis consists of seven chapters. It is designed to survey and analyse the teachings of the Bodhisattva ideal and its gradual development in selected Buddhist scriptures. The main issues relate to the evolution of the teachings of the Bodhisattva ideal. The Bodhisattva doctrine and practice are examined in six major stages. These stages correspond to the scholarly periodisation of Buddhist thought in India, namely (1) the Bodhisattva's qualities and career in the early scriptures, (2) the debates concerning the Bodhisattva in the early schools, (3) the early Mahāyāna portrayal of the Bodhisattva and the acceptance of the six perfections, (4) the Bodhisattva doctrine in the earlier *prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*, (5) the Bodhisattva practices in the later *prajñāpāramitā* texts, and (6) the evolution of the six perfections (*pāramitā*) in a wide range of Mahāyāna texts. Chapter seven analyses the developed theories of three perfections: *śīla*, *dhyāna* and *prajñā*. The debate on the Bodhisattva ideal which occurred in the second century is also examined in each chapter. During the formation of the Bodhisattva practices, two systems of perfections (*pāramitās*) arose in Buddhist scriptures and history. In all probability, the system of six perfections was formed before that of ten perfections, and became more diffused in Mahāyāna scriptures. The Bodhisattva ideal evolved for different reasons, but chiefly in response to religious tendencies, demands, and necessities of the cultures and historical periods in which the Bodhisattva ideal flourished. The Bodhisattva's wisdom and compassion as ideology and method in generating the benefit of sentient beings, arguably constitute the basis of Bodhisattva philosophy and practice. The scriptures selected for investigation not only present diversified teachings and features of the Bodhisattva ideal, but result in a systematic model that improves our understanding of their evolution.

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Abbreviations

Throughout the thesis, a number after T indicates a volume number. A number after a colon indicates a page number of a volume in the Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. A, b, or c after a page number indicates a row number a, b, or c; any number after a, b, or c indicates a line number in a row a, b, or c in a page; a number after No. indicates a text number in T, i.e. T08:0107a26-b03, No.221. Since Text No. 220 has three volumes: T5, T6 and T7 we have T5, No.220a; T6, No.220b and T7, No.220c. Unit is only used for Text No.220 in T, a compilation of sixteen individual texts which can be seen in a chart in chapter four.

AA	Aṅguttara-aṭṭhakathā (Manorathapūranī)
AN	Aṅguttara Nikāya
Aṣṭa	Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā, ed. R. Mitra
Atthasālinī'	Dhammasaṃgaṇī-aṭṭhakathā (Atthasālinī), ed. E. Muller
BI	Bibliotheca Indica
Abhini	Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra, T3, No.190
BAOC	The Buddhist Association of China
BB	Bodhisattvabhūmi, ed. U. Wogihara
BP	Bodhisattvapiṭaka, T11, No. 310 (12), tr. by Xúanzàng
Bv	Buddhavaṃsa, ed. R. Morris
Bva	Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā (Madurathavilāsinī), ed. I. B. Horner
BvE	Chronicle of Buddhas (English translation of Bv), tr. I. B. Horner
Cp	Cariyāpiṭaka, ed. R. Morris
CpA	Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā, ed. D.L. Barua
CpE	Basket of Conduct (English translation of Cp), tr. I. B. Horner
CD	Pāli Tipiṭaka in Roman alphabet created on CD in Thailand
Conze's Aṣṭa	Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thought Ślokas, tr. E. Conze
Da	Dīgha-aṭṭhakathā (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī), ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and others
DB	Daśabhūmika, ed. J. Rahder
DA	Dīrghāgamasūtra, T01, No.01
Dbh	Daśabhūmika-sūtra, ed. P.L. Vaidya
Dafangdeng	Dàfangděng-dàjī-jīng (Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra), T13, No.397
Daming/MP	Dà-míng-dù-jīng, T8, No.225
Dàoxíng	Dào-xíng-pan-rùo-po-lúo-mì-jīng, T8, No.224
Dayal	The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature
DN	Dīgha Nikāya, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter
DhpA	Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā, ed. H. C. Norman
EA	Ekottarāgama-sūtra, T2, No.125
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, ed. F. Edgerton, vol., ii,
Fangguang/PEL	Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra Which Emits Light, T8, No.221

Guangzan/PPL	Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra of the Praise of Light, T8, No.222
F	Fascicle
Jātaka	Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Lives, 6 vols., tr. E.B. Cowell and others, Reprint, Delhi, 1990; Jātakas illustrated by bas-reliefs on the Bhārhut Stūpa, in Appendix to Chapter XI in <i>Buddhist India</i> , Rhys Davids
Kośa	Abhidharmakośa, tr. Leo M. Pruden
Kv	Kathāvatthu, ed. A. C. Taylor
Kva	Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā, ed. N. A. Jayavichrama
Lalita	Lalitavistara-sūtra, T03, No.186
Lkt	Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, ed. B. Nanjio
LP	The Large Sūtra on Perfect Wisdom, tr. E. Conze, Delhi, 1990
Large Version	上品[般若經], refers large type of <i>Śatasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā-sūtra</i> , e.g. Unit 1, T5-6, No.220ab (fs.1-400)
Ma	Majjhima Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Papañcasūdanī), ed. J. H. Woods and others
MA	Madhyamāgamasūtra, T26, No.26
Mdh	Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra, T27, No.1547
Medium Version	中品[般若經], medium type or class of <i>Prajñāpāramitā</i> texts referred to PPL (T8, No.222), PEL (T8, No.221), MPK (T8, No.223), Unit 2 (T7, No.220c, fs.401-478) and Unit 3 (T7, No.220c fs.479-539)
Minor Version	Minor Version (下品[般若經]), minor type or class of <i>Prajñāpāramitā</i> texts referred to Daoxing, Daming, PSV, Unit 4 (T7, No.220c, fs. 538-555), Unit 5 (T7, No.220c, fs.556-565), and Aṣṭa; T8, No.228
MN	Majjhima-Nikāya, ed. V. Trenckner and R. Chalmers
MPK	Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra, tr. Kumārajīva, T8, No.223
MPŚ	Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra, T25, No.1509
MRS	Mahāratnamegha-sūtra, T16, No.659
Mv	Mahāvastu, ed. E. Sénart
NJ	A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka
Oliver	A Textual and Historical Analysis of the Khuddaka Nikāya
PD	Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra - the Mother of the Triple Dharmapiṭaka, T8, No.228
<i>Pr. Pā. Śata</i>	Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, ed. P. Ghoṣa
PSV	Prajñāpāramitāsūtra of A [New] Small Version, T8, No.227
PTS	Pāli Text Society
RS	Ratnamegha-sūtra, T16, No.660
Rgs	Prajñāpāramitā Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā, A. Yuyama
SA	Samyuktāgama, T02, No.99
<i>Sam. Rā</i>	Samādhirājasūtra, ed. N. Dutt
SBB	Sacred Books of the Buddhists,
SHR	Sūtra on the Highest Reliance, T16, No.669
SN	Samyutta-Nikāya, ed. L. Feer
STP	Shèng-tian-wáng-Prajñāpāramitāsūtra, T8, No.231
Subāhu	Subāhupariṣcchā, T11, No.310 (26)
Sv	Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and others

Śgs	Śūraṅgamasamādhi-sūtra, tr. É. Lamotte
Śkṣ	Śikṣāsamuccaya, T1636, No. 32
Śatasāhasrikā	Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, ed. P. Ghosa,
T	Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō (Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka)
Tr	Translated
Unit	Individual text within Sūtra No.220 in T
UdA	Udāna-aṭṭhakathā
Upāli	Upālipariṣcchā, T11, No. 310(24)
Vkn	Vimalakīrtinirdeśa, T14, No.474
Vin	Vinaya
Vism	Visuddhimagga, ed.C. A. F. Rhys Davids
Vs	Verse
Warren	Buddhism in Translation
Winternitz	History of Indian Literature, Vol.ii

Introduction

This thesis studies the bodhisattva ideal that is central to one of the world's major religions and that acts as a unifying force within it. In fact, each of the three canonical systems whether Chinese, Tibetan and Pāli, possesses a rich literature on the life and activity of the bodhisattva.

It is problematic to assert that the development of the bodhisattva concept follows a coherent and linear historical path. Clearly, different schools of Buddhism held different views and various concepts emerged, ascended and declined in different periods. As some texts and their corresponding principles have survived until today, it is possible to tentatively at least trace the manner in which the bodhisattva concept developed. Therefore I begin with extant works and trace the way in which certain principles have survived. Certain concepts are tied to texts that serve as anchors, placing these in an identifiable context. Surely many concepts pre-date the texts that present them. Such instances I unravel to the best of my ability.

My study is organised into seven chronological chapters. Chapter One examines the bodhisattva concept in Pāli scriptures and in the *Mahāvastu*. Here, particular attention is given to the various meanings of *bodhi* in the *Jātaka* stories. These meanings were the fundamental sources for later developments of the bodhisattva concept. The *Buddhavaṃsa* and the *Cariyāpiṭaka* are also examined as prescriptive texts that emphasise the perfections (*pārami/pāramitā*). In the ten *bhūmis* and four stages of the *Mahāvastu*, we note an important development in the bodhisattva concept, namely the course of the bodhisattva becomes progressive.

Chapter Two focuses on the sectarian teachings which represent the bodhisattva concept as it evolved from the *Jātakas*. In admitting the sectarian texts originally in Chinese and their sources, the chapter presents material that has received little attention from scholars. Similarly, it treats a lesser known historical period situated between the early texts of Chapter One and later fully developed Mahāyāna texts. In the sectarian texts we note an emphasis on the physical characteristics and past lives of the bodhisattva. The length of time required for a bodhisattva to become a Buddha emerges as a highly controversial (and as controversy may imply, important) question. Also important at this stage is the concept of the bodhisattva's free will. Here, the bodhisattva concept is linked with knowledge of all *dharma*s. The *pāramitās* (whether four, six, seven or ten) become paths and not spiritual goals.

Chapter Three examines the early Mahāyāna portrayal of the bodhisattva. It involves identifying early Mahāyāna texts which are dated according to textual style, along with the contents of later compilations. Texts examined include the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsamgrahasūtra*, the *Dào-zhì-dà-jīng*, the *Triskandhasūtra*, the *Buddhāvadānanidānas*, the *Subāhuparipṛcchā*, and the *Buddhasaṃgītisūtra*. The earliest Mahāyāna texts demonstrate an acceptance of six perfections (*pāramitā*) and emphasise compassion and generosity. The inclusion of *dhyāna* in the six *pāramitas* and the exploration of *prajñā* are particularly important since the latter forms the basis for the later literature of the *prajñāpāramitā*. At this stage the practices of the bodhisattvas extend beyond the six perfections to include the practices of confession, rejoicing in the merits of others, and asking the Buddhas to turn the wheel of *Dharma*. Arguably, these earliest Mahāyāna texts represent a catalogue of bodhisattva practices leading to enlightenment.

Chapter Four takes the concept of *prajñā* in order to establish its chronological stages. Understanding the development of *prajñā* illuminates the development of the bodhisattva practice in Chinese sources. Thus we outline the textual sequence of the *prajñāpāramitāsūtras*, and use textual analysis to propose an ‘original’ *prajñāpāramitā* course. This permits insight on several points, including the status of the *araṇa* and its relation to the *prajñāpāramitā*, the concentrations (*samādhi*) in Mahāyāna teachings, and the nature of *dharma* and of the Buddha’s might (*buddhānubhāva*) in the original teachings of the *Prajñāpāramitāsāstra*.

Chapter Five examines the bodhisattva ideal in the *prajñāpāramitāsūtras* belonging to the Minor Class (下品).¹ Here we observe the popularisation of the *prajñāpāramitā* which was expanded to suit beginners, or novice bodhisattvas. At the same time, the *prajñāpāramitā* course became the bodhisattva’s path to buddhahood. , which

Chapter Six examines the debates in the scriptures (*sūtras*) in the Chinese translations, and focuses on the system of the six perfections (*pāramitā*) and the different responses to the questions of what a bodhisattva is and how the bodhisattva fulfils each of the six perfections through practice. From the *Āgamas* to the selected texts of the Mahāyāna, we outline the conceptual and doctrinal evolution of perfections and examine their religious significance. In the last section of Chapter Six, a brief survey of the links between the system of the six

¹ In ancient times, the *prajñāpāramitāsūtras* were classified into to the Minor Class (下品), Medium Class (中品) and Large Class (上品), according to their context and time of compilation.

by whom ?

perfections and the system of the ten perfections is made. It is shown that in the wider dissemination of the Buddhist doctrine, the system of the six perfections was expanded because of increasing detail in the presentations on the career of the bodhisattva.

Chapter Seven presents three examples from the six perfections to bring out relevant arguments, namely that the perfections sustained a series of gradual developments. The gradual developments of the perfections indicate that moral rules are flexible and methods of meditation are numerous. It is then suggested that the portals of liberation and obtaining wisdom in Mahāyāna Buddhism are open to exploration.

Methodologically, with regard to the dating of Pāli and other sources, the dates proposed by prominent scholars have been accepted. To avoid controversy on presumptions of the dating of various texts, we shall focus on the historical and physical existence of the selected texts in China. In tracing the bodhisattva ideal, I primarily examine early Chinese translations and their relevance in the *Nikāyas* and the *Āgamas*. These are compared with those of later translations to bring the evolution of the bodhisattva doctrine under scrutiny.

The study only covers the relevant Pāli, Sanskrit and Chinese scriptures and texts. Due to the necessary limitation of space and scope, the developments of the perfections (*pāramitā*) in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*, the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*, and the treatises composed in China are not explored. The evolution of the ten perfections is also not considered in detail. However, this study reveals the gradual developments and ramifications of the bodhisattva ideal, the perfections and the bodhisattva doctrine. The study also uncovers the differences between the Mahāyāna and other schools on this issue.

Chapter One: The Bodhisattva Doctrine And Career In Early Scriptures

A. The bodhisatta concept in Pāli scriptures

In Buddhism today, the title *bodhisattva* (Pāli: *bodhisatta*) is used to indicate those sentient beings who have a strong intention to attain buddhahood and to work for the benefit of others. According to Basham, the term *bodhisattva* in its original form may have arisen in “a purely Buddhist framework”² for no word similar to *bodhisattva* occurs in the voluminous Vedic literature nor in the literature of early Hinduism and Jainism. While one may not be able to ascribe the invention of the term *bodhisattva* to Gotama Buddha himself, it first appears in words attributed to him, and with reference to his own career before his enlightenment.³

Pāli

According to some *Khuddaka* texts, Śākyamuni became a Buddha as a result of the completion of perfections (*pāramitās*).⁴ In the *Apadāna*, five perfections are mentioned by name: *mekkhamma*, *khanti*, *metta*, *sacca* and *adhiṭṭhāna*. The stories of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* illustrate seven *pāramitās*: *dāna*, *sīla*, *nekkhamma*, *adhiṭṭhāna*, *sacca*, *metta* and *upekkhā*. The *Uddānagāthās* mention ten: *dāna*, *sīla*, *nekkhamma*, *adhiṭṭhāna*, *sacca*, *metta*, *upekkhā*, *khanti*, *vīrya* and *paññā*. These ten are also given in the *Buddhavaṃsa*. The *Jātaka* stories are also meant to illustrate these ten perfections. The *Apadāna* speaks of thirty perfections (*timsapārami sanpunnā*), but it does not mention what they are, and it is unlikely that any more details were known by the early Buddhists. The words *pāramim gato* or *pāramippatto* (attained perfection) occur in the *Nikāya*,⁵ but nowhere in the Pāli *Tiṭṭaka* barring the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, which also mentions the *pāramitās* specifically. The words *pāramippatto* or *pāramim gato*, when they occur in the early texts, are used in the sense of “completeness” or “highest state”, but not in the technical sense of six, ten or thirty *pāramitās*. Dutt has observed that the practice of *pāramitās* occupies an important place in the Mahāyānist code of

² Kawamura, Leslie S, ed., *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhism*, Calgary: Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion, University of Calgary, 1981, p. 21.

³ The Buddha commences his sermon in MN I, 114 with the words: *Pubbe va me, bhikkhave, sambodhā anabhisambuddhassa bodhisattassa sato, etad ahoṣi*. A similar formula is found in MN I, 163. In MN iii, 119, where the Buddha recalls his pre-natal existence as a bodhisatta in the Tusita heaven (*tusitaṃkāyaṃ upapajji*)

⁴ Lilley, E., ed., *Apadāna*, vol. i, London, PTS, 1925, P.38; Morris, R., ed. *The Buddhavaṃsa*, London PTS, 1882, pp. 13-15

⁵ Sun.vv. 1018, 1020; MN, iii, p.128

discipline.⁶ In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, it is repeatedly stated that the teaching for the Śrāvakas consists of The Four Truths, the laws of causation, and that which puts an end to suffering and leads to *nirvāṇa*. The teaching for the bodhisattvas consists of the practice of *pāramitās* leading to the highest knowledge or omniscience.⁷ In the *Daśabhūmikāsūtra*, the practice of a particular *pāramitā* is enjoined for the attainment of a particular *bhūmi*. Thus we see that the *pāramitās* formed one of the fundamentals of the Mahāyānist code of discipline and spiritual progress.

A1. The qualities⁸ of the bodhisatta in the *Jātakas*

In Buddhism, sentient beings are classified according to their qualities. It is worth assessing which of these qualify a sentient being to be a bodhisatta in the *Jātaka* stories. We cannot find a complete answer to this question in the earliest Buddhist texts. It may be asserted that the ten *pāramitās* comprise the qualifications of a bodhisatta. We know however, that the *Jātaka* collection does not mention them and the *Cariyāpīṭaka* includes no mention of the term bodhisatta. A careful examination of the *Jātaka* stories leads to the conclusion that *bodhi* is the only quality needed for a sentient being to be deemed a bodhisatta. It does not matter what type of sentient being is concerned, be it a god or animal or *yakkha*; if one has the quality of *bodhi* one is a bodhisatta.

There arises the need to determine what is meant by the term *bodhi* in the *Jātakas*. This cannot be summed up in one word, primarily since each episode of the *Jātakas* gives a particular sense of the term *bodhi*. 'Wisdom,' 'cunning,' 'knowledge,' 'awareness' and 'capability' are among the words chosen to convey the meaning of *bodhi* in the context of the *Jātakas*. An abbreviated account of the features of *bodhi* in the *Jātaka* stories demonstrates the relevance of these terms.

Bodhi is used in many different ways. Firstly, *bodhi* is used in the sense of wisdom or cunning. This is illustrated in the *Jātakas* in which the bodhisatta is given an artful personality,

⁶ Dutt, N., *Early Buddhist Monastic Buddhism*, vol. ii, London, 1925, p. 303; for further details: *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Its Relation to Hīnayāna*, London, 1930, pp. 11-13, 25, 259-275

⁷ T09:0003c, "為求聲聞者說應四諦法... 為諸菩薩說應六度波羅蜜... 成一切種智."

⁸ While we are indeed discussing the qualities of the bodhisatta, the meaning which we wish to imply by the term qualities is almost that of a qualification. We are discussing features which are necessarily present for a bodhisatta to be a bodhisatta, and which qualified a being as a bodhisatta. Due to the early development of the bodhisattva concept, technical qualifications are not yet an issue and so the term qualities suffices in this context.

such as the episode in which he takes birth as a monkey. In *Jātaka* no. 208, we are told (as in the *Pañcatantra*) how the bodhisatta as a monkey escapes from its killer, a crocodile whose wife covets the monkey's heart. While on the crocodile's back, the monkey claims to not carry his heart with him, but has left it to hang on a tree on the riverbank.⁹ Here the monkey escapes through wisdom, and thus his bodhisatta nature, or *bodhi*, lies in wisdom. This characteristic is also evident in episodes that describe the bodhisatta as having good judgement and being skilful in business and diplomacy.¹⁰ A bodhisatta should have the wisdom to solve any doubt that arises in the mind of his followers, as did the Bodhisatta Vidhurapaṇḍita, the wise minister of the king Dhanañjāya. He solved the king's doubts concerning the virtues of a real ascetic by asserting that one endowed with the four virtues is one called an ascetic.¹¹ We also see that the wisdom of a bodhisatta includes the ability to be politically adept,¹² prudent, moderate,¹³ and to have strong resolve.¹⁴

Secondly, *bodhi* is used in the sense of 'knowledge' or 'knowing'. This is illustrated in the *Jātakas* in which the bodhisatta understands the correct way to accomplish numerous activities. This includes knowing moral law,¹⁵ the virtues and the duties of an ascetic,¹⁶ and of a householder.¹⁷ It also includes having knowledge of common or civil law,¹⁸ the arts and crafts needed to obtain a better standard of life,¹⁹ the ways to associate with leaders,²⁰ and the

⁹ *Jātaka* Ch, pp.110-112; pp.142-143

¹⁰ *Jātaka* VI, p.143

¹¹ The four virtues are forbearance, gentleness, abstinence from carnal lust, and freedom from all hindrances to religious perfection. *Jātaka* VI, p. 129, No.545

¹² *Jātaka* VI, p.140

¹³ *Jātaka* VI, p. 142

¹⁴ *Jātaka* VI, pp. 80-113, No. 543.

¹⁵ *Jātaka* V, pp.246-279

¹⁶ *Jātaka* VI, p.129. No.545

¹⁷ The composer of the text has the great being speak in the following ways: "Let him not have a wife in common with another; let him not eat a dainty meal alone; let him not deal in vain conversation, for this increases not wisdom. Virtuous, faithful to his duties, not careless, quick to discern, humble-minded, not hard-hearted, compassionate, affectionate, gentle, skilled in winning friends ready to distribute, prudent in arranging in accordance with the season, - let him long for righteousness and be a pillar of the sacred text, ever ready to ask questions and let him reverentially attend to the virtuous learned. Thus shall there be a prosperous life to one who lives as a householder in his own house, thus shall there be for him kind favour among his own people; thus shall he be free from suffering; and thus the youth who speaks truth shall escape all sorrow when he reaches the next world." *Jātaka* No.545

¹⁸ *Jātaka* VI, p.130, *Jātaka* No. 545; the *Vidhurapaṇḍita-Jātaka*

¹⁹ The *Kuśajātaka* teaches that a bodhisatta should also attain proficiency in all liberal arts, i.e. be they sculpting, music, pottery-making, basket-making, fan-making, gardening, cooking and the art of warfare. One should be an artist who can match every occasion, as was the bodhisatta king Kuśa. *Jātaka* V, pp.141-164.

²⁰ *Jātaka* VI, pp.80-113, No. 543

best way to deal with all creatures.²¹ It also involves knowing how to enjoy oneself and how to treat and tempt people,²² the best way to run a home and a state,²³ and suitable conduct and behaviour for all positions and occasions. A bodhisatta may also have mastery of the Vedas.²⁴ *Bodhi* is also portrayed as the clear vision and empirical knowledge needed to turn the bad into the good. For instance, we have the episode in which the bodhisatta as temporal and spiritual counsellor of the king was able to turn the bitter mango fruits on a tree into sweet ones. The philosophical point of the *Dadhivāhana-Jātaka* is that bad company will make the better follow suit.²⁵ The type of knowledge that a bodhisatta could have also includes architectural engineering,²⁶ means of protection,²⁷ the values of giving,²⁸ tolerance and other virtues. The bodhisatta may be a wise gambler, as is shown in the *Aṇḍabhūta-Jātaka* where the hero is a king who plays dice with his chaplain. In the *Jātaka*, the king sends a clever scamp to seduce the youngest wife of his chaplain, for she is ruining the king's luck. She is a virtuous lady, and because of her virtue the chaplain had only lucky rolls of the dice. The scamp succeeds, and the king thus removes the cause of his own bad luck.²⁹

Thirdly, *bodhi* is also used in the sense of 'ability' or 'capability'. This is displayed in the *Jātakas* in which the bodhisatta is associated with many different abilities, for example when the bodhisatta Sakka king of gods saved the king Senaka. This episode shows that the bodhisatta can have the ability to assume any bodily form. The king in the story has a magical formula that he is not to reveal to anyone, for if he does so he will die. One day his queen learns of the formula and asks to have it. Although the king warns her that that will be his death, she persists. Whilst he is about to yield to his wife's inquisitiveness, the bodhisatta Sakka appears in the form of a ram and advises the king to give his wife a good thrashing. He says that she will then relinquish her desire to know the magic formula. The king follows the advice and is successful.³⁰

The *Jātakas* illustrate many other potential abilities of the bodhisatta including the ability

²¹ Jātaka VI, p.144

²² Jātaka V, pp. 276-277

²³ Jātaka VI, p. 140; Jātaka No. 545

²⁴ Jātaka II, pp.60-3; No.181

²⁵ Jātaka II, pp.69-73

²⁶ *Vidhurapaṇḍita-Jātaka*, Jātaka No. 545

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸ Jātaka VI, p.145

²⁹ Jātaka I, p.151, No.62

³⁰ Jātaka III, pp.174-177

to possess or develop supernatural powers,³¹ and to use those powers to maintain the law. Other capabilities which the bodhisatta possesses may include the ability to discourse on the law, to induct sentient beings into moral law,³² to teach people the ways of obtaining a prosperous life, to instruct children, and to teach the means of obtaining honour.³³ A bodhisatta may also be able to meet with and teach deities and spirits, to draw people towards goodness,³⁴ be skilful in composing verses, and quick to give intelligent answers. The bodhisatta might also be capable in business and in discourse concerning the law. He might be proficient in all liberal arts³⁵ and be able to manage states, to rise to an emergency, to defend the home and the state, and be able to carry out the king's business.³⁶ One such being may have the ability to practise all kinds of giving (*dāna*) and virtue, to sacrifice oneself in order to free others,³⁷ and to bring misconceptions to light and discover the truth. A bodhisatta should be capable of helping the poor and the weak escape their difficulties, of causing the fulfilment of the good wishes of others including his enemies, and of treating every one equally.³⁸ The bodhisatta ought to induce human kings to abide by the five precepts,³⁹ to know the mind of everyone, and to sit in mid-air whilst expounding the doctrine to audiences,⁴⁰ and to cause invaders to surrender their weapons and become ascetics through powerful discourses.⁴¹

Bodhi is used in the sense of awareness or sensitivity or cognisance. This is indicated in the *Jātakas* in which the bodhisatta is aware, for instance that a good intention on the part of one who lacks sense, can result in a bad result. The bodhisatta observes that with every desire to do good, the ignorant and foolish only succeed in doing harm, and is aware of the proper time for retirement. The bodhisatta is also aware that the headstrong man, who when exhorted, pays no heed to friends who kindly give counsel, shall surely perish. He is aware that man's food will not agree with a crow. He recognises those who have modesty and decency. He

³¹ Jātaka II, pp.89-91

³² An example of this lies in the instance of the bodhisatta Sutasoma who tamed the man-eater, the king Brahmatta of the *Mahāsutasoma-Jātaka*. Jātaka V, pp.246-279

³³ Jātaka VI, p.142

³⁴ Jātaka V, pp.276-277

³⁵ Jātaka V, pp.141-164

³⁶ Jātaka VI, p.140

³⁷ Jātaka I, pp.36-42; Jātaka No.12

³⁸ Jātaka VI, p.149

³⁹ Jātaka I, pp.36-42; Jātaka No.12

⁴⁰ Jātaka VI, pp.2-19; No.538, Mūga-Pakkha-Jātaka

⁴¹ Jātaka VI, p.2

realises that one who helps a rascal wastes his pains. He is aware of the importance of making friends with different races in the interests of peace and security.

A 2. The *Jātakas* illustrated on the Bhārhut Stūpa

According to Cunningham and Rhys Davids, the alphabetical characters of the inscriptions and the *Jātakas* illustrated on the bas-reliefs on the Bhārhut Stūpa belong to the third century BCE.⁴² It is noticeable that of all the possible connotations of the term *bodhi*, in this *stūpa* we consistently find the meaning to be awareness and realisation. This can be illustrated in the following outline of the stories on the reliefs of the Bhārhut Stūpa.⁴³

The bodhisatta king according to the *Makhā-deva-jātaka*, should think of his retirement when grey hairs appear on his head and when his son is mature enough to manage state affairs. The story shows that the best life for a retired king is to become a recluse, and to do things that are good for his next life in order to be a king or a great person again.⁴⁴

The bodhisatta king-deer, or Banyan-deer in the *Nigrodha-miga-jātaka*,⁴⁵ sacrificed himself in order to release a pregnant doe from her duty to give her life for a human king's meal. But the human king, pleased with one so abounding in charity, love and pity, spares the life of the deer. The bodhisatta established the human king in the five precepts by saying, "walk in righteousness, great king. Walk in righteousness and justice towards parents, children, townsmen, and countryfold, so that when this earthly body is dissolved, you may enter the bliss of heaven."

The bodhisatta Pigeon⁴⁶ in the *Kapota-Jātaka* said, "the headstrong man who when exhorted pays no heed to friends who give kindly counsel, shall surely perish like the greedy crows who laughed to scorn the pigeon's warning words . . . By reason of your greediness you lost your life and you caused the wise and good to lose their home . . . man's food will not agree with a crow."

The Peacock⁴⁷ exposes himself in dancing. This conduct causes him to lose his promised wife from his father-in-law. The bodhisatta King Golden Mallard says, "this fellow has

⁴² Cunningham, A. *Stūpa of Bhārhut*, London, 1879.

⁴³ This outline is based on the table entitled "Jātakas illustrated by bas-reliefs on the Bhārhat Stūpa", in Appendix to Chapter XI in *Buddhist India*, Rhys Davies, p. 209.

⁴⁴ Cunningham, A. *Stūpa of Bhārhut*, (London, 1879) Plate XLVIII, Fig.2; Jātaka I, pp.30-32, Jātaka No.9 (in Fausböll's edition).

⁴⁵ Ibid., Plate XXV, Fig. 1; Jātaka I, pp.36-42, Jātaka No.12, *The Nigrodha Miga Jātaka*

⁴⁶ Ibid., Plate XLV, Fig. 7; Jātaka I, pp.112-4; Jātaka No.42, *The Kapota Jātaka*

⁴⁷ Ibid., Plate XXVII, Fig.11; Jātaka I, pp.83-4; Jātaka No 32, *The Nacca Jātaka*

neither modesty within his heart nor decency in his outward behaviour. I will certainly not give my daughter to one so shameless.”

The bodhisatta King⁴⁸ in the *Aṇḍabhūta-Jātaka* is a wise gambler. He sends scamp to seduce the youngest wife of his chaplain, for she is interfering with the king’s luck. Because of her virtue, the chaplain enjoys lucky rolls of the dice. The king thus removes the cause of his own bad luck in order to assert that no woman is ever faithful to one man alone.

The Bodhisatta Brahmin⁴⁹ in the *Dūbhiya-Makkaṭa-Jātaka* realises that “one who helps a rascal wastes one’s pains.” He offers water to a thirsty monkey, and the monkey shows him no gratitude and instead produces a monkey-grimace to frighten him.

The Bodhisatta Asadisa-Kumāra,⁵⁰ Prince Peerless, mastered the Three Vedas and Eighteen Accomplishments. In the science of archery he was peerless. He fled away from his dwelling when faced with the king’s unreasonable charges; but returned to his country when the king demanded him to save it.

The bodhisatta⁵¹ in the *Ārāma-Dūsa-Jātaka* realises that a good intention can bear a bad consequence if a wrong method is used to carry out it. Hence a leader should give a meaningful order to the right person. He says, “monkeys! I have no blame for you nor those who range through the woodland. The monarch is a fool to say ‘please tend my trees while I’m away’ ”.

The Bodhisatta Antelope⁵² in the *Kurung-miga-Jātaka* is freed from a hunter’s leather-thong with the help of his two friends the tortoise and the woodpecker. A bodhisatta ought to cultivate friendship with different sorts of sentient beings in the interest of peace and security.

On the whole, wisdom in the *Jātakas* involves a proper solution applied by the bodhisatta to a problem. Many times a proper solution includes a right method combined with a suitable individual to carry out the deed.

Although killing, reviling and cheating are considered unwholesome deeds in Buddhism, there are some *Jātakas* narrating events in which killing, reviling and cheating are used as a means by low level bodhisattas to restore peace and remove troubles. In order to protect the

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what is this?

⁴⁸ Ibid., Plate XXVI, Fig. 8; Jātaka I, p.151; Jātaka No.62, *The Andha-bhūta Jātaka*

⁴⁹ Ibid., Plate XLVI, Fig.8; Jātaka II, pp.48-9; Jātaka No.174, *The Dūbhiya-makkaṭa Jātaka*

⁵⁰ Ibid., Plate XXVII, Fig. 13; Jātaka II, pp.60-3; Jātaka No.181, *The Asadisa Jātaka*

⁵¹ Ibid., Plate XLV, Fig.5; Jātaka II, pp.237-8; Jātaka No.46 &268, *The Ārāma-dūsaka Jātaka*

⁵² Ibid., XXVII, Fig. 9; Jātaka II, pp.106-7; Jātaka No.206, *The Kurung-miga Jātaka*

lives of many, the Bodhisatta Elephant,⁵³ with the help of his wife, kills a great golden crab who ate elephants in a lake. The Bodhisatta Cock⁵⁴ reviles a female-cat and drives it away when he realises that in order to eat him she has asked him to marry. He replies, “you have drunk my kindred’s blood, and robbed and slain them cruelly. There is no honour in your heart when wooing me.”

A few *Jātakas* show that with skill in means the bodhisatta consoled people who grieved terribly over the death of their beloved. The Bodhisatta Sujāta⁵⁵ consoles his father who grieved terribly over the death of his own father. The Bodhisatta Sujāta brings water and grass to an ox who has died and says to it, “eat and drink! Eat and drink!” This conduct is reported to his father who thinks his son must be mad and asks, “why do you offer grass and water to the carcass of an ox?” He tells his son that no food may return a dead ox to life. The bodhisatta says, this beast may come to life again, both head and tail and its four feet remain. However, my grandfather’s head and limbs are gone. No fool weeps over a grave but thou alone.”

In the *Migapotaka-Jātaka*⁵⁶ the Bodhisatta Sakka successfully causes an ascetic to recognise that it is useless to weep over dead deer. He says that “if by our tears we may prevail against the grave; thus would we all unite our dearest ones to save.”

In the *Camma-Sataka-Jātaka* the bodhisatta merchant,⁵⁷ on seeing a ram fall back before a leather-coated mendicant, advises him to avoid the ram’s strike. The ascetic did not listen and was knocked down.

The bodhisatta king elephant protects the small offspring of a quail by standing by them. The quail indicates the difference between strength of body and strength of mind. With the help of a crow, a blue fly and a frog, she causes a cruel elephant to die. The king elephant was aware of the plot but did nothing to save the cruel elephant.

As for the good wish toward a thief, the bodhisatta Brahmadata Mahā-Kaṇṇana⁵⁸ said, “to me the three kinds of existence are terrible as fires beset with chains and like a prison-house. Further, they are as loathsome as a dunghill.” He and his followers, his brethren and

⁵³ Ibid., Plate XXV, Fig. 2; Jātaka II, pp.235-7; Jātaka No.267, *The Kakkaṭā-Jātaka*

⁵⁴ Ibid., Plate XLVII, Fig. 5; Jātaka III, pp.168-9; Jātaka No.383, *The Kukkuṭā-Jātaka*

⁵⁵ Ibid., Plate XLVII, Fig.3; Jātaka III, pp.103-104; Jātaka No.352, *The Sujāta-Jātaka*

⁵⁶ Ibid., Plate XLIII, Fig. 2.8; Jātaka III, pp.140-141; Jātaka No. 372, *The Miga-potaka Jātaka*

⁵⁷ Ibid., Plate XLI, Fig.1.3; Jātaka III, pp.55-6; Jātaka No. 324, *The Camma-sataka Jātaka*

⁵⁸ Ibid., Plate XLVIII, Fig.7; Jātaka IV, pp.192-7; Jātaka No.488, *The Bhisā-Jātaka*

his sister became ascetics and sustained themselves on fruits and roots in the forest. Sākka, the king of the gods, tested the bodhisatta by removing his share of a meal. The ascetics all swore an oath to clear themselves of any charge of taking the shares. To the ascetics, a severe curse is to wish one who stole the meal to have sons and daughters, horse and kine, silver, gold, loving wives, fame and land, and a position as chief of chiefs.

The bodhisatta king of monkeys⁵⁹ transforms himself into a bridge in order for his troops to pass in safety. He risks his own life to free and save his troops by being surrounded by human beings. By not reckoning for his own life he secures the safety of his forces. The bodhisatta acts as one of the best leaders.

The bodhisatta as a fairy⁶⁰ had a devotional wife called Candā. He regains his life by the power of her pain. This causes Sākka's throne to become hot. Sākka comes to the bodhisatta to stop the poison from acting in the bodhisatta's wounded body.

The Bodhisatta Rāma-Paṇḍita⁶¹ follows his father's advice that security can be found by taking up an ascetic life. He returns to rule his country at an appropriate time.

The King Mahājanaka masters the three *Vedas* and all the sciences. He says, "if I perish while I make my best efforts, I shall at all events escape from blame." With his wisdom he is able to obtain hidden treasure. He behaves with charity and fills the mouths of the hungry. He rules over all the kingdoms of Videha. He has the resolve to dwell in a place that belongs to sentient beings who are free from all attachments and possessed of all virtues. He knows the hindrances of achievement such as sleep, sloth, loose thoughts turned to pleasure, surfeit and a discontented mind. The episode shows it is best to associate with the wise. The *Jātaka* indicates that when one exercises the four perfections one finds in this path the highest joys. Further it shows that knowledge and law are the guardians of pilgrimage. When it is gained by lawful means, all food is pure and lawful.

The Bodhisatta Brahmin⁶² in the *Alambusā-Jātaka* became proficient in all liberal arts and adopted the ascetic life. He gave his son Isisinga essential admonitions, and said that women are as fair as flowers. However, they bring utter destruction on all that fall into their power. One must not come under their sway.

⁵⁹ Ibid., Plate XXXIII, Fig. 15; Jātaka III, pp.225-227; Jātaka No.407, *The Mahākapi-Jātaka*

⁶⁰ Ibid., Plate XXVII, Fig. 12; Jātaka IV, pp.179-182; Jātaka No. 485, *The Candā-Kinnara-Jātaka*

⁶¹ Ibid., Plate XXVII, Fig. 14; Jātaka IV, pp.78-82; Jātaka No.461, *The Dasaratha-Jātaka*

⁶² Ibid., Plate XXVI, Fig. 7; Jātaka V, p.79-84; Jātaka No.523, *The Alambusā Jātaka*

The Bodhisatta Prince Temiyā-Kumāra⁶³ was conceived in his mother's womb in order to fully exercise the perfections in the world of men.⁶⁴ He thought a short span in the position of kingship caused a long period of living in a hell realm. He escaped from kingship by pretending to be deaf and dumb and showing no signs of intelligence from the time of his childhood. Thus he became an ascetic. The great being understood the mind of all and whether indulging in thoughts of lust or malevolence or cruelty, sat down in mid-air and taught the doctrine to his audience. His preaching was so powerful that it caused invaders to surrender their weapons and become ascetics alongside him.

The hero of the *Vessantara-Jātaka*, the last-mentioned of the purely Buddhist legends, is a bodhisatta. To him are attributed a specific number of perfections and certain superhuman gifts such as the memory of previous births, extraordinary physical strength, and special mental powers. This image of the bodhisatta as a higher being is otherwise found in the texts contained in the Pāli *Tiṭṭaka. Jātakas* are found in texts of all Buddhist traditions. In all probability, the legends belonged to no particular sect originally. However, within all the sects they were an important means of disseminating the doctrine. Thus Buddhism deeply penetrated the minds of people as they absorbed the *Jātaka* narratives.

The *Jātakas* are among the oldest motifs that were pictorially represented in India, and even today they yield favourite models for sculptors and painters in all Buddhist countries. We find them in the third and second century BCE at Bhārhut and Sānchi, in the second century CE at Amaravati, and still later in the caves of Ajanta in India. The teachings of the *Jātakas* present the early bodhisatta ideal.

To sum up, in the Second Century BCE and further, in the context of the *Jātakas*, *bodhi* has several meanings. These include wise, intelligent, learned and capable. Although in this context *bodhi* lacks the sense evoked by terms such as *sambodhi* or *saṃyaksambodhi*, *bodhi* is the only quality for a sentient being necessary to be a bodhisatta. A bodhisatta is able to act by means of *bodhi*. Though none of the tales shows us a perfect act completed by the heroes, whatever a bodhisatta does reflects *bodhi* or a function of it. The bodhisatta concept in the context of the *Jātakas* portrays the bodhisatta as a male sentient being who enjoys helping others. In the *Jātakas*, he is wise, generous and capable of solving worldly problems, yet able

⁶³ Ibid., Plate XXV, Fig. 4; Jātaka VI, pp.2-19; Jātaka No.538, *The Mūga-Pakkha-Jātaka*

⁶⁴ Jātaka VI, p.2

to assume any bodily form, communicate with the supernatural realm, and educate others in any field of worldly studies. The bodhisatta is also skilled in all the tasks undertaken, respects his elders, protects the weak, turns the bad into the good, and rescues other beings. At the same time, the bodhisatta is politically adept and diplomatic at the highest levels. While the characteristics of *bodhi* at this stage are complex and varied, it may be stated with confidence that at this stage the concept of bodhisatta is simply one of a sentient being that cherishes *bodhi*.

A 3. The bodhisatta concept in the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka*

We have attempted to draw an outline of the early bodhisatta ideal from the Pāli *Jātakas*.⁶⁵ The following section aims to describe the ideal as it develops further along the doctrine of the bodhisatta in later Pāli literature. To fulfil this aim, the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka*⁶⁶ are selected for investigation. Although the two texts are considered relatively late additions to the Pāli canon, since they were not accepted as canonical by the Dīgha-bhāṇakas,⁶⁷ they contain more developed elaborations of the bodhisattva ideal.

A 3.1. The concept of *bodhi* and the perfections in the *Buddhavaṃsa*

The *Buddhavaṃsa* is thus a relatively late addition to the canon.⁶⁸ The reason for the compilation of the *Buddhavaṃsa* would seem to lie in the fact that the bodhisatta who would become Buddha Gotama required an account of previous lives. This would demonstrate that enlightenment was obtained only after striving through many births in the fulfilment of the ten perfections (*pārami*).⁶⁹ To complete them all became a necessary pre-requisite for enlightenment. The *Buddhavaṃsa* therefore contains a rather developed form of the bodhisatta doctrine,⁷⁰ though not developed further for instance with the *Abhidhamma*.⁷¹ The perfections also belong to this development in the doctrine of the bodhisatta. Those are not found as fully developed *pāramitas* in other portions of the Pāli Canon, with exception to the

⁶⁵ K. R. Norman, in his *Pāli Literature* (p.80), says: "Representations of some of the *Jātakas* are found in the reliefs on the Bhārhut *stūpa*, showing that they had already become popular by the second century B.C."

⁶⁶ The Rev. Richard Morris, ed., *The Buddhavaṃsa And The Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1882; Horner I.B., tr., *Chronicle Of Buddhas (Buddhavaṃsa) and Basket Of Conduct (Cariyāpiṭaka)*, London: PTS, 1975.

⁶⁷ Norman, K. R., *Pāli Literature*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983, pp.9, 94, 95

⁶⁸ Norman, K. R., *Pāli Literature*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983, p.94; Rahula, W., *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo 1933, p.128

⁶⁹ Horner, I.B., tr., *Chronicle of Buddhas (Buddhavaṃsa)*, London: PTS, 1975, p.xiii

⁷⁰ Ibid., p.xiii; Thomas, E. J., *History of Buddhist Thought*, London 1933, pp. 172,204

⁷¹ Ibid., p.xiii; Norman, K.R., *Pāli Literature*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983, p.94

Cariyāpiṭaka. However, the *Buddhavaṇsa* names them as a number of commentaries including *Jātaka* prose. Our aim now is to outline the bodhisattva concept and the concept of perfections in the *Buddhavaṇsa*.

Although *bodhi* is still the only quality needed for a sentient being (*satta*) to be deemed a bodhisatta, the bodhisatta concept in the *Buddhavaṇsa* is not like the bodhisatta concept of the *Jātakas*. The meaning or implication of *bodhi* was indeed developed, although it was still confined to doctrinal views. Furthermore, the term *bodhi* in the context of the *Buddhavaṇsa* is used in the doctrinal sense of seeing, understanding, thoughtfulness, supreme awakening and full enlightenment.

Firstly, the term *bodhi* is used in the sense of thoughtfulness. This is indicated in the section deemed *The Account of Sumedha*, in which the bodhisatta as a thoughtful being sitting in seclusion, reflects that “becoming is anguish, also the breaking up of the physical frame. Being liable to birth, liable to ageing, liable to disease am I then. I will seek the peace that is unageing, undying, and secure.”⁷²

Secondly, *bodhi* is used in the sense of seeing or understanding. It is said that the bodhisatta, by examining the things that are maturing for full enlightenment (*sambodhi*), saw the ten perfections practised by the seers of old.⁷³

Thirdly, *bodhi* is used in the sense of supreme awakening (*bodhimuttama*),⁷⁴ the conqueror’s awakening (*jinabodhi*),⁷⁵ or full enlightenment (*sambodhi*).⁷⁶ *Bodhi* is thus the object and goal for the bodhisatta to obtain. Thus “if you wish to reach *bodhi*”, “things that are maturing for *bodhi*”, and “you wish to attain full enlightenment” are the phrases used in the *Buddhavaṇsa*.⁷⁷

Considering the implied meaning of *bodhi* in the context of the *Buddhavaṇsa*, the bodhisatta concept may be defined as a sentient being who is thoughtful about the problems of rebirth, sees the ten perfections practised by the seers of old, and wishes to attain *sambodhi*.

⁷² Morris, R., *The Buddhavaṇsa and the Cariyāpiṭaka*, p.7, *rahogato nisīditvā evaṇcintes’ahaṇtada:- dukkho puṇabhavo nāma sarīrassa ca bhedanāṇ. Jātidhammo jarādhammo vyādhidhammo c’ahan tadā ajaraṇ amaraṇ khemaṇ nānākuṇapapūritāṇ.*

⁷³ Morris, R ed. *The Buddhavaṇsa and the Cariyāpiṭaka*, pp.13-15

⁷⁴ Bv, p.16. *mā te bhavāntantarāyo phusa khīpaṇ bodhim uttamaṇ.* ‘May there be no stumbling-block for you, quickly reach supreme Awakening.’

⁷⁵ Bv, p.16

⁷⁶ Bv, p.14, *sambodhiṇ pāpuṇissasi.* ‘If you wish to attain the Awakening.’

⁷⁷ Bv, p.13, *yadi bodhiṇ pattum icchasi, ye dhammā bodhipācanā, sambodhi pāpuṇissasi.*

The path that leads the bodhisatta to *sambodhi* is given as the ten perfections (*dasapāramī*). The author of the *Buddhavaṃsa*, in order to propose the path of bodhisattahood, records Sāriputta asking the Buddha:

"Of what kind are generosity, morality, renunciation, wisdom and energy? And of what kind are patience, truth-speaking, resolute determination, loving-kindness, and equanimity? . . . Of what kind, wise one, leader of the world, were your ten perfections? How were the higher perfections fulfilled, and how so the ultimate perfections?"⁷⁸

In response to these questions, Gotama Buddha narrates the twenty-four Buddhas who preceded him. Every Buddha had been a bodhisatta up to the time he achieved complete and full enlightenment at the foot of a tree. Therefore every narrative in the *Buddhavaṃsa* gives details of the life of every Buddha both before and after his enlightenment. Buddha Gotama relates his identities of a bodhisatta during the appearance of these preceding Buddhas. He then relates the acts of merit he has performed and confirms that he received the prophesy from each Buddha.

The *Buddhavaṃsa* refers to three groups by which the ten perfections take on the aspect of thirty, the ten perfections (*pāramī*), the ten higher perfections (*upapāramī*), and the ten ultimate perfections (*paramatthapāramī*). The example chosen to illustrate this ascending order always appears to be the first perfection of generosity (*dāna*).⁷⁹ The three levels of *pāramitā*, however, are not explicitly formulated in the *Buddhavaṃsa* and the above passage is only an indirect reference to them. Horner's assessment is primarily based on the commentary to the *Nikāyas*,⁸⁰ but in fact a closer examination of the text shows a remarkably different emphasis.⁸¹ While Horner ascribes to the *Buddhavaṃsa* three different degrees of giving, the text in fact describes one kind of giving, namely the absolute giving of everything "like an overturned jar retaining no water". The only mention of three categories found in the text consists of the supplicants rather than the degree of giving.

According to the *Buddhavaṃsa*, if one wishes to attain *sambodhi*,⁸² one has to be firm in undertaking and continuing to practise the ten perfections as the process of maturing

⁷⁸ Bv, p.6

⁷⁹ Bv, I, Vs.76, 77, p.6; Da, p.60; Ma, i, p. 45, ii, p.2, iii, p.22; AA, p.103; UdA, p.128; Horner, I.B., tr. *Chronicle of Buddhas*, PTS, 1975, p.8

⁸⁰ Horner, 1975, p.8.

⁸¹ Morris, R *The Buddhavaṃsa and the Cariyāpiṭaka*, London, PTS, 1882, p.13;

Horner's translation *Chronical of Buddhas (Buddhavaṃsa) and Basket of Conduct (Cariyāpiṭaka)* found in *The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon*, part iii, PTS, 1975, p.20

⁸² Ibid., pp.20-25

towards enlightenment. So what are exactly the ten perfections in the *Buddhavaṃsa*? The following is an outline of these *pāramitās* (Pāli: *pāramī*) drawn from the text.

The first *pāramitā* is the perfection of generosity.⁸³ At this stage the emphasis is placed on the donor, and no distinction is made among those who receive gifts. The term *dhammadāna* (teaching as giving) is not found in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, however, the Buddhas are shown to be the teachers of Dhamma. In this connection, the Buddha Kassapa says,

"Having made the ocean of Dhamma, provided moral habit as a perfumed ointment, having clothed in the streamer of Dhamma, he arranged the chaplet of Dhamma. When he had placed the stainless mirror of Dhamma before the populace he said, "let those wishing for *nibbāna* see my ornament."⁸⁴

The second *pāramitā* is the perfection of morality (*sīla*). The *Buddhavaṃsa* does not describe this *pāramitā* in great detail. Emphasis is placed on the protection of morality rather than on detailed practices. The Buddha says,

"Examining, I then saw the second perfection, that of morality, followed and practised by the great seers of old . . . fulfilling the moral habits in the four planes, protect morality continuously like the yak-cow protecting her tail."⁸⁵

We see here that morality has become a concrete spiritual aspect in the bodhisatta concept. This is in direct contrast to the earlier portrayal of morality as a social issue according to the *Jātakas*. The bodhisatta is at this stage portrayed as a protector of morality. He has a duty to defend morality to the degree that if the cost of life is the loss of morality, he will die.

The third *pāramitā* is the perfection of renunciation (*nekkhamma*). The concept of renunciation is closely associated here with the idea of becoming a recluse, and withdrawing from worldly life. Renunciation applies only to human beings. Unlike the *Jātakas*, there is a clear indication that animals and other sentient beings cannot perform the perfection of renunciation and therefore cannot reach the same level of bodhisattahood that humans can. In the *Buddhavaṃsa*, the bodhisatta concept is essentially linked to human life. It is interesting to note that at this stage the bodhisatta concept is closely linked to the rules of the Vinaya texts, such as the rule that only physically intact human beings can become members of the Saṅgha.

Renunciation consists of following:

"Examining, I then saw the third perfection, that of renunciation, followed and practised by the great seers of old . . . seeing all becoming as a prison, be one turned toward renunciation, the utter release from becoming, like a man in prison seeking only freedom."⁸⁶

⁸³ Bv, II, Vs, 117-121, p.13; BvE, p.20.

⁸⁴ Bv, XXV, Vs, 44-45, p.64; BvE, p. 93.

⁸⁵ Bv, II, Vs, 122-126, p.13; BvE, p.20.

⁸⁶ Bv, II, Vs, 127-131, p.13; BvE, p. 20.

The fourth *pāramitā* is the perfection of wisdom (*paññā*). In this context wisdom is clearly associated with non-attachment. The practice of this perfection includes forsaking the tendency to distinguish between different types of people. Instead, all people should be treated equally,

"Examining, I then saw the fourth perfection, that of wisdom, followed and practised by the great seers of old . . . And as a monk, looking for alms, not avoiding low, high or middling families, acquires sustenance thus, so you, questioning discerning people at all times, going on to the perfection of wisdom, will attain full enlightenment (*sambodhi*)."⁸⁷

This is a development of the earlier idea of wisdom in the *Jātakas*. While in the *Jātakas* wisdom is portrayed as being the ability to carry out worldly skills correctly, here we have, again, a more spiritual emphasis on wisdom as a transformation of consciousness.

The fifth *pāramitā* is the perfection of energy (*virīya*) in directing it toward the attainment of *sambodhi*. This *pāramitā*, unlike that of renunciation, applies to all beings and should be practised in all lifetimes. While effort is indeed found to be an aspect of the bodhisatta in the *Jātakas*, here it is an effort towards *sambodhi* rather than a general effort for various purposes,

"Examining, I then saw the fifth perfection of energy, followed and practised by the great seers of old . . . as a lion, the king of beasts, whether he is lying down, standing or walking, is not of sluggish energy but is always exerting himself, so you too, firmly exerting energy in every becoming, going on to the perfection of energy, will attain full enlightenment."⁸⁸

The sixth *pāramitā* is the perfection of patience (*khanti*). Here the *Buddhavaṃsa* compares the bodhisatta with the earth, teaching that the bodhisatta should be as constant and therefore as patient as the earth. Similar to the idea of tolerance in the *Jātakas*, this perfection involves remaining calm and peaceful regardless of the behaviour shown by others. In the *Buddhavaṃsa*, patience has the aim of *sambodhi*. In the *Jātakas*, particularly the episode concerning the buffalo that withstood the abuse of the monkey, tolerance was applauded without a higher spiritual goal. As for the *Buddhavaṃsa*,

"Examining, I then saw the sixth perfection, that of patience, followed and practised by the great seers of old . . . and as the earth endures all that is thrown down on it, both pure and impure, and shows no repugnance or approval, so you too, patient of all respect and disrespect, going on to the perfection of patience, will attain full enlightenment."⁸⁹

The seventh *pāramitā* is the perfection of speaking the truth (*sacca*). This is defined by the *Buddhavaṃsa* in three ways. Firstly, it is speaking without implying two meanings in one's words, secondly as speaking truth which applies to all beings of all times, and thirdly as

⁸⁷ Bv, II, Vs, 132-136, pp.13-14; BvE, p.21.

⁸⁸ Bv, II, Vs, 137-141, p.14; BvE, p.21.

⁸⁹ Bv, II, Vs, 142-146, p.14.

speaking truth that is consistent with ultimate and not relative truth. This is a more elaborated description of the perfection of speaking the truth than that found in the *Jātakas*,

"Examining, I then saw then the seventh perfection, that of truth-speaking, followed and practised by the great seers of old. You, having made firm, undertake this seventh perfection. By speech without double-meaning therein you will attain self-awakening. As Osadhi (the star of healing) is balanced for devas and mankind in all times and seasons and does not deviate from her source, so you too must not deviate from the course of the truths, going on to the perfection of truth-speaking, you will attain full enlightenment."⁹⁰

The eighth *pāramitā* is the perfection of resolute determination (*adhiṭṭhāna*). The example, not unlike that used for patience, is that the bodhisatta should be like a rock or a mountain. Again the image is one of stability and immovability. While the perfection of wisdom celebrates constancy and the perfection of patience teaches that the bodhisatta should be like the earth, this perfection teaches that the bodhisatta should be immovable in his determination to reach the goal of *sambodhi*. The bodhisatta asserts, "I am resolutely determined on further practice for fulfilling the mind. I am resolutely determined on further practice for fulfilling the ten perfections." This *pāramitā* is the second of the two along with the energy, identified by Horner as the most important for attaining enlightenment,

"Examining, I then saw then the eighth perfection, that of resolute determination, followed and practised by the great seers of old. And as a mountain, a rock, stable and firmly based, does not tremble in rough winds but remains in precisely its own place, so you too must constantly be stable in resolute determination. Going on to the perfection of resolute determination you will attain full enlightenment."⁹¹

The ninth *pāramitā* is the perfection of loving-kindness (*mettā*). The practice of this perfection involves the ability to perceive others equally and without difference. This *pāramitā* teaches the practice not in essence but in terms of the attitude of mind, or heightened consciousness. In fact, the depiction of the bodhisatta in the *Jātakas* compared to the depiction in the *Buddhavaṃsa* suggests that the qualities described in the latter are mental attitudes or states of consciousness. Whereas the *Jātakas* emphasise the characteristic behaviour of the bodhisatta, the *Buddhavaṃsa* emphasises the manner in which the behaviour is enacted and the source from which the behaviour arises,

"Examining, I then saw the ninth perfection, that of loving-kindness, followed and practised by the great seers of old . . . and as water pervades with coolness good and evil people alike, and carries away dust and dirt, so you too, by developing loving-kindness for friend and foe equally, going on to the perfection of loving-kindness, will attain full enlightenment."⁹²

⁹⁰ Bv, II, Vs, 147-151, p.14; BvE, p.22.

⁹¹ Bv, II, Vs, 152-156, p.15; BvE, p.22.

⁹² Bv, II, Vs, 157-161, p.15; BvE, p.22.

The tenth *pāramitā* is the perfection of equanimity (*upekkhā*). The image of the immovable earth is again used to show the attitude of the bodhisatta. Its teaching concerns the inner ability to absorb external stimuli without instinctive reactions. As for perfect equanimity, the *Buddhavaṃsa* teaches three types. Firstly, the bodhisatta should maintain balance for what he finds pleasant and unpleasant. Secondly, the bodhisatta is impervious to the pure and the impure, and thirdly the bodhisatta should avoid both anger and excessive courtesy,

"Examining, I then saw then the tenth perfection, that of equanimity, followed and practised by the great seers of old . . . as the earth is indifferent to the impure and the pure thrown down on it, and avoids both anger and courtesy, so you too must be always balanced in face of the pleasant and unpleasant, and going on to the perfection of equanimity, you will attain full enlightenment."⁹³

In brief, the bodhisatta concept in the *Buddhavaṃsa* shown by the ten *pāramitas* is significantly more complex and systemised than that found in the *Jātakas*. In the *Jātakas*, the bodhisatta is ascribed with certain types of behaviour, abilities, and ways of acting in a social context, but the concept in the *Buddhavaṃsa* is more confined to mental and internal dispositions. The *pāramitas* focus on the still mind of the bodhisatta. The bodhisatta is able to approach the external with an attitude of equanimity and control. Added to this description of the bodhisatta as the earth and the rock, strong and immovable, is the *pāramitā* of perfect energy, in which this stillness is complemented by a correct approach to activity. In the *Buddhavaṃsa*, of particular interest is the shift to the focus on the nature of the bodhisatta rather than on external behaviour. Here we see not only the manner in which the bodhisatta acts in the world, but the true nature of his behaviour.

A 3.2. The *Cariyāpiṭaka* and the *Pāramitās*

The *Cariyāpiṭaka* is in many ways a return to the social context. *Jātaka* stories and the *pāramitas* are used to produce a text that teaches how the *pāramitas* can be practised in concrete ways. It is difficult to draw a direct historical or conceptual connection between the *Buddhavaṃsa* and the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, as the background to the latter is complex and surrounded by a great deal of debate.⁹⁴ The relationship of the texts is equally problematic. It is a question which for the purpose of our study need not be answered. An analysis of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* in relation to the *Buddhavaṃsa* allows us to see that the development of the

⁹³ Bv, II, Vs, 162-166, p.15; BvE, p.23.

⁹⁴ As Norman states: "the *Cariyāpiṭaka* serves in effect as a supplement to the *Buddhavaṃsa* . . . It is a late text. It was not accepted as canonical by the Dīgha-bhāṅakas." See Norman, K R., *Pāli Literature*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983, 95.

bodhisatta concept is not simply a linear development of increasing complexity and detail. In fact, its many factors play their part, not least the demand for different doctrines by different types of individuals. The *Cariyāpiṭaka* is the last in the list of the *Khuddaka* texts given by Buddhaghosa. The title is considered post-Asokan,⁹⁵ and bears evidence of a later origin. The *Cariyāpiṭaka* consists of three *vaggas*, namely the *Akitti*, *Hatthināga* and *Yudhanjaya*. Each of the first two *vaggas* consists of ten stories, while the last *vagga* contains fifteen. The Pāli tradition asserts that the *Cariyāpiṭaka* was composed after the *Buddhavaṃsa*. The text of the 35 *Jātaka* stories is in verse,⁹⁶ and most of the stories also occur in the *Jātakas*. The narratives are limited to matters which are essential to the explanation of a particular *pāramitā*.⁹⁷

It is not easy to judge whether the present *Cariyāpiṭaka* reflects the form in which the text was incorporated into the canon in the third century BCE. A resume of a version of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* has been found in the introduction to the *Jātakas*, the *Nidānakathā*. It consists of 34 stories of which only 21 agree with those of the *Cariyāpiṭaka*. This discrepancy indicates that various recessions of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* must have existed. Winternitz presumes that when the canon was concluded, there were many *Jātakas* out of which one school with more liberal views compiled the collection forming the basis of our *Jātakaṭṭhavaṃṇanā*. Another stricter school compiled the *Cariyāpiṭaka*. The text explains the culmination of perfections (*pāramitās*) which the Buddha used in his previous births as practice during this world-cycle. The stories are arranged on the basis of the perfections. The perfection of generosity (*dāna*) is illustrated in ten stories, the perfection of morality (*sīla*) in ten, the perfection of renunciation (*nekkhamma*) in five, the perfection of resolution (*adhiṭṭhāna*) in one, the perfection of truthfulness (*sacca*) in six, the perfection of loving kindness (*mettā*) in two, and the perfection of equanimity (*upekkhā*) in one. Of the ten perfections mentioned in the *Uddānagāthās*, only seven are illustrated. The *cariyās* illustrating the remaining three perfections (*paññā*, *vīriya* and *khanti*) are entirely missing. The perfection of wisdom is asserted to be illustrated in the

⁹⁵ BCL, *Hist. Pali Lit.* p.290; A. K. Warder, *Pāli Metre*, 95,98.

⁹⁶ Winternitz sees the relationship between *Cariyāpiṭaka* and the *Jātaka* stories in two possible ways. First the *Cariyāpiṭaka* might be a resume of an older *Jātaka* book. Second the *Cariyāpiṭaka* might be a selection of *Jātakas*, which were arranged with reference to the ten *Pāramitās* and modified according to their purpose. He considered the second possibility as more probable. See Winternitz, p.158

⁹⁷ Winternitz, p.157

Mahāgovinda cariyā, the perfection of energy in the *Mahāvānarinda cariyā*, and the perfection of patience in the *Mahisarāra*, *Rūrumiga* and *Dhammadevaputta cariyās*.⁹⁸

It should be noted here that both the *Buddhavaṃsa* and the *Uddānagāthās* mention the ten *pāramitās*, while the *Cariyāpiṭaka* illustrates only seven. Abeynayake assumes that stories illustrating *paññā*, *vīriya* and *khanti* were well known among the Buddhist community and it was not necessary to include them again in his text.⁹⁹ However, Horner asserts that they are implied in the stories.¹⁰⁰

It is also possible that the compiler of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* did not find any *Jātaka* to illustrate the remaining perfections. None of the *Jātaka* tales conveys the concept of the perfection of wisdom since none of the heroes of the *Jātakas* exemplifies wisdom as perfect wisdom.

A 3.3. The bodhisatta in the *Cariyāpiṭaka*

The bodhisatta concept in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* reveals the practice of striving toward spiritual perfection. The *Cariyāpiṭaka* is arranged according to the *pāramitās*. Analysing the bodhisatta concept in this text thus requires a close examination of how the *pāramitās* are treated. First, we find that in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* the term *bodhi* is used in the sense of omniscience (*sabbaññutā*). This is evident by the phrase *sabbaññutaṃ piyaṃ mayhaṃ* (omniscience is dear to me). The purpose of the numerous practices is to achieve full enlightenment (*sambodhi*) and omniscience (*sabbaññutā*). The following is a condensed account of the *pāramitās* as discussed in the text.

1. *Dānapāramitā*

The perfection of generosity (*dānapāramitā*) is present in the text¹⁰¹ with the following emphases: (a) the act of generosity must not be performed for fame or gain, but for the motivation of *sabbaññutā*. (b) The state of mind that accompanies the giving of a gift should not become altered once the gift has changed hands. (c) Giving must be done in the proper manner, with delight and as requested, both for those worthy of respect and for those who beg. (d) A gift should be given without attachment and at any time.

⁹⁸ CpA, p.274

⁹⁹ Oliver, p.179

¹⁰⁰ I. B. Horner, *Minor Anthologies*, III, *Basket of Conduct (Cariyāpiṭaka)*, PTS, 1975, p.vi.

¹⁰¹ Cp, pp. 73-83; CpE, pp. 18-29.

What is given should not be determined by considering which things are disagreeable to the giver, but by the understanding that omniscience is more precious than any possession. The bodhisatta should give to all beings who require gifts and not only to those in the human realm. In the *Cariyāpiṭaka* generosity can be classified into three categories. Firstly, gifts may consist of material things such as property or food. Secondly, gifts may consist of the physical body of the donor, and thirdly, as people who are dear to the donor such as a wife or children. This classification is found in the ten stories. Three examples out of ten stories are selected as follows.

1.1 The bodhisatta who was a great king named Nimi (Cp, p.26), learning and desiring the good for self and others had four halls built, each with four entrances. There he conferred gifts on beasts, birds, men and so forth. He gave clothing, beds, food, drink and victuals. In every rebirth he sought the conditions for enlightenment, refreshing creatures with gifts. Thus he longed for supreme enlightenment.

1.2 The bodhisatta Vessantara (Cp, p.78-81) gave gifts to the destitute, the sick, the old, and to the supplicants, travellers, recluses and brāhmaṇas. He gave those who had lost their property and to those who had nothing. He practised giving at the age of eight. He would give his heart, eyes, flesh and blood if anyone requested him. Brāhmaṇas from the kingdom of Kāliṅga came to him and requested of him the elephant-nāga that was regarded as auspicious and as a good omen. He continually gave even when his people banished him from his kingdom. His mind delighted in giving and he gave whatever they requested of him. As omniscience was dear to him he gave away those who were dear.

1.3 The bodhisatta Sasapaṇḍita, a hare in the forest, had three neighbours, namely a monkey, a jackal and a young otter. He instructed them on virtuous and evil deeds. Having prepared gifts according to their ability and their means, they sought one worthy of gifts. In order to give to one worthy of gifts, on the observance day the hare roasted himself and let a brāhmaṇa devour him.¹⁰²

2. *Sīlapāramitā*

The perfection of morality (*sīlapāramitā*)¹⁰³ was practised by the strong and powerful bodhisatta. This bodhisatta in his previous births guarded morality in the following ways: by

¹⁰² See CD, Item 218, page 567; CpE, p18-29.

¹⁰³ Cp, pp. 84-91.

controlling anger, by not seeking or considering revenge, by returning good for evil, by being free from bad mentalities, and by being compassionate towards the world. The following stories are the examples to demonstrate how the morality was observed.

2.1 The Bodhisatta Cūḷabodhi (Cp, p.86) was great in virtue. With his wife he became a recluse. When his wife was seized and forced by the king to the inner apartments of the palace, anger arose in him. As anger arose, he recollected the observance of the vow of morality and controlled his anger. He thought: “for the sake of enlightenment, never would I violate morality. That brāhmaṇa lady was not disagreeable to me, nor even did strength not exist in me. Omniscience was dear to me, therefore I guarded morality.”

2.2 The Bodhisatta Mahisarāja (Cp, p.87) was a large and strong buffalo. He was often urinated and defecated upon over his shoulder, forehead and eyebrows by an evil, foul, and nimble monkey. He was distressed and would have killed the monkey with his horns and hoofs. He retrained himself since he risked violating morality and the censure of wise men. For the sake of life and enlightenment, he did not bring any injury to another. Further, he reflected: “this one, thinking thus of me, will do the same to others and they will kill him. For me this will be freedom.”

2.3 The Bodhisatta Dhamma was a great *yakkha* possessing great clairvoyant power. He met an evil *yakkha* his enemy on a road. Protecting ascetic qualities and guarding morality, he subdued thoughts of anger toward his enemy and yielded the path to the evil one.

2.4 The bodhisatta who was Saṅkhapāla (Cp, p.91), of great clairvoyant power, had his nostrils, tail and backbone pierced by hunter-boys. They placed him on a carrying-pole and bore him off. Though pierced by stakes and hacked with knives, he was not angry with the hunter-boys. This was his perfection of morality.

Morality was regarded as a preliminary requirement in the *sīlapāramitā*. Having maintained life the protagonists of this perfection preserved moral habits.¹⁰⁴

3. *Nekkhammapāramitā*

¹⁰⁴ CD, item 222, page 572; Cp, pp.84-91.

According to the five tales that exclusively illustrate the perfection of renunciation¹⁰⁵ in the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, only the bodhisatta who is born as a human being is able to practise this perfection. The concept of *nekkhammapāramitā* is portrayed in the following two stories.

- (i) Born as a son of an evil king, follower of the Evil One, having rejected dominion over a great kingdom, the Bodhisatta Prince Somanassa went forth into homelessness. He said, “it was not that the great kingdom was disagreeable to me. Enjoyment of sense-pleasures was not disagreeable. Omniscience was dear to me. Therefore I gave up the kingdom.” (Cp, p.92)
- (ii) Seeking escape from the cycle of rebirth, where death would not crush him, Ayoghara the king of Kāsi, gave up his kingdom and entered the forest. He said, “mother and father were not disagreeable to me, nor was great renown disagreeable to me. Omniscience was dear to me.” (Cp, p.94)

4. *Adhiṭṭhānapāramitā*

The perfection of resolute determination (*adhiṭṭhānapāramitā*)¹⁰⁶ is next illustrated in the *Cariyāpiṭaka*. When Prince Temiya, contemplating a royal parasol, had a vision of the future in which he would be in purgatory and asked himself, “how shall I escape this?”, he made a decision. To avoid becoming a king, he resolutely determined to behave as a deaf and dumb cripple unable to walk. He lived for sixteen years without breaking that resolute determination for the sake of enlightenment.

5. *Saccapāramitā*

The perfection of truth (*saccapāramitā*) in the context of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* requires the bodhisatta (1) to speak the truth and to act according to his own words, without getting himself into trouble, as did the Kāpirāja with a crocodile (Cp, p.97). Secondly, (2) To protect the world and unite people by means of truth, as did Sacca (Cp, p.97), and thirdly, (3) to make a supreme affirmation of truth by reflecting on the power of the *Dhamma*, remembering former conquerors, and relying on the power of truth as did Vaṭṭapataka (Cp, p.98), when he said, “wings there are that fly not, feet there are that walk not, mother and father are gone away.” Fourthly is (4) the affirmation of truth in order to remove a disaster. This is accomplished by considering the good in the *Dhamma* and seeing truth as a support, as did

¹⁰⁵ Cp, pp.92-93; CpE, pp.30-35.

¹⁰⁶ Cp, pp.96-97; CpE, pp.36-7.

Maccharāja (Cp, p.99), a fish-king who removed his relations from sufferings and destruction by saying, “as long as I can remember myself, ever since I have come to consciousness, I am not aware of having hurt intentionally even one living being. By this utterance of truth may Pajjunna pour down rain.” Next is (5) making a glorious affirmation of truth to destroy harmful poison as did the Kaṇhadīpāyana (Cp, p.99), a seer who destroyed snake venom in a youth and made him live by uttering as truth. He said, “for just seven days I, with a mind of faith, desiring merit, fared the Brahma-faring. After that, this was my faring for fifty years. More I fared only unwillingly. By this truth may there be well-being. May the poison be destroyed and may Yaññadatta live.” Lastly, (6) is to make a true and virtuous promise by recollecting the *Dhamma* of the good that was followed by former conquerors. This was done by Sutasoma (Cp, p.100), a lord of the earth who remembered his promise to a brāhmaṇa when he, Sutasoma, was captured by a cannibal.

6. *Mettāpāramitā*

The perfection of loving-kindness in the context of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* requires the bodhisatta (1) to cause creatures to have loving-kindness and to be a friend to all animals. He should not cause anyone fear, as did Sāma (Cp, p.101), who with the power of loving-kindness caused all animals to have loving-kindness in a forest. (2) To practice loving-kindness in all situations is to practice the ten skilled ways of acting without exception. It is to treat the populace kindly with the four bases of generosity for the sake of this world, as did Ekarāja (Cp, p.102), who maintained his loving-kindness to everyone in both good and bad situations. He maintained loving-kindness even when he lost his kingdom, his dear son and every member of his family, and was buried in a pit by Dabbasena. It is notable that the former story shows that animals can cultivate loving-kindness.

7. *Upekkhāpāramitā*

The *Cariyāpiṭaka* defines the perfection of equanimity in two ways, (1) as the dispassionate attitude towards happiness, anguish, honour, and reproach, and (2) as temperance in all circumstances like that of Mahālomahaṃsa who said, “those who caused me anguish and those who gave happiness - I was the same to them all. Kindness and anger did not exist . . . Having become dispassionate towards happiness, anguish, honours and reproaches, I am the

same in all circumstances. This was my perfection of equanimity.”¹⁰⁷ Horner, noting a thematic link between this perfection and the *Majjhimanikāya*, makes a reasonable suggestion that the *Cariyāpiṭaka* developed a theme found in the *Majjhimanikāya* but not in the *Jātakas*, and turned the *brahmavihāra* of equanimity into the perfection of equanimity.¹⁰⁸ It is also worth noting that the unknown compiler of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* made at least three fundamental contributions to Buddhist doctrine, which may be identified as (a) proof that by this period *bodhi* or *sambodhi* or *sabbaññutā* was the goal for various practices of the bodhisatta in the canonical book of the *Jātakas*, (b) confirmation that only human beings can practise the perfection of renunciation (*nekkhamapāramitā*), and (c) the classification of various practices of the bodhisatta into the categories of the perfections (*pāramitā*). The perfections are regarded as the vehicle for attaining *bodhi*, *sambodhi*, or *sabbaññutā*. These are especially shown in the verses of the *Cariyāpiṭaka*,¹⁰⁹ where the Gotama Buddha attained full enlightenment¹¹⁰ by fulfilling the ten perfections. The text makes the goal and the method clear to the practitioner although many of the more detailed and systematised teachings of the later period are absent. Some questions remain to be addressed, namely the spiritual value of *sambodhi* or *sabbaññutā*, and how the perfections (*pāramitā*) help the bodhisatta attain *sambodhi*. There are no indications on the way the bodhisatta should fulfil the ten perfections, or at which stage of the path they should be practised. Furthermore, the mental attitude in approaching the ten *pāramitās*, the procedures or stages, and the time required to achieve *sambodhi* remain unclear. These questions and their answers are not all to be found in the Pāli Canon. However, the compiler of the *Mahāvastu* certainly deals with some of them.

B. Bodhisattva *bhūmis* in the *Mahāvastu*

The previous sections show that there are various kinds of bodhisattas in terms of the former births of the Buddhas. They differ in qualities, abilities, character, deeds and resolution. In this section we aim to uncover, in sources other than Pāli texts, a more developed bodhisattva concept and doctrine belonging to other sects. We will first examine the *Mahāvastu*. Although

¹⁰⁷ Cp, p.102.

¹⁰⁸ I.B. Horner, *Minor Anthologies III, Basket of Conduct (Cariyāpiṭaka)*, PTS, 1975, p.ix. (my inverted commas)

¹⁰⁹ I.B.Horner, tr. *Basket of Conduct (Cariyāpiṭaka)*, in SBB vol.xxxi, PTS, pp.49-50

¹¹⁰ Although Horner’s translation uses the term self-awakening for *sambodhi*, this thesis will translate *sambodhi* as full enlightenment.

its sources differ from those of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* and the *Buddhavaṃsa*, most parts of the text can be dated to the same period of the second century BCE.

Further development of the bodhisattva doctrine and concept is evident in the *Mahāvastu*.¹¹¹ While it resembles the Pāli *Cariyāpiṭaka*, the *Mahāvastu* clearly belongs to another school. It is an ancient Buddhist text written in hybrid Sanskrit. It primarily describes the life of Buddha Śākyamuni according to the Lokottaravādin tradition of the Mahāsāṅghika.¹¹² The date of the work has not yet been fixed, but its nucleus originates in the second century BCE,¹¹³ although it may have been enlarged as late as the fourth century CE. Some scholars propose, however, that the entire text may have originated in the second century BCE.¹¹⁴

The *Mahāvastu* concurs with the *Nidānakathā* in that it deals with the life of the Buddha in three sections. The first section begins with the life of the bodhisattva at the time of Buddha Dīpaṅkara (I, 193 ff) and recounts his life at the time of earlier Buddhas. The second section (II, 1ff) takes us to the heaven of the Tuṣita gods where the bodhisattva who is reborn there, decides to be reborn in the womb of Queen Māyā. This section then narrates the miracles of the conception and birth of the prince, of his departure from his native town, his confrontation of Māra, and the enlightenment which he accomplishes under the Bodhi tree. The third section (III) narrates the history of the earliest conversions and the origin of the community of monks, concurring with the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinayapiṭaka* in its main features. This is why the *Mahāvastu* describes itself as belonging to the *Vinayapiṭaka*.

The *Mahāvastu* is a treasure-house of *Jātakas* and other stories. Forty *Jātakas* are incorporated in it. Here again we meet the bodhisattva, sometimes as a king ruling over the whole world and sometimes as the son of a merchant. Sometimes he is a Brahmin, a Nāga prince, a lion or even an elephant. Many of the *Jātakas* are versions of the same stories that we find in the Pāli *Jātakas*. For instance, the *Śyāmakajātaka* (II, 209ff) is another version of

¹¹¹ The text has been edited by É. Senart in 3 vols., Paris, 1882-1897, with detailed surveys of contents in the introductions and a valuable commentary. A survey of the contents has also been given by Rājendralāla Mitra, *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, pp.115-161; B. C. Law, *A study on the Mahāvastu*, Calcutta, 1930; Jones, J. J., English tr. *The Mahāvastu*, 3 vols., in SBB, vols., 16, 18, 19, London: Luzac, 1949-1956; Rahula, B. T., *A Critical Study of The Mahāvastu*, Delhi, 1978.

¹¹² Hirakawa A., *A History of Indian Buddhism From Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna*, translated and edited by Paul Groner, Delhi, 1993, p.120.

¹¹³ Winternitz, M., *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, New York: Russell & Russell, 1971, p. 247

¹¹⁴ Hajime Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi, 1989, p.130

the *Samajātaka* known to us. The *Kinnarjātaka* (II, 94ff) corresponds in character to the Kinnara stories of the *Jātaka* book. The story of Nalinikuśa preserves antiquarian features that have disappeared in the prose of the Pāli *Isisīṅga-jātaka*.

However, many *Jātakas* and *avadānas* in the *Mahāvastu* have no correspondence in the Pāli. They often glorify the bodhisattvas' extraordinary readiness for sacrifice and generosity. King Arka for example, gives to the Buddha of his time 80,000 grottoes (cave-temples) made of seven types of precious stones (I, 54). Likewise, he gives his wife and child away to learn a wise saying (I, 91f). As a potter, he is more pious than king Kṛkin, as he kills no living beings and puts up his pots at crossroads in order to fill them with rice and beans for hungry people. When he hears that during his absence his parents have given the Buddha the straw with which he had recently covered his hut, he rejoices for a month (I, 317ff). The *Rājavanśa*, or the *History of the Kings* to which the dynasty of the Śākyamuni belongs, begins precisely in the same manner as the *Purāṇas*, with a discourse on creation (I, 338ff). The spirit of the *Purāṇas* also pervades the *Jātaka* (I, 283ff) in which the ṛṣi called Rakṣita, the bodhisattva hermit, attains the miraculous ability to touch the sun and the moon with his hands. The spirit of the Mahāyāna teachings is similar to that of the *Purāṇas*, and some stories of the *Mahāvastu* exhibit the inclination towards splendid and enchanting illustrations that portray miraculous powers of the holy man and glorify the Buddha, again a characteristic of Mahāyāna texts.

Although the *Mahāvastu* contains much that occurs in the Pāli texts, it also has some aspects that more closely resemble Mahāyāna doctrine. The probable reason is that the concept of the Buddha prevalent among the Mahāsāṅghikas and the Lokottaravādins represents a transition to Mahāyāna Buddhism. In other cases, however, it seems plausible to assume that interpolation took place. Thus we find in the first volume (I, 63-193) a long section on the ten *bhūmis* and on the virtues which the bodhisattva must possess in each stage. Included in this section is a *Buddhānusmṛti* (I, 163ff), or a hymn on the Buddhas' recollection, that is not much different from the narrations of Viṣṇu or Śiva of the *Purāṇas*. The *Buddhānusmṛti* also represents the spirit of the Mahāyāna when (II, 362ff) it claims that the purity of the Buddha is so great that worship of the Buddha suffices as a means for attaining *nirvāṇa*. Further, one earns unlimited merit when one simply circumambulates a *stūpa* and venerates it with gifts of flowers and so on. The phrase "from the smile of the Buddha there

issue rays of light which illuminate the entire Buddha-field”,¹¹⁵ occurs many times in Mahāyāna texts. It is also Mahāyānist to describe large numbers of Buddhas and to claim that bodhisattvas are born directly through their capabilities and not through parents.

In terms of chronology, it is important to note that the concept of the four career-phases of the bodhisattva is mentioned for the first time at the beginning of the *Mahāvastu*.¹¹⁶ These are the natural career (*prkṛti-caryā*),¹¹⁷ the aspiration career (*praṇidhāna-caryā*),¹¹⁸ the conforming career (*anuloma-caryā*),¹¹⁹ and the non-regressing career (*anivartana-caryā*).¹²⁰ Each of these is illustrated in the former births of Gautama Buddha.¹²¹

The *Mahāvastu* describes the ten stages (*bhūmis*) a bodhisattva passes on his way to fully complete enlightenment. Mahāyāna texts such as the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* (T. 287), contain similar teachings on the ten stages and have often been cited as evidence that Mahāyāna Buddhism arose from the Mahāsaṅghika school. However, the *Mahāvastu* and similar literature concerning the Buddha’s life transcend sectarian lines. For example, at the end of the *Abhiṅṣkramaṇa-sūtra*,¹²² a Dharmaguptaka text, it is noted that the very same biography is called the *Mahāvastu* by the Mahāsaṅghika school and various other names by the Sarvāstivādin, Kāśyapīya and Mahīśāsaka schools. This indicates that these schools shared a common biography of the Buddha.¹²³

In considering the bodhisattva concept as found in the *Mahāvastu*, we must first examine the ten *bhūmis*. The section of the *Mahāvastu* that deals with the *bhūmis* (stages) may on first inspection appear to contain doctrinal innovations and to represent a later period of transition

¹¹⁵ Mv, III, 137ff.

¹¹⁶ Basak, Radhagovinda, *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, vol. i, Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1963, p.1

¹¹⁷ Basak, Radhagovinda, *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, vol. i, Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1963, pp.1, 53, 54

¹¹⁸ Basak, Radhagovinda, *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, vol. i, Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1963, pp.1, 53

¹¹⁹ Basak, Radhagovinda, *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, vol. i, Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1963, pp.1, 53, 73

¹²⁰ Basak, Radhagovinda, *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, vol. i, Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1963, pp.1,53

¹²¹ It would seem that the section on the ten *bhūmis* was inserted by the compilers to include in the *Mahāvastu* most element of Buddhistic lore. It is introduced abruptly, and certain inconsistencies in the recital show that it was not really understood, or, perhaps the inconsistencies are due to a deliberate attempt to amend or even suppress the Mahāyānist tendencies on the same subject. There are for example, the Mahāyānist *Daśabhūmika* and *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, the latter of which was claimed by the Yogācāras as upholding their particular doctrine. But the *Mahāvastu* expressly condemns the teaching of this school, for it makes adherence on the part of bodhisattvas one of the causes which prevent them rising from the fifth *Bhūmi* to the sixth *bhūmi*. For further investigation into the relations between *bhūmis* and *cariyas*, see the section on “The Stages of the bodhisattva’s Practices in Part II, and also see Rahula, B. T., *A Critical Study Of The Mahāvastu*, Delhi 1978, p.62

¹²² Abhini, 佛本行集經, T03: 0655ff, No.190. This text was translated into English by Beal, Samuel, *The Romantic Legend Of Sākya Buddha: From Chinese-Sanskrit*, London: Trübner & Co., 1875.

¹²³ T.3: 932a

toward to the Mahāyāna. However, the multiplicity of bodhisattvas and previous Buddhas is not in itself a Mahāyānist trait, although it prepared the way for the subsequent development of Mahāyāna doctrine. In the *Mahāvastu* we see for the first time a clear sense of a developmental procession in the bodhisattva concept. Unlike the ten *pāramitās*, the ten *bhūmis* in this text comprise a progressive succession on the path to buddhahood.

1. The first *bhūmi*

The first *bhūmi* is the difficult to achieve (*durārohā*).¹²⁴ Bodhisattvas on this *bhūmi* are ordinary beings¹²⁵ with a strong resolution to achieve enlightenment. They are considered worthy of offerings in all worlds where they are deeply respected. The *Mahāvastu* describes them as the glorious bodhisattvas perfect in liberality that illuminate the worlds to make them shine as radiantly as the moon and sun.¹²⁶

The most important aspect of this stage is the thought of enlightenment, or the resolution to work towards enlightenment. The resolution that bodhisattvas make is specified in the *Mahāvastu* as follows,

"If I am doomed to dwell in Avīci from this moment to that in which I am to become aware of the ultimate truth, I shall go through with it, nor shall I withdraw my vow to win omniscience. Such is my resolve."

On this *bhūmi* we see that the bodhisattva concept involves will-power, the resolution to head in one direction, cultivating the necessary attributes, and continuing to struggle for the goal that has become all-important. It is said that the bodhisattvas who vow to win enlightenment, both those who lapse and those who do not, generate great merit when they first conceive the thought of the possibility of becoming perfect Buddhas.¹²⁷ Thus one who vows to win enlightenment generates richer merit than one who should honour foremost humans (*agrapudgalas*) by giving them whole universes as numerous as the sands of the ocean, and all their varied precious stones (I, 63). This resolution leads to the following vow,¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Basak, Radhagovinda, *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, vol. i, Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1963, pp.73-98. Jones, J.J., tr. *The Mahāvastu*, vol. I, London: Luzac & Co., 1949, pp.61-65

¹²⁵ Ibid., p.63

¹²⁶ Ibid., p.61

¹²⁷ Ibid., p.62

¹²⁸ The *Mahāvastu* recounts Mahākāśyapa asking Mahākātyāyana the following question, "do those bodhisattvas who continue in unwavering progress make their first vow when they have acquired merits, or when they have acquired the roots of goodness?" Mahākātyāyana says, "first they worship the glorious Tathāgatas with great reverence, but not yet do these supreme men turn their thoughts towards becoming a foremost man. These wise men honour koṭis of Pratyekabuddhas, men who have won the highest good, but not yet do they turn their thoughts to a knowledge of the whole dharma. They worship koṭis of those who have won mastery over all the powers, long since reached perfect mastery, but not yet do these leaders turn their thoughts to crossing the ocean

"By the root of goodness I have laid in store may I have insight into all things. May not the realisation of my vow be deferred too long, but may my vow be fulfilled . . . May my store of the root of goodness be great enough for all living things, whatever evil deed has been done by me, may I alone reap its bitter fruit."¹²⁹

The *Mahāvastu* teaches that in order to achieve the first stage, bodhisattvas strive to find conditions in which the thought of enlightenment can arise. These conditions involve eight aspects of conduct which can be summarised as generosity, compassion, indefatigable energy, humility, study of all scriptures, heroism,¹³⁰ renunciation of the world, and fortitude. The emphasis is on the perfection of giving. bodhisattvas who have not lapsed in these eight aspects of conduct are referred to as *avaivartika*. The *Mahāvastu* teaches that on the first *bhūmi*, bodhisattvas delight in generosity and themselves become objects of pity. If they are wise, they turn for consolation to the words and virtues of the Buddhas.

In the *Mahāvastu*, the bodhisattvas who do not lapse must perform the following difficult tasks on the first *bhūmi*. (i) Those who have set off towards omniscience, must not give way to idle regret when they have to give up dear wives and beloved sons, their heads and their eyes, their jewels, carriages and beds. (ii) Though they are sentenced to be flogged, bound, and scourged by violent men whose minds are bent on foul deeds, they regard these men with hearts full of meekness and friendliness, and innocent though they are, speak to them with gentle words. (iii) When they see a mendicant full of pride and conceit, the great men experience a thrill of joy. By giving alms they become elated at the gain of virtue. They do not fall into remorse. These then are the austerities of the bodhisattvas.¹³¹

The *Mahāvastu* makes clear that certain attributes must not be present if the bodhisattva wishes to progress to the second *bhūmi*. One must not take delight in the pleasures of life, be indolent, worldly, timid, weak-willed, or unfriendly to others.

2. The second *bhūmi*

The second *bhūmi* is that of steadiness (*baddhamānā*).¹³² bodhisattvas on this *bhūmi* are described as developing in various ways. Firstly, they are developing an aversion to all forms

of knowledge." At the time for making a vow it is said, "but when the bodhisattvas have laid up abundant store of merit, and have body and mind well developed, they approach the beautiful Buddhas, and turn their thought towards enlightenment. See Jones, J.J., tr. *The Mahāvastu*, vol. I, London: Luzac & Co., 1949, p.63.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p.64.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p.64, "I cannot allow my mind to waver. Though overwhelmed with ills, I should not let my mind waver. Though overwhelmed with ills, I would bring blessings to the world of men. Such is the courage and strength of these sturdy men."

¹³¹ Ibid., p.65.

¹³² Basak, 1963, pp.98-105; Jones, 1949, pp.66-72.

of existence. At the same time, the attributes that are encouraged on the first *bhūmi* grow stronger. They are resolute and steadfast, free from all sensuous desire and love of pleasure, and finally they long for enlightenment.

On this stage, the factors which may prevent bodhisattvas from progressing to the next *bhūmi* relate to over-confidence from progress. Bodhisattvas lapse in their second *bhūmi* when they come to contemplate life with satisfaction, when they become lustful and indolent through indulgence in sensual pleasures, and when they become covetous, timid, and weak-willed. They lapse when they live without being conscious of the impermanence of things, when they become addicted to harmfulness, when they become hateful, when they become gross and sluggish, and when they immerse themselves in the affairs of the world.¹³³

3. The third *bhūmi*

On the third *bhūmi* "adorned with flowers" (*puṣpa-maṇḍitā*),¹³⁴ bodhisattvas are easily distinguishable from ordinary people. The hearts of bodhisattvas as they pass from the second *bhūmi* to the third are set on renunciation. The bodhisattvas as lords of men render happy the condition of all creatures, but in no way for the sake of their own well-being, nor for the sake of enlightenment.

Bodhisattvas generously relinquish all things to all beings, without selfish motives. They love learning, and make any sacrifice for the smallest instruction.¹³⁵ The dispositions of bodhisattvas on the second *bhūmi* are good, amiable, sweet, keen, bountiful, charming, profound, whole-hearted, imperturbable, distinguished, lofty, noble, resolute, sincere, pure, steadfast, independent, contented and intent on the foremost people, and infinite. According to the *Mahāvastu*, bodhisattvas should not become overly attached to ascetic life or too fond of solitude and seclusion. If they are involved in gambling or political affairs for the sake of money, they will not progress. It would seem that the third *bhūmi* relates to bodhisattvas living in the court, where the temptations of courtly pleasures and vices were manifold. Nevertheless, the ascetic life of the forest was prohibited.

As for a description of the ways in which one can lapse in this *bhūmi*, the *Mahāvastu* lists falsehood, guile, and slander.¹³⁶ In addition, bodhisattvas who are on the third *bhūmi*

¹³³ Jones, 1949, p.62

¹³⁴ Basak, 1963, pp.106-117; Jones, 1949, pp.72-79

¹³⁵ Jones, 1949, p.72, "They buy one verse of a wise saying with the sacrifice of wife and child."

¹³⁶ Ibid., p.73

lapse and fail to reach the fourth in fourteen ways. When (1) they become addicted to dishonest gambling with dice, (2) they seek seclusion too often, (3) they come to rule over their kingdoms whilst overcome by avarice and rob their own subjects of all their possessions, (4) they accuse of murder the people who do not deserve to be called into account for any offence, (5) they do not protect those in danger of being killed, (6) they mutilate men, (7) they fall into erring ways and even having wealth they do not dispense to others the means of life, (8) though they take up the religious life they do not learn by heart the great doctrine, even while the Buddhas themselves teach it, (9) although they have already made a vow, they do not preach the great doctrine, (10) they follow those who are bound to the flesh, not those who are bound to Dharma, (11) they do not repeatedly declare the splendour of the Buddha, (12) they teach that Buddhas are of the world, (13) they do not teach that Buddhas transcend the world, and (14) being on the third *bhūmi*, have lapsed, are lapsing, or will lapse.¹³⁷

It is interesting to note that this list of possible lapses implies that a bodhisattva should be able to live in the world whilst transcending it. bodhisattvas on the third *bhūmi* are clearly leading life at the high ranks of society.

4. The fourth *bhūmi*

On this *bhūmi* called the beautiful (*rucirā*),¹³⁸ bodhisattvas are aware of immoral practices and the temptation to exercise special powers for illegitimate purposes. They develop a sense of noble shame, and refrain from inciting others toward wicked deeds. The *Mahāvastu* explains in detail that bodhisattvas must not commit any of the five grave offences. They should not (1) deprive parents of life, (2) deprive Arhats of life, (3) create schisms in the Saṅgha, (4) raze towns to the ground, or (5) harbour evil thoughts against a Tathāgata.

The *Mahāvastu* describes bodhisattvas on the fourth *bhūmi* as not led to commit faults by wrong belief, and by extension they do not have to expiate bad deeds. As they pass from one existence to another, they do not adhere to doctrine based on heresy, but only to true doctrine or virtue based on knowledge. When they sit or lie in the shade of a tree, and do not harm the leaves. Even in anger they do not resort to blows. They practise the ten right ways of behaviour. They do not cast a spell to strike another man. Wholly concerned with karma and

¹³⁷ Ibid., p.76

¹³⁸ For discussion of this *bhūmi*, see Basak, Radhagovinda, *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, vol. i, Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1963, pp.117-130; Jones, J.J., tr. *The Mahāvastu*, vol. I, London: Luzac & Co., 1949, pp. 79-87

detached from all excitement, they are not cast down by adversity elated by prosperity. In deed, speech, and thought, their dispositions are wholly pure and their charity perfect.

The text identifies seven ways in which bodhisattvas on the fourth *bhūmi* lapse and fail to reach the fifth, namely when they become corrupters of (1) nuns, (2) men, and (3) eunuchs, (4) when by the power of spells they cause unnatural disease in others, (5) when they lead good men from virtue, and when (6) they become shameless, and (7) unscrupulous.¹³⁹

5. The fifth *bhūmi*

The fifth *bhūmi* is called the expansion of the mind (*cittavistāra*).¹⁴⁰ In this *bhūmi* we find bodhisattvas in a state of realisation. They see that all existence is consumed with the fire of lust, hatred and delusion,¹⁴¹ and that it is devoid of protection and happiness. In this *bhūmi* they worship and serve many Buddhas. This *bhūmi* involves a substantial change, where bodhisattvas are warned not to dread ascetic life, but to cultivate calm and insight. In contrast to the third *bhūmi*, the fifth *bhūmi* encourages bodhisattvas to behave as recluses. bodhisattvas are now expected to worship lion-hearted Buddhas.¹⁴² It seems that bodhisattvas on the fifth *bhūmi* obtain much more knowledge of Buddha-fields.¹⁴³ The understanding of wise bodhisattvas on the fifth *bhūmi* is that the vortex of the world holds little delight but is exceedingly painful.¹⁴⁴ According to the *Mahāvastu*, there are four ways in which bodhisattvas fail to reach the sixth *bhūmi*,¹⁴⁵

"Though bodhisattvas have taken up religious life on the Buddha's instruction, they yet join forces with the Yogācāras. Hankering after the sensations which are abjured by a convert, they turn away in fear from self-development. They live perpetually inattentive to the cultivation of calm and introspective insight, and they inevitably train their thought by fixing upon objects of perception."¹⁴⁶

6. The sixth *bhūmi*

¹³⁹ Jones, J.J., tr. *The Mahāvastu*, vol. I, London: Luzac & Co., 1949, pp.86-7

¹⁴⁰ Basak, 1963, pp.130-141; Jones, 1949, pp.87-95

¹⁴¹ Jones, 1949, p.87, "the bodhisattvas see all existences inflamed by passion, hatred, and folly, and accordingly the state of mind that links the two *bhūmis* and brings them to the fifth immediately after the fourth is one full of despair and disgust."

¹⁴² Ibid., p.94. "The lion-hearted Buddhas on the fifth *bhūmi* were innumerable (120) as were also Pratyekabuddhas, those in training, and the adepts, the disciples of the Conqueror. All these and other Tathāgatas were worshipped by Gotama Buddha, and it is thus that he laid the roots of goodness for the sake of the whole world's welfare. Therefore the bodhisattvas, in order to reach buddhahood must follow his example."

¹⁴³ Ibid., pp.95-99

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p.95

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., pp.95 "All the bodhisattvas that having vowed to win enlightenment on the fifth, lapse and fail to reach the sixth *bhūmi*, have done so, do so, and will do so, in these four ways."

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p.94; Basak, 1963, p.141.

The sixth *bhūmi* is called the lovely (*rūpavaṇī*).¹⁴⁷ On this *bhūmi*, bodhisattvas recognise that the whirlpool of *saṃsāra* is terrible and offers little satisfaction. To reach the seventh *bhūmi* and abide in it, they abandon their desire in order to attain the meditation of the cessation of perception and feeling (*saṃjñāvedayita-nirodha*).¹⁴⁸ On the sixth *bhūmi* there are two ways in which bodhisattvas lapse and fail to reach the seventh stage (*bhūmi*), (1) they envy those who have won cessation of perception and feeling, (2) they do not listen reverently and attentively to the divine beings. All bodhisattvas who have lapsed, are lapsing, and will lapse and fail to reach the seventh *bhūmi*, after living in the sixth, do so in these two ways.¹⁴⁹

7. The seventh *bhūmi*

The seventh *bhūmi* is the difficult to conquer (*durjayā*).¹⁵⁰ On this *bhūmi*, in order to cultivate compassion bodhisattvas practise self-control, refrain from killing sentient beings, and teach others to observe this precept. They practise forbearance in all their actions and forgive their enemies.¹⁵¹ So that they may do goodness to many sentient beings, they master all the arts, sciences, languages, and scripts.¹⁵² They also learn all there is to know about gold, silver, precious stones,¹⁵³ and acquire all other knowledge that may be of use to humankind. It is worth noting that some bodhisattvas on this *bhūmi* are not capable of turning back. It is said that the mind of the supreme benefactors of humankind is bent on self-control.

The *Mahāvastu* teaches that bodhisattvas on the seventh *bhūmi* have renounced many things¹⁵⁴ and possess many qualities such as patience, tranquillity of mind and tenderness

¹⁴⁷ Basak, 1963, p.142-150; Jones, 1949, pp.95-100

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p.149

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p.100

¹⁵⁰ Basak, 1963, pp.150-161; Jones, 1949, pp.100-108

¹⁵¹ Jones, J.J., tr. *The Mahāvastu*, vol. I p.106. "In their progress towards their goal they are undefiled in acts of body, speech and thought. Through the uprightness of their lives in former existences they are untarnished and pure in conduct. Possessing perfect knowledge they are men of undimmed understanding. They are eager to win the sphere of power of a Buddha, so far are they from refusing it. With knowledge as their banner, they are untiring in speech and skilled in teaching. Being of irreproachable character, they are immune from disaster. They are free from evil."

¹⁵² Ibid., p107 .

¹⁵³ Jones, J.J., tr. *The Mahāvastu*, vol. I, London: Luzac & Co., 1949, p.108. "All fields of gold, silver, tin, copper, lead, precious substances and gems were revealed by bodhisattvas, all the expedients that exist for the service of men were the inventions of bodhisattvas. On this matter it is said, "the peerless pre-eminent men pass through their successive lives aware of what is good for the world. Their lives are better than those of devas, men, and guhyakas. For the perfect knowledge gained by these lords is unsurpassed."

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p.101; "They preach and commend abstention from murder. They praise beings in the various *bhūmis* who are so disposed and who do not henceforth in any way, even when associated with evil companions, deprive living things of life. After passing through the first seven *bhūmis*, they have pity for those beings who have a hard lot to bemoan. They apply themselves to the practice of morality. They renounce their kingdoms or

towards other beings.¹⁵⁵ Understanding¹⁵⁶ is emphasised as one of their attributes, as is skilfulness,¹⁵⁷ and the ability to be skilful in the politics of the world.¹⁵⁸

The transition from the seventh to the eighth *bhūmi* has one marked feature in the *Mahāvastu* - bodhisattvas do not lapse and definitely cultivate good *karma*. On all the other *bhūmis*, bodhisattvas cultivate mixed *karma*. They pass through all ten *bhūmis* filled with compassion for the world.¹⁵⁹ This transition encompasses the state of mind of irreversible bodhisattvahood, "there arises in them a mind that is set on great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*) as they advance from the seventh *bhūmi* to the eighth."¹⁶⁰

The notion of irreversible bodhisattvahood has also appeared in the discussion of the first and fourth *bhūmis*. The *Mahāvastu* clearly distinguishes in each *bhūmi* between those bodhisattvas who lapse and those who do not. Those who lapse must fall back to an earlier stage. Those who do not are called *avaivartikas*,¹⁶¹ or irreversible bodhisattvas. At this stage

whatever sovereignty is theirs. They go forth from home into the homeless state."

¹⁵⁵ They are bodhisattvas who live on from life to life in the possession of manifold good qualities. They are bodhisattvas who have won the mastery over karma, and make their deeds renowned through their accumulation of merit. They are resolute and valiant, intent on endurance, trustworthy, upright and sincere. They are generous, firm, gentle, tender, patient, whole and tranquil of heart, difficult to overcome and defeat, intent on what is real, charitable, and faithful to their promises. They are intelligent, brilliantly intelligent, gifted with insight, and not given to gratification of sensual desires. They are devoted to the highest good. They win converts by the four means of sympathetic appeal. They are pure in conduct and heart, full of exceedingly great veneration, and civility toward elders and nobles.

¹⁵⁶ Jones, 1949, p.104. "They understand that in this world 'hatred is not allayed by hatred.' Though I could release smoke on the wind to destroy the whole land, and guide and robbers as well, yet I let them go with their lives."

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p.106. They are skilled in uprooting the vices of evil men. They are unwearying in clothing the nakedness of others. They are anxious not to blight the maturing of their karma, and they acquire the roots of virtue by keeping themselves aloof from passion, hatred and folly. They are skilled in bringing solace to those in trouble and misfortune. They do not hesitate to render all kinds of service. In all matters they are untiring in their purpose. They are endowed here in this world with the profound attributes of a Buddha. They shun the three-fold distractions. Leaving vain babblers alone, they love their enemies. They do not indulge in sexual pleasures. They know how to win the affection of all creatures. When they enter the world they become endowed with powers that are in accordance with the vow they have made. In all matters they are skilled in the knowledge of correct and faulty conclusions. They are rich in goodness and blessed with good qualities. Eminent, wise in their illimitable virtue, they are serene among their fellows.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p.106; They are resourceful, in all matters using conciliatory and agreeable methods, and in affairs of government they are adept in persuasive speech. They are men whose voices are not checked in the assembly, men who pour forth their eloquence in a mighty stream. With knowledge as their banner they are skilled in drawing the multitude to them. They are endowed with equanimity, and their means of living is beyond reproach. They are men of successful achievements, and are ready to come to the assistance of others and help those in distress (134). They do not become enervated by prosperity, and do not lose their composure in adversity.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p.80.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p.108; Basak, 1963, p.161, *ye te bho dhutadharmadhara bodhisattvā avaiivartikāsteṣaṃ saptamāto bhūmito aṣṭamāṇi bhūmi saṃktamantānāṇi mahākaruṇāsaṃprayuktaṇi cittamuṭpadyate.*

¹⁶¹ Ibid., pp.81-82; bodhisattvas who are not liable to lapse, do not in the course of these seven *bhūmis*, in any way, for any reason, at any time, or by any chance, pass into a hell, nor are they reborn in a brute state, nor do

of our discussion, it is worth noting that for bodhisattvas, special doctrines on *karma* apply.¹⁶² The bodhisattvas are slightly outside normal karmic laws, yet they also have their own internal *karma* as they are safe from the hells.¹⁶³

In discussing the seventh and eighth *bhūmis*, the *Mahāvastu* implies that teaching the path of the bodhisattva arises in part from understanding the *Jātakas*,

"By means of discourses without illustrations arranged in due order, the lords, learned in the Jātakas and other lore, preach to the concourse of bodhisattvas self-control, charity, and restraint, as the qualities that bring a bodhisattva's career to great maturity."¹⁶⁴

8. The eighth *bhūmi*

On this *bhūmi* called the ascertainment of birth (*janmanideṣa*),¹⁶⁵ the outstanding characteristic of bodhisattvas is great love and compassion. Bodhisattvas are no longer in a position to commit any of the five grave sins or do evil of any kind. They never use charms and spells to injure others, and they follow the ten meritorious paths of action. They are calm and serene, neither elated in prosperity nor dejected in adversity. They are also gentle and grateful, they do not pluck the leaves of the tree under which they sit or sleep. Bodhisattvas on this *bhūmi* cannot be reborn in a state of woe or in a common purgatory. They are now perfectly pure and should be honoured in the same way as Buddhas.¹⁶⁶ They are able to choose life as they wish,

they become poor or infirm. They become Brāhmaṇas, pratyekabrāhmaṇas, Indras, Upendras, Yakṣa kings and Yakṣas, Nāgas and kings of Nāgas, Gandharvas and kings of Gandharvas, universal kings and kings of regions. They become chief counsellors, heads of merchant guilds, provincial chieftains, sons of kings and merchants and a king's chief wife. They become valiant, courageous and powerful leaders. They become men who are esteemed, respected, saluted and obeyed. They become men who are dear to, beloved of and popular with the multitude. They become men whom people praise and delight in, they become wealthy men, powerful men, with a large retinue, men of resolution and influence. If, as a result of reviling an Āryan at any time or in any way while they are in one of the seven *bhūmis*, they incur rebirth in the great Avīci hell, they go to a privileged sector therein. They are not reborn among perpetual ghosts, nor among the Asuras. They are not reborn as inferior animals, nor in Uttarakuru, nor as women, nor as eunuchs. Thus then, in all the ten *bhūmis* they become men, and have all the limbs, great and small, and all the faculties of men unimpaired.

¹⁶² Ibid. Vol. i, p.82

¹⁶³ Ibid. Vol. i, p.82

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., Vol. i, p.82

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p.108-110. See Basak, 1963, pp.161-164.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p.83; From the eighth *bhūmi* onwards, the bodhisattvas are to be honoured with the honour due to a perfect Buddha. (Vol. i, p.83). "In all the ten *bhūmis* they become men, and have all the limbs, great and small, and all the faculties of men unimpaired." (Vol., I, P.82) "It is from the eighth *bhūmi* that bodhisattvas begin to renounce all they possess and to make difficult sacrifices." According to the compiler of the *Mahāvastu*, "the Jātakas related by the Conqueror go back to the eighth *bhūmi*." (vol. i, p.83). On this point it is said: "from the eighth *bhūmi* onwards, bodhisattvas are to be looked upon as perfect Buddhas. For after that they do not lapse. Henceforth they are masters of the profound meditations and their knowledge is purified. Henceforth they speak words that are founded on knowledge, and in their wisdom renounce life because of its villainess. Henceforth, whatever birth is pure that they do achieve, and whatever form is pure that do they win." (Vol. i, p.83) "

"Henceforth, they are born of whatever sex they wish, and as whatever kind of deva they wish (Vol.i, p.84)."

The *Mahāvastu* teaches that accession to the eighth *bhūmi* can be achieved by knowledge. This must be correct knowledge of the austerities, though knowledge appears to suffice,

"The wise Tathāgata tells them too of him, the supreme of men, who for the sake of mankind's well-being cultivates incomparable *karma*. He is styled 'Lord' by the Exalted One, and takes up a life of austerity based on knowledge. A bodhisattva like this is rare in the world. So does the Conqueror expound this in his teaching . . . It is in this and like manner that the Buddhas teach dharma to the retinue of bodhisattvas."¹⁶⁷

The *Mahāvastu* teaches that the Buddha recounts his path as a bodhisattva in the *Jātakas* by explaining the eighth *bhūmi* thus,

"The *Jātakas* related by the Conqueror go back to the eighth *bhūmi*. It is also from the eighth *bhūmi* that bodhisattvas begin to renounce all they possess and to make difficult sacrifices. From the eighth *bhūmi* onwards bodhisattvas are to be honoured with the honour due to a perfect Buddha."¹⁶⁸

9. The ninth and tenth *bhūmis*

The ninth and tenth *bhūmis* are the installation as crown-prince (*yauvarāja*)¹⁶⁹ and consecration (*abhiṣeka*),¹⁷⁰ respectively. Apart from a list of past Buddhas however, the *Mahāvastu* offers no elaboration of the ninth *bhūmi*. As for the tenth *bhūmi* the text contains a single reference to bodhisattvas being reborn in heaven immediately upon completion of their training on the tenth stage, although no further details are given.

Henceforth, they are born of whatever sex they wish, and as whatever kind of deva they wish. Henceforth, as ascetic pilgrims, they become destroyers of existence; they abhor the pleasures of sense and extol release. Henceforth, they become the most excellent of eloquent men, pupils of the perfect Buddhas, the devas above all other devas." (Vol.i,p.84) "Thus are they bidden by the Buddhas, the preachers of Dharma, at the moment of their passing away, "o wise men, teach dharma, and take up the banner of the seer." (Vol.i, p.84) "Henceforth, they train many to be Arhats, and many to qualify for discipleship. Henceforth devas, Yakṣas, Guhyakas, follow the great being, the bodhisattva, until they win back their true nature. Henceforth, the form of the bodhisattva is supreme in the world of men and devas, and unsurpassed are the lustre, the radiance, the fame, glory and might of the bodhisattvas (107), and hard to attain by the world. And though there are no Buddhas in the world at the time, the bodhisattvas come to have the five supreme knowledges. Perceiving the depravity of lusts, they extol renunciation of the world. Henceforth, devas, asura, and brāhmaṇas allured by their virtues, come to them with hands joined in adoration. Such is the mode of life of the holy bodhisattvas when they are on the eighth *bhūmi*." (vol., p.84) "The bodhisattvas who do not lapse and are universal kings teach men Dharma in this way. Intent on the ten right ways of behaviour they proclaim to men: 'do not kill nor steal. Safeguard the wives of other men. Eschew falsehood, treachery, cruelty, frivolous and senseless talk, covetousness, malevolence and heresy.' Laying up heaps of gold in front of their palaces they declare, whoever is in need of anything let him take from this heap of gold (108). My riches were acquired righteously; do not have any misgiving. I shall give you garlands, perfumes, incense and fragrant powder. Do not be cast down, but be glad." (Vol. I, p.85). It is said that the bodhisattvas on the eighth *bhūmi* win the seven treasures of a universal king: "As the result of former meritorious conduct, the noble man wins the treasure of the what shines like the orb of the newly-risen sun, and is lovely in all its ten-hundred spokes. With honest intent he dispenses charity that serves to help. Thus he wins the invincible and triumphant wheel that knows no obstacle." Vol.i, pp.85-6

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., Vol.i, p.83

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., Vol.i, p.83

¹⁶⁹ Jones, 1949, pp.110-112

¹⁷⁰ Jones, 1949, pp.112-124

C. Assessments

On the basis of our survey of the progress of the bodhisattva on the *bhūmis*, the bodhisattva concept in the *Mahāvastu* may tentatively be summarised as follows. In this text we see for the first time a clear stage of development. This is reflected in the four career-phases that constitute the first major elaborations of the *Mahāvastu*. The sense of progression is also evident in the strict guidelines on what constitutes a lapse from each level. We further observe that at many stages these lapses consist of taking pride in achieving progress, complacency at the stage achieved, or envy at the achievement of others. The *Mahāvastu* places enormous emphasis on the generation of the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*). This is a new aspect of the bodhisattva doctrine which is not present in previous texts, and which is linked with renunciation, resolution and vows. While renunciation is traced back to the perfections (*pāramitā*) of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* and the *Buddhavaṃsa*, the description of *karma* produced by the actual thought of enlightenment is innovatory. Equally, the importance placed on vows is also new. For the first time, we encounter a systematised arrangement of the bodhisattva's path, founded upon a detailed theory of the bodhisattva's progress. The path of the bodhisattva as presented in the *Mahāvastu* encompasses a series of progressive realisations. The first hint of this lies in the innovation of the seminal thought of enlightenment. In the second *bhūmi*, we see the second hint of realisation consisting in the development of aversion to all forms of existence. The series of practices in the first three *bhūmis* prepares the ground for the fourth *bhūmi*, on which bodhisattvas finally become free of wrong belief. It is a kind of realisation in itself which leads them to the fifth *bhūmi*, to the conditions conducive to the realisation that existence is consumed by lust, hatred and delusion, and that it is without protection and happiness. This in turn leads to the sixth *bhūmi*, the more encompassing realisation that *saṃsāra* offers little delight.

As this series of realisations shows, the theory of the development of the bodhisattva's mind, although occasionally reminiscent of the teaching in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, is highly developed in the *Mahāvastu*. The text regularly refers to mental qualities necessary to achieve progress, and gives instructions on guarding against the misuse of powers as the mind develops. The internal development of the bodhisattva is the primary emphasis here. On the third *bhūmi*, bodhisattvas resist the fondness of solitude. However on the fifth *bhūmi* they are instructed to resist desire for the world and to proceed into solitude. The path thus described is

one of mental and internal development rather than worldly progress.¹⁷¹ In fact, the *Mahāvastu* portrays bodhisattvas as highly powerful by virtue of mental development. In its discussion of the sixth *bhūmi*, the *Mahāvastu* states that the mind of bodhisattvas is bent on self-control. This has been achieved through the loss of certain mental tendencies and the cultivation of certain qualities. In the second *bhūmi*, we see that the mental qualities of idle regret and remorse have been eliminated, while the quality of compassion is undergoing constant development. As in the *pāramitās*, there is emphasis on the resolution and energy that should be applied to the process of achieving enlightenment. However, there is also a new emphasis on will. Will is harnessed to achieve progress from the lowest level. However, we later see that at its highest functional level, bodhisattva will is capable of choosing rebirth, and establishing the foundation for a new and good *karma* for the world.

Karma at an advanced stage is shown to be different for those on the bodhisattva path. Clearly in the first *bhūmi* the rules of *karma* apply in a new way to the bodhisattvas, so that the thought of enlightenment leads to virtuous *karma*. On the first seven *bhūmis*, bodhisattvas fall into hell realms for killing someone else on the bodhisattva path. In elaborating the seventh *bhūmi*, bodhisattvas no longer produce mixed *karma*. On the eighth *bhūmi*, bodhisattvas come to a stage at which rules of *karma* either break down or no longer apply, and thus they can choose their own rebirth. Even more importantly, they are shown to be on a path wherein reaching buddhahood, they become able to lay roots for virtuous *karma*. This is a new concept entirely.

Bodhisattvas are also keen on learning. They master all knowledge and subjects in the benefit of all creatures including human beings. On the third *bhūmi*, bodhisattvas are characterised by a love of learning and a preparedness to make any sacrifice for knowledge.¹⁷² By the time they move from the sixth to the seventh *bhūmi*, bodhisattvas have mastered all arts, sciences, languages, scripts, charms and medicine. In the seventh *bhūmi* is included the ability to negotiate skilfully the politics of the world. What is more, knowledge of the

¹⁷¹ The bodhisattvas do not climb higher and higher in the world, but internally. This demonstrates a clear development in terms of inner progression. From a scholarly perspective it likely that this text has several sources and a complex history. Some of the sources may predate the idea of a progression of different positions in the world. Similarly, there may have been different systems co-existing. Incongruous elements found in other sources may still be present within the *Mahāvastu*. This is supported in that there are only eight of the ten *bhūmis* outlined in detail. The brevity of last two *bhūmis* may imply a degree of uncertainty regarding perfect wisdom applied to the path of a bodhisattva.

¹⁷² The *Mahāvastu* teaches that knowledge should be the basis for renunciation.

austerities is sufficient to achieve access to the eighth *bhūmi*. Thus the emphasis on the development of the mind and on the acquisition of realisations is balanced by the more practical ways of acquiring knowledge through study and experience.

Although it may be possible to trace the ideas of the *pāramitās* in this text, it is remarkable how inconspicuous they are and how brief a discussion of them the *Mahāvastu* contains. Instructions on the perfections to be fulfilled by the aspirant bodhisattva are so rare and curtailed in the *Mahāvastu* that they need not be discussed separately here. The text refers to six *pāramitas*, namely, *dāna*, *śīla*, *kṣānti*, *vīrya*, *dhyāna* and *prajñā*.¹⁷³ They are mentioned individually here and there, but it does not seem likely that the compiler intended to provide a comprehensive elaboration of them. Rather, the emphasis is on disciplining the mind in order to develop it. Structurally, the rules of conduct and discipline at each stage, rather than the *pāramitās*, form the organisational basis of the *Mahāvastu*. It is the dichotomy between good characteristics in each *bhūmi* and the prohibited, that underlies the pattern of the bodhisattva's path. One would expect to find a clear teaching on discipline (*śīla*). It may be that the prohibitions of the *Mahāvastu* are intended to serve as an elaboration of *śīla*, in terms of the rules of conduct for bodhisattvas at each stage.

Bodhisattvas are portrayed as knowing the differences between moral and immoral practices, having a sense of noble shame, and realising a degree of universal truth. In addition to these features, we seem to find in the *Mahāvastu* a particular combination of characteristics that comprises a 'public' image or profile of the bodhisattva. This is evident when we examine qualities such as charity, heroism, humility and fortitude on the first four stages. Especially interesting is the description in the second *bhūmi* of the disposition of bodhisattvas at this stage, which indicates that bodhisattvas must be human. This is consistent with the *Cariyapīṭaka* and *Buddhavaṃsa*, where renunciation is demonstrated only in stories concerning human beings.¹⁷⁴ In the third *bhūmi* we see that bodhisattvas are associated with influential positions, although they are later instructed to become recluses. They must not cause disharmony in the *Samgha* and society, and are trained to be patient, tranquil and gentle. The above characteristics have already been associated, at least in a general sense, with the image of the bodhisattva in earlier texts. In the *Mahāvastu*, the presuppositions that surround

¹⁷³ Mv, i. 102.5; ii, p296.6-7; iii, p.67.4

¹⁷⁴ This is consistent with the modern Theravāda vinaya, in which only human beings can demonstrate renunciation.

the system of progression manifest themselves in new features of that image. One new feature is the identification of bodhisattvas who do not lapse between stages as *avaivartikas*, or irreversible bodhisattvas. At this level, bodhisattvas exist in plurality alongside many Buddhas, with whom they have a direct relationship. They are taught by them, and they worship and follow them. All the Buddhas in the *Mahāvastu* speak highly of the virtues of energy, renunciation, charity,¹⁷⁵ self-control and restraint, and also of giving (*dāna*), morality (*śīla*) and wisdom (*prajñā*).

Perhaps particularly important is the new emphasis on compassion as the most esteemed characteristic of bodhisattvas. The fifth *bhūmi* as expansion of the mind (*citta*), demonstrates that the development of compassion is included in the development of mental capabilities. Throughout the text we find an emphasis on compassion as the correct attribute of bodhisattvas. The seventh and eighth *bhūmis* contain specific discussions on compassion, which indicates that compassion was considered very important for the progression to buddhahood. The text presents the primary motivation for developing compassion to be compassion itself. Bodhisattvas must cultivate compassion towards creatures and confer happiness on all creatures without selfish motives. By this stage, the bodhisattva path is becoming a more recognisable Mahāyāna teaching. This will be discussed further in later chapters.

¹⁷⁵ Charity (*dāna*), see Jones, J. J., tr. *The Mahāvastu*, vol., I, pp. 80, 141, 146-156 (*tyāga*).

Chapter Two: The Bodhisattva Concept In The Early Buddhist Schools

In addition to the Theravādin Pāli canonical texts and the Mahāsaṃghika's *Mahāvastu*, it is worthwhile to examine the evolution of the bodhisattva concept in the Chinese sources that contain the essential doctrines of the Sarvāstivādin, Mahāsaṃghika, Dharmaguptaka and other Buddhist schools.

In the *Mahāvastu* we have seen a well-developed conception of the bodhisattva career, with the late stages emphasising wisdom. It appears logical to next consider the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras*, particularly the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* and the *Śatasāhasrikā*, as these occupy a chronological position between the *Mahāvastu* and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* or the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*.¹⁷⁶ However, the sectarian texts have great relevance in our study because they contain varying propositions on the bodhisattva's nature and career. In the sectarian sources we explore the bodhisattva concept as it evolved from the *Jātakas* by making use of texts largely neglected by scholars. Most scholarship focuses either on the early texts discussed in the previous chapter or on later, fully developed Mahāyāna texts, rather than on the *Abhidharma* texts and sectarian *Sūtras* extant in Chinese translations. This chapter will therefore rely upon Chinese materials in an analysis of Sarvāstivādin and other sectarian teachings on the bodhisattva concept.

A. The definition and emergence of the term *bodhisattva*

During the doctrinal evolution of the idea of bodhisattva, the definition of the bodhisattva was explained in many different ways.¹⁷⁷ Dayal has etymologically listed seven meanings for the term *sattva*, and seven hypothetical meanings of the term *bodhisattva*.¹⁷⁸ He points out that none of them gives the precise meaning of *sattva*. Based on the passages in the Pāli texts and modern studies,¹⁷⁹ he suggests that the word Bodhisatta is as old as the Pāli *Nikāyas*, which date from the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ Dutt, N. *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Its Relation to Hīnayāna*, Luzac & Co., London 1930, p.64; Conze, E. (in *The Prajnaparamita Literature*, Mouton&Co.'S-Gravenhage, 1960, p.9), argues that some parts of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* date back to first century BCE.

¹⁷⁷ Recorded only in Mv, I, 92.10; LV, 296.22;297.8;331.10;343.8; Sv 41.10.

¹⁷⁸ Dayal, pp. xix, 392.

¹⁷⁹ .e.g. "mayham-pi kho Anabhisambuddhassa bodhisattass'eva", MN I, 17, 6; "Vipassissa bhikkhave

Sattva means sentient being, and is so familiar that scholars have not found the need to deduce the precise understanding of this term used by the Buddhists of their time. In their insistence on the importance of the etymological meaning, the principal Buddhist writers have arguably neglected the exact meaning of *sattva*. The Chinese translate *sattva* as sentient being (yōu-qín 有情). In fact, the term *bodhisattva* signifies a sentient being who has a particular attitude towards *bodhi*. It is worth noting that this sense of *sattva* is consistent with the meaning found in early Mahāyāna texts. This would give strength to the argument that in the sectarian period of Buddhism, *sattva* generally signifies sentient being. The *Daśasahasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*¹⁸¹ comments that the Mahābodhisattva is the most excellent among all great-sentient beings (*mahāsattva*).¹⁸² Furthermore, the word *bodhisattva* is often coupled with *mahāsattva* in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*. Five kinds of thought are given to explain why the bodhisattva is the most excellent among the eight kinds of great sentient beings, and why the bodhisattva is called a great sentient being.¹⁸³ These five kinds of thought of the bodhisattva show the characteristics of the great sentient being.¹⁸⁴

It is certain that the establishment of the bodhisattva path in the sectarian literature was based on the practices of the Buddha in his former births and originated in the *Jātakas* and other legends and tales. However, questions remain about the circumstances in which the name bodhisattva was established and when the title bodhisattva was introduced. It is also important to consider the likely lifespan of the bodhisattvas. All these points will assist our understanding of the formation of the bodhisattva path.

Bodhisattassa sato.” SNII, 5, 8.

¹⁸⁰ Dayal, p.9; T. H. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, London 1903, p.161 ff.

¹⁸¹ T8:0536, No.227.

¹⁸² T8:538c, “大有情眾最爲上首。” Great sentient beings, according to the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*, are Buddhist sages such as the Pratyeka-buddha, Arhat and the other bodhisattvas. “菩薩於大有情眾中定爲上首, ... 大有情眾者,住種性第八預流一來不還阿羅漢獨覺地,及從初發心至不退轉地菩薩摩訶薩,是名大有情。” T7: 60.

¹⁸³ The five kinds of thought are (1) the adamant thought (*vajropamam cittani*), (2) sublime thought, (3) unshakable thought, (4) thought that is directed towards the benefit and ease of all sentient beings, and (5) thought that is a constant liking for Dharma, fondness for Dharma, and devotion to Dharma. For a detailed discussion, see Conze, Edward, tr. *The Large Sūtra on Perfect Wisdom*, Delhi 1990, p.115-125; T7:60a-61a.

¹⁸⁴ It is said that soon after the Buddha attained buddhahood he thought of entering *nirvāṇa*, because he sensed that the *kāmālaya*, *ālayārāmā*, *ālayaratā* and *ālayasamuditā* of sentient beings are not easily freed. T31:15a; Vin. I.4.35ff.

The term bodhisattva was understood in former times as occurring in Pāli *Nikāyas*,¹⁸⁵ hence it was thought that the Buddha himself employed the term *bodhisattva*. The following studies show that the term bodhisattva was of later origin.

Firstly, the recitations of the Sarvāstivādins were still preserved in the *Āgamas* in their ancient form, and do not contain the term bodhisattva. We know that the Chinese translation of the *Dīrghāgama* belongs to the Dharmaguptakas, and that the Dharmaguptakas and the Theravādins were branches of the Vibhājayavāda. The Chinese translations of the *Samyuktāgama* and the *Madhyamāgama* represent the recitations of the Sarvāstivādins.

In the *Samyuttanikāya* of the Pāli Tipiṭaka, the term *bodhisattva* is mentioned when the former seven Buddhas are referred to. Their attainment of buddhahood depends not on following a series of stages as given in the *Mahāvastu*, but the contemplation of *paṭiccasamuppāda*. The narration of the former seven Buddhas continues as such, “when the Tathāgata, the Supreme Enlightened One, was a bodhisatta before the attainment of buddhahood, . . . ”¹⁸⁶

In the canonical counterpart of the text, the *Samyuktāgama*, the term bodhisattva however, is not found.¹⁸⁷ Again in the texts belonging to the *Madhyamāgama* such as the *Upakileśa Sūtra*, the *Sūtra on the State of Deva*, and the *Ariyapariyesana Sūtra* we also do not find the term bodhisattva,¹⁸⁸ but in the canonical counterparts of the *Majjhima-nikāya* and other *Nikāyas*, we find the term bodhisatta. The Chinese translation of the *Mahāpadāna-sūtra* of the *Dīrghāgama*, states that before Vipasyin attained buddhahood he was called bodhisattva.¹⁸⁹ This corresponds quite closely to the *Dīghanikāya*.

Thus the term bodhisattva was originally not found in the *Āgamas*. While the recitations of the Sarvāstivādins were still preserved in the *Āgamas* in their ancient form, the *Āgamas* of the sub-sects of the Vibhājayavādins were endowed with the term *bodhisattva*, a unique name for the heroes of the tales at that time. The events of the Buddha’s life such as his birth or renunciation are said in the Buddha’s biographies to be the bodhisattva’s birth and renunciation. However, the Bharhut inscriptions concerning the Buddha’s biography do not

¹⁸⁵ MN, I, pp.17, 91, 163, 240; SN, ii, p.169, iii, p.27, iv, p.233, v, pp.263, 281, 317; AN, I, 258, iii, p.240.

¹⁸⁶ See *Buddha-vaggo* in the *Nidāna-samyutta* of the *Nidāna-vaggo* in SN.

¹⁸⁷ SA, T2:101ab

¹⁸⁸ In those texts, we only find the phrase, “in the past, when I did not attain enlightenment, the *saṃyaksambodhi* . . . ” MA, T1:536c, 539c, 589a, 776a.

¹⁸⁹ 大本經, the *Mahāpadāna-sūtra*, DA, T1: 003c,

include the term bodhisatta. These inscriptions correspond precisely to the narratives of the *Samyuktāgama* and the *Madhyamāgama*.

Secondly, in *Sūtra* and *Vinaya* texts, the account narrating the buddhahood of Maitreya appeared at about the same time as the theory of past Buddhas. The *Sūtra on the Account of the Former [Cause]* in the *Madhyamāgama* gives the account (*ityukta*) of the time when the lifespan of human beings would reach 84,000 years. At this time, the venerable Maitreya took the resolution to become Buddha.¹⁹⁰ The account of Maitreya becoming a Buddha, which was incorporated into the *Āgamas*, is a very ancient *Avadāna*, but it does not refer to the term *bodhisattva*.

It was said that the Buddha Dīpaṅkara prophesied the future buddhahood of Gautama,¹⁹¹ Sumati¹⁹² or Amalajyoti.¹⁹³ The special significance of this tale is that it shows the importance of making a resolution to become a Buddha and directly receiving from a Buddha the prediction that this will occur. Because of the importance of this tale, it was quoted in various Mahāyāna *sūtras*.

Of particular interest is the fact that although the prediction is generally acknowledged by all Buddhist sects, the account was not inserted into the *Āgamas*, but only into the *Caturvarga-vinaya* of the Dharmaguptakas.¹⁹⁴ The *Caturvarga-vinaya* refers to the bodhisattva Maitreya and the bodhisattva Dīpaṅkara, but as this account is a *Jātaka* of later origin, it cannot be determined whether the term *bodhisattva* occurred earlier or originated in it.

Thirdly, an early reference of the term *bodhisattva* in a sectarian treatise is found in the *Jñānaprasthāna-śāstra*, which was composed three hundred years after Buddha's *nirvāṇa*. Fourthly, the lack of the term *bodhisattva* in the Bharhut stūpa inscriptions is notable. Taking into account the above sources, the formation of the term bodhisattva must have occurred no later than the second century BCE. However, if the *Kathāvatthu* is ascribed to the period of

¹⁹⁰ 說本經, MA, T03: 509c-510c. There is no correspondence to this text in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, but in the *Dīgha-nikāya*, the *Cakkavatti-sihanāda Sutta* refers to the fact that in the time of people with an eighty thousand-year life-span there will arise a cakkavatti king called Sankha and there will arise in the world a Buddha named Metteyya. The structure of the text is similar to the *Sūtra on the Account of the Former Cause* (說本經). The *Sūtra on the Practice of the Holy Cakravartirāja* (轉輪聖修行經, T1:41c-42b.) within the *Dīrghāgama-sūtra* corresponds to the narration of the *Cakkavatti-sihanāda Sutta* in the *Dīgha-nikāya*.

¹⁹¹ 彌部, see the *Caturvarga-vinaya-piṭaka*, T22:784a-785c; the *Ekottarāgama-sūtra*, T2:597b-599c; the *Buddha-pūrvacaryā-saṅgraha-sūtra*, T3:665a-666b.

¹⁹² 善慧, See the *Sūtra of the Cause and Effect of the Past and Present* (過去現在因果經), T3:620c.

¹⁹³ 無垢光, in the *Sūtra on the origin of practice* (修行本起經, the *Cārya-nidāna*), T3:461c.

¹⁹⁴ 四分律, the *Caturvarga-vinaya*, T22: 779b – 786c

Aśoka (c. third BCE), then the bodhisattva concept endowed with symbolism and doctrine, and referring only to the historical Buddha before his enlightenment, may well have existed earlier still.

B. The *Jātakas* according to the Sarvāstivāda

The Sarvāstivādin school is one of the important early Buddhist traditions of India. The majority of their *Sūtras*, *Vinaya* and *Abhidharma* texts are extant in Chinese. The Sarvāstivādin teachings on the bodhisattva path are of particular interest as they reveal a relationship with the *Jātaka* stories that is unique from that shown by other early schools. Specifically, the Sarvāstivādin texts containing these teachings are the older *Mahāvibhāṣāśāstra*, and a later version of the latter, extant only in Chinese. The older version of the *Mahāvibhāṣāśāstra* is the *Abhidharmavaibhāṣāśāstra*,¹⁹⁵ translated into Chinese by Buddhavarman and others, although traditionally ascribed to Kātyāyanīputra (1st c. BCE).¹⁹⁶ The later version of the *Mahāvibhāṣāśāstra*¹⁹⁷ was translated into Chinese between 656-659 CE. According to the colophon of Xúan-zàng, King Kaniṣka assembled 500 *arhats* 400 years after the Buddha's *nirvāṇa*, and sponsored them to compile the canon.¹⁹⁸ The Sarvāstivādin *Abhidharma-piṭaka* is also said to date back to that time. Since Kaniṣka's activities are mentioned in the *Mahāvibhāṣāśāstra* however, some scholars maintain that it should be dated after Kaniṣka's reign.¹⁹⁹

Unlike the compilers of works discussed in the previous chapter, arguably, the Sarvāstivādin masters held partisan interests in composing philosophical treatises, and regarded ancient stories with indifference. The *itivṛttakas* for instance, were treated as mere legends passed through many hands,

¹⁹⁵ 阿毘曇毘婆沙論, the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra*, tr. Buddhavarman, ca. 437 CE, T28, No.1546, in 60 fascicles. According to Nj, this work is attributed to Kātyāyanīputra. Kātyāyanīputra is also the author of text *Abhidharmajñānaprasthānaśāstra*

¹⁹⁶ Nakamura, H. *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi, 1989, p.107, n. 42.

¹⁹⁷ 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論, the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*, tr. by Xúan-zàng, T27, No.1545

¹⁹⁸ MPŚ, T27:1004a

¹⁹⁹ T. Kimura held this view and proposed that it was compiled in the middle of the second century CE (阿毘達磨論之研究 Tokyo, Meiji Shoin, 1937, pp. 205-257). This is also seen in É. Lamotte's *History of Indian Buddhism from the Origins to the Śaka Era*, Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 1988, pp.277,592. Hirakawa Akira (*A History of Indian Buddhism*, Delhi 1990, p.135.) asserts that it was compiled in its final form as a *śāstra* sometime in the third century, before the time of Nāgārjuna.

“What are the *itivr̥ttakas*? They are the tales taught in the *sūtras*, which were seen and heard in the past, saying, ‘in the past there was a great kingdom, namely Kuśāvati. Its king was called Sudarśana. There was a Buddha in the past, namely Vipāśyin, teaching his disciples the true Dharma. There was a Buddha in the past, namely Kāśyapa, teaching his disciples the true Dharma, and so on.”²⁰⁰

The tales referred to in the *Mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra* can be divided into two categories. The first category comprises tales referring to the lands and clans of India, for instance Kuśāvati and King Sudarśana, Mahādena and King Nimi, and so on. These are of no value in our consideration of the bodhisattva concept in the Abhidharma texts. The second category is of interest as it includes tales about the Buddhas, and from the past lives of the Buddhas we may infer various details on the bodhisattvas.²⁰¹ The seven Buddhas mentioned in the *Mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra* are identical to the seven Buddhas of the *Mahānirvāṇasūtra*,²⁰² and their stories are considered as *Jātakas*.

The Sarvāstivādins and the followers of *Satyasiddhi-śāstra* kept their own accounts of the *Jātaka* stories. The *Satyasiddhi-śāstra*²⁰³ says of the *Jātakas*, “the *Jātakas* are tales about the past, told because of present circumstances.”²⁰⁴ The *Mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra* asks,

“What are the *Jātakas*? In the *sūtras*, they are tales referring to events experienced [by the Buddha] in past lives.... For instance, because of Tipadattva, the Buddha expounded five hundred birth-stories.”²⁰⁵

According to the *Nyāyānusāra-śāstra*²⁰⁶ of the Sarvāstivāda, the difference between the *itivr̥ttaka* and the *Jātakas* is that the narratives of later origin begin with present circumstances, but refer to past events at the end.²⁰⁷

It is important to note that those *Jātakas* belonging to the *Vinayapiṭaka* are not limited to former birth-stories of the Buddha, but also include accounts on virtuous and non-virtuous existences of the Buddha’s disciples. The ancient accounts preserved in the *Sūtrapiṭaka*

²⁰⁰ T27:660a, “本事如何? 謂諸經中宣說前際所見聞事, 如說過去有大王都名有香茅, 王名善見....” they are tales of things seen and heard in the past, for example, ...

²⁰¹ All these belong to the *itivr̥ttaka*. The *itivr̥ttaka* was originally made up of tales which belong to various races of India, only later made Buddhist and developed into the tales of the Buddhas.

²⁰² T12: 0451c-0452a. An example is found in the tale of Sikhi Buddha and his disciples and in the tale of the Krakucchandha Buddha and his disciples.

²⁰³ T32:0239a, No. 1646; see also NJ, No.1274. This treatise was composed by Harivarman and translated by Kumārajīva (417-418 CE). This work differs from the views of the Sarvāstivādanikāya.

²⁰⁴ T32: 245a, “闍陀伽者因現在事說過去事 - The *Jātakas* are tales from the past told because of present matters”.

²⁰⁵ T27: 660a, “本生云何 謂諸經中宣說過去所經生事 如佛因提婆達多說五百于生事等.”

²⁰⁶ 順正理論, the *Nyāyānusāra-śāstra*, T29:0329, No.1562; See also NJ, No.1265; composed by Saṃghabhadra.

²⁰⁷ T29:595a. “依現在事起諸言論, 要由過去事言論究竟.”



consists of folktales or legends such as those pertaining to Mahāgovinda,²⁰⁸ Mahāsudarśana,²⁰⁹ Jotipāla²¹⁰ and the kṣatriya king of the *Samyutta-nikāya*.²¹¹ The tendency to transform accounts and tales of the *itivṛttaka* into *Jātaka* form is evident in the Chinese translation of the *Madhyamāgama*. The accounts of King Mahādeva,²¹² King Māndhātṛ,²¹³ Velāma,²¹⁴ Araka²¹⁵ and Sumetra²¹⁶ for example, end with the formula “that was I,” and became former birth stories of Śākyamuni Buddha.

The original purpose of transforming accounts of the *itivṛttaka* into the *Jātakas* is to show the meritorious nature of the deeds of the sages. In the course of time they came to be ~~were~~ considered historically veritable, and were not thought of as constituting perfection in deeds. It is only in the present life, when *sambodhi* is obtained, that the bodhisattva finally reaches perfect liberation. This is of enormous importance in understanding the Sarvāstivāda view of the *Jātakas* as legends, not as equivalent to the *Sūtras* and the *Vinaya*. As described in the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya-vibhāṣā*,

“The general *Jātakas* and the *Nidānas* cannot be relied on. The narrations and teachings within them are neither those of the *sūtras* nor of the *Vinayas*. They cannot be certain.”²¹⁷

Similarly the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā-śāstra* says,

“As for the *Dīpaṅkara Buddha-itivṛttaka*, how can we know and understand it? This is not necessarily to be known and understood. Why? It is not said either in the *Sūtra*, nor in the *Vinaya* nor in the *Abhidharma*. It is only a legend. The narration of every legend may be approvable or not approvable.”²¹⁸

Among the Buddhist schools it is widely accepted that in one of his former births, as the ascetic Sumedha, the Buddha met Buddha Dīpaṅkara who prophesied his future buddhahood as Gotama. According to Sarvāstivādin masters, this legend or *Jātaka* can be wrongly imparted. This is why they assert that it may be reliable or may not. The Sarvāstivādins, in accepting the *Jātakas*, *Avadānas* and *Nidānas* as legends, excluded them from the *Tripitaka*.

²⁰⁸ *Dīrghāgama Sūtra* 3, T1: 207a, 30b; *Dīghanikāya, Sutta* 19

²⁰⁹ *Dīghanikāya, Sutta* 7, the *Jāliya Sutta*.

²¹⁰ *Madhyamāgama, Sūtra* 63, T1:499a; *Majjhimanikāya, Sutta* 81, the *Ghaṭikāra sutta*.

²¹¹ *Samyutta-nikāya, Khandha-sanyuttam* 14, PTS, p.226

²¹² MA, T1:515a

²¹³ Ibid., T1:495c

²¹⁴ Ibid., T1:678a

²¹⁵ MA, T1:684a

²¹⁶ MA, T1:429b

²¹⁷ 薩婆多毘尼毘婆沙 (*Sarvāstivādavīnaya-vibhāṣā*), T23:509b, No.1440, “凡是本生因緣,不可依也;此中說者,非是修多羅,非是毗尼,不可以定義。”

²¹⁸ Mdh, T27: 916b, “然燈佛本事...此非素怛纒毘奈耶阿毘達磨所說,但是傳說;諸傳所說,或然不然。”

Since it was asserted that legends may be taught incorrectly, these texts could not be used or quoted as standard definitions of the Buddha's teachings.

Although the Sarvāstivādin masters do not elevate tales of former lives of the Buddhas to the level of the *sūtras* or *Vinaya* texts, they are still revered. The Sarvāstivādin masters accept their own explanation for the fact that many of these stories overlap in terms of people and place names. Among the extant Buddhist texts, the legendary *itivṛtakas*, *Jātakas*, *Avadānas* and *Nidānas* all contain indications of the places where they were expounded and the audience to which they were recounted. The *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu*²¹⁹ however, indicates that this information would have been unnecessary to the Buddhists themselves,

"In future times, human beings will be forgetful, their mindfulness weak and diminished. They will not know in which place, where, what city and what village the Buddha taught which scriptures. ... If we speak of the past incidents referring to their *nidānas*, what locality should be stated? The locality of Vārāṇasī should be stated, the king is called Brahmadata, the leading householder is named Santati . . . In this way, at any time, you may speak approvingly of them."²²⁰

Past incidents referring to their *nidānas* are explained as accounts of the former births. Even though they might have been wrongly imparted, they were still regarded as the Buddha's words about his career when he was a bodhisattva. Despite various controversies about the legends, the greatness of the Buddha was recognised by all Buddhist sects. What is more, this common recognition meant that the conduct and practices of the Buddha in his former births were widely disseminated. Therefore, the stories, legends and tales in Buddhist texts reflect a common consciousness within Buddhist circles, a belief that before the attainment of his buddhahood, the Buddha must have carried out great deeds.

Although the origin of the term *bodhisattva* is found in the recitations of Buddhist schools, the bodhisattva concept is also further discussed in the sectarian treatises. For instance, the *Jñānaprasthāna-śāstra*, the fundamental treatise of the Sarvāstivādins²²¹ states,

"What should one have, to be named a bodhisattva? One should have all the capacities of making and increasing the marks (*lakṣaṇa*) of retributive actions (*karmavipāka*). What should one obtain to be called a bodhisattva? One should obtain the marks of the retributive actions."²²²

²¹⁹ 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事 (*Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu*) tr. Yi-jing, T24:0207, No.1451

²²⁰ T24:328c, "當來之世, 人多健忘, 念力寡少, 不知世尊於何方域城邑聚落, 說何經典? 若說說昔日因緣之事, 當說何處? 應云婆羅 犍斯, 王名梵授, 長者名相續, 鄔波斯迦名長淨, 隨時稱說."

²²¹ T26:0771ff, No.1543; according to NJ's Catalogue, No. 1273, this work was composed by Kātyāyanīputra, 300 years after Buddha's entering *nirvāṇa*.

meaning?

The *Śāriputrābhidharma-śāstra*²²³ also says,

“Who is the person called bodhisattva? If a person possesses the thirty-two marks, does not heed others, does not receive the teaching of others, does not request teaching from others, does not listen to the teachings of others, but reflects oneself, enlightens oneself, contemplates by oneself, sees and knows all the *dharma*s without obstruction, one will obtain self-power and free-will, will be a respected conqueror and honoured one. With free-will,²²⁴ one will realise perfect enlightenment (*saṃyaksambodhi*), perfect in the ten powers of a Tathāgata and the four confidences (*caturvaiśāradya*), perfect in great compassion (*karuṇa*), and will turn the Wheel of the Dharma, such is a bodhisattva.”²²⁵

of the
same

This bodhisattva concept is found in the *Pudgalaparivarta* of the *Śāriputrābhidharma-śāstra*. Here the emphasis is on the ownership of qualifications which entitle one to be a bodhisattva. These include physical marks, knowledge of the Dharma, and self-enlightenment. This teaching emphasises the attributes of a bodhisattvas and is very distinct from the teachings of the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Mahāvastu*, which emphasise the *pāramitās*. The *Kathāvatthu* of the Theravāda also refers to the bodhisattva concept, though the Bodhisatta cannot be born into various existences out of free-will.²²⁶

The treatises and works of the Pāli tradition contain numerous references to the Bodhisatta. When they discuss the doctrinal position of the Bodhisatta, they refer to the thirty-two marks as achievements. According to the Sarvāstivāda position, the thirty-two marks of the bodhisattva are obtained during the three great *asaṃkhyeya kalpas* of the bodhisattva's progress toward buddhahood. The period of practice for the attainment of the

↳ evidence?

²²² T26:1018a. “齊何名菩薩?答:齊能造作增長相異熟業. 得何名菩薩? 答:得相異熟業.”

²²³ 舍利弗阿毘曇論 (*Śāriputrābhidharma-śāstra*), tr. by Dharmagupta, together with Dharmayasas, 414-415 CE; it is in Tibetan. See T28:0525, No.1548

²²⁴ (當得)豪尊勝貴自在

²²⁵ T28:585ab, “云何菩薩人?若人三十二相成就;不從他聞,不受他教,不請他說,不聽他法,自思自覺自觀,於一切法知見無礙;當得自力自在,當得知見無上正覺,當成就如來十力四無所畏,成就大慈,轉於法輪:是名菩薩.”

²²⁶ A detailed study regarding the Bodhisatta ideal in the *Kathāvatthu* has been carried out by S.N. Dube, *Cross Currents in Early Buddhism*, pp.151-173.

Kva 199-200 says that the proponent of this point quotes the Jātaka (No.514), etc., to show that the Bodhisatta was born by free-will. However, this position in later Buddhist texts became rather ambiguous. For example, the Buddha refers to a former birth as an animal in DhA iii 212 as follows: ‘... *ahetukatiracchānāyoniyāṇ nibbattakāle* ...’ (when I [the Buddha in his previous birth] was born as an animal without any cause ...). The word ‘*ahetuka*’ signifies that the Bodhisatta was born in that state without any cause. Because of this implication, Burlingame (*Buddhist Legends*, Reprint by PTS, 1979, Part 3,p.45) translates the passage thus, “in previous states of existence, also, in which, solely through my own volition, I was born as an animal, ...’ This passage may suggest that the Bodhisatta is indeed capable of choosing any form of birth at his own volition.

thirty-two marks is said to be one hundred *kalpas*.²²⁷ The time spans in the Pāli accounts are significantly higher.²²⁸

According to the *Kathāvatthu*, the Uttarāpathaka school asserts that one who is gifted with the marks is a Bodhisatta.²²⁹ Since every sect of the Sthaviras had a similar opinion on the bodhisattva concept in their texts, the date of the inception of the term *bodhisattva* must coincide with the date of these writings. The absence of the term in the Bharhut inscriptions does not constitute proof that there was no use of the term in Buddhist circles of the time. It does demonstrate that those inscribing the titles of the tales on the Bharhut Stūpa continued using the style of expression used in the *Āgamas*.

A number of *Jātaka* stories including the oldest and most popular, are found among the reliefs of the Bharhut stūpa railings, which depict in total about thirty accounts.²³⁰ According to an inscription on one of the pillars, these can be dated to the Śuṅga period. Thus we may safely maintain that at the latest by 100 B.C., the bodhisattva concept was widely diffused. These stories were used to stimulate moral fervour and piety among the lay-devotees. The Buddha himself is said to have enlivened many of his sermons with tales of one kind or another.

In brief, during the sectarian period, tales of the former births of the Buddha in the *Jātakas* and *Nidānas* were more prevalent and more widely disseminated. The bodhisattva concept was formed to cover the period prior to the Buddha's enlightenment. The bodhisattva thus signified one striving for the attainment of *sambodhi*. The use of the term bodhisattva to refer the former-births of the Buddha, was immediately acknowledged by Buddhists at that time. Furthermore, there were many different views on the bodhisattva concept at this time. For instance, the Sthavira Abhidhamma teachers who debated the definition of a bodhisattva asserted that it is one who has been endowed with the marks of the retributive actions.²³¹

²²⁷ The Northern tradition seems to have adopted three incalculable (*asṅkya*) aeons (*kalpas*) as the duration of a bodhisattva's progress.

²²⁸ According to Pāli sources, the minimum period is four Incalculable (*asṅkya*) and one hundred thousand *kalpas*.

²²⁹ *Lakkhaṇasamannāgato Bodhisatto ti? Kathāvatthu*, IV.7. Buddhaghosa in his *Kathāvatthu-Aṭṭhakathā* (p.77) says that this belief was upheld by the Uttarāpathakas.

²³⁰ D.C. Sircar, *Select inscriptions bearing on Indian history and civilization*, vol.i, 2nd ed. (University of Calcutta, 1965) p.89.

²³¹ T26:1018a, “成就相異熟業”;

Before concluding this section, we must recall Nāgārjuna's observation on the definition of bodhisattva of the Sarvāstivādins. Nāgārjuna critiqued their teaching that "the bodhisattva can be identified by the thirty-two marks." He argued that the thirty-two marks are not the most important criteria. He asserted that to receive the prediction that one will be a Buddha, to rise into the air, and to see the Buddha of the ten regions, are all important marks of the bodhisattva. He pointed out that the thirty-two marks however, were also possessed by others.²³²

C. The career and stage of the bodhisattva

One who has practised great conduct for a long span in order to achieve *samyaksambodhi* is called a bodhisattva. If the bodhisattva has practised for a long time in his former births, his virtues and merits are cumulatively increased. The Buddhists have arranged and classified the practices of the Buddha during his countless former births (*jātakas*).²³³ Then they gradually established the ranks of bodhisattva practices. This is where the stages of the Mahāyāna bodhisattva originate.

The *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra*²³⁴ of the Dharmaguptakas refers to four types of career (*caryā*)²³⁵ which are connected with different grades of bodhisattvas. The *Mahāvastu* of the Lokottaravādins also refers to four levels of career (*caryā*).²³⁶ Notably, the Dharmaguptakas derived this particular view from the Vibhāṅgyavādins, and the Lokottaravādins from the Mahāsaṃghikas. Though these two sects do not belong to the same sectarian group, they have a similar expression about the four grades of the *bodhisattvacaryā*. This similarity is perhaps due to the fact that their locations are in close proximity. Comparatively, the four grades of the *bodhisattvacaryā*²³⁷ in the two texts are as follows, ८१७८८८८ ?

²³² MPŚ, T25:0273abc.

²³³ T50:304a, "七萬七千本生諸經," 見付法藏因緣傳 (Seventy-seven thousand *Jātakas* and *sūtras* mentioned in the *Fufazang-Yinyuan Zhuan*).

²³⁴ 佛本行集經 (*Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra*), T03, No.190.

²³⁵ Abhini, T03:656c

²³⁶ Mv, vol., I, pp.46-63

²³⁷ According to M.Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, *caryā* means career of degrees of the bodhisattvas. *Prakṛti-caryā* is that where the native qualities are being showed, *praṇidhāna-caryā*, where they take the vow to reach the *bodhi* or enlightenment, *anuloma-caryā*, where the conduct conformable to that vow is practiced, and *anivartana-caryā*, where the preparation is done without running the risk of any forfeiture. R.Kern (in his *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Delhi, 1968) defines *caryā* as course. According to him, *prakṛti-caryā* is original course. *Praṇidhāna-caryā* is the course of the vow or firm resolution. *Anuloma-caryā* is the course in accordance with the vow taken and *Anivartana-caryā* is the course in which no sliding back is possible.

Text	1	2	3	4
Abhini	<i>prakṛticaryā</i>	<i>Praṇidhānacaryā</i>	<i>anuloma-caryā</i>	<i>Vartana-caryā</i>
Mv	<i>prakṛticaryā</i>	<i>Praṇidhānacaryā</i>	<i>Anulomacaryā</i>	<i>Anivartanacaryā</i>

According to the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra*, a bodhisattva in the rank of a *prakṛti-caryā*²³⁸ has not yet made the resolution to become a Buddha. Inherent qualities show that the bodhisattva is capable, prominent and virtuous, unaffected and naturally honest. The bodhisattva obeys parents' advice and has faith in and respect for the *śramaṇas* and the *brahmins*, knows all the respectable elders, servants, kin, and knowing them, carries out duties faultlessly. The bodhisattva is endowed with the ten *kuśaladharmas* and also practises other kinds of good conducts. These qualities indicate that one is a type of bodhisattva. Even though one has not produced the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*), and may not yet have seen a Buddha, one has achieved the characteristic of attaching importance to morality and religion. Moreover, one is ready to undertake many charities and good works.

The bodhisattva in the rank of *praṇidhāna-caryā* has made the vow to obtain *samyaksaṃbodhi*.²³⁹ The bodhisattva in the rank of *Anuloma-caryā* has reached levels of gradual progress achieved through practising the six perfections, or is in the period of achieving the stages of a bodhisattva by practising the six perfections.²⁴⁰ The bodhisattva in the rank of the *vartana-caryā* (the turning point of career) is one who has received the prediction from the Buddha Dīpaṃkara.²⁴¹ According to the *Mahāvastu*, the bodhisattva who has received the prediction from the Buddha Dīpaṃkara is precisely the bodhisattva in the stage of irreversibility (*anivartana-caryā*).²⁴²

Comparatively, the similarity between the Dharmaguptakas and the Lokottaravādins, or between the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra* and the *Mahāvastu*,²⁴³ consists of the four stages of the bodhisattva which are distinguished as the stage of being qualified to be a bodhisattva, the stage of making the resolution to attain enlightenment, the stage of successive progress and practice according to his resolution, and the stage of irreversibility. Furthermore, the

All these may be correct though taken here as the four ranks or positions of the *bodhisattva-caryā*.

²³⁸ Abhini, 自性行 (*prakṛti-caryā*), T03:655c-656b

²³⁹ Abhini, T03:656c.

²⁴⁰ Abhini, T03: 657a-659b.

²⁴¹ Abhini, T03: 668b.

²⁴² The word *vartana-caryā* in the context of the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra* is a corruption of the word *anivartana-caryā*.

²⁴³ Sénart, E. ed. *Mahāvastu*, I, Paris, 1882, p.46.

illustration of the last three stages agrees with those in the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras* belonging to the *Minor Class*.²⁴⁴

In considering the levels of the bodhisattva achieved through spiritual practices, the followers of sectarian Buddhism established various stages. For instance, the *Caryānidāna-sūtra* of the Dharmaguptakas states:

“Through countless past *kalpas* I have diligently worked to acquire immeasurable merit, having mastered the practices of the ten stages, I arrived at the state of becoming a Buddha with one birth.”²⁴⁵

The *Kumārakuśalaphalanidāna-sūtra* also says,

“Having practised the path of merit, having learnt the intent of the Buddha (*buddhacitta*), having passed through the practices of the ten stages, I arrived at the state of becoming a Buddha with one birth.”²⁴⁶

Similarly, the *Attapratyutpanna-hetuphala-sūtra* states,

“Through the fulfilment of the practices (of the bodhisattva), I reached the ten stages and arrived at the state of becoming a Buddha with one birth.”²⁴⁷

The *Abhiñiṣkramaṇa-sūtra* refers to one hundred and eight gates of the law,²⁴⁸ on which it says, “I (the bodhisattva) progressed from one stage of wisdom to the next.”²⁴⁹ It seems that the ten stages of the bodhisattva were adopted by every Buddhist school, although their contents are not necessarily the same. Further, the *Mahāvastu* contains a list of ten stages (*bhūmi*) which we have discussed in the previous chapter. According to the *Mahāvastu*, the bodhisattva on the stage of difficult ascent (*durūrohā-bhūmi*) is still an ordinary individual, although mental and moral behaviour are particularly refined. The bodhisattva on the first stage also makes the resolution (*prañidhāna*) to become a Buddha. The bodhisattva on the seventh stage - the stage of the difficult to conquer (*durjayā-bhūmi*), attains the stage of irreversibility.²⁵⁰ The eighth *bhūmi* is called the ascertainment of birth (*janma-nideṣa*). The ninth and tenth *bhūmis* are named the installation as crown-prince (*yauvarāja*) and

²⁴⁴ See chapter five.

²⁴⁵ T3:463a. 《修行本起經》 (*Sūtra on the origin of practice (of the bodhisattva)*, or *Caryānidāna-sūtra*): “積德無限,累劫勤苦,通十地行,在一生補處。” Translated by Zhu Tāli (Mahābala?), together with others in 197 CE.

²⁴⁶ T3:473b, 《太子瑞應本起經》 (*Sūtra on the origin of the lucky fulfilment of the Crown Prince*) translated by Zhi Qian in the third century CE. This text is reported to belong to the Mahiśāsaka.

²⁴⁷ 過去現在因果經 (*Sūtra on the cause and effect of the past and present*), T3:682b.

²⁴⁸ See Beal. S. tr. *The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha from Chinese-Sanskrit*, London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1875, p.35. “一百八法明門” can be understood as “the one hundred and eight ways of wisdom (or illumination).”

²⁴⁹ T3:682b, “從一地至一地智.”

²⁵⁰ Irreversibility or immovability implies the unchangeability of bodhisattva practices such as following various paths for sentient beings, and accomplishing perfections. Immovability may be achieved by skill-in-means and wisdom. It signifies dynamic and full activities without losing the serenity of mind.

consecration (*abhiṣeka*), respectively. Just as a crown-prince was consecrated as a cakravartti king, a bodhisattva is regarded as a prince of the Buddha, and the bodhisattva is consecrated on the pattern of the common custom. According to the *Mahāvastu*, the bodhisattvas who have passed from the ninth to the tenth stage go to Tuṣita heaven, and being desirous of human life, they are born of mothers.²⁵¹ The career of the bodhisattva on the stage of crown-prince (*yauvarāja*) begins with the bodhisattva descending from the Tuṣita heaven, and ends under the *bodhi* tree. The bodhisattva on the stage of coronation is the one who attains buddhahood.

Among early Mahāyāna texts dealing with bodhisattva stages, more than four texts present the ten *bhūmis* in a similar way to the *Mahāvastu*.²⁵² In particular, the last four *vihāras* of the *Bodhisattva-daśavihāra-parivarta*²⁵³ belonging to the ancient version of the *Buddha-avataṃsaka-sūtra*,²⁵⁴ are very similar to the last four *bhūmis* of the *Mahāvastu*. In fact, the ten *bhūmis* of the *Mahāvastu* and the ten Mahāyāna *vihāras* are closely related in terms of their names and meanings. While the names of the Mahāyāna *bhūmis* differ from those of the *Mahāvastu*, the fifth *bhūmi* of the Mahāyāna, the *sudurjayā*, is similar to the seventh *bhūmi* of the *Mahāvastu*. The exposition of the tenth *bhūmi*, the *dharmameghā-bhūmi* in Mahāyāna texts, preserves an ancient saying that at this stage the bodhisattva enters the level of *abhiṣeka* (consecration), “the Buddhas of the ten directions emit rays and consecrate him.”²⁵⁵ Although the interpretations of the ten *bhūmis* among Buddhist sects may be controversial, the exposition of the *Mahāvastu* suffices to assert a connection with the bodhisattva stages and spiritual practices in Mahāyāna texts.

The length of the bodhisattva career:

²⁵¹ B. C. Law, *A Study of the Mahāvastu*, Calcutta and Simla: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1930, p.33.

²⁵² T9:0395 ff (text No.278)(Nj.87), *the Buddha-avataṃsaka-sūtra* translated by Buddhahadra in 418 CE; T10:0449b-450c (No.281)(Nj.100)(K94), *Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on the original action of the bodhisattva*, translated by Zhi Qian during A. D. 222-280; T24:1017a-1017b (No.1485) (Nj.376) (K530), *Sūtra on the garland of the original actions of the bodhisattva*, translated by Zhū Fónlan during 374-417 CE; T10:966c-994a (No.309)(K382), *Sūtra on the cutting of the tie (or defilement) in the ten vihāras*, translated by Fónlan during 384-417 CE; T44:465ff (No.1815).

²⁵³ T9:444c-446a; the last four *vihāras* are: *durjayā-vihāra*, *Janmanideśa-vihāra* (T9:445c-446a), *Yauvarāja-vihāra* (T9:446ac) and *abhiṣeka-vihāra* (T9:446c).

²⁵⁴ T9:395 ff. Translated by Buddhahadra in 418 CE.

²⁵⁵ T9:572b.

The practices of the Buddha in his former births were divided into the stages of progress which became the path of the bodhisattva. They are divided according to the *kalpas* in which the bodhisattva practised, and the time when the bodhisattva met with the Tathāgatas. However, Buddhist schools disagree over the length of the bodhisattva practices, and the number of the Buddhas that met him during progress from one stage to another.

Firstly, the *Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra* of the Dharmaguptakas says that when the bodhisattva was still in the stage of *prakṛti-caryā*, his former births had gone through whole periods of thirty hundred million Buddhas, and all of them held the same title, namely the Śākya Tathāgata.²⁵⁶ His career of *prakṛti-caryā* ended at the time of the Sucinta Tathāgata. At the time of the Deśanadhvajanetrī Tathāgata, the bodhisattva began to produce the thought of enlightenment,²⁵⁷ which means that he entered stage of the *praṇidhāna-caryā*. Then the Buddha remembered that he, as a bodhisattva, went through a period of countless *kalpas* during which the Indra Tathāgata and the other Tathāgatas (e.g. the Uttarajina Tathāgata) successively appeared, and he made offerings to and served all these past Buddhas in his former births.²⁵⁸ This indicates that he was the bodhisattva in the stage of *anuloma-caryā*. When this bodhisattva met the Buddha Dīpaṅkara and received the prediction, he was taught that after passing a period of one *asaṃkhyā-kalpa*, he would become a Buddha,²⁵⁹ which means that he reached the stage of *anivarta-caryā*. According to the same text, there were fourteen Buddhas appearing from the time of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara up to the Sarvābhībū Tathāgata and the Buddha Kāśyapa.²⁶⁰

Secondly, the Sarvāstivādins claim that the period from when the bodhisattva produced the thought of enlightenment to when he became a Buddha is equal to three great *asaṃkhyeya kalpas* and one hundred *mahākalpas*. The *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā-śāstra* says,

“In the past, many ages ago, at the time when the lifespan of human beings was a hundred years, a Buddha named Śākyamuṇi appeared in the world . . . at that time there was a potter who was called Vipula-vijñāna . . . He himself aspired to become a Buddha in the future . . . From the time he made this resolution until the time he met with and served the Ratna-uṣṇīṣa Tathāgata, this entire period was the first great *asaṃkhyeya kalpa* (in the career of the bodhisattva); and then from this time until the time he met with and served Dīpaṅkara Tathāgata, this entire period was the second great *asaṃkhyeya kalpa* (engaged in the career of the bodhisattva). Then from this time until the time he

5th-
Source?

²⁵⁶ *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra*, tr. Jñāgupta, ca. 560-600 CE, T3:655c-656b, No.190

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p.656b. “從誨幢如來，…… 初發道心。”

²⁵⁸ Ibid., p.657a-659b. “我身悉皆供養承事。”

²⁵⁹ Ibid., p.668b.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., p.669a-672a.

met and served Vipāśyi Tathāgata, the entire period was the third great *asaṃkhyeya kalpa* for him in his career as a bodhisattva. From then a period of ninety-one *kalpas*, he practised the deeds that contribute to the excellent marks until the time he met and served the Buddha Kāśyapa, at which time he was able to be fully endowed with all the marks.”²⁶¹

“During the first great *asaṃkhyeya kalpa*, the bodhisattva met and served seventy-five thousand Buddhas. Of these Buddhas, the first Buddha was called Śākyamuṇi, and the last Buddha was named Ratna-uṣṇīṣa. During the second great *asaṃkhyeya kalpa*, the bodhisattva met and served seventy-six thousand Buddhas. Of these Buddhas, the first Buddha was called Ratna-uṣṇīṣa, and the last Buddha was named Dīpaṃkara. During the third great *asaṃkhyeya kalpa*, the bodhisattva met and served seventy-seven thousand Buddhas. Of these Buddhas, the first Buddha was Dīpaṃkara and the last Buddha was Vipāśyi. During the period of ninety-one *kalpas*, when the bodhisattva practised the marks of the retributive actions, he met and served six Buddhas. Of these Buddhas, the first Buddha was named Vipāśyi and the last was called Kāśyapa. It should be noted that this is narrated according to the Śākya bodhisattva.”²⁶²

The above record of the Sarvāstivāda school and the statement of the Dharmaguptakas are similar in asserting that after the bodhisattva received the prediction from the Buddha Dīpaṃkara he had yet to practise for a full *asaṃkhyeya kalpa* to attain buddhahood.

Thirdly, the Pāli tradition records that the Bodhisatta practised for four great *asaṃkheyyas* and a hundred thousand *kappas* before he became a Buddha. For instance, the *Buddhavaṃsa* says that from the time the Bodhisatta received the prediction from the Buddha Dīpaṃkara until the time he met the Buddha Kassapa, the length of the period that the Bodhisatta practised was four great *asaṃkhyeya* and one hundred thousand *kappas*.²⁶³ However, there is no additional information regarding the time before the prediction. The *Buddhavaṃsa* merely records that he met and served twenty-four Buddhas between receiving the prediction and becoming a Buddha.²⁶⁴

Fourthly, the *Mahāvastu* of the Lokottaravādins only states that the bodhisattva in the stage of *prakṛticaryā* met with the Buddha Aparājitadhvaja. In the stage of *praṇidhāna-caryā* he met with the former Śākyamuni Buddha and produced the thought of enlightenment. This account agrees with the records of the Sarvāstivāda tradition. In the stage of *anuloma-caryā* he met the Buddha Samitāvin. When he was in the stage of *anivarta-caryā* he met with Dīpaṃkara and received the prediction.

From the above accounts, it is apparent that among Buddhist schools, controversy existed over the length of the bodhisattva career, and the number of *kalpas* during which the bodhisattva practised the path and the Buddhas whom he met. The Sarvāstivādins asserted

²⁶¹ MPŚ, T27:891b-892c.

²⁶² MPŚ, T27:892c.

²⁶³ Bv, I Vs 76; BvA, p.65; *Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā*, p.142; *Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā*, I, p.47.

²⁶⁴ AN, vol., ii, p.11; Bv, I, Vs 76; Bv, II, Vs 116; BvA, p.105

↳ too little evidence

that the bodhisattva practised for three great *asaṃkhyeya kalpas* and ninety-one *kalpas* to attain buddhahood and become endowed with all the marks of a Buddha. This opinion was said to have been accepted by the later Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma teachers of the Northern tradition. However, this was not always the case, for the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* critically states,

“The Buddha himself said he (in his former births) had conducted the meritorious deeds in countless *asaṃkhyeya kalpas*. Why did (some persons) say three great *asaṃkhyeya kalpas*? Three great *asaṃkhyeya kalpas* are countable and limited.”²⁶⁵

The idea that the bodhisattva practised the conduct of the bodhisattva for countless *asaṃkhyeya kalpas* was not an innovation of the Mahāyānists, for it is also referred to in the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra*.²⁶⁶ Furthermore, the early translation of the *Mahāyānasamgraha-vyākhyā* says,

“There are five kinds of people who can fully complete the practices (of the bodhisattva and become a Buddha) in three great *asaṃkhyeya kalpas*, in seven great *asaṃkhyeya kalpas*, or in thirty-three great *asaṃkhyeya kalpas*.”²⁶⁷

The last two possibilities are unique to Paramārtha’s translation and the seven great *asaṃkhyeya kalpas* referred to in this text are identified as the view of another school.²⁶⁸

D. The bodhisattva’s conduct: the *pāramitās*

The conduct of the Buddha in his former births as the bodhisattva is explained differently by every Buddhist school, but by each school it is called a *pāramitā*. When we examine the classification of the bodhisattva’s conduct, we note that there is no agreed opinion among the Buddhist sects regarding the *pāramitās*.

Firstly, the initial chapter of the *Ekottarāgama* records that The World Honoured One taught the six *pāramitās*, the limitless [practices].²⁶⁹ This text is traditionally regarded as belonging to the Mahāsaṃgīkas. Since the six *pāramitās* were commonly used by most of the early schools, Mahāyāna Buddhism in its initial stages also adopted six *pāramitās*. Notably, the *dhyāna* is included in the system of the six Mahāyāna *pāramitās*.

Secondly, according to some *Khuddaka* texts of the Tāmraśātiya tradition,²⁷⁰ Śākyamuni became a Buddha as a result of the completion of perfections (*pāramitā*).²⁷¹ In the *Apadāna*,

²⁶⁵ MPŚ, T25:92b.

²⁶⁶ Abhini, T3:657a.

²⁶⁷ T31:229b. “有五種人，於三阿僧祇劫修行圓滿；或七阿僧祇劫；或三十三阿僧祇劫。”

²⁶⁸ T31:230ac. “餘部別執”

²⁶⁹ EA, T2:550a, “人尊說六度無極”

²⁷⁰ The Tāmraśātiya tradition (銅葉派) in Chinese sources specially refers to the Theravāda in Sri Lanka.

the five perfections are mentioned, namely the *nekkhamma*, *khanti*, *metta*, *sacca* and *adhiṭṭhāna*.²⁷² The *Uddānagathās* mention ten as *dāna*, *sīlānekkhamma*, *adhiṭṭhāna*, *sacca*, *metta*, *upekkhā*, *khanti*, *vīriya* and *paññā*. Out of ten, the *Cariyāpiṭaka* illustrates seven *pāramitās* as *dāna*, *sīla nekkhamma*, *adhiṭṭhāna*, *sacca*, *metta* and *upekkhā*. The *Buddhavaṅsa* gives a similar list of ten perfections.²⁷³ The *Jātakas* are also meant to illustrate these ten perfections. The *Apadāna* speaks of thirty perfections/*timsapārami sampunnā*,²⁷⁴ but it does not mention their names, and the *paññāpāramitā* may or may not be included in the *pāramitās* of this tradition. The *jnāna* (Skt., *dhyāna*) is excluded from all the lists of the Pāli *pāramitās*. This omission obviously corresponds to the view of the Abhidharma masters of Kaśmīra, who did not count the *dhyāna* as a *pāramitā*. → *vi caryāpiṭaka* (58)

Thirdly, The *Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā-sāstra* provides the following views,

(1) "One view is that the bodhisattva, within three great *asaṅkhyeya kalpas*, obtained the *samyaksambodhi* by practising the four *pāramitās*, namely the *dānapāramitā*, *sīlapāramitā*, *vīryapāramitā* and *prajñāpāramitā* . . . (2) Foreign masters assert that there are six *pāramitās*: the previous four plus the *ḥantipāramitā* and the *dhyānapāramitā*. (3) The Abhidharma masters of Kaśmīra point out that the latter two *pāramitās* are assimilated by the previous four . . . Furthermore, (4) some give a different accounts of the six *pāramitās*, which are the previous four plus the *śruta-pāramitā* and the *ḥantipāramitā*."²⁷⁵

The Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma masters of Kaśmīra were the Vaibhāṣikas, who asserted four *pāramitās* of *dāna*, *sīla*, *vīrya* and *prajñā*. The foreign masters were possibly those outside Kaśmīra. However, according to the *Mahāvibhāṣā-sāstra*, foreign masters were from Western regions and the area of Gandhara.²⁷⁶ Generally speaking, foreign masters were the Buddhist followers belonging to the ancient Karpiśaya (罽賓 jì-bin).²⁷⁷ They established the six *pāramitās* of *dāna*, *sīla*, *ḥanti*, *vīrya*, *dhyāna* and *prajñā*. These six *pāramitās* are referred to in the *Abhiṅskramaṇa-sūtra* of the Dharmaguptakas. They are also seen in the *Mahāvastu* of the Lokottaravādins and in the *Sūtra on the Origin of Practice* of an unknown school.²⁷⁸

²⁷¹ *Apadāna*, i. p.38; Bv, pp.13-15.

²⁷² *The Apadāna*, i. pp. 5, 6.

²⁷³ Bv ii vs 76-77.

²⁷⁴ *The Apadāna*, i. P.1.

²⁷⁵ T27:892ab, "如說薩菩經三劫阿僧企耶, 修四波羅蜜多而得圓滿, 謂施波羅蜜戒皮羅蜜多精進波羅蜜多, 般若波羅蜜多. ... 外國師說: 有六波羅蜜多, 謂於前四加忍靜慮. 迦溼彌羅國諸論言: 後二波羅蜜多, 即前四所攝. ... 復有別說六波羅蜜多, 謂於前四加聞及忍."

²⁷⁶ T27: 279a, 545a; Yin Shùn, *A Study of the Śāstras and Ācaryas of the Sarvāstivāda and Other Schools*, 說一切有部爲主的論書與論師之研究, Taipei: Zhengwen Press, 1987, p.305-307.

²⁷⁷ 罽賓 jì-bin was translated from Karpiśaya or Kapiśa in old time, a place in Kashmir today.

²⁷⁸ Abhini, T3:656c; Mv, III. p.26; *Sūtra on the Origin of Practice*, T3:463.

The *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya-pravāraṇavastu* states that the bodhisattva has to practise and accomplish six *pāramitās*.²⁷⁹

In the *Jātakas* and the *Avadānas*, accounts of Śākyamuni Buddha in his former births are classified into four, six, eight or ten categories named *pāramitās*. While the number of *pāramitās* varies among texts, all *pāramitās* originate in the legendary *jātakas* and *avadānas* of the Buddha. In other words, the deeds of the Buddha in his former births became the *pāramitās*, and thereby became common practice for all bodhisattvas. Thus the *pāramitās* make up a course that bodhisattvas must follow. They constitute the causes, not the fruits or effects. However, *pañña* or *prajñā* is regarded as an effect or fruit, obtained or realised by practising *sīla* and *dhyānas* or *jnānas*, and not practicable in itself. If a bodhisattva has wisdom, ultimate truth may be realised. In this way *samyaksambodhi* results in a fruit and not a *pāramitā*. This may be why *prajñā* is omitted in some lists of the *pāramitās*. What is more, these lists may represent the earliest classification of the Bodhisattvic deeds. It is also interesting to note that some *Khuddaka* texts mention the *paññāpāramitā* but give no illustration of it.²⁸⁰ The *Abhidharma-mahā-vibhāṣā-śāstra* asserts:

“The bodhisattva named Govinda was energetic in the pursuit of *bodhi*, was the foremost among the intelligent, eloquent and invincible in any argument or discussion, was praised and respected by the world.”²⁸¹

The story of Govinda is also found in the *Dirghāgama*.²⁸² However, the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya-bhaiṣajyavastu* asserts,

“His verbal deeds all comprise true words. In the past, when he [the bodhisattva] was called the [king’s] Great Steward [Mahāgovinda] of medicine and affairs, he produced the intention to follow the *brahmacariyās*. These together with all his discussions should fulfill the *prajñāpāramitā*.”²⁸³

The value of examining all the accounts of Mahāgovinda is that they contain the concept of *prajñā* in the sense of worldly intelligence and wisdom, but not *prajñāpāramitā* in the sense of a realisation of ultimate truth. It was this early concept of *prajñāpāramitā* that allowed the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature to grow, and provided Mahāyāna followers with a unique doctrine that allowed them increased independence.

what's the point? what is prajñā in quotation?

²⁷⁹ T24:75c, “修行滿六波羅蜜。”

²⁸⁰ For one of the few mentions, see v 132- 135 *Chronical of the Buddhas, (Buddhavaṃsa)* in I. B.Horner’s Translation of *The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon book III*,PTS, London, 1975, p21 also see *Cariyāpīṭika*, p49 .

²⁸¹ T27:892b, “菩薩名瞿頻陀, 精求菩提, 聰慧第一, 論難無敵, 世共稱仰。”

²⁸² T1:31b-34a. *The Mahāgovinda Sutta*, a past life of Gotama, see *Sutta No.19* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*.

²⁸³ T24:75c, “皆有口業真實語, 昔名藥物大臣時, 牛出梵志共論義, 當滿般若波羅蜜。”

As for the *dhyānapāramitā*, one finds no trace of it in the *Buddhavaṃsa* or the *Cariyāpiṭaka*. While some sects refer to six *pāramitās*, most Buddhists did not count the *dhyānapāramitā* among them. The śrāvaka scholars asserted that the bodhisattvas do not practice the *dhyānas*, nor extinguish the *āsrava*.²⁸⁴ *The Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* also states that bodhisattvas neither enter into the deep *samādhi*²⁸⁵ nor dwell in it, because entering into the deep *samādhi*, the bodhisattva could regress to the level of a śrāvaka or Pratyekabuddha.

It is clear that the early Buddhist schools held two dominant views concerning the bodhisattva practices. (1) *Prajñā* was not a *pāramitā* for the bodhisattva to practice, and (2) the bodhisattva did not attach importance to the *dhyānas*. These views led to variation in the number of the *pāramitās*, and various groupings reflect their evolution.

During the ascendance of Māhāyāna Buddhism, there were six *pāramitās* which were adopted and expounded in the *Ṣaṭpāramitā-sūtra*,²⁸⁶ a text which in character is approximate to the *Ṣaṭpāramitā-saṃgraha-sūtra*. The *Ṣaṭpāramitā-sūtra*, one of the earliest Mahāyāna *sūtras*, may have been based on selected stories from the *Jātakas* and the *Avadānas*. As the names of the *pāramitās* indicate, six categories of stories were selected from the *Jātakas* and the *Avadānas*; and these became the model for the path of the bodhisattva and the basis for Mahāyāna practice.

E. The identifications of the bodhisattva

In order to understand the later evolution of the bodhisattva concept in terms of occupation and identity, it must be understood that the bodhisattva leads a secular life. In the Mahāyāna texts, no complete versions of the Buddha's *Jātakas* or *Avadānas* exist. However, in the Pāli, a text of the *Jātakas* consists of 547 stories of the Buddha. The heroes of the stories imply the identities of the Buddha in his former births. According to the *Jātakas* in the Pāli text, those

²⁸⁴ T14:418c, “不修禪定, 不斷煩惱.” The idea that “the bodhisattva does effect the extinction of the outflows (*āsrava*) [which would prevent renewed rebirths,” is also seen in *the Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines & Its Verse Summary*, Translated by Conze, E., Bolinas: Four Seasons Foundation, 1973, p.222.

²⁸⁵ T8:568c, “但觀空而不證空 不深攝心繫於緣中, 爾時菩薩不退助道法亦不盡漏.” “Without losing himself in the concentration of emptiness, the bodhisattva does not deeply tie his thought to an object. By that he will not realize emptiness. The bodhisattva does not lose the dharmas which act as the wings to enlightenment. He does not effect the extinction of the outflows (*āsrava*)”

²⁸⁶ T12:309c; T12:189c. This text is mentioned in two early Mahāyāna texts: Lokakṣema's second-century translation of the *Kāśyapaparivarta-sūtra* (T12: 189 ff, No.350), and Zhi Qian's (支謙) translation of the *Amitābhāyūha-sūtra* (T12:300 ff, No.362).

who practise the path of the bodhisattva may be humans, deities, spirits, animals or birds. Bases on the accounts of the Buddha in his former births, the identities may be outlined as follows,

1. A deity in 69 tales.
2. A religious teacher in 159 tales.
3. A king, minister and king's kinsman in 106 tales.
4. A skilful citizen in 68 tales.
5. An intelligent mammal in 50 tales.
6. A clever bird in 53 tales.
7. In addition, there are three tales about fish and one tale of a frog.

The study of the conduct of the Buddha in his former births led to the production of *Jātakas* and *Avadānas*. However, conservative monks placed greater trust in the *Sūtras*, *Vinaya* and the profound *Abhidharmas*, and inherited them as relics of the Buddha. As for the *Jātakas*, they asserted that the narration of the legends could or could not be true.²⁸⁷ For this reason there does not exist an extensive or explicit discussion of the teachings within the *Jātakas*.

The *Chapter on the Entry into the Realm of Reality* of the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* marks the evolution of the identification of the bodhisattva as follows,²⁸⁸

1. Six high ranking bodhisattvas
2. Eleven gods, which are known as a *Mahādeva* (大天), an Earth-god (地神), eight Night-gods (夜神) and a Completeness-god (圓滿天)
3. Twenty-nine human beings, who are identified as five *bhikṣus*, one *bhikṣuṃī*, an immortal, a heretic, two Brahmins, two kings, a medicine doctor, a householder, a boatman, an *upāsikā*, a boy, a maiden, and a woman.

The above list shows that no bodhisattva is identified with an animal, a shift that marks the evolution of the bodhisattva in accordance with that of human civilisation, since animal cults had become less prevalent in later Buddhist texts. The bodhisattvas in the *Jātakas* and the *Avadānas* often appear when no Buddha is teaching. Hence it is uncertain that they have any form of faith in a Buddha. But the *Jātakas* show that non-Buddhists, heretics, sages, and deities may be bodhisattvas. They are not necessarily judged by the concept of *bodhi* in the

²⁸⁷ T27:916b, “諸傳所說, 或然不然.”

²⁸⁸ T10:875ff, No.295

sense of *samyaksambodhi*. In general, bodhisattvas of early times may be described as working individually (without the co-operation of other bodhisattvas) and acting freely (without concern for opposing views). They were heroes. They were social, but they did not lead 'life in the *Śaṅgha*' that is much valued in traditional currents of Buddhist thought. All these factors came to influence Mahāyāna Buddhism.

F. The bodhisattva's career and rank

Though legendary at first, the *Jātakas*, *Avadānas* and *Nidānas* were soon acknowledged by Buddhist schools. Although it is not known where and to whom they were first taught, they were passed from generation to generation, and traditionally accepted as the teaching of the Buddha. Since every school in later times acknowledged that the Buddha had performed many exploits in his former births, it seemed logical to treat these narratives as something more than legend. The Dharma-kathikas and the Abhidharma masters were bound to discuss them and even to adopt some of them as teachings in their doctrinal systems. The Abhidharma discussions focused on four issues, (1) the requisites for bodhisattva practice, namely the number of *pāramitās*, (2) the stages in which the bodhisattva achieves buddhahood, (3) the duration of the bodhisattva's career [the period from the production of the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) to the attainment of buddhahood], and most importantly, (4) the stature of the bodhisattva (whether the bodhisattva is a *prthagjana* or *ārya*).

Concerning the last, two views were held among traditional schools, one by the Sthaviras and one by the Mahāsāṅghikas. It is recorded in Vasumitra's *Śāstra on the Wheel of Principles of Different Schools* that,

"The Sarvāstivādins principally agreed on the (following) doctrines, ... it should be said that bodhisattvas are still *prthagjanas* (ordinary beings). Their bonds (*samyojanas*) are not yet destroyed. If they have not yet entered into *samyaktvaniyāma* (the stage of beholding the truth and leaving the chain of rebirth), they are at the stage of *prthagjana*, and they cannot be considered supramundane."²⁸⁹

The Haimavata school also held the same view.²⁹⁰ In fact, these two schools along with the Pāli tradition shared the view that the bodhisattva was an ordinary being (*prthagjana*) from the moment of producing the thought of enlightenment until sitting under the bodhi tree. But why are the bodhisattvas ordinary beings in the view of the Sthavirvādins? The standard

²⁸⁹ T49:16ac, "說一切有部本宗同義: 應言菩薩猶是異生; 諸結未斷,未已入正性離生, 於異生地未名超越."

²⁹⁰ T49:16c, "其雪山部本宗同義:謂諸菩薩猶是異生."

argument is that true *āryas* cannot be reborn into lower and evil realms. In the *Jātakas*, the bodhisattva is identified with tree and grass spirits and with animals. Furthermore, the Śākya bodhisattva Gotama led a common life and had wives and a son. After he left his home he became an ascetic and a disciple of some heretical teachers. He learned and practiced the ascetic teachings for six years. Even when he sat under the bodhi tree he was subject to the three types of unwholesome *vitarkas* (reasoning), craving (*rāga*), hatred (*doṣa*) and ignorance (*moha*). It is asserted that the bodhisattva did not destroy his *kleśas* and did not have the identity of a true *ārya*. Logically then, the bodhisattvas are ordinary beings (*prthagjanas*) in the view of the Sthaviravādins. They remain in the position of *prthagjana* until the moment they attain *anuttara-samyak-sambodhi* and become Buddhas, thus is the concept of the bodhisattva held by the Sthaviravādins.

The Mahāsaṃghika concept of bodhisattva is different from that of the Sthaviravādins. According to the *Kathāvatthu*, the Andhrakas affirmed that the Bodhisatta undertakes difficult tasks and hardships such as going to evil realms of existence, entering the womb, performing hard tasks, and doing penance under heretical teachers of his own accord and free-will.²⁹¹ Furthermore, they stressed that the Bodhisatta entered the path of assurance (*niyāma*) under the Buddha Kassapa.²⁹² It is interesting to observe at this juncture that the Andhrakas were the parent body or the general name for the followers of four sects, namely the Rājagiriya, the Siddhattha, the Pūrvaśaila and the Aparāśaila. The Andhrakas originated from the Mahāsaṃghikas, and they spread to Andhra in southern India. The followers of these four sects believed that Śākyamuni entered the path of assurance (*niyāma*) under the teaching of the Buddha Kassapa. This was rejected by the Theravādins and the *Kathāvatthu*. The Theravādins maintain that Gautama in his Bodhisatta existences did not become a disciple of Kassapa Buddha. They quote words in which the Buddha disowns any teacher. The Theravādins also argue that if Śākyamuni could have entered the path of assurance (*niyāma*) at that time, he must have been a true *āriya*. This contradicts the essential nature of a Buddha being self-developed. However, according to the *Kathāvatthu*, the Andhrakas asserted that there were true *āryas* among bodhisattvas. Therefore a bodhisattva undertakes difficult tasks

²⁹¹ *Bodhisatto issariyakāmakārikāhetu vinipātaṇ gacchatīti*, *Kathāvatthu*, xxiii.3.

²⁹² *Kathāvatthu*, iv. 7; "That the Bodhisatta had entered on the Path of Assurance and conformed to the life therein during the dispensation of Kassapa Buddha;" see *Points of Controversy - The Kathāvatthu*, translated by Aung & Davids, PTS, 1915, p.169

and hardships . . . of his own accord and free-will.²⁹³ This implies that the bodhisattva endured purgatory (*nirayam*), the *sañjīva*, the *kālasutra* and the rest of the hells of free-will. The bodhisattva also opted to be reborn in purgatory as an animal, or in one of the other lower states of rebirth, no longer ruled by the law of *karma*. Buddhaghosa pointed out in the *Kathāvatthu-Atthakathā* that free-will, as liberty to do what one pleases through a specific power or gift, is practically a denial of *karma*.²⁹⁴ This shows that the bodhisattva's free-will in the teachings of the Andhrakas concerned the Theravādins since the time of the *Kathāvatthu*.

The concept of the bodhisattva in the doctrines of the Andhrakas contained in the *Kathāvatthu* agrees with that of the Mahāsaṅghikas as outlined in Vasumitra's treatise. Vasumitra attributes the following account of the bodhisattvas to the Mahāsaṅghikas,

“(1) All bodhisattvas enter their mothers' wombs and form their own bodies without passing through the embryonic stages, namely *kalala*, *arbuda*, *peṣī* and *ghana*. (2) All assume the form of white elephants when they enter their mothers' wombs and (3) come out of the same by the right side. (4) Bodhisattvas do not produce thoughts of greed, hatred and harm (*kāma*, *vyāpāda* and *vihimsā sañjīva*). (5) Bodhisattvas are born into bad states (*durgati*) for the benefit of sentient beings of their own free-will and can be born into any form of existence they like.”²⁹⁵

The first four statements refer to the final birth of the bodhisattva's career. They show that although all bodhisattvas are born from parents, their bodies have no part of their parents and they assume their own bodies. To indicate the purity of their bodies, they are said to be born from the right side of their mothers. To emphasise that their minds are pure, three kinds of evil mentality are said not to arise in them. It is not because they have ignorance or hold wrong views that they take the forms of lower existence (*durgati*), perform hard tasks and do penance under heretical teachers. It is because of their own accord and free-will. In short, the final rebirth of bodhisattvas has nothing to do with karmic force but everything to do with the power of will for the sake of sentient beings in saṃsāra.

The above discussion sketches two major views on the concept of bodhisattva. These are recorded in the *Kathāvatthu* and the treatise of Vasumitra. It should be noted here that the concept of bodhisattva held by the Sthaviravādins was primarily based on the historical Śākya Bodhisattva and enhanced with concepts from legendary *Jātakas*. The Mahāsaṅghikas'

²⁹³ *Kathāvatthu*, XXIII, 3; also see *Points of Controversy - The Kathāvatthu*, tr. Aung & Rhys Davids, PTS, 1915, p.366.

²⁹⁴ See *Points of Controversy - The Kathāvatthu*, tr. Aung & Rhys Davids, PTS, 1915, p.367n; *Kathāvatthu-Atthakathā*, ed., J.P.Minaye, PTS, London, 1889, p.197; *Debates Commentary*, tr. B.C.Law, PTS, London, 1940, p.244.

²⁹⁵ T49:15c, “一切菩薩入母胎中, 皆不執受羯刺藍頰部曇閉尸鍵南爲自體; 一切菩薩入母胎時作白象形; 菩薩出母胎時皆從右肋生; 一切菩薩不起欲想恚想害想; 菩薩爲欲饒益有性, 隨意能往。”

concept of bodhisattva was based primarily on accounts of deities, spirits, mammals and births in the *Jātakas* and the *Avadānas*. Since spirits were believed to have the ability of assuming particular bodies, the bodhisattvas were asserted to assume any form of birth of their own free-will. This belief invests the bodhisattva with a mystical quality.

The bhadranta Dharmatrāta was a Sūtrabhaṅga and Dārṣṭāntika of the Sarvāstivāda school. In the preface to the *Avadāna-sūtra* (出曜經 chu-yao-jing),²⁹⁶ he is called the Bodhisattva Dharmatrāta. The person who inherited his tradition was the bodhisattva Vasumitra, the author of the *Ārya-vasumitra-bodhisattva-saṅgīti-śāstra*.²⁹⁷ According to Yin Shùn's study,²⁹⁸ the bhadranta Dharmatrāta lived between the second and first century BCE, or after the completion of the *Abhidharmajñānaprasthāna-śāstra*. He was one of the four great masters of the Sarvāstivāda, but his concept of bodhisattva resembled that of the Mahāsaṃghikas. For instance, the *Ārya-vasumitra-bodhisattva-saṅgīti-śāstra* states,

“Bhadranta Dharmatrāta, ‘those who uttered that the bodhisattvas can fall into bad states of existence (*durgati*) commit calumny. The bodhisattva, skilful in means, does not fall into bad states of existence. The bodhisattva, from the moment of producing the thought of enlightenment, has determined to sit on the place of enlightenment. Since then, he has not entered hell (*niraya*), the state of an animal (*tiryagyoni*) or the state of hungry spirits (*pretas*). He is not born in the families of those who are poor, naked and barefoot. Why? Because he practices the *prajñāpāramitā* and cannot be corrupted or defeated. Furthermore, the bodhisattva has produced the thought of enlightenment and reached the three kinds of irreversibility: bravery, generosity and wisdom. He continues to increase and submit to them. Therefore, the bodhisattva should be known as one who does not fall into bad states of existence.’²⁹⁹

In the bhadranta Dharmatrāta's opinion the bodhisattva, from the moment the thought of enlightenment arises, cannot fall into the three states of evil existence because of possessing wisdom (*prajñā*). The *Saṃyuktāgama* similarly states,

“If any one in the world of sentient beings increases right view, even passing through a thousand rebirths, he does not fall into the states of evil existence at all.”³⁰⁰

Thus although bodhisattvas in the *Jātakas* are sometimes spirits, animals and other beings, they do not unwillingly fall into these states of existence. Rather, these states are manifestations of skill in means of the bodhisattva after embarking on the path of assurance (*niyāma*). The view of the bhadranta Dharmatrāta is similar to the exposition in the *Jātaka* of

²⁹⁶ T4:609b-776a. This text is a variant version of the *Dharmapada*. It was composed by the bodhisattva Dharmatrāta and translated into Chinese by Saṃghabhūti and 竺佛念 Zhū Fó Nièn in 383 CE. (or 374 CE)

²⁹⁷ T28:0721ff, No.1549. 尊婆須蜜菩薩所集論.

²⁹⁸ Yin Shùn, *A Study of the Śāstras and Ācaryas of the Sarvāstivāda and Other Schools*, Taipei, 1987, p.265-268.

²⁹⁹ T28:779c, “尊曇摩多羅作是說:菩薩墮惡道者,此誹謗語;菩薩方便,不墮惡趣;菩薩發意以來,求坐道場,從此以來,不入泥梨,不入畜生餓鬼,不生貧窮處裸跣中。何以故?修行智慧,不可沮壞。復次,菩薩發意,逮三不退轉法:勇猛好施智慧,遂增益順從,是故菩薩當知不墮惡法。”

³⁰⁰ T2:204c, “假使有世間正見增長者,雖復百千生,終不墮惡趣。”

the white elephant with six tusks, who was a bodhisattva that had taken that birth by free-will. The *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* also narrates the *Jātaka* of the white elephant and comments that,

"It should be known that the elephant is not a result of animal deeds. The thought (that this elephant is a result of animal deeds) is not found in the teachings of arhats. You should know that this is a Dharmakāya bodhisattva."³⁰¹

The idea being expressed is that the bodhisattva's rebirth in states of evil existence is a manifestation of the Dharmakāya. Rebirth by skill in means originated in the systems of the Mahāsāṅghikas, the Northern Sūtrabhaṅgikas and the Dārṣṭāntikas. The bhadranta Dharmatrāta attached importance to the power of the *prajñāpāramitā* and said,

"Because the bodhisattva strives to practise comprehensively the *prajñāpāramitā*, the bodhisattva is unwilling to enter into the *samādhi* which leads to *nirvāṇa*. . . this shows that the bodhisattva has not entered the level of *ārya* (e.g. *niyāma*)."³⁰²

The view that bodhisattvas at the level of *prthagjana* attach importance to the *prajñāpāramitā* but not to deep *samādhi*, paves the way for the theory that the *prajñāpāramitā* is the paradigm and guide for the bodhisattva to practice the six *pāramitās*. Logically then, it is only in this way that the bodhisattva is able to practice the *pāramitās* and continue to live in *saṃsāra* for three great *asaṅkhyeyas* before becoming a Buddha.

G. Assessment of the bodhisattva concept and career in the early sources

The most notable aspect of the Abhidharma teachings on the bodhisattva lies perhaps in the insistence on the marks that indicate a bodhisattva. The Abhidharma masters consistently assert that bodhisattvas have thirty-two marks. Unlike earlier texts, emphasis is placed not on the choice of the bodhisattva, the vows, the practices, and the prohibitions, rather on physical features that may be observed. Although later developments and some early Abhidharma teachings may explain these marks as illustrating great progress already made, the general emphasis of the Abhidharma masters seems to be on the special quality of those with marks. These are not ordinary people at all, and certainly do not qualify for bodhisattva-hood by use of will or by realisations. Instead, they are bodhisattvas because they have already made enormous progress and accrued a vast amount of merit.

The progress of the Buddhas through past and future lives is central to the Abhidharma teaching. In fact, the idea that the Buddha had past lives as a bodhisattva and that one can

³⁰¹ T25:146c, “當知此象非畜生行報,阿羅漢法中都無此心,當知此為法身菩薩。”

³⁰² T27:780a, “欲廣修般羅若故,於滅盡定心不樂入. 此說菩薩未入聖位。”

become a Buddha in future lives is, in this teaching, more basic than the idea of the bodhisattva itself. Abhidharma teachings base the concept of bodhisattva-hood on the idea of the past lives of Buddha Gautama. We see from the Abhidharma masters' attitude to the *Jātakas*, *Avadānas* and *Nidānas*, that the Buddha's previous lives as a bodhisattva is to be venerated. The importance of future births for bodhisattvas lies primarily in the teaching that the *pāramitās* cannot be achieved within one lifetime. Therefore, it is essential for the Abhidharma masters to assert that the period for practising the *pāramitās* and gaining the results, is a long period. The amount of time that it takes for a bodhisattva to become a Buddha is controversial among Abhidharma masters, and receives consistent scrutiny, for Abhidharma masters were greatly preoccupied with matters of definition and accuracy.

Abhidharma masters present bodhisattvas as having knowledge of all *dharmas*. Although earlier texts emphasised knowledge of many things including the *dharmas*, never before were bodhisattvas such experts and champions of *dharmas*. Contrary to the presentation of the bodhisattva path in the *Mahāvastu*, the Abhidharma teaching places bodhisattvas within the *Dharma* and makes them proponents of it. In emphasising the bodhisattvas' knowledge of all *dharmas*, the Abhidharma masters show that while bodhisattvas may possess special abilities, they respect all laws (*dharmas*).

The teachings on the *pāramitās* form another controversial subject for the Abhidharma masters, who propound a variety of opinions on the number of *pāramitās* in sets of four, five, six, seven, and ten. The most controversial issue however, lies in the belief that the *pāramitās* are causes, not fruits. That is, the *pāramitās* ought to be cultivated and do not consist in the results of other actions. However, *prajñā* is included in the *pāramitās*, sometimes even when there are only four. This is problematic, for *prajñā* is commonly seen as a fruit and not a cause. In general, *prajñā* seems to fit uncomfortably in the bodhisattva teachings. In the *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Cariyāpiṭaka* and *Mahāvastu*, *prajñā* is notably unexplained. Although the term appears in the *pāramitās*, it receives little discussion. In later Abhidharma works, we see that although *prajñā* is discussed at length, it is still used in association with the results of practice. Equally interesting is the fact that some Abhidharma masters do not include meditation amongst the *pāramitās*. The masters who excluded meditation (*dhyāna*) from the *pāramitās* belong to the Sthaviravāda school.

Sectarian works devote much attention to controversy surrounding the question of the bodhisattva's free-will. Some masters argue, as did the compilers of the *Mahāvastu* and the *Śāriputrābhidharma-śāstra*, that at an advanced level bodhisattva can have control over their rebirths. This teaching caused much concern among Sthaviravāda masters, as illustrated in the *Kathāvatthu* and *Kathāvatthu-Aṭṭhakathā*. Doubts arise regarding the teaching of free-will, as it is held to challenge the supremacy of the law of *karma*. It is free-will that in the Abhidharma teachings constitutes the fundamental distinction between the two types of bodhisattva. Unlike the *Mahāvastu* and its complex stages, many Abhidharma masters make the simple distinction between bodhisattvas who have free-will and those who do not. Perhaps it was the concept of free-will that enabled Abhidharma masters to teach the existence of various types of bodhisattvas.

Chapter Three: The Bodhisattva In Selected Early Mahāyāna Texts

In order to understand the development of the concept and the training course of the bodhisattva, the fundamental sources are the early Mahāyāna texts. But to conduct an investigation of early Mahāyāna texts involves establishing a degree of order about them. This is more problematic than it might seem because of the uncertainties surrounding the dating of texts in this period. Our selection of early Mahāyāna texts may be chronologically dated on the basis of textual style, and according to the contents that are considered or quoted in later compositions (e.g. the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in Nāgārjuna's *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*). It is with these sources and by these means that we examine the chronological development of the bodhisattva concept.

It is believed that Mahāyāna Buddhism originated and developed from various influences, and formulated its basic doctrine during the period between the first century BCE and the third century CE. Shizutani,³⁰³ basing his view chiefly on epigraphic records and the dates of texts translated into Chinese, has suggested that we should make a distinction between the 'proto-Mahāyāna' which did not use the name Mahāyāna, and the 'early Mahāyāna'. According to him, the dates are as follows:³⁰⁴

Proto-Mahāyāna in its incipient stage: 100-1 BCE.

Proto-Mahāyāna in its developed stage: 1-100 CE.

Early Mahāyāna in its incipient stage: 50-100 CE.

Early Mahāyāna in its developed stage: 100-250 CE.

It is likely that the first scripture to use the term Mahāyāna was the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. The origin of the bodhisattva doctrine, to which the Mahāyāna owes its existence, may be traced back to proto-Mahāyāna literature. The transition is established in the literature of conservative Buddhism,³⁰⁵ as Mahāyāna ideas had already been formed in

³⁰³ Shizutani, Masao, *Shoki Daijō Bukkyō no Seiritu Katei (The process of the origination of early Mahāyāna)*, Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1974.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.274.

³⁰⁵ In this context the term "conservative Buddhism" will be used to denote Theravādin Buddhism and other forms of sectarian Buddhism. It will amalgamate those sects previously referred to in more specific terms, because in this context they are all contrasted with Mahāyāna teachings.

Theravādin literature. Mahāyāna Buddhism had not yet come into existence as a distinct school independent of conservative Buddhism.

A. The *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha-sūtra* and the bodhisattva practices

Considering the question of which Mahāyāna texts emerged first, the Japanese scholar Hirakawa proposed a number of, in his words, proto-mahāyāna *sūtras*.³⁰⁶ Among them, the oldest Chinese translation of the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha-sūtra*³⁰⁷ is regarded as the oldest Mahāyāna *sūtra*. This is because it receives mention in other ancient Mahāyāna *sūtras* such as the *Longer Sukhāvāṭīvyūha-sūtra*,³⁰⁸ the ancient version of the *Kāśyapaparivarta-sūtra*,³⁰⁹ and the *Samādhirāja (candrapradīpa)-sūtra*.

The *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha-sūtra*,³¹⁰ translated into Chinese by Kang-seng-huì in 251 CE, contains ninety-one stories that are divided according to the six perfections.³¹¹ These stories narrating the deeds of bodhisattva practising the six perfections, are mostly found in the *Jātakas*. Nine of the ninety-one (74-82) relate to meditation. However, we find that the style of these stories related to the *dhyānapāramitā* is slightly unusual when compared to that of the stories related to the other *pāramitās*. Two stories (75-76) are concerned with how monks practised meditation in general. Only at the end comes the slightly incongruous conclusion that, “thus is the *dhyānapāramitā* of the bodhisattva, which is immeasurable one-mindedness.”³¹² A further three stories (77-79) record the meditation practices and experiences of the historical bodhisattva Gautama Siddhārtha, the Śākya prince, life in his palace and other places. Story 80 is found in the *Wandering-sūtra* of the *Dirghāgāma*,³¹³ which is a life-story of Śākyamuni Buddha. Story number 81 about the bodhisattva Sadāprarudita also occurs in the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. However, unlike the account of the

³⁰⁶ Hirakawa, A *Shoki Daijō Bukkyō no kenkyū*, Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1968, pp98-133; Hirakawa, A., tr. & ed., by Paul Groner, *A History of Indian Buddhism*, Delhi, 1993, p.275ff. However, Hirakawa seemingly ignored the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha sūtra* translated by Kang-seng-huì in ca. 247-280 CE and said that the *Ṣaṭpāramitā* is no longer extant (Hirakawa, p.25ff); Nishi Giyū, *Shoki Daijō Bkkyō no kenkyū* (Studies in Early Mahāyāna Buddhism), Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1945.

³⁰⁷ 六度集經 (*Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha sūtra*), 吳康僧會譯, T03:001a – 052b, No.0152.

³⁰⁸ T12:0279, No.361 (佛說無量清淨平等覺經); T12:0300, No.362 (佛說阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓佛檀過度人道經).

³⁰⁹ T12:0189, No.350 (佛說遺日摩尼寶經).

³¹⁰ T3:0001a-, No.0152.

³¹¹ Among them, twenty-six stories relate to the *dānapāramitā*, fifteen stories relate to the *śīlapāramitā*, thirteen stories relate to the *kṣāntipāramitā*, nineteen stories are connected with the *vīryapāramitā*, nine stories are about *dhyānapāramitā* and nine stories are attached to the *prajñāpāramitā*.

³¹² T03:0039c-0041a, “菩薩禪度無極一心如是”.

³¹³ 遊行經 (*you-xíng-jīng*), DA, T01:0019abc

Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra, story 81 explains that, “the meaning of *sadāprarudita* is the act of a bodhisattva who gives blessings to all in his initiative to teach.”³¹⁴ This story is about a previous life of Śākyamuni and does not conform to the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. It was clearly adapted and added to the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha-sūtra* to illustrate the perfection. Story 82 is about another previous life of Śākyamuni Buddha.

We have seen how the six perfections originated from classifications of the contents of the *Jātaka*-stories. The *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha* is so called because it is a selection of *Jātaka* stories which were edited according to their similarities. Later the word *sūtra* was added to the title. The method of editing was inherited from conservative Buddhism just as the models of the bodhisattva practices were accepted and respected within Buddhist circles in general. It is on the basis of the texts elaborating the bodhisattva practices that the path of the Mahāyāna bodhisattva was formulated and disseminated.

Fundamentally, the six perfections (*pāramitā*) arose from the accounts of the bodhisattva’s activities during the previous lives of Śākyamuni Buddha. They are fully concerned with practicality in the human world. It is likely that the compiler of the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha*, which contains only one story (82) from the *Jātakas* pertaining to the bodhisattva’s meditation, attached little importance to the *dhyānaparamitā*. According to the explanations of the six perfections in this *sūtra*, the path of the bodhisattva (*bodhisattvamārga*) centres upon great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*). For instance, in explaining the *pāramitās*, the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha-sūtra* states,

"With regard to the immeasurable *dānapāramitā*, what is its standard and code? It is to lovingly nourish human and other sentient beings, to have compassion and pity for those who are evil, to be delighted in the fulfilment of the perfections of the holy, to protect and rescue or give relief to sentient beings . . . To practise the perfection of giving (*dāna*) is to offer food to those who are hungry, to give drink to those who are thirsty, to clothe those who are needy and tremble, to administer medicine to those who are sick, to give chariots, horses, treasures and invaluable gems, wives and children and land or country to those who demand them.³¹⁵

With regard to the *ksāntipāramitā*, what is its standard and code? . . . Sentient beings lost land, had their families broken, endangered their bodies and lives, had their clans destroyed, suffered when they were living, became reborn in the three evil realms after they died - all such things happened because they were not endowed with forbearance and did not practice loving-kindness. The bodhisattva realised this and vowed by saying: ‘I would rather take the occasion to be roasted and minced, but I will never stimulate poisonous hatred towards sentient beings.’ After realising this, the bodhisattva practised kindness in every life.³¹⁶

³¹⁴ T03:0043a, “眾祐自說爲菩薩, 名曰常悲”

³¹⁵ T03:0001a.

³¹⁶ T3:0024ab.

With regard to the *vīryapāramitā*, what is its standard and code? . . . Be proficient in accumulating the teachings and be able to teach their profundity; endeavour to practice them without being lazy. Even the dangers of raging fire, the harmful, sharp weapons, and poison exist on the way to rescuing sentient beings. The bodhisattva will not care for his body but happily send out and even sacrifice his own life to save sentient beings who are in trouble."³¹⁷

The codes of these three *pāramitās* emphasise compassion and merciful action towards sentient beings. In contrast, the treatment of the *dānapāramitā* in the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha-sūtra* shows less interest in expounding the importance of offering and honouring the Three Gems. This is because that practice deviates from the central theme of giving to other sentient beings.

The *dānapāramitā* is demonstrated in twenty-six stories that comprise twenty-nine percent of the entire text. This indicates the privileged position of compassion (*karunā*) and giving (*dāna*) in the path of the bodhisattva. The spirit of Mahāyāna compassion is sufficiently demonstrated by Śākyamuni Buddha, whose previous births are presented in the *Jātaka* stories as models of compassion and the activities of giving, helping and rescuing. The *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha-sūtra* says that Śākyamuni vowed to obtain buddhahood in this impure world. Therefore, all who came from pure worlds to listen to his teaching praised great compassion and the merits that were accumulated in this impure world. It would seem fair to propose that these teachings, which are not limited to the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha-sūtra*, are fairly characteristic of this period. In the *Lokadhara-sūtra* for instance, the Buddha says,

"Thus I, at night, always adorned with such a resolution, thus I practiced the *vīryapāramitā* and *ksāntipāramitā*. For sentient beings who are in trouble, who are not rescued and protected, who have no-one to depend on, who are born in the three evil-realms, for the benefits of the countless sentient beings, I will attain buddhahood at that time, in the world where there exist the five kinds of evil and impurity."³¹⁸

The *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha-sūtra* reveals that the bodhisattva ideal in early Mahāyāna texts is integrally related to the idea of compassion. The bodhisattva whose compassion has developed is able to perform the *pāramitās* in an impure world, to attain buddhahood in an impure land, and instruct sentient beings to overcome sufferings just as Śākyamuni Buddha himself. This text also shows that in this period the Mahāyāna accepted the six *pāramitās* as the only course of the bodhisattva's practice.

³¹⁷ T3:0032a.

³¹⁸ T14:0644c; No.482, 持世經 (*Chi-shi-jing*)

B. The *Dào-zhì-dà-jīng* and the *Sarvākārajñāna-caryā-sūtra* on the importance of *prajñā*

Although six *pāramitās* are presented in the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha-sūtra*, *prajñā* and *dhyāna* have yet to be clearly described in the Mahāyāna sense. In the first century BCE, it was necessary for the Mahāyānists to compile a detailed discussion of *prajñā* and *dhyāna* as expounded in the earliest Mahāyāna texts. The following analysis will focus on the discussion of *prajñā* in early Mahāyāna sources.³¹⁹

According to Lokakṣema's translation of the *Sukhāvativyūhasūtra*³²⁰ and Zhi Qian's translation of the later version of the same *sūtra*,³²¹ Amitābha Buddha preached the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha-sūtra* and the *Dào-zhì-dà-jīng* (道智大經) to those assembled in the celestial abode called the Land of Bliss (*sukhāvati*). This record shows that the *Dào-zhì-dà-jīng* appeared earlier than the *Sukhāvativyūhasūtra*, and is one of the oldest texts which emphasise *prajñā*.

The word *dào* (道) in the above title is used in the sense of *mārga* or *bodhi*. However, the title *Dào-xíng-pǐn* (道行品) in the oldest Chinese translation corresponds to the *Sarvākārajñāna-caryā-parivarta*. The *Sarvākārajñāna-caryā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* was named after the *Sarvākārajñāna-caryā-parivarta*. The texts were named in this way for two reasons: Lokakṣema translated the word *sarvākārajñāna* as *dào* (道), and the aim of the bodhisattva in the *prajñāpāramitā* texts is to obtain the state of *sarvajñā* and *sarvajñāna*. Thus *dào* in Lokakṣema's translation is clearly a goal, not a means. This is an important distinction, and deciding which meaning of *dào* is being used in early Mahāyāna translations is vital to understanding the meaning of the title *Dào-zhì-dà-jīng* (道智大經).

³¹⁹ In order to study the evolution of the bodhisattva concept in the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, it is essential to determine the sequence of the compilations of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*. This sequence implies the chronology of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*. With this aim, this analysis will focus on the sequence of the compilations of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* and the concept of the bodhisattva within the *sūtras*. For the former, our study must depend on Chinese sources and related texts because they contain reference to dates. We will refer to non-Chinese sources and Western studies on the same subject when they are useful in understanding the ancient Chinese translations of the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts.

³²⁰ 佛說無量清淨平等覺經, T12:0278, No.361. Lokakṣema was a Śrāmana of the country of Yueh-zhi, who came to China in 147 or 164 CE, and produced translations until 186 CE in Luoyang 洛陽.

³²¹ T12:0300, No.362. Zhi Qian (支謙), who was a non-Chinese Upāsaka, came to China and translated numerous works in 223-253 CE.

Lokakṣema translated the *Sarvākārajñāna-caryā-parivarta* into Chinese as *Dào-xíng-pǐn* (道行品) in the *Sarvākārajñāna-caryā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*.³²² It was Lokakṣema who mentioned the *Dào-zhì-dà-jīng* (道智大經) in his translation of the *Sukhāvativyūhasūtra*.³²³ Since Zhi Qian used the word *dào* for *sarvākārajñā*, in all probability the name *Dào-zhì-dà-jīng* (道智大經) was translated from *Sarvākārajñāna-mahā-sūtra*. This in turn may represent the proto *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra*, namely the *Sarvākārajñāna-caryā-parivarta*.

The *Sarvākārajñāna-caryā-parivarta*³²⁴ consists of a proto-section of the *Sarvākārajñāna-caryā-prajñāpāramitāsūtra*. Its earliest version circulated was entitled *Dào-xíng-jīng* (道行經, *Sarvākārajñāna-caryā-sūtra*). The *Chu-san-zàng-jì-jí* (出三藏記集) says,

"One fascicle of the *Sarvākārajñānacaryā-sūtra*, . . . whose manuscript was brought to central China by the Indian śramaṇa, Zhú Fóshùo (竺佛朔), during the time of Húan-dì (桓帝) was translated into Chinese at Lo-yang under the rule of Líng-dì (靈帝) in 183 CE.³²⁵

The one fascicle of the *Sarvākārajñānacaryā-sūtra* is the *Sarvākārajñānacaryā-parivarta* contained in the *Sarvākārajñānacaryā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra*. It was annotated by the Chinese monk Dào-an (312-385 CE) and is now attached to the first fascicle³²⁶ of the *Dà-míng-dù-jīng* (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*).³²⁷

An assessment of the bodhisattva ideal in this text elicits the following observations. Firstly, the earliest *prajñāpāramitā* text, the *Sarvākārajñāna-caryā-parivarta* (or *sūtra*),³²⁸ does not mention faith in the Buddha's *stūpa*, its worship, or the worship of Buddhist scriptures. This omission, it seems, is characteristic of the *prajñāpāramitā* teachings contained in their proto-stage in Mahāyāna texts. The *Sarvākārajñāna-caryā-parivarta* emphasises the achievements of profound *prajñā* and therefore would not be expected to mention such things as faith in *stūpas* or worship of scriptures. Secondly, the concepts of *sūnya* and *anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti* are present in the *PSV*.³²⁹ However, the *Sarvākārajñāna-caryā-parivarta*

³²² Dao-xing, T8:0425ff, No.224, 道行般若經.

³²³ See T12: 0307a25, No.362.

³²⁴ *Dào-xíng-pǐn* 道行品, T08:425, No.224

³²⁵ T55:06b. *Chu-san-zàng-jì-jí* 出三藏記集 (A Collection of the Records of Translations of the *Tripitaka*): a catalogue of the *Tripitaka* translated into Chinese from 67 until approximately 520 CE. It was compiled by Sengyou 僧祐. Nj. 1476.

³²⁶ See T8:0478b-0482a.

³²⁷ *Dà-míng-dù-jīng* 大明度經, T8:0478b-0508b. Ancient translators translated *prajñā* into Chinese as *míng* 明 and *pāramitā* as *dù* 度.

³²⁸ See T8:0478b-0482a.

³²⁹ *PSV*, T8:0536a-586c, No.227

discusses not *sūnya*, but *anupalambha* and *ākāśa*. It discusses how no *dharmas* arise and no *dharmas* produce anything, but it does not discuss the *anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti*. Thirdly, the six perfections (*pāramitā*) cannot be used to judge when a Mahāyāna text was composed, because they were established in the period of the early Buddhist schools. Among the six *pāramitas*, the adherents of the bodhisattva doctrine attached importance to the *prajñāpāramitā*. This fact was already pointed out by Dharmatrāta,³³⁰ a great teacher of the Sarvāstivāda school. The *Abhidharma-mahā-vibhāṣā-śāstra* says that for the general knowledge, the six perfections are taught in generalities and for the very intelligent and for those whose faculty is mature, the *prajñāpāramitā* is expounded.³³¹ Fourthly, the *Sarvākārajñāna-caryā-parivarta* does not discuss the concepts of *bodhicittoptāda* and *bodhicitta*, rather the *bodhisattvacitta*. It comments that a bodhisattva's mind should not become attached [to the thought of] being a bodhisattva.³³² In the *PSV*, we find that non-attachment is *bodhisattvacitta*.³³³ Another version of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* records that “[the bodhisattva's] mind should not attach to the thought ‘I am a bodhisattva’.”³³⁴ Unit Five of the *Large Version of the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* also records that non-attachment is the *bodhisattvacitta*.³³⁵ In the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra - The Mother of the Triple Dharmapiṭaka*,³³⁶ it is said that one should not produce the thought ‘thus, I follow’.³³⁷ These references indicate that non-thought of self is the *bodhisattvacitta*. The concept of *bodhisattvacitta* is clearly given, but not the concept of *bodhicitta*. This also has a link with the *Long Sukhāvativyūha-sūtra*. However, in Zhi Qian's translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, it is said, “one should not think ‘I know the *bodhicitta*’.”³³⁸ In Unit Four of Xúanzáng's translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*, we find the term *bodhicitta*.³³⁹ The presence of this concept must reflect the influences of the later *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*. Nevertheless, the original manuscript of the *Sarvākārajñāna-caryā-*

³³⁰ Author of the *Pañcavastuvibhāṣāśāstra*.

³³¹ Mdh, T27:780a, No.1547

³³² T8:0425c, “心不當念是菩薩”.

³³³ T8:537b, “不念是菩薩心”

³³⁴ T8:508c, “其心不當自念我是菩薩”

³³⁵ T7:866a, “不執著是菩薩心.”

³³⁶ PD, T8:0587a,0676c, No.228.

³³⁷ T8:0 587b; “不應生心我如是學.”

³³⁸ T8:0478c; “不當念是我知道意.”

³³⁹ See T7:0763c.

parivarta does discuss the *bodhisattvacitta* as consisting of one having compassion for sentient beings.

From the above examination, it is evident that the earliest form of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, the *Sarvākārajñā-caryā-parivarta* (or *sūtra*), stresses the achievement of wisdom (*prajñā*) and differs from some texts in that it emphasises faith (*śraddhā*). Indeed, it contains such terms as *sannāha-sannaddha* (僧那僧涅) and *ākāśa* (如虛空) that must have been present as early as the *Long Sukhāvativyūha-sūtra* (T.362). Furthermore, it is probable that the *Sarvākārajñāna-caryā-parivarta* was the developed form of the *Dao-zhi-da-jing* (*Sarvākārajñāna-mahā-sūtra*, 道智大經),³⁴⁰ which emphasises the importance of *prajñā*.

C. The *San-pǐn-jing* (*Triskandhasūtra*) and the bodhisattva practices

In addition to the six *pāramitās*, we also find in another of the earliest Mahāyāna texts a developed programme of bodhisattva practice. The *San-pǐn-jing* (*Triskandhasūtra*, 三品經) presents a particularly complex, detailed and highly evolved outline of bodhisattva practice divided into three categories (三分法, *triskandhadharma*). These may be considered as an extension of and addition to the six *pāramitās*.

In the Mahāyāna tradition, the practices of the bodhisattvas derived from the former lives of Śākyamuni, and were compiled in the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha-sūtra*, a text which describes the compassionate deeds of bodhisattvas. Buddhist scholars gradually developed the assertion that the Buddhas dwell in pure lands of the ten directions, and came to attach importance to faith in the Buddhas. While it was held that the Buddhas appeared in this world, the concern arose that many Buddhists had no contact with the Buddhas. This gradually led to the teachings on the disclosure of evil deeds.³⁴¹

In the Mahāyāna tradition, the first text that discusses the repentance of evil deeds and their abandonment by the method of *buddhānusmṛti* (meditation on the Buddha's virtues) and

³⁴⁰ The first chapter of Kumārajīva's translation of the *PSV* (T8:0536a-586c, No.227) is similar to the *Sarvākārajñā-caryā-parivarta* in Lokakṣema's translation (T8:0425c-429a, No.224), to the *Caryā-parivṛta* in Zhi Qian's translation (T8:0478b-0482a, No.225), and to the *Sarvākārajñā-caryā-parivarta* in Dharmapriya's and Chu Fo-nien's translation (T8: 0508b-0513b, No.226).

³⁴¹ Nearly thirty texts (T14; No.425-454), the *Sāhasrabuddhanidāna sūtra*, etc., in the first division of the *Collection of the Scriptures* (經集部 *Sūtrasaṃgraha*, T14) give the names of the Buddhas and discuss repenting evil deeds and ways of turning from them.

making obeisance to the Buddhas, is the *San-p'ñ-jing*. This text represents early teachings that attached great importance to faith (*śraddhā*).

The Chinese translation of the *Fă-jing-jing* (*Dharmādarśa-sūtra*, 法鏡經) refers to the *San-p'ñ-jing*,

"During the three spans of the day and the three spans of the night, to recite the *San-p'ñ-jing* should be the subject of work. All the evil deeds done in the previous lifetimes should be given up and repented by oneself; the past [evil deeds] should be changed and [the good future] should be made (改往修來)."³⁴²

Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Ugrakulapati-bodhisattva-caryāpariṣcchā-sūtra* also mentions the *San-p'ñ-jing*.³⁴³ The *Ugra-gr̥hapati-parivarta*, the nineteenth division of the *Mahāratnakūṭa-sūtra*, describes the method of practising the Dharma as practicing the *san-fen* (三分, *triskandha*) and reciting the *san-fen-fă* (三分法, *triskandhadharma*)³⁴⁴ Furthermore, in Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Vimaladattāpariṣcchā-sūtra*, the Buddha advises Vimaladattā to recite and practise the *san-p'ñ* (*triskandha*), the *sūtras* of the Buddha (三品諸佛經典) and to pursue the *san-p'ñ-fă* (三品法, *triskandhadharma*).³⁴⁵ This proto-Mahāyāna text that attached importance to *śraddhā* was regarded as the earlier Mahāyāna text.

The topics of the *San-p'ñ-jing* consist of (1) the disclosure of faults (*pāpa-deśanā*), (2) the transfer of merit (*pariṇāmanā*), (3) rejoicing in the virtues of others (*anumodanā*) and (4) requesting all the Buddhas to turn the wheel of *Dharma* (*adhyeṣanā*). The texts that we know to be similar in contents are the following:

1. The *Śāriputrakarmāvaraṇa-pratiśrabdhi-sūtra*,³⁴⁶ translated by An Shīgao during the Later Hàn Dynasty between 148-170 CE (one fascicle).
2. The *Bodhisattvapīṭaka-sūtra*,³⁴⁷ translated by Saṃghabhara during the Líang Dynasty in 517 CE (one fascicle).
3. The *Mahāyāna-triskandhaka-kṣamāpaṇa-sūtra*,³⁴⁸ translated by Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta during the Sui Dynasty approximately 585-600 CE (one fascicle).
4. The *Ārya-mahāyāna-karmāvaraṇapratīśrabdhi-sūtra*,³⁴⁹ translated into Tibetan by Prajñāmitra.

The first three of the above Chinese translations are included in the *Vināyapīṭaka* of the Taisho edition of the Chinese canon. According to Shizutani,³⁵⁰ the *Śāriputrakarmāvaraṇa-*

³⁴² 法鏡經 (*Dharmādarśa sūtra*), T12:0018c.

³⁴³ See 郁迦羅越問菩薩行經, T12:0026c.

³⁴⁴ T11:475c. "修行三分, 誦三分法."

³⁴⁵ See 離垢施女經, T12:0095c.

³⁴⁶ 舍利弗悔過經, T.No.1492.

³⁴⁷ 菩薩藏經 T. No.1491.

³⁴⁸ 大乘三聚懺悔經, T.No.1493.

³⁴⁹ The *ārya-karmāvaraṇapratīśrabdhi-nāmamahāyāna sūtra* was listed by Skorupski [T. *A Catalogue of the Stog Palace Kanjur*, Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1985, 94].

pratiśrabdhi-sūtra was an elementary exposition for the teaching on the doctrine of the three aggregates (*triskandhadharma*, 三聚). Its major topics are (1) the disclosure of faults (*pāpadeśanā*), (2) rejoicing in the merit of others (*anumodanā*, 隨喜), and (3) requesting the Buddhas to turn the wheel of dharma (*adhyeṣaṇā*, 勸請). These three practices are called the three aggregates (*triskandha*, 三聚).

Since the *Śāriputrakarmāvaraṇa-pratiśrabdhi-sūtra* does not contain the term signifying the rational knowledge of disclosure (*li-chān* 理懺), it is considered to date prior to the *PSV*. The major practices of the bodhisattva in the above texts are the disclosure of evil deeds (*pāpakarmadeśanā*), rejoicing in the merit of others (*anumodanā*), requesting the Buddhas to turn the wheel of dharma (*adhyeṣaṇā*), rejoicing in merit (*anumodanāpuṇyaskandha*, 隨喜功德聚), enunciating merit (*upamantrita-puṇyaskandha*, 勸請功德聚) and the dedication of merit (*pariṇāmanāpuṇyaskandha*, 迴向功德聚).

With regard to the *pāpakarmadeśanā*, it is said that the *pāpakarma* derives from the mind (*citta*), and is empty (*śūnyatā*) and unattainable (*alabhā*). This sort of rational knowledge of disclosure (理懺) must have been influenced by the *PSV*.

In addition to the *pāpakarmadeśanā*, in the *Śāriputrakarmāvaraṇa-pratiśrabdhi-sūtra*, priority is given to the *karmāvaraṇapraśrabdhi*, the purification of the karmic deeds that form hindrances to becoming a bodhisattva. The contents of the above texts 2-4 may be classified into two kinds of teachings,

"To completely purify all evil *dharma*s and *karmāvaraṇas*, and to seek and obtain all wholesome *dharma*s whilst endowed and established in them."³⁵¹

In brief, bodhisattvas are first to purify and destroy the *karmāvaraṇas*, stop the *pāpakarmas* and attain the *kauśalyadharmas* in order to produce wholesome deeds. The latter is presented as more advanced than the first.

It seems that before the popularity of the *triskandhas* there were only two *skandhas*: the *pāpakarmadeśaṇaskandha* and the *anumodanāskandha*. Evidence for this is the absence of the *upamantritaskandha* in the *Maitreyapariṣcchā-parivarta* of the *Mahāratnakūta-sūtra* (44), and

³⁵⁰ See Shizutani's *Shoki Daijō Bukkyō no Seiritu Katei* (*The process of the origination of early Mahāyāna*), Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1974, p. 118-132.

³⁵¹ T24:1095b.

Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Maitreyapariṣcchā*.³⁵² In the latter text, the bodhisattva Maitreya says,

"I disclose all my evil deeds (*pāpakarmas*) and rejoice in the merit of others. I take refuge in all Buddhas and revere them, may I attain the most excellent *bodhi*."³⁵³

In fact, before the practice of the two *skandhas* was widespread, there was a period of practice of the earliest *pāpakarmadeśaṇa* or *karmāvaraṇapraṭiśrabdhi*. This occurred because the *Śāriputrakarmāvaraṇa-praṭiśrabdhi-sūtra* opens with the following,

"If the good sons and good daughters want to seek the path of buddhahood, if they undertook evil deeds in the past, what is the way used to disclose and purify them?"³⁵⁴

The premise of the text was that good sons and daughters sought to attain buddhahood, but that past evil deeds created difficulties in achieving that goal. Hence they asked for a way to purify and root out their *karmāvaraṇas*. Indeed, the reason for the practices of *anumodaṇāpuṇyaskandha*, *upamantrita-puṇyaskandha*, and dedication of merit (*pariṇāmanāpuṇyaskandha*) is similar. The end of the *Śāriputrakarmāvaraṇa-praṭiśrabdhi-sūtra* says:

"One who gives alms to the Arhats and Pratyekabuddhas in the world for a thousand years is not as virtuous as one who possesses and practises the *Karmāvaraṇa-praṭiśrabdhi-sūtra*. [Accordingly,] the merit obtained by one who recites it during each of the three periods of the day and night are a hundred times, a thousand times and a hundred thousand times greater than the merit obtained by someone who gives alms to Arhats and Pratyekabuddhas in the world."³⁵⁵

Although the *anumodaṇā* and the *upamantrita* were inserted in the present *Śāriputrakarmāvaraṇa-praṭiśrabdhi-sūtra*, here only the name of the *Karmāvaraṇa-praṭiśrabdhi-sūtra* is mentioned. If we omit *anumodaṇā* and *upamantrita* from it, would the text be consistent in its teaching on disclosure? The *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra*, translated by Sanghabhadra, replies,

"This *sūtra* is called *Karmāvaraṇapraṭiśrabdhi*, you should accept and practice it! It is also named *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, you should accept and practice it! It is also named *Sarvavicikitsānirodha*, thus you should accept and practice it!"³⁵⁶

Although three names for the same text are given, based upon its contents, the key and more suitable name is *Karmāvaraṇapraṭiśrabdhi*. The premise of this text is the belief that the Buddhas exist in the ten directions at present and that grave karmic deeds can be purified

³⁵² T12; No.349.

³⁵³ See *She-li-fo-hui-guo-jing* 舍利弗悔過經, T24:1090, No.1492. "我悔一切過, 勸助[隨喜的舊譯]眾道德, 歸命禮諸佛, 令得無上道." 勸助 is an older translation of *anumodaṇāskandha*, usually translated as 隨喜.

³⁵⁴ T24:1090a.

³⁵⁵ T24:1091b. "其供養天下阿羅漢辟支佛千歲, 不如持悔過經, 晝夜各三過讀一日, 其得福勝供養天下阿羅漢辟支佛百倍千倍萬倍億倍."

³⁵⁶ T24:1089c. "此經名滅業障礙, 汝當受持! 亦名菩薩藏, 汝當受持! 亦名斷一切疑, 如是受持!"

through the performance of disclosure. Later, this practice was included in the perfection of morality.³⁵⁷

In the monastic context, the performance of disclosure is limited to the evil karmic deeds committed in one's present life. The offender realises one's errors, reflects upon them, admits the errors and accepts the disciplinary action decreed by the Saṃgha. The *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā-sūtra* says,

"The *śrāmaṇas*, the disciples of Śākyamuni, possess the method of eliminating evil deeds [*pāpakarmanirodha*] . . . if one has committed grave evil deeds, one should practice good conduct (*kuśaladharmā*) in order to bring about their elimination [of the grave evil deeds], then one can illuminate this world as the moon emerges from the clouds."³⁵⁸

This phrase pertaining to the method of eliminating evil deeds (*pāpakarmanirodha*) is commonly used by both lay people and monks. The cessation of the evil deeds through the practice of the wholesome factors (*kuśaladharmas*) signifies that when the power of good deeds has increased and become strong, good deeds have every chance to mature while the evil have none. This act of disclosing unlimited past evil karmic deeds is not characteristic of early Buddhism. It is a specifically Mahāyāna method which involves disclosing all evil karmic deeds for three types of obstacles, *kleśāvaraṇa*, *karmāvaraṇa* and *vipākāvaraṇa*, all accumulated during past cosmic ages (*kalpas*).

Furthermore, the concept of *karmāvaraṇabala* (karmic force) became increasingly important in the writings of the *Sūtrabhāṅakas*, the *Vinayabhāṅakas* and the *Abhidharmabhāṅakas*, and eventually the power of *karmāvaraṇa* came to be more apparent. Thus in another *sūtra* we see that,

"One who breaks the minor rules (*śiṣyākaraṣṭilas* 眾學戒), will fall into *niraya* hell for a period equivalent to five hundred years [of the lifespan] in the celestial realms of the four heavenly kings (四天王天), which is equal to nine-hundred-thousand years in the human world."³⁵⁹

Previously one instance of reflection upon disclosing the offences against the *śiṣyākara* sufficed to purify and erase the minor faults. Here we unexpectedly find that the offences against the *śiṣyākaraṣṭilas* are treated as grave faults. Nevertheless, the *Dārṣṭāntikas* of the Sarvāstivādin School note,

"Because all karmic deeds are changeable, even the *ānantaryakarmas* are changeable."³⁶⁰

³⁵⁷ For further discussion, see the perfection of morality in chapter six.

³⁵⁸ T27:0511a. "沙門釋子有滅罪法, . . . 若人造重罪, 修善以滅除; 彼能照世間, 如月出雲翳."

³⁵⁹ See *Fan-jie-zei-bao-qing-zhong-jing* 犯戒罪報輕重經, T24:0910b; "犯眾學戒, 如四天王天壽五百歲墮泥犁中, 於人間數九百千歲." See also T24:0972b.

³⁶⁰ T27:0593b. "一切業皆可轉故, 乃至無間業亦可令轉".

In the Mahāyāna tradition, the performance of disclosing faults (*pāpadeśanā*) can purify even the five grave offences (*ānantaryakarma*). This is interconnected with the views of the Sarvāvastivādin-dārṣṭantika tradition.

The performance of a monk's disclosure is usually carried out among the Saṃgha. How is the lay confession performed? According to the *Angutarāgama-sūtra*, those who have accepted the eight spiritual rules and promised to observe them should make disclosure in front of the four-fold Buddhist assembly (四部眾) whenever they violate those disciplines. Their performance disclosure is guided by the teacher (*ācārya*, 教授師). The expressions of their disclosure concern the ten *karmic* deeds, which were committed on account of craving (*rāga*), hatred (*doṣa*) and delusion (*moha*), or under the influence of a wealthy and influential relative, an evil teacher or evil friends. Since they had failed to see the Buddha and the *Buddhadharma*, grave faults were committed by destroying the Saṃgha and so on.³⁶¹ This aspect of teaching is also found in the first part of the *Śāriputrakarmāvaraṇa-paripṛcchā-sūtra*. As the monks were still playing the leading role among the fourfold followers, the contents of the four texts listed above are closer to the tradition of conservative Buddhism. The *Dharmādarśa-sūtra* says,

"The householder-practitioners (*gṛhasthayogin*) . . . who live at the time when there is no Buddha, no *sūtras* for reading, no holy persons (*āryas*) for visiting, should worship the Buddhas of the ten directions . . . [and] recite the *San-pin-jing* (*Triskandha-sūtra*). They should individually disclose all the evil karmic deeds done in their previous lives, change [the bad practices of] the past and cultivate [good deeds] for the future."³⁶²

Originally, disclosing faults was conducted in front of either the Buddha or the excellent renunciates (*āryappravrajita*). However, when Śākyamuni Buddha attained *nirvāṇa* and passed away, he ceased to be the adviser of his followers. Thus, phrases such as "in the world where there is no Buddha," and "no excellent ones (*āryas*)," indicate the lack of perfect witnesses to the performance of disclosing faults. They also express the dissatisfaction of some Buddhists, especially those who disapproved of the pre-eminence of the Saṃgha, with the disclosure of faults being held in the normal fourfold assembly. However, as there were those who had grave karmic deeds which, it was believed, could be disclosed and purified, the performance of disclosure was considered necessary. However, a new method of disclosure was developed,

³⁶¹ See *Ekottarāgama-sūtra*(增壹阿含經), T2:0625b.

³⁶² T12:0018c. "居家修道者. . . 時世無佛, 無見經者, 不與聖眾相遭遇, 是以當稽首十方佛. . . 誦三品經事, 一切前世間所施行惡, 以自首悔, 改往修來."

based upon the belief that it can be made before the Buddhas of the ten directions, during the present time. The *Śāriputrakarmāvaraṇaparipṛcchā-sūtra* says,

"In what manner may someone ask for help from the Buddhas of the ten directions? The Buddhas are able to see clearly and hear acutely. In front of the Buddhas, persons dare not cheat. When persons have evil karmic deeds they dare not cover them up."³⁶³

In this context, the Buddhas in the ten directions are not visible, but live in the minds of devotees and exist in the same way as celestial beings. Thus we find that the disclosure of faults was previously held in front of the *stūpa*, Saṅgha or the fourfold Buddhist assembly, but now is reoriented towards the worship of the Buddhas in the ten directions.

Worship and disclosure before the Buddhas in the ten directions form an integral part of the practice of proto-Mahāyāna Buddhism. These practices and the act of rejoicing in the merit of others is neutral, but encompasses the sense of rejoicing at the good deeds of others. For instance, the *Samyuktāgama-sūtra* says,

"Killing with one's own hand, teaching and ordering others to kill, praising those who kill, and rejoicing at seeing those who kill . . . such a person, after their body has decayed and their lifespan is exhausted, will fall into the evil realms and hells."³⁶⁴

By contrast one who is,

"always praising the virtue of non-killing, rejoicing at seeing others who do not kill . . . such a person, after their body has decayed and lifespan is exhausted, will be reborn in heaven."³⁶⁵

Anumodanā is a mental act or attitude towards acts that arises from the examination of the verbal and physical acts of others. After explaining *anumodanā*, the *Śāriputrakarmāvaraṇaparipṛcchā-sūtra* repeats,

"All the merit accumulated through various acts should be offered to all the world's human beings, fathers and mothers, all sentient beings which fly or crawl under the sky, such as insects and birds, all creatures with two legs, four legs, many legs; they should all be instructed to obtain the happiness and merit of Buddha."³⁶⁶

Giving one's merit to all sentient beings and instructing them to obtain the happiness and merit of Buddha are therefore an element of bodhisattva practice. The same text continues,

"One should collect all the accumulated virtues and merit and offer them with a good mind to all sentient beings under the sky in the ten directions."³⁶⁷

Chí-haō-xīn-shī (持好心施), which means offering with a good mind, is an ancient translation of *pariṇāmanā* (回向). In the *Śāriputrakarmāvaraṇaparipṛcchā-sūtra*, *anumodanā* and *pariṇāmanā* are linked. This indicates that the way of attaining buddhahood among others, is

³⁶³ T24:1090b. "所以從十方諸佛求哀者何? 佛能洞視徹聽, 不敢於佛前欺, 某等有過惡, 不敢覆藏."

³⁶⁴ SA, T2:0275c; "手自殺生, 教人令殺, 讚歎殺生, 見人殺生心隨喜 . . . 身壞命終, 下生惡趣泥犁中."

³⁶⁵ T2:0275c; "口常讚歎不殺功德, 見不殺者心隨觀喜 . . . 身壞命終, 上生天上."

³⁶⁶ T24:1090c-1091a. "某等諸所得福, 皆布施天下十方人民, 父母; 蜎飛蠕動之類, 兩足之類, 四足之類, 多足之類, 皆令得佛福德."

³⁶⁷ T24:1091a. "所得功德, 皆集聚合會, 以持好心施與天下十方."

to rejoice in the merit of others and offer all merit to them. This mutual relationship between *anumodanā* and *pariṇāmanā* is identical in the text of the *PSV* translated by Kumārajīva. Therefore, the innovations presented by the terms *pāpadeśanāskandha* and *anumodanā(-pariṇāmanā)skandha* occurred at about the same time as the terms *anumodanāvarta* (佐助品) and *pariṇāmanāvarta* (回向品) found in the *PSV*.³⁶⁸

It is true that *anumodanā* and *pariṇāmanā* in the *Śāriputrakarmāvaraṇa-paripṛcchā-sūtra* have more to do with the practical details of practice, while *anumodanāvarta* (佐助品) and *pariṇāmanāvarta* (回向品) in the *PSV* have more to do with signless dedication and rejoicing (*animittānumodanāpariṇāmanā*), which are abstract and represent profound wisdom. However, a mutual relationship between *anumodanā* and *pariṇāmanā* exists in both texts. This kind of practice as *anumodanāpariṇāmana* must have been matched with the course of profound wisdom (*prajñāparyāya*), and also linked to the regular procedure for the disclosure of faults (*pāpadeśanāparyāya*) which attached importance to faith (*śraddhā*). The *Maitreyabodhisattvapariṇāmanā-sūtra*, although it is later text, preserves the primitive meaning of two of the three *skandhas*.

Requesting the Buddhas (*buddhayācanā upamantrita*) not to abandon sentient beings, requesting the Buddhas to teach (*buddhādhyeṣaṇā*), and Śakra requesting the Buddha to turn the wheel of the *dharma* may have their origin in the account of Ānanda failing to ask Śākyamuni Buddha to remain in this world. There are many possible reasons why *buddhayācanā* and *buddhādhyeṣaṇā* were included in Mahāyāna practice. Requesting the Buddha (*buddhādhyeṣaṇā* and *buddhayācanā*) to teach and to make his teachings abide at length, along with *pāpadeśanā* and *anumodanā*, all formed the threefold practice (*triskandha*). At this time, the practice of the *karmāvaraṇanirodha* was called *triskandha*. The practice of the *triskandha* involves worshipping the Buddhas in the ten directions during the six periods of the day and night. The original purpose of worshipping the Buddhas was to attain buddhahood. But the Mahāyāna teaching was in its proto-phase, and not fully independent from a more conservative Buddhism. Mahāyāna ideas were often expressed with the analogy that from the same earth grows various things, the same rain waters various plants and trees, the same teacher instructs various kinds of pupil, and the *triskandha* is the course for all *yānas* to follow. The *Śāriputrakarmāvaraṇa-paripṛcchā-sūtra* says,

³⁶⁸ 摩訶般若波羅蜜經,後秦鳩摩羅什譯, T08, No.223.

"If sons and the daughters of good families wish to achieve arhathood, wish to attain pratyekabuddhahood, wish to obtain buddhahood, then they should always put their palms together and worship the Buddhas in the ten directions, from now onward, and should disclose faults . . ." ³⁶⁹

But who could follow the course of the *triskandha* during the six periods of day and night? Only the members of the wealthy families and the Saṅgha. The course of *pāpadeśanā* is for all *yānas*, but *anumodanā* and *pariṇāmanā* or *anumodanā* and *buddhayācanā* plus *pariṇāmanā* are expressly intended for achieving buddhahood. Since the *pariṇāmanā* usually comes at the end of any Buddhist practice, a fourfold practice was formed which included *pāpadeśanā*, *anumodanā*, *buddhayācanā* and *pariṇāmanā*.

The *Dharmādarśa-sūtra* ³⁷⁰ translated by An Xúan (181-189 CE), mentions the *Triskandha-sūtra*. This shows that the *Triskandha-sūtra* was compiled at the beginning of the second century CE. The *triskandhas* appear and are taught in many Mahāyāna texts, but in the proto-Mahāyāna teaching, the *pāpadeśanāparyāya* and *karmāvaraṇanirodha* are performed through the worship of the Buddhas in the ten directions. These constituted the archaic practices of a bodhisattva. This aspect of the Mahāyāna teachings is older than the *Longer Sukhāvāsvyūha-sūtra* ³⁷¹ and may have been formed as early as the date of the *Mahāsarvākarajñā-sūtra*. The above fourfold practice certainly became, in addition to the *pāramitās*, an essential part of the bodhisattva practices.

D. The bodhisattva concept in the *Buddhāvadāna-sūtras*

Like the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṅgraha-sūtra*, the *Buddhāvadāna-sūtras* originated from the period of sectarian Buddhism. These texts formed the prelude to the emerging tradition of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is necessary to discuss them here because the ideas and practices of the bodhisattvas partly originated from these sources. The *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* states,

"The discourses of great length (*Vaipulya-sūtra*) are called Mahāyāna [*sūtras*]. They are the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṅgraha-sūtra*, *Puṣpahasta-sūtra*, *Saddhamapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, . . . *Buddhāvadāna-nidāna-sūtra* . . . ³⁷²
The *Avadāna-sūtra* . . . *Puṣpahasta-sūtra*, *Saddhamapuṇḍarīka sūtra* . . . *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṅgraha-sūtra* [and] *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* . . . (these) are called *Mahāyāna (sūtras)*."³⁷³

³⁶⁹ 佛說舍利弗悔過經, T24:1090a, No.1492.

³⁷⁰ 法鏡經後漢安玄譯, T12; No.0322.

³⁷¹ T.361,362.

³⁷² T25:0308a, "廣經者, 名摩訶衍, 所謂般若波羅密經, 六波羅密經, 華手經, 法華經 . . . 佛本起因緣經 . . ."

³⁷³ T25:0394b, "本起經 . . . 華手經, 法華經, 六波羅密經, 摩訶般若波羅密經, 皆摩名訶衍."

It is clear that in addition to the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha-sūtra*, the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* also refers to the *Avadāna-sūtra* and to the *Buddhāvadāna-nidāna-sūtra*. Mahāyānists originally considered the *Avadāna* and the *Nidāna* as two separate categories in the twelve-fold classification of Buddhist scriptures. However, in the Northern tradition of Buddhism, these terms are not normally distinguished from one another, but they are amalgamated under the name of *Buddha-avadāna* or *Buddha-avadāna-nidāna*, as attested in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*. In fact, the *Avadāna* and the *Nidāna* appertain to the biographical texts of Śākyamuni Buddha.

There are four *Avadāna* texts³⁷⁴ in Chinese translation. In addition to these, the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* of the Lokottaravādins and the *Nidānakathā* of the Theravādins also belong to the biographical texts of Śākyamuni Buddha. There are six *Nidāna* texts³⁷⁵ in Chinese translations. In these texts, the Buddha ordains and establishes the Saṃgha, sets forth the discipline for monks, and gives teachings. These six texts show certain connections with the *Vinayaṭīka* in addition to explaining bodhisattva practices.

Among all the biographical texts of Śākyamuni Buddha in the context of conservative Buddhism, it is the *Avadāna-sūtra* (*běn-qǐ-jīng* 本起經) which inherited the spirit of the *Dīghāgama-sūtra*. It advocates the glory, the great accomplishments, and abundantly narrates the supernatural activities of the Buddha. A good example of this glorification is the account in which the Buddha is born from the right side of his mother, takes seven steps towards the four directions and declares, “in the heaven and under the heaven, I am the only venerable one.”³⁷⁶

Such narratives concerning supernatural events, not normally seen in earlier Buddhism, served to inspire faith in ordinary people. Furthermore, in the six *Nidāna* texts we find many new statements referring to the practices and achievements of the Buddha. For instance, the *Xiu-xíng-běn-qǐ-jīng* records,

"The bodhisattva who for ninety-one *kalpas* has practised morality and virtues, produced the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicittotpāda*, 學佛意), practised *the six pāramitās* . . . worked diligently through

³⁷⁴ 1. *Xiu-xíng-běn-qǐ-jīng* 修行本起經 (T3:0461, No.0184), 2. *Tài-zǐ-ruì-yīng-běn-qǐ-jīng* 太子瑞應本起經 (T3:0472, No.0185), 3. *Yì-chū-pu-sa-běn-qǐ-jīng* 異出菩薩本起經 (T3:0617, No.0188), 4. *Zhōng-běn-qǐ-jīng* 中本起經 (T4:0147, No.0199).

³⁷⁵ 1. 過去現在因果經, 2. 佛說普曜經, 3. 方廣大莊嚴經, 4. 根本說一切有部毘奈耶破僧事, 5. 眾許摩訶帝經, 6. 佛本行集經.

³⁷⁶ 天上天下,唯我獨尊.

many *kalpas*, and who has become an expert in the practices of the ten *bhūmis*, is at the stage of attaining buddhahood within one-life time . . . He is completely enlightened and possesses the *samyak-saṃbodhi*. He is the supreme enlightened one, has the eighteen uncommon qualities, possesses the ten supernormal powers and the four kinds of fearlessness . . . [and] abides in the pure *anupattikadharmakṣānti*."³⁷⁷

Here the six *pāramitās* constitute the course for bodhisattvas to follow, and the ten *bhūmis* constitute the progressive stages of cultivation for the bodhisattva to ascend. The concepts of *anupattikadharmakṣānti* and the eighteen uncommon qualities are new as they are not contained in the *Tripitaka* of conservative Buddhism. With the exception of the eighteen uncommon qualities, the other important concepts are also found in the *Tài-zi-rùi-yìng- bèn-qǐ-jīng*³⁷⁸ and the *Gùo-qù-xiàn-zài-yìn-gǔo-jīng*.³⁷⁹

In the texts such as the *Fó-běn-xíng-jí-jīng*,³⁸⁰ the *Fó-shuo-pǔ-yào-jīng*³⁸¹ and the *Fang-gǔang-dá-zhuang-yán-jīng*,³⁸² it is said that the bodhisattva, who is at the stage of attaining buddhahood in one lifetime, expounds one hundred and eight teachings on enlightenment (*bodhidharmaparyāyas*) to deities of the celestial realm of Tuṣita. The one hundred and eight *bodhidharmaparyāyas* named in the *Fang-gǔang-dá-zhuang-yán-jīng* are grouped into twenty categories:³⁸³

- 1) faith, pure mind, joy and being keen on gaining happiness
- 2) discipline of the body, speech and mind
- 3) recollection (*anusmṛti*) of the Buddha, the Dharma, the Saṃgha, the generosity and morality, and having mindfulness with regard to the heavens
- 4) *maitrī* (kindness), *karuṇā* (compassion), *muditā* (sympathetic joy), and *upekṣā* (equanimity)
- 5) impermanence, suffering, non-substance (*anātman*), and *sānti* (or *vivikta*)
- 6) shame (*hrī*, 慚), guilt (*trapā*, 愧), truth (*satya*, 諦), and reality (*bhūta*, 實)
- 7) acting according to *dharma* (*dharmacaryā*, 法行), taking refuge in the triple gem, knowing what one does, and understanding the meaning of what one does
- 8) the knowledge of oneself, of sentient beings, and of the dharmas
- 9) knowledge of time
- 10) the destruction of arrogance (*mada*), having no mind to hamper others (無

³⁷⁷ 修行本起經 (*Cārya-nidāna*), T3:0462b, 0463a, 0471c -472a, No.184. This text was translated by Mahābala and Kang Mngxiang in 197 CE. It is one of the early translations and presents the bodhisattva ideal.

³⁷⁸ T3, No.185, 太子瑞應本起經, 吳支謙譯, tr. Zhi Qian, ca. 222-253 CE.

³⁷⁹ T3, No.189, 過去現在因果經 (*Sūtra on the cause and effect of the past and present*), 劉宋求那跋陀羅譯, tr. Guṇabhadra (394-468 CE).

³⁸⁰ Abhini, 佛本行集經, tr. Jñānagupta, ca.560-600 CE, T3, No.190

³⁸¹ 佛說普曜經 (*Lalitavistara-sūtra*), tr. Dharmarakṣa, ca. 265-291 CE, T3, No.186

³⁸² 方廣大莊嚴經 (*Vaipulya-mahāvvyūha-sūtra*), tr. Divākara, 613-687 CE, T3, No.187.

³⁸³ See T3:0544b-0545a. *Fang-guang-da-zhuang-yian-jing* 方廣大莊嚴經 (*Vaipulya-mahāvvyūha-sūtra*) was translated into Chinese by Divākara in 683 CE. See T3:0539ff, No.0187. An earlier translation of this text is entitled the *Pu-yiao-jing* 普曜經 (*Lalitavistara-sūtra*), which is a Chinese version of the *Lalitavistara* translated by Dharmarakṣa in 308 CE); see T3:0483ff, No.0186.

- 障礙心), non-enmity, and excellent understanding (勝解)
- 11) the contemplation on the impure (*aśubha*), non-hatred (*advēṣa*), and non-delusion (*amoha*)
 - 12) seeking the *dharma*s, enjoying the *dharma*s, great learning (*bahuśruta*), having skill in means (*upāyakaūśalya*)
 - 13) knowing all types of *nāmarūpa* (遍知名色), rooting out the sources of [wrong]views (拔除因見), and the removal of the *rāgamūdhaya* (斷貪瞋);
 - 14) skilful means (妙巧), the equality of the nature of the *dhātus* (界性平等), non-clinging (不取, *anupādāna*), and *anutpādaḥ* (無生忍)
 - 15) the four *smṛty-upasthānāni*, the four *samyak-prahāṇāni*, the four *ṛddhi-pādās*, the five *indriyāni*, the five *balāni*, the seven factors of enlightenment, and the Noble Eightfold Way
 - 16) the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*), , great mental happiness *mahāmanasukha*, 大意樂), increased happiness (*uttaramanasukha*, 增上意樂) increased happiness), and right action with skill (*upāyasamyakcarita*, 方便正行)
 - 17) the six perfections (*pāramitā*), *upāyakaūśalya*, and the four *saṃgrahavastūni*
 - 18) ripening sentient beings, accepting and preserving *samyakdharma*
 - 19) merit (*puṇyā*), wisdom (*prajñā*), concentration (*samādhi*), and the *viprasānā*
 - 20) special knowledge (*pratisaṃvid*, 無礙解), righteous choice (抉擇), *dhāraṇīs* (陀羅尼), and eloquence in argument (*pratibhānapratisaṃvid*, 辯才)
 - 21) initiative acceptance of the Dharma (*anulomikidharmaḥ*), 順法忍), acceptance of the Dharma (*anutpattikadharmaḥ*), the irreversible stage (*avaivartakabhūmi*), progress in *bhūmis* (諸地增長), and the [stage of] consecration (*abhiṣeka*, 灌頂).

In the thirteenth group above, ‘the equality of the nature of the *dhātus*’ signifies the separation from all the causes of suffering. Non-clinging signifies that the six faculties (*indriyas*) are not attached to anything. The bodhisattva practices consist of the *bodhimārga*. The *anutpannaḥ* denotes the attainment of *nirvāṇa*.

Among the one hundred and eight *bodhidharmaparyāyas*, those in groups 1-14 are practised by all followers of the three *yānas*. The *bodhidharmaparyāyas* from *bodhicitta* (group 15) onwards are the *bodhisattvadharmas*. This text also explains the *bodhicitta*, the six *pāramitās*, the *upāyakaūśalya*, the *anutpattikadharmaḥ*, the *dhāraṇīs* and finally the *bhūmis*. It is appropriate to indicate that the most salient teachings of the Mahāyāna are attested in the texts which deal with the Buddha’s biography.

Taking into account the teachings outlined above, it is not surprising that the *Fó-běn-qǐ-jīng* (佛本起經 *Buddhāvadāna-sūtra*)³⁸⁴ is regarded as a Mahāyāna text in the *Mahāparajñāpāramitā-sāstra*. Comparatively speaking, the Buddha’s biographies in the Sarvāstivādin and Theravādin traditions, although they narrate the greatness of the Buddha, do not evoke the Mahāyāna spirit. The Sarvāstivādins maintain that the fulfilment of the four

³⁸⁴ Here, we refer to the biographical texts of Śākyamuni Buddha, which are listed above, e.g. Abhini.

pāramitās is conducive to achieving buddhahood,³⁸⁵ whilst the Theravādins hold that fulfilment of the ten *pāramitās* leads to buddhahood.³⁸⁶ The *pāramitās*, though different in number, are accepted by all Buddhist sects as the course for the achievement of buddhahood.

The *Fó-běn-qǐ-yīn-yúan*³⁸⁷, the Buddha's biography, was composed on the basis of the *Vinayaṭīka*, with some events extrapolated from other sources. The *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha sūtra* and the *Fó-běn-qǐ (Buddhāvadāna)* were the intermediaries in the development of Mahāyāna teachings from conservative Buddhism. They were composed by the early Buddhists but contain new elements. In the *Fó-běn-qǐ*, Śākyāmuni says that in the past, Dīpaṃkara Buddha predicted that he would become the Buddha Śākyamuni. Excepting the *Sì-fēn-lǜ (Caturvarga-vinaya/ Dharmagupta-vinaya, 四分律)*, this account is not narrated in the *Vinayaṭīkas* of other Buddhist sects. Although the Sarvāstivāda tradition preserved the same account, it was not included in the Sarvāstivādin *Tripīṭaka*. Therefore, the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣa-sāstra* says,

"How is the *Dīpaṃkaretivṛttaka* to be regarded? . . . The answer: 'It is not necessary to regard it [as either true or false].' Why? It is not taught in the *Sūtra[ṭīka]*, the *Vinaya[ṭīka]* or the *Abhidharma[ṭīka]*. It is only a legend. The narration of every legend may be approvable or not approvable."³⁸⁸

The prediction given by Dīpaṃkara was regarded as a legend. The only reason given for this assertion is that the prediction is not found in the Sarvāstivādin *Tripīṭaka*. Yet while the prediction voiced by Dīpaṃkara Buddha was not included in the biographical texts of the Sarvāstivādins, for example the *Mahāsammata-rāja-sūtra*³⁸⁹ and the *Lalitavistara-sūtra*,³⁹⁰ in the texts of the Mahāsāṃghikas and the Vibhajjavādins, it is central to the biography of Śākyamuni Buddha. This prediction shows that when he was a bodhisattva, he had completed many practices in many *kalpas*. Furthermore, it also indicates that it was only after the prediction of the Dīpaṃkara Buddha was confirmed that the bodhisattva obtained the *anutpattikadharmakṣānti*, and that,

³⁸⁵ T27: p.892a.

³⁸⁶ Pāli *Tīpīṭaka*, Vol.28, p.98-100.

³⁸⁷ *Buddha-avadāna-nidāna* or *Buddhapūrvāvadāna* (佛本起因緣), henceforth *Fó-běn-qǐ*. *Fó-běn-qǐ* is the biographical texts of Śākyamuni Buddha we referred above.

³⁸⁸ T27:0916b; “然燈佛本事，當云何通？ . . . 答：此不必須通，所以者何？此非素怛纜毘奈耶阿毘達磨所說，但是傳說，諸傳所說，或然不然。”

³⁸⁹ *Mahāsammata-rāja-sūtra* (眾許摩訶帝經, T3:0932, No.0191).

³⁹⁰ *Lilita*, T03, No.186

"The bodhisattva, for the benefit of sentient beings, wishes to be born in the evil realms, and is able to proceed according to his wish."³⁹¹

This teaching perhaps served as the theoretical source for the Mahāyāna assertions about the mahābodhisattva's display of supernormal powers and his efforts to help sentient beings in all realms. Another bodhisattva practice found in early Mahāyāna texts is *dhāraṇi*. However, the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* says,

"Why does the name *dhāraṇi* not exist in the *śrāvakadharmā*, and only exist in the *Mahāyāna (dharma)*?"³⁹²

From this question, it would appear that there are no *dhāraṇis* in the *śrāvakatripitaka*, and that the *dhāraṇis* were the unique *dharmas* of the bodhisattvas. However, the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* says, "The teaching of the *Abhidharma* has the meaning of *dhāraṇi*."³⁹³ Furthermore, the Abhidharmic method of analysis is used to analyse the *dhāraṇis*. In fact, the *dhāraṇis* are mentioned in the *Abhiṇiṣkramaṇa-sūtra*³⁹⁴ of the Dharmagupta tradition. New elements were in all probability added to the biographies of the Buddha, especially in the Mahāsāṃghika and the Vibhāgyavādin schools. In that capacity, they were conducive to the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the *bodhisattvadharmas*.

E. An assessment of the bodhisattva concept in early Mahāyāna texts

According to the above findings, the main proto-Mahāyāna texts are the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha-sūtra*, which attached importance to compassion, the *Sarvākārajñāmahā-sūtra*, which attached importance to *prajñā*, or more accurately to the early conception of *prajñā*, and the *Triskandhaka-sūtra*, which attached importance to faith (*śraddhā*) expressed in the context of disclosing faults (*pāpadeśanāparyāya*) by worshipping the Buddhas of the ten directions. It is important to note that each of these texts contains a particular focus. It is therefore problematic to assert that the appearance of particular concepts may be used to date early Mahāyāna texts.. The distinct sequence of ideas in which the concept of the bodhisattva progressed, must be presented accurately in order to properly understand the patterns that evolved in the development of the bodhisattva concept. It is for this reason that the scholarly literature thus far only draws rather unsatisfactory conclusions. A great variety of concepts were taught in a great number of texts in order to serve a specific doctrinal aim.. And by

³⁹¹ 異部宗輪論, T49:0015c, "菩薩為欲饒益有情, 願生惡趣, 隨意能往".

³⁹² T25:0269b. "聲聞法中何以無是陀羅尼名? 但大乘中有?"

³⁹³ T25:0095c. "阿毘曇法, 陀羅尼義如是".

³⁹⁴ Abhini, T3:0655ff; No.0190.

consequence new concepts of the bodhisattva emerged. In the first century BCE, these new concepts were clearly emerging alongside those of a more conservative form of Buddhism, many of which proved to be the foundation of the Mahāyāna tradition.

The earliest Mahāyāna texts clearly demonstrate an acceptance of six *pāramitās*. They emphasise compassion and giving. A particularly important feature is the inclusion of *dhyāna* in the six *pāramitās*. This is not the first time that we see six *pāramitās*, but the inclusion of *dhyāna* in the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṅgraha-sūtra* is remarkable. Equally important is the exploration of *prajñā*. *Prajñā* here cannot be equated with the *prajñā* of later Mahāyāna teachings, but it is certainly associated with the realisation of impermanence and is undoubtedly considered as important. The later literature of the *prajñāpāramitā* developed from this essential conception of *prajñā*.

Subsequent discussions of *prajñā* are found in the *Dào-zhì-dà-jīng*, which demonstrates the importance of *prajñā* for bodhisattva practice. Particularly interesting in this text is the understanding of the word *dào* (道). As we have seen, this term is best understood in the earliest Mahāyāna texts as meaning *bodhi* or *sarvākārajñāna*, enlightenment or omniscience, respectively. It was shown that in Lokakṣema's translations *dào* signifies *sarvākārajñāna*. Lokakṣema's translations also demonstrate that *dào* is a goal of bodhisattva practice. One of the aspects of *dào* is the achievement of *bodhisattvacitta*, which refers to the bodhisattvas' compassion toward all sentient beings, or non-attachment and non-thought of self.

In the *Triskandha-sūtra* we see that faith (*śraddhā*) in the Buddha is presented as a means to remove evil *karma*. We also see that faith in the Buddhas of the ten directions in the present time is central to solving the problem of the absence of Buddhas in this world. The practice of disclosing faults is also connected to the Buddhas of the ten directions. The theory of *karma* shifts emphasis from the will of oneself as the tool that achieves freedom from *karma*, to an emphasis upon directly requesting the Buddhas. Will remains important but is used in terms of making a petition. .

The development of bodhisattva practice expanded beyond the six *pāramitās* to include the disclosure of faults, rejoicing in the merits of others, and asking the Buddhas to turn the wheel of Dharma. It seems that prior to this text, two *skandhas* were considered to be important practices for bodhisattvas. In the *Triskandha-sūtra*, we see the inception of a threefold *skandha* practice.

These earliest Mahāyāna texts represent the process of tabulating bodhisattva practices for the goal of enlightenment. This is particularly evident in the *Buddhāvadānanidānas*, which display new features associated with the bodhisattva path. Of particular importance is the emphasis on non-grasping, which is shown to be a significant aspect of the path to enlightenment. Similarly, we find specific references to mastering spells (*dhāraṇīs*) and achieving the irreversible stage (*avaivartakabhūmi*). Interestingly enough, in contrast to the fact that irreversibility in the *bhūmis* meant safety from regression, in this context it refers to safety from falling into practices of the lesser vehicle. The bodhisattva is shown as skilful in means in order to achieve the *anupattikadharmakṣānti*.

The *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* presents not only new concepts but also a new genre of bodhisattva treatises. The notable characteristic of all versions of this text is the attempt to re-catalogue bodhisattva practices. In the text's earlier stages, we see the six *pāramitās* and *bhūmis* explained in greater detail. Although definitions of the title vary, reference to the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* is found in the oldest texts of various schools of Buddhism. For example, in its early history, *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* is a general name given to Mahāyāna texts. Morality (*śīla*), ascetic practice (*dhutanga*), patience (*kṣānti*), energy (*vīrya*), wisdom (*prajñā*), the concept of *sarvadharmasūnyatā*, the importance of great learning (*bahuśrutya*), and the search for *dharma*s are emphasised in the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* as important aspects of bodhisattva practice. This topic is discussed in greater length in the following chapters.

Chapter Four: The Bodhisattva Doctrine In The Early *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras*

It has been said that the bodhisattva's practice became increasingly focused upon *prajñā*. This is evident from our examination of the relevant texts of conservative Buddhism and of the proto-Mahāyāna. Establishing the chronological development of *prajñā* in the *prajñāpāramitā* sources preserved in Chinese will help us to understand its place in bodhisattva practice. The *prajñāpāramitā* occupies the predominant position among the practices of the bodhisattva on the path to enlightenment (*bodhimārga*). This is why the *prajñāpāramitā* is discussed in virtually all Mahāyāna texts, and a special name was used for the texts that were compiled with the focus on the *prajñāpāramitā*: the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*. These texts later became a major scriptural category in the Mahāyāna: the *Prajñāpāramitā* class. In order to discuss the doctrine of the bodhisattva in the initial stage of Mahāyāna teachings of the *prajñāpāramitā*, it is important to understand the formation and development of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*. This is accomplished by an analysis of *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras* preserved in Chinese translation as the most useful sources.

A. Translation data and the date

In the progression of Buddhist thought, the numbers of *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras* continuously increased from two to three, four, eight, and sixteen by the time of Xúanzàng in the seventh century CE. The earliest translation of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* is the *Dào-xíng-pan-nù-o-po-lúo-mì-jīng* (道行般若波羅密經),³⁹⁵ translated by Lokakṣema in 179 CE. By the time of the fifth year of the Gan-lu (甘露, 260 CE), during the Northern Wei Dynasty, the Chinese knew of two *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*. The biography of Zhu Shìxíng (竺士行)³⁹⁶ says,

"When Zhu Shìxíng was expounding the *Minor Version* [of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*] (小品), he frequently failed to understand [some parts of the text]. He realised that the text was the essence of the Mahāyāna teachings, but felt that the structure of the text was not fully translated into Chinese. He took an oath to sacrifice his life to travel to a distant place and receive the *Large Version* (大品) . . . Hence in Khotan (于闐), he made a copy of a correct version of the Sanskrit text. This had ninety chapters and sixty-hundred-thousand lines. He sent his disciple Pūradharma (不如檀) back to Luo-yang (洛陽) with the Sanskrit text . . . Zhú Shúlán (竺叔蘭), a Hé-nán *upāsaka* who knew the dialect well, translated the text into Chinese

³⁹⁵ T8:0425ff; No.224; The *Dào-xíng-pan-nù-o-po-lúo-mì-jīng* (道行般若波羅密經, 10 fascicles; 30 chapters) may be rendered as *Sarvākarajñācaryāprajñāpāramitā sūtra* if we take the word *Dào* to signify *sarvākarajñā* as we have in Chapter 3.

³⁹⁶ T55:0097ab. See «出三藏記集»卷 13 «朱士行傳».

and named it the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra Emitting Light* (放光般若波羅蜜經). It has twenty fasciculi.³⁹⁷

The *Minor Version* expounded by Zhu Shìxíng (朱士行) was the *Dào-xíng-pan-nù-o-po-lúo-mì-jīng*. After Zhú Shúlán translated the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra Emitting Light* (放光般若波羅蜜經) in 295 CE, Chinese Buddhists comparatively called it the *Large Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* or the *Large Version* (小品). Since then, the *Minor Version* (小品) and the *Large Version* (小品) have been used as the names for the first two versions of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras* translated into Chinese.

Later, the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in twenty-seven (or twenty four) fascicles as translated by Kumārajīva, was called the *New Large Version* (新小品), and the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in ten fascicles was called the *New Minor Version* (新小品).³⁹⁸ In fact, the *Large Version* and the *Minor Version* are the expanded and abridged versions of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*. When Kumārajīva arrived in China (c.401-415 CE), three versions of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* were known. The *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*, translated approximately between 402-405 CE states,

"There are several classes of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* which have more or less fascicles. There is the *Large Version*, the *Medium Version* and the *Minor Version* [of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*]: *The Praise of Light* (光讚), *that Emitting Light* (放光) and the *Sarvākaraññācaryā* (道行)."³⁹⁹

According to the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*, there are three types of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras*: the *Large Version*, the *Medium Version* and the *Minor Version*. However, there are various translations of these three texts.

The *Minor Version* (小品) refers to the briefer of the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts. Seven texts are available in Chinese,⁴⁰⁰ two in Tibetan,⁴⁰¹ and one in Sanskrit.⁴⁰² Of the seven Chinese texts,

³⁹⁷ This is recorded in the *Chu-san-zàng-jì-jí* (出三藏記集); see also Nj.1476, fascicle thirteen; T55:0097ab. “朱士行嘗於洛陽講小品, 往往不通. 每歎此經大乘之要, 而譯理不盡. 誓志捐身, 遠迎小品. . . 既至于闕, 果寫得正品梵書, 胡本九十章, 六十萬餘言. 遣弟子不如檀, 晉言法饒. . . 送經胡本還洛陽. . . 河南居士竺叔蘭, 善解方言, 譯出為放光經二十卷.”

³⁹⁸ T55:0010c.

³⁹⁹ T25:0529b. “般若波羅蜜部黨經卷, 有多有少, 有上中下 - 光讚放光道行.” Here, I render the Chinese words 上[品], 中[品], 下[品] into the *Large Version*, the *Medium Version* and the *Minor Version*.

⁴⁰⁰ The seven Chinese texts are (1) the *Dào-xíng-pan-nù-o-jīng* (道行般若經)十卷後漢支婁迦讖譯, (2) the *Dà-míng-dù-jīng* (大度經)六卷吳支謙譯, (3) *Excerpts from the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* (摩訶般若波羅蜜鈔經)五卷前秦曇摩蟬共竺佛念譯, (4) *New Version of the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (小品摩訶般若波羅蜜經)十卷後秦鳩摩羅什譯, (5) *Unit Four* (大般若波羅蜜多經第四分) 十八卷唐玄奘譯, (6) *Unit Five*, «大般若波羅蜜多經»[第五分] 十卷唐玄奘譯, and (7) PD, «佛說佛母出生三法藏般若波羅蜜多經»二十五光宋施護譯.

⁴⁰¹ The two texts are 'Phags-pa śes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa khri-pa shes bya-ba theg-pa chen-po'I mdo translated by Jinamitra, and 'Phags-pa śes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa brgyad-stoñ-pa translated by Śākyasena,

(1) the *Dào-xíng-pan-nù-o-jīng* (*Sarvākarajñācaryāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*) is the older translation conducted by Lokakṣema (147-70 CE).⁴⁰³ (2) The *Dào-míng-dù-jīng* (*Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*)⁴⁰⁴ translated by Zhi Qian (222-253 CE) contains a chapter on the *Dào-xíng* (*Sarvākarajñācaryāparivarta*), which was annotated by Dào-an (312-385 CE). (3) The *Excerpts from the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*⁴⁰⁵ translated in 382 CE by Dharmapriya contains the teachings of the *Brief Version of the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. (4) The *New Minor Version of the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*⁴⁰⁶ translated by Kumārajīva in 408 CE comprises similar teachings of (5) Unit Five⁴⁰⁷ of Xúanzàng's translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*. (6) Unit Four⁴⁰⁸ of Xúanzàng's translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* has the same lines of the Sanskrit text of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*. (7) The PD was translated by Dānapāla ca. 1000 CE.

The *Medium Version* (中品) refers the medium-length *Prajñāpāramitā* texts. Five texts are available in Chinese, two texts in Tibetan, and one in Sanskrit. The five Chinese texts are (1) the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra of the Praise of Light* translated by Dharmarakṣa in 286 CE,⁴⁰⁹ (2) the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra Emitting Light* by Mokṣala (無叉羅) in 291 CE,⁴¹⁰ the *New Large Version* (新大品) by Kumārajīva, (4) *Unit Two* and (5) *Unit Three* of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* translated by Xúanzàng during 660-663 CE.⁴¹¹ The *Śes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa ston-phrag-ñi-śu-rtsa-lā-pa* is identical to *Unit Two* of Xúanzàng's translation. The *'Phags-pa śes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa khri-brgyad-ston-pa zhes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-po'i mdo* is identical to *Unit Three* of Xúanzàng's translation. The Sanskrit text of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* is similar to Xúanzàng's translation of *Unit Three*.⁴¹²

Jñānasiddhi et al, Skorupski's catalogue.

⁴⁰² The *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, ed. R. Mitra, BI, Calcutta, 1888.

⁴⁰³ See above Chapter 3.section B; T8:0425ff

⁴⁰⁴ T8:0478; No.225.

⁴⁰⁵ T8:0508; No.226.

⁴⁰⁶ T8:0536ff; No..227.

⁴⁰⁷ T7; No.200 (fascicles 556-565).

⁴⁰⁸ T7; No.200 (fascicles 538-555)

⁴⁰⁹ For more details see T55:0048a.

⁴¹⁰ See T55:0047c for the translation of the text. The Sanskrit version of this text was sent to Luo-yang in 282 CE. It contained more than 600,000 lines (*ślokas*).

⁴¹¹ See the chart in previous section.

⁴¹² Ibid.

The *Large Version* refers to the large-length *prajñāpāramitā* texts. One text is extant in Chinese, one in Tibetan, and one in Sanskrit. The Chinese text is Xúanzàng's translation of Unit One in 100,000 lines. The Tibetan text is entitled *Śes-rab-kyi-pha-rol -tu-phyin-pa-stor-iphrag-brgya-pa*.⁴¹³ The *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* was edited by P. Ghosha (1902-1913). Xúanzàng's translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*⁴¹⁴ has the following contents

Unit	Lines	F	Name of unit	Translation
Unit 1	100,000	400	初會 (First Unit) ⁴¹⁵	New
Unit 2	25,000	78	第二會 (Second Unit) ⁴¹⁶	Revised
Unit 3	18,000	59	第三會 (Third Unit) ⁴¹⁷	New
Unit 4	8,000	18	第四會 (Fourth Unit) ⁴¹⁸	New
Unit 5	4,000	10	第五會 (Fifth Unit) ⁴¹⁹	Revised
Unit 6	2,500	8	最勝天王分 (<i>zhi-shen-tian-wang-fen</i>) ⁴²⁰ <i>Suvikrāntavikrami-nirdeśa</i>	Revised
Unit 7	800	2	曼殊室利分 ⁴²¹ <i>Mañjuśrinirdeśa</i>	Revised
Unit 8	400	1	那伽室利分 ⁴²² <i>Nāgasīnirdeśa</i>	Revised
Unit 9	300	1	能斷金剛分 ⁴²³ <i>Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā-nirdeśa</i>	Revised
Unit 10	300	1	般若理趣分 ⁴²⁴ <i>Prajñāpāramitānayanirdeśa</i>	New
Unit 11	2,000	5	布施波羅蜜多分 ⁴²⁵ <i>Dānapāramitānirdeśa</i>	New
Unit 12	2,000	5	淨戒波羅蜜多分 ⁴²⁶ <i>Śīlapāramitānirdeśa</i>	New
Unit 13	400	1	安忍波羅蜜多分 <i>Kṣāntipāramitānirdeśa</i>	New
Unit 14	400	1	精進波羅蜜多分 <i>Vīryapāramitānirdeśa</i>	New
Unit 15	800	2	靜慮波羅蜜多分 <i>Dhyānapāramitānirdeśa</i>	New

⁴¹³ See, *A Catalogue of the Stop Palace Kanjur*, ed. T. Skorupski, Tokyo, The International Institute for Buddhist studies, 1985.

⁴¹⁴ T5; No.220 (fascicles 1-200); T6; No.220 (fascicles 201-400); T7; No.220 (fascicles 401-600).

⁴¹⁵ T5; No.220 (fascicles 1-200); T6; No.220 (fascicles 201-400).

⁴¹⁶ T7; No.220 (fascicles 401-478).

⁴¹⁷ T.7, No.220 (fascicles 479-537).

⁴¹⁸ T7, No.220 (fascicles 538-555).

⁴¹⁹ T7, No.220 (fascicles 556-565).

⁴²⁰ T7, No.220 (fascicles 566-573).

⁴²¹ T7, No.220 (fascicles 574-5).

⁴²² T7, No.220 (f 576).

⁴²³ T7, No.220 (f 577)

⁴²⁴ T7, No.220 (f 578)

⁴²⁵ T7, No.220 (fascicles 579-583)

⁴²⁶ T7, No.220 (fascicles 584-588)

Unit 16	2,500	8	般若波羅蜜多分 <i>Prajñāpāramitānirdeśa</i>	New
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Xúanzàng's translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* may be divided into three groups. The first five units belong to the first group. Of these, the first three units differ in length, but in content each resembles the earlier reference of the *Large Version* of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. Unit Four and Unit Five belong to the second group and the previous referred *Minor Version*. These two groups of texts are similar in literary style and content, which suggests that the first five units originally came from the same source. Units six through ten belong to the second part. These five units comprise five different texts. Among them, the first four texts (6-9) were translated into Chinese before the time of Xúanzàng. Only the *Prajñāpāramitānayanirdeśa* was newly translated by Xúanzàng. This text contains Tantric elements and was rendered into Chinese many times by various well-known translators after Xúanzàng. Both of these instances suggest that the text was compiled at a later date than the earlier five units. The last six units belong to the third part. They are the six *pāramitās* that were separately compiled based on the conception of the *prajñāpāramitāparyāya*.⁴²⁷

Overall, the increase in number of texts in the category of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* from one to sixteen indicates that development of the *Prajñāpāramitā* teachings continued at some length. The texts of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* have increased since the first century BCE. Our findings show that chronologically, the *Minor Version* of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, the *Dàoxíng*, was studied by the Chinese in the second century CE. This led to a search for a larger version of the text in the following century. In 260 CE, Zhu Shixíng found the larger version entitled the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra Emitting Light*. This text was to become the *Medium Version* upon the yet later discovery of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra in Praise of Light*. In 295 CE, Zhu Shixíng completed a translation of the former text. Approximately one hundred years later a new translation of each text was made by Kumārajīva. This led to the *New Large Version* and the *New Minor Version*. Kumārajīva's translation of Nagarjuna's *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* is the first reference to prove the existence of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra of the Praise of Light*. This became the *Large Version*, relegating the *Sūtra in Praise of*

⁴²⁷ *Paryāya* is defined as source, regular procedure. See Edgerton, F. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary and Grammar*, Vol. II: Dictionary, Delhi, 1993, p.333.

Light to a position as part of the *Medium Version* (中品) (in this case better translated as the Medium Class).

At this stage we have the Large, Medium and Minor Versions of the texts, and the New Minor Version in 600 lines. In total there were four possible versions or classes of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in this period. The first reference to the presence of eight versions of the text was made by Bodhiruci in his *Vajracchedikā-ṛṣiśāstra*. Its composition is dated to 508 CE. Another significant marker lies in Xúanzàng's translation in 645 CE which mentions sixteen texts or units of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. From the ninth century we see another increase in the number of texts.

Since it is possible to establish the chronology with such relative certainty, we may note the focus on the *pāramitās* moving toward a focus on the *prajñāpāramitā*. We see within the texts an expansion of the idea of *prajñā* until it encompasses the other *pāramitās*, and becomes a prerequisite for the fulfilment of the other perfections. This is part of a larger shift from the philosophical exploration of *prajñā* to its practical application. It is these shifts and developments which will be examined in detail in the next section.

Among the various versions of the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts discussed above, the texts that reflect earlier Mahāyāna teachings on bodhisattva practice belong to the Minor Version (下品), the Medium Version (中品), the Large Version (上品) and the *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitānirdeśa* (能斷金剛分).⁴²⁸

It should also be acknowledged that in the field of *prajñāpāramitā* study, the contributions made by Dutt and Conze are important to our study. Dutt, in his *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, put together the available evidence, shed light on the probable time of appearance of the Wisdom literature, and tentatively concluded that it came into existence from the first century BCE.⁴²⁹ Conze proposes four phases for the composition of the Wisdom texts, and suggests that the oldest text is *the Perfection of Wisdom in 8,000 Lines* and commented that some parts of this text probably dates to 100 BCE.⁴³⁰ While scholars are not

⁴²⁸ *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitānirdeśa*, T7, No.220c (f 577).

⁴²⁹ Dutt, Nalinaksha, ed., *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, London: Luzac & Co., 1934, p.vi.

⁴³⁰ E. Conze, *Selected Sayings from the Perfection of Wisdom*, London: R.H. Johns Limited, 1968, p.11; *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, London: Mouton & Co. 'S-Gravenhage, 1960, p.9; Williams, Paul, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, London: Routledge, 1989, p.41. According to Conze, for each category we have: (1) the older text, the Aṣṭa, together with the *Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā*, which Conze sees as its verse summary. (2) The *Satasāhasrikā*, the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, and the *Aṣṭadaśahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. (3) The *Vajracchedikā* and

entirely in agreement about which is the oldest text, their shared assertion is that the original *prajñāpāramitāparyāya* lies within the first chapter of the *Dàoxíng* and texts similar to it.

B. The original *prajñāpāramitāparyāya*

The present discussion on the development of the original *prajñāpāramitāparyāya* is naturally based on the extant Wisdom texts which belong to the *Minor Version* group. In these texts, it is possible to trace the teaching and course (*paryāya*) of the original *prajñāpāramitā*. However, we must concede that the actual compilation of Buddhist texts is certainly not the first or even final step in the process of literary creation. Compilations were only be made when a particular teaching was experienced, proved, orally taught and accepted by a number of practitioners, and subsequently flourished for a considerable period of time in a given place. Then, under different circumstances, it may have been revised. In short, the imparting of the instruction necessarily pre-dates its compilation.

The original *prajñāpāramitāparyāya* teaches the profound and complete understanding of the truth of non-origination (*anutpāda*). The course (*paryāya*) on the *prajñāpāramitā* leads to the realisation of that truth. In the earliest teaching on the *prajñāpāramitā*, the truth of *anutpāda* and the realization of that truth were confirmed just as the *prajñāpāramitā* of the bodhisattva, specifically the course (*paryāya*) on the irreversibility (*avinivartanīya*) of the bodhisattva.⁴³¹ It was said that the course on irreversibility (*avinivartanīya*) was meant to be imparted to a small number of persons possessed of sharp faculties. The course was transmitted in that manner.

The *prajñāpāramitā* thus evolved over a span of time. After repeated discourses by various teachers, the explanations and interpretations of its understanding became incorporated into a course (*paryāya*). Hence at the time of its compilation, it is arguable that compilers encountered a variety of oral sources. The compilation of texts however, was carried out by different traditions of the learned. This led the compilation of texts to synthesise the sources available at those times. Explanations of problematic points and difficult concepts were added to the compilations, and finally they were refined. The traces of synthesis, illustrations and supplements reside in what we might call the literary joints of a compilation, especially the transitions between sections and concepts. It is from this

the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*. (4) The *Adhyardhaśatikāprajñāpāramitā*.

⁴³¹ Irreversibility (*avinivartanīya*) means not falling back to the stages of Arhat and Pratyekabuddha.

perspective that we examine the first chapter of the *Minor Version* in order to identify the original course (*pariyāya*) of the *prajñāpāramitā*, what constitutes the earlier course in the bodhisattva practice. For this purpose, we base our study on the *PSV*.⁴³² In order to distinguish the original *prajñāpāramitā*, we first extrapolate the essential contents of the first chapter⁴³³ of the *PSV*, which are arranged below. In this schematisation, Roman numbers indicate sections and Arabic numbers indicate paragraphs and layers within sections, with 1 being the earliest.

(I) Introduction (*nidāna*) 1

The Buddha: Subhūti, instruct the bodhisattvas upon the *prajñāpāramitā*, what they ought to course, and what they ought to perfect.⁴³⁴ 2

Subhūti said to Śāriputra: Whatever the Buddha's disciples may teach and expound, all that does not contradict the true nature of *Dharma*. All that is to be known as the Buddha's mighty work.⁴³⁵ 3

(II) *Subhūti*: O Buddha, I do not see and apprehend bodhisattva, and also do not see and apprehend the *prajñāpāramitā*. What bodhisattva should I instruct the *prajñāpāramitā*? If a bodhisattva, on hearing these words, does not tremble, is not frightened nor terrified. Thus is namely the instruction of the *prajñāpāramitā* for the bodhisattva.⁴³⁶ 1

When the bodhisattva follows the course in the *prajñāpāramitā*, he should train in [the insight] that non-recollection of [all the *dharmas*] is the bodhisattva's thought (*bodhisattvacitta*); he has non-recollection of this wholesome thought or unwholesome thought because the nature of mind (*citta*) is originally pure, without decay or recognition. If on hearing of this a bodhisattva is not frightened or terrified or cowardly, then it should be known that he is not away from the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁴³⁷ 2 (If one wants to train [wrong grammar] in the level of a Śrāvaka, a Pratyekabuddha and the stages of the bodhisattva, one should course in the *prajñāpāramitā*, as the *dharmas* that should be coursed in by the bodhisattvas are explained in detail in the *prajñāpāramitā*.)⁴³⁸

(III) *Subhūti*: O Buddha, I do not gain the state of or see the bodhisattva. Which kind of bodhisattva should I instruct in the *prajñāpāramitā*? It would surely be regrettable if I did not see the arising and passing away of any *bodhisattvadharma*, and merely gave words about the bodhisattva. The word *bodhisattva* is uncertain and has no abode because it does not exist. If, on hearing this, a bodhisattva does not tremble, is not terrified, and does not go away, then certainly

⁴³² PSV, T8:0537a-0586c, No.227

⁴³³ T8:0537a540a

⁴³⁴ T8:0537ab. “佛告須菩提：為諸菩薩說所應成就般若波羅蜜。”

⁴³⁵ T8:0537b. “須菩提語舍利弗言：佛諸弟子敢有所說皆是佛力，皆與法相不相違背。”

⁴³⁶ T8:0537b. “菩提白佛言：我不見菩薩不得菩薩，亦不見不得般若波羅蜜，當教何等菩薩般若波羅蜜？若菩薩聞作是說，不驚不怖不沒不退，是名教菩薩般若波羅蜜。”

⁴³⁷ T8:0537b. “菩薩行般若波羅蜜時，應如是學：不念是菩薩心，是心非心，心相本淨故。不壞不分別。菩薩聞作是說，不驚不怖不沒不退，當知是菩薩不離般若波羅蜜行。” 不念 *Bu-nian* can be also rendered not to review, not to apprehend or think or reflect.” *bodhisattvacitta* (菩薩心) signifies the thought (*citta*) of a bodhisattva.

⁴³⁸ T8:0537b. 欲學聲聞辟支佛菩薩地者，應學般若波羅蜜；般若波羅蜜中廣說菩薩所應學法。 This paragraph is not immediately connected to either the previous or following paragraph. It clearly appears to be a later insertion and a supplementary element to the section (II).

that bodhisattva should be known as one who will abide in the irreversible stage, abide in the state of non-grasping.⁴³⁹ 1

When the bodhisattva follows the course in *prajñāpāramitā* he should not abide in form (*rūpa*).⁴⁴⁰ If a bodhisattva abides in form he will create the formation of form. If he creates the formations he cannot accept the *prajñāpāramitā*, nor can he strive in it, nor fulfil it. Thus he cannot advance to the knowledge of all modes (薩婆若). Why? It is because the form has no feeling and thought. If a form has no feeling it is not a form the *prajñāpāramitā* also has no feeling. In such a way, if the bodhisattva should practise the *prajñāpāramitā*, he practises the *samādhi* called “the non-appropriation of all *dharma*s” – vast, immeasurable and fixed on infinitude, which no Śrāvakas or Pratyekabuddhas can break into (不能壞), and in which they have no share. And why? This concentration (*samādhi*) cannot be obtained through a sign (*nimitta*, 相) . . . Because the bodhisattva gained the true nature and reality of all *dharma*s, he won emancipation. After winning emancipation, one does not take hold of or abandon any *dharma*, including *nirvāṇa*. Thus the *prajñāpāramitā* of a bodhisattva is the non-appropriation and non-abandonment of form, feeling, perception, impulse and consciousness. Nor does one enter final *nirvāṇa* prematurely, before one has fulfilled the ten powers of the Buddha, the four kinds of fearlessness, and the eighteen special *Buddhadharma*s.⁴⁴¹ 2

A bodhisattva who follows the course in *prajñāpāramitā* should investigate whether the non-attainability of *dharma*s is the *prajñāpāramitā*. If one investigates in such a way and does not tremble, is not frightened or coward, then that bodhisattva should be known as not departing from the practice of the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁴⁴² 3

Reply to *Śāriputra*: thus all the *dharma*s are lacking in the own-being of *dharma*s; and also their nature and marks do not possess the own-being of the nature and the marks. If a bodhisattva trains in such a way, one is able to fulfil the knowledge of all modes. And why? Because all *dharma*s are unborn, and do not go forth. A bodhisattva who courses in such a way is able to come near to the knowledge of all modes.⁴⁴³ 4

(IV) *Subhūti* said to *Śāriputra*, “if a bodhisattva courses in the formative influence of form, develops it, changes it, destroys it, empties it, thinks that “I follow the course in such a way;” then a bodhisattva courses in a sign (*nimitta*). This should be known as a bodhisattva’s lack of skill in means. If a bodhisattva does not course in form, not even in the emptiness of form a bodhisattva courses in the *prajñāpāramitā*. If a bodhisattva does not recollect the idea that “I course in perfect wisdom”, or the idea that “I do not course in it”, or “I course and I do not course in it”, or “I neither course nor do I not course in it”, then he courses in the *prajñāpāramitā*. And why? Because no *dharma* can feel and accept. This is the concentration of the bodhisattva named ‘the non-acceptance

⁴³⁹ T8:0537b. “須菩提白佛：世尊！我不得不見菩薩，當教何等菩薩般若波羅蜜？我不見菩薩法來去，而與菩薩作字言。是菩薩我則疑悔。菩薩字無決定無住處，是字無所有故。若菩薩聞是事，不驚不怖不沒不退，當知是菩薩畢竟住不退轉地，住無所住。

⁴⁴⁰ The same method is applied to the other *skandhas*, i.e. feeling, perceptions, impulse and consciousness.

⁴⁴¹ T8:0537c, “菩薩行般若波羅蜜時，不應色中住。若住色中，為作色行；若行作法，則不能受不能習不具足般若波羅蜜，不能成就薩婆若。何以故？色無受想，若色無受則非色；般若波羅蜜亦無受。菩薩應如是學行般若波羅蜜，是名菩薩諸法無受三昧廣大無量無定。一切聲聞辟支佛所不能壞。何以故？是三昧不可以相得 . . . 以得諸法實相故得解脫。得解脫已，於諸法中無取無捨，乃至涅槃亦無取無捨。是名菩薩般若波羅蜜，不受色不受受想行識。未具足佛十力四無所畏十八不共法，終不中道而般涅槃。The word 受 can be rendered as feeling, accepting, grasping and appropriating. The term 諸法無受三昧 can be rendered as non-acceptance of all *dharma*s, or non-appropriation of all *dharma*s.

⁴⁴² T08:0537c28-0538a, “菩薩行般若波羅蜜。應如是思惟，若法不可得，是般若波羅蜜耶？若菩薩作是思惟，不驚不畏不怖不沒不退，當知是菩薩不離般若波羅蜜行。”

⁴⁴³ T8:0538a, “是法皆離自性，性相亦離。菩薩如是學者，能成就薩婆若；所以者何？一切法無生無成就故。若菩薩如是行者。則近薩婆若。” 自性 is rendered as “own-being” 無成就 is in the sense of 無得, none obtain (*apraṇīti*) or not going forth.

of all *dharmas*, into which no Śrāvaka or Pratyekabuddha can enter or share. When a bodhisattva courses in this concentration, he will quickly win full enlightenment.⁴⁴⁴ 1

A bodhisattva who dwells in this concentration does not, however, recollect and think with regard to this concentration, “I will enter into concentration”, “I am entering into concentration”, “I have entered into concentration”. Such a bodhisattva has truly received the prediction of enlightenment from the Buddhas. This concentration cannot be shown, for its nature is non-existent.⁴⁴⁵ 2

The Buddha: Well said, Subhūti, well said you whom I have declared to be the foremost of those who dwell in the *araṇya-samādhi*. Thus I say, in such a way a bodhisattva who trains in the *prajñāpāramitā* is truly coursing in the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁴⁴⁶ 3

(i) *The Buddha*: O Śāriputra, a bodhisattva trains in such a way that he does not train in any *dharma* at all. Because these *dharmas* do not exist in such a way as the foolish common people are wont to suppose. A bodhisattva who trains in such a way, also does not train in the knowledge of all modes, but trains in the knowledge of all modes and fulfils it.⁴⁴⁷

(ii) *The Buddha*: O Subhūti, a bodhisattva training himself in *anuttarasamyakṣaṇḥ bodhi* should be like an illusory man training.⁴⁴⁸ 1

A bodhisattva’s non-virtuous friends; A bodhisattva’s virtuous friends.⁴⁴⁹ 2

The bodhisattva.⁴⁵⁰ 3

The Mahāsattva.⁴⁵¹ 4

(V) *Subhūti*: O Buddha, I do not grasp the bodhisattva in the past, present and future, [nor the *prajñāpāramitā*], for the bodhisattva is as boundless as form is boundless. Since in everywhere, in every moment and every way I neither apprehend nor see the bodhisattva, which bodhisattva shall I instruct in the *prajñāpāramitā*? 1

‘bodhisattva’ is merely a name [or word]. It is just as the self, absolutely unborn. It is because the nature of all *dharmas* is also just like this. Among the *dharmas*, whatever the form (*rūpa*) is, it is unattached and unborn. That form of the bodhisattva cannot be gained. This non-gain also cannot be gained. Since in every place and in each moment and all kinds of *dharmas* do not gain a bodhisattva, with what *dharma* should I instruct the bodhisattva to enter the *prajñāpāramitā*?⁴⁵² 2

‘bodhisattva’ is a mere name. The nature of *dharmas* is the same. This nature is also unborn. The unborn is also not born. Should I instruct the bodhisattva the unborn *dharmas* to enter the

⁴⁴⁴T8:0538a13, “須菩提語舍利弗言：菩薩若行色行生色行滅色行壞色行空色行，我行是行，是行相，當知是菩薩未善知方便。若菩薩不行色，乃至不行色空，是名行般若波羅蜜。不念行般若波羅蜜不念不行不念行不行，亦不念非行非不行，是名行般若波羅蜜。所以者何。一切法無受故。是名菩薩諸法無受三昧廣大無量無定。一切聲聞辟支佛所不能壞。菩薩行是三昧。疾得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。”

⁴⁴⁵T8: 538b, “菩薩行是三昧，不念不分別是三昧我當入我今入我已入是三昧。當知是菩薩已從諸佛得受阿耨多羅三藐三菩提記。是三昧不可得示，三昧性無所有故。”

⁴⁴⁶T8: 0538b, “佛讚須菩提言：善哉善哉！我說汝於無諍三昧人中最為第一。如我所說，菩薩應如是學般若波羅蜜，是名學般若波羅蜜。”

⁴⁴⁷T8: 0538b, “佛告舍利弗：菩薩如是學於法無所學，是諸法不爾如凡夫所著。菩薩如是學亦不學薩婆若。如是學亦名學薩婆若，成就薩婆若。”

⁴⁴⁸T8: 0538c, “佛告須菩提，菩薩學阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。當如幻人學。”

⁴⁴⁹T8: 0538c, “菩薩隨惡知識... 菩薩善知識。”

⁴⁵⁰T8:0538c15, This paragraph 3 refers to the meaning of bodhisattva, which denotes that a bodhisattva is one who trains in all *dharmas* – in an unobstructed and unlimited manner. In addition, a bodhisattva understands all *dharmas*. 須菩提白佛言：菩薩有何義？佛告須菩提。為學一切法無障礙，若知一切法名為菩薩義。

⁴⁵¹T8:0538c, 摩訶薩。We literally omit a long paragraph here, in which Subhūti asks the Buddha the meaning of mahāsattva. The Buddha extensively describes the Mahāyāna. Clearly it is irrelevant and its style totally differs to its previous and next paragraphs. It is, generally, regarded as a later insertion, a supplementary element to section (IV), see T8: 0539a18-0539b04.

⁴⁵²T8:0539b, “菩薩者但有名字，如我畢竟不生，一切法性亦如是；此中何等是色不著不生！色是菩薩不可得。不可得亦不可得。一切處一切時一切種，菩薩不可得，當教何法入般若波羅蜜？”

prajñāpāramitā? And yet, apart from the non-production of all *dharma*s, one cannot obtain the *anuttarasamyakṣaṇbodhi*. If a bodhisattva, on hearing this, does not tremble, is not frightened, nor terrified, then it should be known that he follows the course in the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁴⁵³ 3

A bodhisattva, when practising the *prajñāpāramitā*, contemplate that the *dharma*s do not feel form (*rūpa*). And why? Because the non-production and the non-extinction of form are not form. The non-production and the non-extinction of form are therefore non-duality and non-difference. If a bodhisattva says that such form is the non-duality of *dharma*s, one practises the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁴⁵⁴ 4 (VI) *Subhūti* [answered Śāriputra's question]: I do not inspire a bodhisattva to have difficult practice. (But let a bodhisattva have the notion of ease and enjoyment toward sentient beings, the notion that sentient beings are his parents and children, and identify them even with his own self.⁴⁵⁵ And thus a bodhisattva, when practising the course of a bodhisattva, is able to work the welfare of countless beings). Just as in each and every moment and in all kinds of *dharma*s a self and its objects cannot be gained,⁴⁵⁶ a bodhisattva should apply this notion to both inward and outward *dharma*s. If a bodhisattva acts with such a mind, then one's action is also named as the difficult course.⁴⁵⁷ 1

Indeed, the bodhisattva is a non-production. The bodhisattva is a non-production and the *dharma*s which constitute the bodhisattva are also a non-production. The knowledge of all knowing is non-production and the *dharma*s which constitute knowledge of all knowing are also non-production. The common people are also non-production and the *dharma*s which constitute the common people are also non-production. I do not wish for the attainment of a non-produced *dharma*, for an unproduced *dharma* is unapproachable.⁴⁵⁸ 2

All *dharma*s are a non-production. Those that were pronounced are non-production and those which were happily pronounced are also a non-production.⁴⁵⁹ 3

Śāriputra: O *Subhūti*! You are in the first rank of the teachers of *dharma*. For in whatever way you may be questioned, you will find a way out.⁴⁶⁰ *Subhūti*, that is the power of perfect wisdom.⁴⁶¹ If a bodhisattva, on hearing this, does not doubt or regret it, then one should know that one has adjusted oneself to the perfect perfection of wisdom, and that one is not lacking in this recollection [to the true nature of *dharma*s].⁴⁶² 4

Subhūti, because sentient beings are without own-being, real existence, isolated and unapproachable, one should know that the attention [as above] is also without own-being, or real existence, isolated

⁴⁵³ T8: 0539b. “菩薩但有名字。法性亦如是，是性亦不生，不生亦不生。我今當教不生法入般若波羅蜜耶？離不生法，不可得菩薩行阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。若菩薩聞作是說不驚不怖。當知是菩薩行般若波羅蜜。” The term 不生 can be rendered as non-production, unborn and non-creation.

⁴⁵⁴ T8: 0539b, “菩薩隨行般若波羅蜜時，作是觀。諸法，即不受色。何以故。色無生無滅即非色。無生無滅無二無別。若說是色即是無二法，菩薩行般若波羅蜜。”

⁴⁵⁵ Something more appears in Conze's translation: “like this: ‘As I myself want to be quite free from all sufferings, just so all beings want to be quite free from all sufferings.’” This popular stock phrase occurs in the *Dhammapada*.

⁴⁵⁶ The anti-Sarvāstivāda notion is very clear in the Kumārajiva's translation, “如我一切處時種不可得，於內外法應生如是想，若菩薩以如是心行，亦名難行。” T8:0539c.

⁴⁵⁷ T8:0539c, “我不欲使菩薩有難行。何以故。(於眾生易想樂想父母想子想我所想。則能利益無量阿僧祇眾生。) 如我法一切處一切時一切種不可得，菩薩於內外法中。應生如是想。若菩薩以如是心行亦名難行。” 若菩薩以如是心行，亦名難行。 Conze's translation is: “when he dwells as one whose heart is such . . . perceives difficulties.”

⁴⁵⁸ T8:0539c. “菩薩實無生。菩薩無生菩薩法亦無生；薩婆若無生，薩婆若法亦無生。凡夫無生凡夫法亦無生，我不欲令無生法有所得。何以故。無生法不可得故。”

⁴⁵⁹ T8:0539c. “諸法無生，所言無生樂說亦無生。”

⁴⁶⁰ T8:0539c. “舍利弗言：須菩提！汝於說法人中為最第一，隨所問皆能答故。”

⁴⁶¹ In the Conze's translation, “This is the Lord's Absolute . . .” p. 13.

⁴⁶² T8: 0540a. “須菩提言：是般若波羅蜜力。若菩薩聞如是說，不疑不悔不難。當知是菩薩行是行不離是念。”

and unapproachable. It is through the attention [as above] of such a character that I wish a bodhisattva to course in the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁴⁶³ 5

If the discourse given by the Buddha to Śāriputra and Subhūti is removed from the sections of the first chapter of the *PSV*, it is not difficult to see the original form or shape of the wisdom *Sūtra*. It appears that the original *prajñāpāramitā* consisted in a course for one to understand, practice and experience. It served to achieve wisdom, but not in the sense of a dogmatic narration or interpretation.

The introduction (I) to the *PSV* has been compared to the introductions to other *Sūtras*, such as the *Daoxing* and the *Aṣṭa*. The general contents of these introductions are identified with the introduction to the *Medium Version*. The only difference lies in the number of lines. However, the occasion of the *uposatha* day (布薩) for reciting the code of precepts, is mentioned in the introductions to the *Daoxing* and the *Daming*.⁴⁶⁴ The *Daoxing* and *Daming* are the oldest translations, and they are worthy of our attention because they deal with an important practice of the ancient Buddhists, the *uposatha*.⁴⁶⁵ This exposition is found in *Suttas* 109-110 of *the Majjhima Nikāya*,

1. “On that occasion - on the fifteenth day of the *uposatha* on the full-moon night, the Blessed One was seated in the open, surrounded by the Sangha of bhikkhus. Then a certain bhikkhu rose from his seat, ... said to the Blessed One: “Venerable sir, how does one know, how does one see, so that in regard to this body with its consciousness and all external signs, there is no I-making, mine-making, and underlying tendency to conceit?”

Bhikkhu, any kind of material form whatever, whether past or present, ... all material form should be seen as it actually is with proper wisdom thus: “This is not mine, this I am not, this is not my self.’ Any kind of feeling whatever ... any kind of perception whatever ... any kind of formations whatever ... any kind of consciousness whatever ... all consciousness should be seen as it actually is with proper wisdom thus: ‘This is not mine, this I am not, this is not my self.’ - *the Mahāpuṇṇama Sutta*.

2. On that occasion - the *uposatha* day of the fifteenth, on the full-moon night - the Blessed One was seated in the open surrounded by the assembly of bhikkhus. Then, surveying the silent assembly of bhikkhus, he addressed them thus: “bhikkus, would an untrue man know of an untrue man?” - “No, venerable sir . . .” - *the Cūḷapuvvama Sutta*

According to the introduction to the Wisdom *Sūtra*, when the assembly gathered on the *uposatha* day, the Lord asked Subhūti to expound how the bodhisattvas go forth into perfect

⁴⁶³ T8: 0540a. “眾生無性故，離故，不可得故念亦不可得，當知念亦無性，念亦離，念亦不可得。我欲令菩薩以是念行般若波羅蜜。”

⁴⁶⁴ This is the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra* (大明智經) translated by Zhi Qian 支謙 in 223-253 CE, T8:0478b-508b; No.225. It is one of the versions of the *Daśasahasrikāprajñāpāramitā sūtra*.

⁴⁶⁵ The Indian year, according to the ancient system inherited by Buddhism, is divided into three seasons - the cold season, the hot season, and the rainy season - each lasting for four months. The four months are subdivided into eight fortnights (*pakkha*), the third and the seventh containing fourteen days and the others fifteen days. Within each fortnight, the nights of the full moon and the new moon (either the fourteenth or fifteenth) and the night of the half-moon (the eighth) are regarded as especially auspicious. Within Buddhism these days become the *uposatha*, the days of religious observance. On the full moon and new moon days the bhikkhus recite their code of precepts and lay people visit the monasteries to listen to sermons and to practice meditation.

wisdom. Thereupon, Subhūti expounded perfect wisdom. Śāriputra raised questions on doubtful points and Subhūti answered, always finding 'a way out'. This was considered a demonstration of wisdom.

In this context the account of Subhūti teaching the *prajñāpāramitā* was both established and transmitted. The account is closely connected to and agrees with the nature of the *dharmabhāṇa* practised in ancient times. We also find that the paragraphs between sections IV and V, where the Buddha expounds the doctrine to Śāriputra and Subhūti, does not agree with the introduction to the text in which the Buddha asks Subhūti to teach. Furthermore, what Subhūti says is heuristic, practicable, achievable and in the form of rhetorical questions, while the majority the Buddha's instruction is illustrative and concerns the definition of technical terms (such as bodhisattva). If most of the Buddha's instruction is removed from the introduction, it becomes consistent in literary style and context. We may rather safely regard this resulting text as closer to the 'original' *prajñāpāramitā* teaching.

Subhūti is regarded as the foremost of those who dwell in the *araṇ(y)a-samādhi* (無諍三昧). According to Speyer, *araṇyapratipadam* signifies *the rules of forest-life*.⁴⁶⁶ In this case, *araṇasamādhi* must occur in a remote area and not in a town or village. The term *araṇa* indicates a peaceful way of life led in the ancient period of Buddhism. The nature of the *araṇasamādhi* is peace without dispute or manipulation. The *Araṇavibhaṅga Sutta* says, "knowing the *dharmā* as it really is, Subhūti spoke in such a verse- this deed is really empty, one who abandons it, will dwell in *araṇā*".⁴⁶⁷

The conduct of *araṇa*, as outlined in the *Sūtra*,⁴⁶⁸ is the middle way of righteous conduct which is without pain, free from worry, passionless, without any dejection or defilement. It is righteous conduct that is really free from falsity, moreover corresponding to righteousness [義].

The Chinese translated the word *araṇa* as *wu-zheng* (無諍), which means non-disputing. According to the same text, one should adapt to the folkway, the law and the language of a country, one should neither question nor negate them,⁴⁶⁹ for the reason that a dispute may

⁴⁶⁶ BHS, vol.2, p.65.

⁴⁶⁷ See *MN*, *Sūtra* No. 139; also see T1:703c. "須菩提族姓子，以無諍道於後知法如法。" - Subhūti, dwelling in the *araṇa*, knows the *dharmā* as it really is.

⁴⁶⁸ MA, T1:703a.

⁴⁶⁹ T1:703a. "隨國俗法，莫是莫非".

arise from an obstinate prejudice in favour of a language, or from a dialect that has an indefinite nature. In the Wisdom *Sūtra*, the *prajñāpāramitā* that Subhūti teaches is that which one neither finds, nor apprehends, nor sees a *dharma*, a bodhisattva, nor a 'perfect wisdom'. Subhūti says,

"I do not find anything to correspond to the word "bodhisattva," nor to the words "perfect wisdom." The word bodhisattva which is thus designated is not fixed anywhere, nor not fixed, not unfixed, nor not unfixed. And why? Because such a word does not exist.⁴⁷⁰ "bodhisattva" is merely a word."⁴⁷¹

All of this has something to do with the indefinite nature of the given or designated name as the conduct of *araṇa*. According to the *San-lùn-xúan-yì-jīan-you-jí* (三論玄義檢幽集),⁴⁷² Paramārtha (557-567 CE) gives the following account of the doctrine of the Ekavyāvahārikā School,

"This School upheld the idea that all the worldly *dharma*s and the supra-worldly *dharma*s are conventional names and, hence, all *dharma*s have no substance. All are equal by one (conventional) name: a name is referential speech; hence this School is named Ekavyāvahārikā.⁴⁷³

About the doctrine of the Ekavyāvahārikā, Chinese scholars such as Jí-záng 吉藏, Fāzáng 法藏 (? – 699 CE) and Kuiji 窺基, all accepted what Paramārtha proclaimed. Some scholars have given differing interpretations, but in general we have little evidence or information upon the doctrine of the school. Nonetheless, in the fifth century CE, at the time of Paramārtha, the teaching was known to profess that all *dharma*s are merely words and unreal. This teaching agrees with the original *prajñāpāramitā* teaching. Thus it seems possible that instruction in the *prajñāpāramitā* for the bodhisattvas was linked with the Ekavyāvahārikā sect.

C. *Samādhi* in the early *Prajñāpāramitā* texts

From sections III and IV⁴⁷⁴ above, we learn of two types of *samādhi* possessed by bodhisattvas. In the *PSV*, the *PD* and the *Daoxing*, the translated names of the two types of *samādhi* are the same.⁴⁷⁵ Only their contents and attainments are different. In Unit 4, the two

⁴⁷⁰ T8:537c.

⁴⁷¹ T8:539b, 591a; T7:869a.

⁴⁷² T70:459bc.

⁴⁷³ T70:459bc, "真諦云:此部執世出世法悉是假名,故言一切法無有實體;同是一名,名即是說,故言一說部。" Furthermore, Paramārtha informs us that this school originated from a dispute over the Mahāyāna-*sūtras*. It is difficult, however, to accept the existence of Mahāyāna-*sūtras* within the second or the third century of the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha.

⁴⁷⁴ See above section A. of this chapter four

⁴⁷⁵ They all are called the *zhou-fa-wu-shou-samādhi* 諸法無受三昧 (T8:537c;538a). See translations: section (III) and (IV) in above.

types of *samādhi* are rendered differently by the Chinese,⁴⁷⁶ and their contents and attainments are also different. It is evident that the Chinese terms correspond to Sanskrit *sarvadharmāparigrhīto-samādhi* and *sarvadharmānupādāna-samādhi*. These two types of *samādhi* are also discussed in the first chapter of the Sanskrit version of the *Aṣṭa*.⁴⁷⁷ Conze translates *sarvadharmāparigrhīta* as *non-appropriation of all dharmas* and *sarvadharmānupādāna* as *not grasping at any dharma*.⁴⁷⁸ According to section III, the character of the first *samādhi* is not abiding in any *dharma*, not appropriating any *dharma*, and that of the second in section (IV) is, not clinging to or grasping any sign (*nimitta*) of all *dharmas*. The similarity of these two *samādhis* suggests that their contents were originally taught in one source, but grasped and inherited in two distinct ways. The terms were inserted in the same chapter and were considered related to *prajñāpāramitā* concepts such as not dwelling in form [or five *skandhas*], not coursing in it, not grasping it, and not accepting it. However, the concentrated insight of non-appropriation of all *dharmas* is regarded as a type of *prajñāpāramitā* understanding unique to bodhisattvas. Bodhisattvas who have attained it never fall into the vehicles of the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas, and hence it cannot be shared by the followers of the other two vehicles.

To sum up the points being made here, firstly, the original teaching of the *prajñāpāramitā* consisted of the non-acceptance of all *dharmas*. After the course of the *prajñāpāramitā* was developed and came to be regarded with higher esteem, this concentrated insight was no longer mentioned in a great number of Mahāyāna texts, although these texts still described many types of *samādhi*. The practice of the *araṇa* became widespread in Mahāyāna texts, to the extent that it was asserted that without practising the *araṇa* one would not attain buddhahood. The *samādhis* found in the Mahāyāna teachings have a close relationship with the practice of the *araṇa*. Therefore, the teachings on the *prajñāpāramitā* also originated from this practice. Secondly, the concentrated insight of non-acceptance, the *prajñāpāramitā* itself, constitutes the unique course of the bodhisattvas and cannot be shared with the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas. Nevertheless, the interlocutor of the *prajñāpāramitā* is Subhūti, a Śrāvaka

⁴⁷⁶ In Unit 4, the two kinds of *samādhi* are: ‘*yi-qie-fa-wu-she-shou-ding*’ (一切法無攝受定) and ‘*yi-qie-fa-wu-qū-zhi-ding*’ (一切法無取執定). But ‘*she-shou*’ (攝受) and ‘*qū-zhi*’ (取執) have in old Chinese translations a similar meaning of “appropriating, grasping, receiving and bearing.”

⁴⁷⁷ Mitra, Rājendralāla, ed., *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Calcutta, 1888, Bibliotheca Indica, p.8, 13.

⁴⁷⁸ Conze, Edward, tr., *The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thought Ślokas*, Cal.: The Asiatic Society, 1970, pp. 3, 5.

follower of the Buddha. This may suggest a possible origin of the *prajñāpāramitā*. It is interesting to note that at the beginning of the *PSV*, Subhūti himself declares,

"Whatever the Buddha's disciples have the courage to teach, all that is to be known as the Buddha's mighty work (*puṣakāra*). And why? Because in the *dharma* demonstrated by the Buddha they train themselves, they realise its true nature, they hold it in mind. Thereafter, nothing that they teach contradicts the true nature of *dharma*. This is owing to the power of the true nature of *dharma*."⁴⁷⁹

Thirdly, the Buddha's power (*bala*) in the original *prajñāpāramitā* had an instrumental function. It is said that Subhūti knew the thought of Śāriputra by the power of the Buddha, and was able to expound perfect wisdom by means of it. The power of the Buddha is unspecified however. Bodhisattvas were admonished to obtain perfect wisdom, *samādhis* and enlightenment. The *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* defines the Buddha's power as follows,

"Even if we have the wisdom-eye, if we do not meet the *Buddhadharma*, [there is] nothing that we can see ... So is the Buddha, if he does not illuminate us with the lamp of wisdom, [there is] nothing that we can see."⁴⁸⁰

This is to say that the Buddha's power is his wisdom as an illuminating lamp that can make everything visible or releasable. Hence the Buddha's power in the original *prajñāpāramitā* course clearly differs from the power through which the common people can receive care, protection or blessing. Subhūti realised the true nature of the *dharmas* and then expounded it. The importance of realisation of the true nature of the *dharmas* is further emphasised in the story of Śrenik the wanderer, who gained faith in Buddhism because he took the true nature of *dharmas* as his standard, and resolutely believed in the signlessness. However, the *prajñāpāramitā*, which was considered specific to the bodhisattvas, is also applicable to the Śravakas. A short statement in section II says that whether one wants to train on the level of Śrāvaka, Pratyekabuddha, or bodhisattva, one should listen to this *prajñāpāramitā* and in this very *prajñāpāramitā* should one be trained and should one exert oneself.

The disputes on the different *dharmas* for a bodhisattva and a Śrāvaka, and the *dharmas* which contribute to being a bodhisattva, became increasingly complex in the development of the bodhisattva teachings. Attempts to resolve these matters took on various forms. In one instance, the Buddha asked Subhūti to teach bodhisattvas the *prajñāpāramitā*, and to clarify how bodhisattvas enter the *prajñāpāramitā*. Subhūti makes no conversation with the bodhisattvas, nor asks any bodhisattva a question, but simply discourses with the Buddha and

⁴⁷⁹ T8:537b. In the Aṣṭa, it is "*tathāgatadharmadeśanāyā eva*," which Conze translates as "an outpouring of the Tathāgata's demonstration of *dharma*." Maybe Kumārajīva chose power as a rendering of *āya*.

⁴⁸⁰ T25:357c. "我等雖有智慧眼, 不值佛法, 則無所見 ... 佛亦如是, 若不以智慧燈照我等者, 則無所見."

answers the questions of Śāriputra. The style of his discourse is unique. Instead of explaining how bodhisattvas should train themselves in the *prajñāpāramitā*, he uses negative expressions and irony to portray the *prajñāpāramitā* as that which a bodhisattva ought to train in, follow [course in], develop and fulfil. For instance, in sections II, III and V above, Subhūti says,

"O Buddha, I do not see and apprehend bodhisattva, and also do not see and apprehend the *prajñāpāramitā*. What bodhisattva should I instruct the *prajñāpāramitā*?⁴⁸¹ (II-1)

Since in everywhere, in every moment and every way I neither apprehend nor see the bodhisattva, which bodhisattva shall I instruct in the *prajñāpāramitā*? (V-1)

'Bodhisattva' is a mere name. The nature of *dharma*s is the same. This nature is also unborn. The unborn is also not born. Should I instruct the bodhisattva the unborn *dharma*s to enter the *prajñāpāramitā*?" (V-2)

"*Bodhisattva*" and "*prajñāpāramitā*" are asserted to be mere words or names without own-being (*asvabhāva*). The person who receives instruction does not possess own-being, and neither does the *dharma*, which is taught [however no own-being does not equal no existence]. Subhūti only appears to express a view that is in opposition to the Buddha's teaching. For this reason the text frequently points out that when a bodhisattva is able to understand, and is not afraid, and does not despair or turn away, it is just this bodhisattva who should be instructed in the *prajñāpāramitā*. By consequence, it is asserted that this should be recognised as the *prajñāpāramitā* of that type of bodhisattva.

Section V asserts that the nature of all *dharma*s including the self (*ātma*) is uncreated (*anabhinirvṛtta*), and that non-creation is also uncreated. Further, the non-creation and the non-passing away of all *dharma*s are non-dual (*advaya*). In this case, the non-appropriation of all *dharma*s is applied and explained in greater detail. According to the text, non-creation and non-duality (*advaya*) are absolute, and transcend every distinction such as creation and destruction.

In section VI, the concepts of non-grasping at any *dharma* and non-appropriation of all *dharma*s are further explained. The explanations indicate that bodhisattvas should not formulate conceptions upon the difficult course of conduct (*duṣkaracārikā*) and the easy course of conduct of a bodhisattva. If they generate the notion of difficulty (*duṣkarsaṃjñā*), then they are not bodhisattvas, for they do not course in the *prajñāpāramitā* whilst non-grasping at any *dharma* and so on. Furthermore, it is said that "bodhisattva," "all Buddhas" and "common people," all are non-produced (*anutpāda*). Even the word *sarvadharmānutpāda* is non-produced. At the end, the text indicates that bodhisattvas and all sentient beings

⁴⁸¹ T8:0537b. "菩提白佛言：我不見菩薩不得菩薩，亦不見不得般若波羅蜜，當教何等菩薩般若波羅蜜？"

(*sarvasattvas*) are equal in the sense of lacking own-being (*asvabhāva*), *vivikta* and *anupalabdhyā*. By this mindfulness and understanding a bodhisattva follows the *prajñāpāramitā*.

Assessments

Overall, if the discourse given by the Buddha to Śāriputra and Subhūti are removed from the sections of the first chapter of the *PSV*, the remaining contents of the first chapter reveal the character of the original *prajñāpāramitāparyāya*. The *prajñāpāramitāparyāya* descended from the original *Buddhadharma*, and to a certain extent underwent development. For instance, section IV teaches that a bodhisattva should not follow the course of form (*rūpa*), the origination of form, the destruction of form, the change of form, or the emptiness of form. The *prajñāpāramitā* does not concentrate on the origination, cessation, impermanence or emptiness of all *dharma*s, but on the insight and non-grasping of any *dharma*,

“As the non-changing of form is so, one perceives the impermanence of form . . . if one does not course in such perception, one courses in the course which is similar to the *prajñāpāramitā*.”⁴⁸²

This indicates that in the *prajñāpāramitāparyāya*, having insight into non-changing, non-origination and non-passing-away of form and other *skandhas* is the way to perceive the impermanence of all *dharma*s. This instruction must originate from the teachings of earlier Buddhism, for it is close to the opinion that within-one-mind (or moment), one sees the truths.⁴⁸³ This, however, may be achieved only by a few people who can directly perceive the non-appropriation (*anupalabdhyā*), non-origination (*anutpāda*) and non-cessation (*anirodha*) of all *dharma*s.

Finally we must note that in the original *prajñāpāramitāparyāya* the true-nature of *dharma*s, as the word *dharmānāṃ dharmatā* indicates, is regarded as the norm (*pramāṇa*) of the bodhisattvas and should be realised by bodhisattvas or *Bhāṇakas*,

“having realised the true nature of *dharma*s, whatever they teach, and all that they do does not lead into contradiction with the actual nature of *dharma*s.”⁴⁸⁴

Furthermore, because the true nature of all *dharma*s is non-origination and non-disappearance, both of which are non-dual, the true nature of all *dharma*s may be realised suddenly through the concentrated insight of non-grasping at any *dharma* (*sarvadharmānupādāna*), non-appropriation of all *dharma*s and non-dwelling in any *dharma* (*sarvadharmāpratiṣṭhita*). It is

⁴⁸² T8:546c. “不壞色故觀無常... ; 不作如是觀者,是名行相似般若波羅蜜。”

⁴⁸³ T32:378a; 379a.

⁴⁸⁴ T8:537bc.

not necessary for a bodhisattva to begin practice with the worldly birth and death that he sees, but directly from the position of seeing the nature of *dharmas*. This insight may be regarded as the original *prajñāpāramitāparyāya* that bodhisattvas practise. It is not shared with the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas, and was gradually developed during the time when the doctrine of the bodhisattva became widespread.

Chapter Five: The Bodhisattva Doctrine In The *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*

In this chapter, we continue to analyse the bodhisattva doctrine developed in the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts. Throughout this study, the term *Minor Class* indicates the group of *prajñāpāramitā* texts which belong to the *Minor Version* mentioned in the previous chapter.

A. The *Minor Class* of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*

The *Minor Version*⁴⁸⁵ of the *Prajñāpāramitā* was compiled around the first century BCE. It was the result of the widespread distribution of the original *prajñāpāramitāparyāya*.⁴⁸⁶ At the time of compiling the *Minor Version*, the *prajñāpāramitā* course was particularly successful in Northern India. It seems reasonable to conclude that the *Minor Class* of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras* consists of twenty-five chapters.⁴⁸⁷

In the *Minor Class*, deeds such as copying *prajñāpāramitā* texts⁴⁸⁸ and honouring, worshipping⁴⁸⁹ and donating a copy of *prajñāpāramitā* texts are highly praised and become bodhisattva practices. The advantages of building, honouring and worshipping the *stūpas* and the Buddha's relics (*śarīra*) were also replaced by the advantages of respecting, worshipping, copying, and expounding copies of *prajñāpāramitā* texts to others.⁴⁹⁰ This shows that during the period of the compilation of the *Minor Class*, the devotee of the *prajñāpāramitā* resorted to skill-in-means in order to popularise the profound *prajñāpāramitā* course leading to enlightenment. The skill-in-means used in the *Minor Class* is exactly the same as that found in

⁴⁸⁵ The *Prajñāpāramitā* texts belonging to the *Minor Version* are discussed in the previous Chapter four.

⁴⁸⁶ *Paryāya* (way, mean, manner, course) is in *BHS*, vol., II, Delhi 1970, p.335b. *Prajñāpāramitāparyāya*, means the course in or the teaching of the *prajñāpāramitā* or the *prajñāpāramitā*-course.

⁴⁸⁷ Among the *Minor Class* of the *prajñāpāramitā* texts, the *Daoxing* has 30 chapters and the PSV has 29 chapters. At the end of chapter 25 of the PSV, we find this statement: "When this dharma was taught, the *bhikṣus*, all gods, human beings and *asuras* in the great assembly were delighted" (PSV, T8: 543c-544a). This statement indicates the end of the text. When we examine the PSV we find that it is the remnant of the old form of the *Minor Version* of the *prajñāpāramitā* text. Furthermore, chapters 24 and 29 of the PSV are the *Parīdanā* (entrusting). To have two chapters on the same subjects of entrusting a teaching in a single, continuous text of the *Minor Class* would only indicate that the text was expanded or compiled twice. The *Daoxing* carries the same information as the PSV.

⁴⁸⁸ Conze's *Aṣṭa*, p.26.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.31,32,34.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.40.

chapter 19 of the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Dharmabhāṅakaparivarta*,⁴⁹¹ where the dharma-teachers (*dharmabhāṅaka*) are compared to popular teachers who knew how to use their melodious voices to chant, recite, repeat and expound the *dharmas* and the *sūtras*.

In the *Minor Class*, human beings (sons and daughters of good families) are the participants of the *prajñāpāramitā* course, and the subjects to be converted and guided by the *prajñāpāramitā*. During the initial period it was difficult to find followers to accept the profound *prajñāpāramitā* course. In order to popularise perfect wisdom, the masters or the bodhisattvas - the *dharmabhāṅakas* of the *prajñāpāramitā*, energetically presented the advantages of the *prajñāpāramitā* and the merits that were obtained by becoming a devotee here and now. It is said in the PSV,

"The *prajñāpāramitā* is the great spell (*mahāvīdyā*), the unsurpassed spell (*anuttaravīdyā*). If the sons and daughters of good families learn it, they themselves will not conceive of the unwholesome [deeds] and they will not conceive of the unwholesome [deeds] of others. They will not conceive of the unwholesomeness, neither their own nor that of others. If one learns this *vidyā* (i.e. lore or spell) one will achieve perfect enlightenment, attain all-knowledge and be able to perceive the mind of all sentient beings."⁴⁹²

In the *Aṣṭa* it is said,

"Those devotees will not die an untimely death, nor will they die from poison, sword, fire, water, staff, or violence. When they bring to mind and repeat this *prajñāpāramitā*, the calamities which threaten them from kings and princes, from royal counsellors and ministers, will not take place."⁴⁹³

This consists of the assertion that the *prajñāpāramitā* possesses an inconceivable power. Here and now it offers all kinds of protection, not just to the gods, but to all classes of sentient beings such as landlords, merchants, the powerless and the weak. Heretical wanderers became friends, and even the Evil One Māra withdrew his thoughts of enmity towards the Buddha when Śakra, chief of the gods, repeated and propagated the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁴⁹⁴

The above accounts lead to the conclusion that the widespread distribution of the profound *prajñāpāramitā* was aided by its capacity to procure the welfare and aspirations of common customs and religion, such as the elimination of calamities and various difficulties. In the *Minor Class*, Śakra plays an important role for it is he who asks Śākyamuni Buddha to turn the wheel of *Dharma* when Śākyamuni achieves buddhahood. Śakra is the one who inquires into the advantages of being a devotee of the *prajñāpāramitā*. Together with the gods and goddesses of the heavens, who frequently appear in the assembly and express their

⁴⁹¹ *Dharmabhāṅakaparivarta* (法師品) of the *Saddharmapuṅḍarīka* (法華經), T9: 30c-31c.

⁴⁹² PSV, T8:0542b; *Aṣṭa*, pp.55,73; Conze's *Aṣṭa*, pp.23, 28.

⁴⁹³ *Aṣṭa*, pp.75-76.

⁴⁹⁴ PSV, T8: 543c-544a.

earnest will to protect both the *prajñāpāramitāparyāya* and its devotees, he demonstrates the superiority of the *prajñāpāramitā*. The inconceivable merit generated from the practice of reading, repeating, reciting and copying the *prajñāpāramitā* text, also served to induce the confidence of the devotee. On the other hand, the evils generated from the act of doubting, cursing or slandering the *prajñāpāramitāparyāya*, are said to be more severe than the five grave evils.⁴⁹⁵ All these inducements and deterrents may be regarded as devices in defence of the *prajñāpāramitāparyāya* during the period when the *Minor Class* was propagated. In practice, they reflect the efforts of the *dharmabhāṅakas* and the bodhisattvas to generate confidence and faith in students of the *prajñāpāramitā* course.

In the *Minor Class* it is said that Maitreya, the future Buddha, after winning supreme enlightenment, will also teach the *prajñāpāramitā*,⁴⁹⁶ and that he will attain buddhahood in a pure land. It is further said that when he followed the bodhisattva path, he “only used the *sukhavihāra* (安樂行) as his skill-in-means to attain supreme enlightenment.” His skill-in-means, as evidenced in the course of the *sukhavihāra*, included the disclosure of faults (*pāpadeśanā*), rejoicing in merit (*anumodanā*) and the dedication of merit (*pariṇāmanā*).⁴⁹⁷ In the *Minor Class*, Maitreya teaches both the *anumodanā* and the *pariṇāmanā*. However, the *anumodanā-pariṇāmanā* that Maitreya teaches is non-sign (*animitta*), and that merit should not be attached to or treated as a sign.⁴⁹⁸ It corresponds to the teaching of the *prajñāpāramitā*. In this way, the *prajñāpāramitā* course was made to incorporate the *sukhavihāra* that was used as skill-in-means.

Skill-in-means as a way of accumulating merit by reading, reciting, copying, respecting and expounding the *prajñāpāramitā*, was considered an effective method to attract interest in the *prajñāpāramitā* course. Similarly, skill-in-means which includes rejoicing in the merit of others and dedicating one’s own merit to others, and which served as a path to achieve buddhahood, was advocated for the same reason. Through the decisive efforts of its promoters, the original *prajñāpāramitā* teaching was distilled from traditional currents of Buddhist thought and developed into the *Minor Class*. It is notable that at the time of compiling the

⁴⁹⁵ PSV, T8:0550c-0551b. Aṣṭa, pp.179-181; Conze’s Aṣṭa, pp.58-59

⁴⁹⁶ Aṣṭa, p.200; Conze’s Aṣṭa, p.69.

⁴⁹⁷ T12:0188c. 彌勒菩薩所問本願經 (T12; No.349.)

⁴⁹⁸ PSV, T8:547c549c.

Minor Class, the *prajñāpāramitāpāryāya* was particularly successful in Northern India. One prophesy of the spread of the *prajñāpāramitā* in the *PSV* runs as follows,

"After the passing of the Tathāgata, this *Prajñāpāramitā* [*sūtra* associated with six *pāramitās*] will circulate in the South. From the South it will spread to the West. From the West spread to the East, and from there to the North. O Śāriputra! When my teaching is popularised there will be no sign of its disappearance . . . 500 years after the passing away of the Tathāgata, it will be widely spread in the North."⁴⁹⁹

This indicates that the *prajñāpāramitā* originated in the South, and later spread to the North.⁵⁰⁰

The analysis above, based on the *Minor Class* of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*, results in a survey of the dissemination of the profound *prajñāpāramitā* teachings. The literary structure of the *Minor Class* is similar to that of the *Khandhasaṃyutta* of the *Nikāyas*, where the Buddha gives his instruction mostly with reference to the five *skandhas*. In other words, the five *skandhas* in the *Minor Class* are presented as subjects for contemplation in the *prajñāpāramitā* way. However, the *prajñāpāramitāpāryāya* is not like the *Abhidharma* teachings, for it does not always list each of the *skandhas*, *āyatanas* and *dhatu*s. The *prajñāpāramitā pāryāya* does not discuss theoretical matters in detail, but has numerous analogies to illustrate its teachings and meanings. We often see that a series of analogies are adduced to reveal one meaning. The style is definitely consistent with the aim to publicise and popularise the *prajñāpāramitāpāryāya*.

B. Analogies as pedagogic tools

The use of analogies (*dr̥ṣṭānta*) is one of the prominent characteristics of the *Minor Class* and is important in the development of the *prajñāpāramitā* texts. The bodhisattvas should master them in order to propagate the *prajñāpāramitā* course. Therefore, it is interesting to see how and in what cases analogies are used to teach the bodhisattva the importance of the *prajñāpāramitā* course. Five analogies, for instance, are used to depict a bodhisattva who is nearing the prediction of supreme enlightenment: a man leaving the forest for the village, a man who approaches the ocean, vegetation which foretells the spring, a pregnant woman and

⁴⁹⁹ PSV, T8:0555ab, No.227 (Kumārajīva's translation of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra of a [New] Small Version*); but in the Aṣṭa, p.225, the itinerary of the *Prajñāpāramitā* is: South⇒East⇒North. This may be due to different traditions or lineage of the masters.

⁵⁰⁰ According to Unit 4 (T7:0808bc.), the itinerary of the *Prajñāpāramitā* is: East-South ⇒South⇒South-West⇒West⇒West-North⇒North⇒North-East. This is due to a later revision, for North-East of India indicates China. It is possible that by the time of compiling the Unit 4, Mahāyāna Buddhism already had great success in China. Additional accounts of the place of origin of the *prajñāpāramitā* are given in Conze's *Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, pp.9-12

dreaming about sitting on the terrace of enlightenment (*bodhimaṇḍa*). Seven analogies⁵⁰¹ characterise the unintelligent person who abandons the *prajñāpāramitā* and instead opts for inferior alternatives: a dog who spurns a morsel of food given by his master and accepts a mouthful of water from a servant, a blind man and an elephant, a person who desires jewels and does not look for them in the great ocean but in the puddle of a cow's footprint, a mason who wants to build a palace the size of the Vaijayanta palace and who takes its measurements from the chariot of the sun or moon, a person who equates a Cakravartin with the king of a fort, a man who refuses good food and prefers to eat sixty-day-old stale food, and finally a man who refuses a priceless gem and prefers to obtain a crystal.

In Chapter 12 of the Aṣṭa, it is said that the Tathāgatas will protect the *prajñāpāramitā*, their mother and originator, in the same way as the sons who honour and protect their mothers.⁵⁰² A bodhisattva is warned, in chapter 14, that if he does not take hold of both *prajñāpāramitā* and skill-in-means, he will regress to the level of Śrāvaka or Pratyekabuddha, just as a person escaping from a wrecked ship without a log or other solid support sinks in the water, or as a woman with a badly fired jar fails to carry water from a well to her home, or as an unskilled merchant who launches a seafaring vessel which was not caulked or repaired will lose a great source of wealth, or just as a very aged and ill person cannot walk without being supported by others.⁵⁰³ Chapter 16 states that if a bodhisattva is not sustained by the *prajñāpāramitā* and lacks skill-in-means, he is bound to fall to the level of Śrāvaka or Pratyekabuddha, just as a huge bird with imperfect wings flying down to Jambudvīpa from the heaven of the Gods will incur deathly pain.⁵⁰⁴

A bodhisattva ought to strive in the *prajñāpāramitā* and perform the deeds while abiding in mental activities connected with the *prajñāpāramitā*, just as a man in love with a beautiful woman performs many works even while his mind is pre-occupied with her.⁵⁰⁵

In Chapter 19, it is said that the accumulation of a bodhisattva's wholesome roots can lead one to win full enlightenment, just as a flame constantly burning fuel.⁵⁰⁶ Three analogies are given in Chapter 20 to illustrate that a bodhisattva should be able to concentrate on

⁵⁰¹ Chapter 11 of the Aṣṭa, pp. 234-240. Chapter 11 of the PSV. T8:0556ab.

⁵⁰² Chapter 12 of the PSV, T8:0557bc.

⁵⁰³ Aṣṭa, pp.268, 287,288-291; T8:0560bc; chapter 14 of the PSV.

⁵⁰⁴ Aṣṭa, pp.310-312. T8:0563a; chapter 15 of the PSV.

⁵⁰⁵ Chapter 18 of the Aṣṭa, pp.343-344. T8:0566a.

⁵⁰⁶ T8:0567a. chapter 17 of the PSV; '如前焰後焰燒炷' --- 《深功德品》

emptiness without attaching to (or falling into) emptiness, just as (1) a brave hero in a terrible and frightening forest is able, unhurt and uninjured, to remove from that forest his company and himself, just as (2) a bird that flies in the air without falling to the ground or resting on any support, or just as (3) a master archer that is able to shoot a round of arrows into the air and to keep them in the air until he decides to let them fall to the ground.⁵⁰⁷

Six analogies⁵⁰⁸ in Chapter 23 of the *PSV* depict how bodhisattvas follow the *prajñāpāramitā* course without discrimination. Two of the analogies are as follows: 1) space never discriminates thinking: “I am near to this, or I am far from that”; 2) an illusory man never discriminates by thinking: “The conjuror is near to me but the assembled crowd of spectators is far from me.”

The analogies found in the *Minor Class* suggest that the masters and teachers of the *prajñāpāramitā* attached importance to emulate the Buddha’s method of giving striking examples and analogies (*dr̥ṣṭānta*). This characteristic leads us to suggest a relationship between the teachers (*bhāṅakas*) of the *prajñāpāramitā* and the Dṛṣṭāntika Sautrāntikas, who emphasise the authority of the *Sūtras*, use analogies and parables as pedagogic tools to elucidate the meaning of the teachings and to prove their doctrinal points, and to effectively impress their readers or listeners. Around the first century BCE, various groups of Dṛṣṭāntikas were active in Northern India. Therefore, the teachers of the *prajñāpāramitā* sought to find ways to cope with the doubtful, conflicting, confusing, and uncertain doctrines within Buddhism. They used analogies and parables as pedagogic tools to elucidate doctrinal points, and to disprove opponents that attached importance to their own teachings. In this way, the original *prajñāpāramitā* course was gradually developed into the form of the *Minor Class*, and the masters of the *prajñāpāramitā* course found other lands and devotees. Based on this analysis it seems reasonable to assume that the mastery of such tools itself became another course of the bodhisattvas.

C. The bodhisattva ideal in later developments of the *Minor Class* of *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*

The original *Prajñāpāramitā* teaches that a bodhisattva is experientially and practically different from a Śrāvaka and Pratyekabuddha because a bodhisattva possesses an achievement

⁵⁰⁷ Aṣṭa, pp.374-375. These three analogies are also used to illustrate how a Bodhisattva should dwell in the concentrations on the signless (*animitta*) and the wishless (*apraṇihita*) without realizing them. T8:0568c-0569a.

⁵⁰⁸ T8: 0575c-0576a.

which cannot be shared by a Śrāvaka or Pratyekabuddha. It is said in the original *Prajñāpāramitā* teaching that if a bodhisattva does not depart from coursing in the *prajñāpāramitā*, but dwells in the irreversible stage of a bodhisattva (*avinivartanīya bodhisattva-bhūmi*), in the *samādhi* of the non-appropriation of all *dharma*s, and in concentrated insight (not grasping at any *dharma*) which a Śrāvaka or Pratyekabuddha cannot share or break into, then he can win all-knowledge, or come near to it. Furthermore, “he will quickly win the full enlightenment which the Tathāgatas of the past have prophesied of him.” Thus should a bodhisattva course in the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁵⁰⁹ All these characteristics centre on the irreversible type of bodhisattva. Thus we find the explanation that “in front of an irreversible bodhisattva, this profound *prajñāpāramitā* should be taught and expounded.”⁵¹⁰

How may irreversible bodhisattvahood be identified and achieved? The best answers were collected, classified and put together to form the *Minor Class*. Therefore, a survey of the bodhisattva-stages in the *Minor Class* should be provided.

Bodhisattvas who are closest to the profound *prajñāpāramitā* course, and who are at the irreversible bodhisattva-stage, are those who have practised and coursed in the *prajñāpāramitā* for a long span of time. The *PSV* says,

1. If a bodhisattva Mahāsattva has absolute confidence in the profound *prajñāpāramitā* when it is taught, one should know that this bodhisattva is to be regarded as being irreversible. Why? O Lord, otherwise he would not have absolute confidence in *prajñā*.⁵¹¹
2. A bodhisattva who has coursed in it for a long span of time is able to do so.⁵¹²
3. If an unprophesied bodhisattva obtains and hears this *prajñāpāramitā* (and if he remains unafraid when he hears it) one can be sure that he has come from afar, and that he has fared for long in the Great Vehicle. It will not take long before he receives the prophesy of supreme enlightenment. One may be sure that that prophesy is near.⁵¹³
4. This doctrine (*dharma*), who can have confidence in it and understand it? O Subhūti! A bodhisattva who has fared for a long span of time in the course of the bodhisattva under the past Buddhas, and has wholesome roots well matured, is able to do so.⁵¹⁴

The four quotations demonstrate an important characterisation of the bodhisattvas in the *Minor Class*. This type of bodhisattva is one who has fared for a long span of time in the Great Vehicle and in the course of the bodhisattva in the lands of the past Buddhas, and one

⁵⁰⁹ T8: 0538c, 0548a; Aṣṭa, pp.11, 213.

⁵¹⁰ T8:0554a; Aṣṭa, pp.139, 212.

⁵¹¹ T8:0553c.

⁵¹² T8:0554c.

⁵¹³ T8:0554a; Aṣṭa, p.213.

⁵¹⁴ T8:0561c; Aṣṭa, p.229.

that has planted many wholesome roots. This bodhisattva is able to gain confidence, to understand, and course in the *prajñāpāramitā*.

The *Minor Class* also mentions the characterisation of the beginner bodhisattvas. Although it is difficult for such bodhisattvas to gain confidence in and understand the *prajñāpāramitā* teaching, it is possible for them to believe in it when they are supported by good friends. This is conveyed in the following discourse between Subhūti, the Buddha, and Maitreya.

"*Subhūti*: Will the bodhisattvas who have newly set out in the vehicle tremble when they hear this exposition?

The Buddha: They will tremble if they get into the hands of bad friends, but not if they get into the hands of good friends.⁵¹⁵

Maitreya: This method of advancing meritorious work based [on] jubilation in the utmost perfect enlightenment, O Subhūti, should not be taught or expounded in front of a bodhisattva who has newly set out in the vehicle. For he would lose that little faith which he has, that little affection, serenity and respect which he has. It is in front of an irreversible bodhisattva that this method should be taught. Alternatively, a bodhisattva who has newly set out in the Great Vehicle and who is supported by a good friend should be taught this method. For he, on hearing it, would not tremble, or be terrified, cast down, or have a despondent mind."⁵¹⁶

Thus we see that certain bodhisattvas may accept the *prajñāpāramitā* course without comprehending it when they are supported by good friends. Good friends are clearly important for new bodhisattvas because they instruct, supervise and admonish them in the *prajñāpāramitā* teaching and expound its meaning. In this way new bodhisattvas should gradually progress in the course of the *prajñāpāramitā* and eventually understand it. However, it is apt to indicate that the idea of a good friend already exists in the original *prajñāpāramitā* course, but in the *Minor Class* it was redefined and explained⁵¹⁷ in a new way.

The good friends, the sons and daughters of good families who listen, learn, recite, copy, honour the *prajñāpāramitā* and course in it as it is correctly taught, also gain the protection of the gods⁵¹⁸ and of the Buddhas.⁵¹⁹ Because of this, they cannot be disturbed by Māra or any evil forces. This offers a way to remove the fears and problems that haunt mundane and spiritual life. In this manner, the teachers and compilers of the *prajñāpāramitā-sūtras* suggest that the profound *prajñāpāramitā* may be followed by all bodhisattvas, among whom are included the irreversible bodhisattvas, the bodhisattvas who have fared for a long time, and

⁵¹⁵ T8:0538c.

⁵¹⁶ T8:0548a.

⁵¹⁷ Aṣṭa, pp.292-3.

⁵¹⁸ T8:0552c.

⁵¹⁹ T8:0557b.

those who have just set out on the bodhisattva vehicle. As a result, the *prajñāpāramitā* course was extended and popularised as evidenced in the *Minor Class*.

But what was the treatment of the traditional Śrāvaka during the period in which the course of the *prajñāpāramitā* was propagated? It is evident there was concern about their ability to understand the *prajñāpāramitā*. In the text they are treated with respect because they were still the majority among the Buddhists.⁵²⁰ Furthermore, the emergence and development of the original *prajñāpāramitā* in the Mahāyāna teachings maintained a deep connection with traditional Buddhism, which is illustrated by the fact that the teacher and the questioner in the original *prajñāpāramitā* are Subhūti and Śāriputra, the foremost among the wise. In the *Minor Class*, the foremost disciples of the Buddha such as Ānanda, Mahākātyāyana, Mahākauṣṭhila and Pūrṇamaitrayaṇīputra, are treated as the interlocutors that teach and discourse upon the *prajñāpāramitā*. Finally, the teachings of the *prajñāpāramitā* were entrusted to Ānanda.⁵²¹

However, it is also recorded in the *Minor Class* that followers of traditional Buddhism rejected and denounced the course of the *prajñāpāramitā*. They were characterized as Māra and their activities were classified as the deeds of Māra.⁵²² For instance it is said in the *Minor Class* that,

"Māra will be in the monk's robe and come to where the bodhisattva learns; he will say: "What you learn was not taught by the Buddha, but is a play of words. I will teach you the *sūtras* that were really taught by the Buddha."⁵²³

Many passages recount the deeds of Māra causing obstruction to bodhisattvas, their adverse activities, the causes of belief and disbelief in the *prajñāpāramitā*, and their consequences⁵²⁴ Thus the compilers of the *Minor Class* took a standpoint which oscillated between honouring and debasing the Śrāvakas. The significance of this dualistic attitude was

⁵²⁰ Aṣṭa, p.429. "On this earth, few are the places free from stones, few the spots where gold and silver are found. Much more numerous are saline deserts, arid deserts, places covered with grass, or thorns, or steep chasms. Just so, in the world of beings, few Bodhisattvas exist who train in this training of all-knowledge, the training of the *prajñāpāramitā*. Much more numerous are those who train in the training characteristic of Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas." This statement marks the position of the followers of the *prajñāpāramitā* course at the time of the compilation of the *Minor Class*.

⁵²¹ T8:0578ab. The Buddha addressed thus: "O Ānanda . . . if you teach the Bodhisattvas the six *pāramitās*, you will be my disciple who is endowed with such merits and I will be pleased."

⁵²² T8:0557b, 0564b; T8:0454c; Aṣṭa, pp.240-245, 416-420.

⁵²³ T8:0564.

⁵²⁴ Aṣṭa, pp.176-184. It may happen in such way during the time of expounding the *prajñāpāramitā*: someone asked that if it was so great, why only few people studied and practised it. This factual question urged the *prajñāpāramitā* teachers to give a satisfactory answer out of self-defence.

that it enabled them to protect the *prajñāpāramitāparyāya* and induce the Śrāvakas to train in it. A good illustration of this is found in the *PSV*:

"Those gods who have not yet aspired to full enlightenment should do so. Those, however, who are certain that they have escaped safely out of this world, are unfit for full enlightenment. And why? The flood of birth-and-death hems them in. Incapable of repeated rebirths, they are unable to aspire to full enlightenment. And yet, if they aspire to full enlightenment, I will confirm them also. I shall not obstruct their wholesome roots. And why? For the Noble Ones should uphold the most distinguished *dharma*s above all others."⁵²⁵

"Those who have escaped safely out of this world" are those who have reached the level of Stream-winner, which entails only seven more rebirths before reaching *nirvāṇa*.⁵²⁶ But if they have only seven rebirths and wish to complete the course of the *prajñāpāramitā*, they will be unable to attain buddhahood. However, it is clear that the compilers of the *Minor Class* encourage the stream-winners to have the thought of enlightenment and to reach buddhahood.

It is also important to point out that the *Minor Class* does not negate the doctrines of sectarian-Buddhism, but hinted at the possibility that the Noble Ones could reconsider and give up the intention of entering *nirvāṇa*. This hint is particularly clear in the teaching on suchness (*tathatā*), which states that the suchness of the Tathāgata, *skandhas*, *dharma*s, and of all Śrāvaka and Pratyekabuddhas, including the suchness of the bodhisattvas, is one single suchness.⁵²⁷

Hence our point is that the compilers of the *Minor Class* intended to reduce or dispel certain differences and conflicts between the Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas and bodhisattvas. That is why they spoke on suchness (*tathatā*) with diplomacy. This also indicates that bodhisattvas should perpetuate good relations with all human beings in order to spread the *prajñāpāramitāparyāya*.

The *Minor Class* also records incorrect attitudes of bodhisattvas,

- (1) Those who neither know nor see the teaching of the *prajñāpāramitā*, are those who depart from the *prajñāpāramitā* and have no skill-in-means, or those who attach importance to faith;
- (2) Those who are training in the *prajñāpāramitā*, but feel conceit and despise other people, considering them as unqualified to follow the course of the *prajñāpāramitā*;
- (3) Those who believe themselves to be irreversible bodhisattvas and despise their fellow-bodhisattvas;
- (4) Those who conceive of themselves as having the quality of detachment, i.e. as being capable of dwelling in remote forest, but who denounce village inhabitants.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁵ T8:0540a; Aṣṭa, pp.33-34.

⁵²⁶ *Sotāpatti-Samyutta*.

⁵²⁷ Aṣṭa, pp.271-272. 大如品, T8:563c.

⁵²⁸ Aṣṭa, p.392.

The *Minor Class* also shows that pride, arrogance and conceit, which induce some (bodhisattvas) to despise other bodhisattvas, keep them far away from true practice and from all-knowledge.⁵²⁹

It is important to mention here that the practice of detachment was held in high esteem in the original teaching of the *prajñāpāramitā*, though it was asserted that this was misunderstood and distorted by some bodhisattvas who stayed in forests, jungles, or burial grounds, and who were contaminated by mental activities associated with the Śrāvakas and the Pratyekabuddhas. They also committed the faults of impure deeds of body, speech and mind, had no friendliness or compassion, and yet they claimed the respect of others for their isolation.⁵³⁰ In other words, they were asserted to not understand that the real quality of detachment lay in the purification of the mind.

The above survey discloses some circumstances which by the time the *Minor Class* was formed, caused controversy on the bodhisattva practice within Mahāyāna Buddhism. The compilers of the *Minor Class* understood the problems, and in the interests of peace and the spread of Buddhism, attempted to resolve them. This was accomplished by addressing the faults in writing. First, they pointed out that acts of despising and quarrelling kept bodhisattvas away from full enlightenment and produced bad relationships. Secondly, they asserted that Māra⁵³¹ becomes particularly jubilant when the adepts of the Bodhisattvayāna fight with their fellow devotees. They also insisted that quarrel and bad attitude towards others are the sources of birth-and-death, weaken and harm others, and turn away followers. Such faults must be disclosed and restrained. According to the *Minor Class*, it is important for bodhisattvas to realize their faults during disclosure, which is evident in the following quotation,

"My responsibility is to drive away, to pacify and appease the quarrels and conflicts of all sentient beings, yet I myself engage in disputes! It is indeed a loss to me, and not a gain . . . In fights and quarrels I behave like a senseless idiot, or like a dumb sheep. When I hear someone using offensive words towards me, my mind should not cherish malice for others. It is not right for me to perceive the faults of others, or to think that what is being said about the faults of others is worth listening to. For I, since I am earnestly intent on full enlightenment, should not do harm to others. I should lead them to *nirvāṇa* after having won full enlightenment, yet I bear ill-will! I should not bear ill-will even against those have offended me, and I must avoid getting into a rage, and I must make a firm effort in that direction. Even when my life is in danger, I must not get into a rage, and no frown should appear on

⁵²⁹ Aṣṭa, p.390.

⁵³⁰ Aṣṭa, p.392.

⁵³¹ Here, Māra represents the foes or enemies.

my face, . . . never to get angry with any sentient being, that is the attitude of mind a bodhisattva should adopt towards all beings."⁵³²

Bodhisattvas are encouraged to look at the shared qualities and goals and to ignore other matters. Hence we also find the following instruction in a text of the *Minor Class*,

Ānanda: What attitude then should a bodhisattva have towards other persons belonging to the Bodhisattvayāna?

The Buddha: The same as towards the Buddha. One should have the attitude that "these bodhisattvas are my teachers. Surely, they have mounted the same vehicle as I, have ascended by the same path. Wherein they should be trained, that is the method by which I should be trained. But if some of them dwell in a contaminated dwelling, then I should not do likewise. If, however, they dwell in an uncontaminated dwelling, in mental activities associated with all-knowledge, then I also should train as they do."⁵³³

The path and practices of the bodhisattvas, according to the *Jātākas*, were classified as the six *pāramitās*. They were generally acknowledged in the initial stages of Mahāyāna Buddhism. However, the teachers and masters of the original teaching of the *prajñāpāramitā* had a different attitude towards them, for they stressed only the sixth *pāramitā*, the *prajñāpāramitā*, without discussing the first five. This circumstance initially created confusion and then gave rise to confusion. The question was put by Ānanda and Śakra as follows,

Ānanda: The Lord does not praise the *dānapāramitā*, *śīlapāramitā*, *ksāntipāramitā*, *vīryapāramitā* and *dhyānapāramitā*, and he does not proclaim their name. For what reason does the Lord only praise the *prajñāpāramitā*?⁵³⁴

Śakra: O Lord! Does a bodhisattva course only in the *prajñāpāramitā*, and not in the other *pāramitās*?⁵³⁵

Obviously, confusion arose after the teaching of the *prajñāpāramitā* had been extolled. This reflects a clear intention of the compilers and teachers to define the *prajñāpāramitā* in terms of Mahāyāna Buddhism,

"It is not that the Buddha only praised the *prajñāpāramitā*, it is also not that the bodhisattvas do not course in the first five *pāramitās*, but it is that among the six, the *prajñāpāramitā* is the controller, the guide and the leader. For without the *prajñāpāramitā*, giving, morality, and so on cannot be dedicated to all-knowledge, they cannot be called perfect giving, perfect morality, . . . It is, therefore, because the *prajñāpāramitā* has dedicated the wholesome roots to all-knowledge that the *prajñāpāramitā* controls, guides and leads the five perfections."⁵³⁶

The masters of the *prajñāpāramitā* asserted that a bodhisattva coursed in all six perfections. However, it is the *prajñāpāramitā* which controls the bodhisattva practices⁵³⁷ and constitutes the foundation of the bodhisattva's path to enlightenment. Originally, *prajñā* has the characteristic of endowing and controlling all great meritorious qualities. It has been said in the *Samyuktāgama* that "among the beams and the other materials on the roof of a pavilion,

⁵³² Aṣṭa, pp.421-422.

⁵³³ PSV, T8:0573c-0574a; Aṣṭa, pp.422-423.

⁵³⁴ PSV, T8:545c; Aṣṭa, p.80;

⁵³⁵ Ibid. T8: 545c; Aṣṭa, p.100.

⁵³⁶ Aṣṭa, p81.

⁵³⁷ Aṣṭa, p.101.

the ridgepole is the controller, for all depend on it as it controls and supports them. Similarly, among the five *indriyas*, *prajñā* is the controller, for it controls and supports the others.”⁵³⁸

Prajñā is emphasized in the original teaching of the *prajñāpāramitā*, but this does not mean that the bodhisattva should not train in perfect giving, perfect morality, and so on. It is only asserted that the bodhisattva should realize the advantages and the importance of the *prajñāpāramitā*, and it is because of this that the six perfections receive only a passing mention in the *Minor Class*, where it is stated that “in a bodhisattva who courses in the *prajñāpāramitā*, all the six perfections and all the varieties of skill-in-means arrive at their most perfect development.”⁵³⁹

However, when we come to the *Medium Class* of the *prajñāpāramitā* texts,⁵⁴⁰ we see that the six perfections are extensively discussed and said to support one another. The teaching of the *prajñāpāramitā* is presented as the path for bodhisattvas to obtain the irreversible stage, buddhahood, and all-knowledge (*sarvajñatā*).

Although hearing, reading, reciting, copying, honouring and teaching the course of the *prajñāpāramitā*, as skill-in-means or methods of dissemination, are repeatedly advocated in the *Minor Class*, emphasis is also placed on achieving the irreversible stage of a bodhisattva. The *Jātaka* account of Dīpaṅkara Buddha is elaborated,⁵⁴¹ and the qualities of irreversible bodhisattvas are extensively explained.⁵⁴² Moreover, the irreversible bodhisattvas treated in the *Chapter on the Tokens and Signs of Irreversibility*⁵⁴³ are human beings rather than celestial beings. They are unnamed persons who train in the course of the bodhisattvas in this world. It is said that they can no longer be led astray by others, because they are free from hesitation and doubt, and that they know the proper manner, proper time and proper place in which to act for their own and the benefit of others. They cannot be deceived or misled by Māra, because they recognize the deeds of Māra at any time. Bodhisattvas that may be influenced by Māra are not irreversible bodhisattvas. This is why whenever irreversible

⁵³⁸ SA, T2:0183b. “譬如堂閣眾材，棟爲其首，皆依於棟，以攝持故。如是五根，慧爲其首，以攝持故。”

⁵³⁹ T8:0579a. “菩薩如是行般若波羅蜜時，則具足諸波羅蜜，亦能具足方便力。” Aṣṭ, p.472.

⁵⁴⁰ The term *Medium Class* is used to indicate the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts which belong to *Medium Version* discussed in Chapter Four.

⁵⁴¹ PSV, T8:0541c; Aṣṭ, p.48.

⁵⁴² Aṣṭ, pp.323-340; Aṣṭ, pp.379-384.

⁵⁴³ Chapter 16 of PSV(T8:0563-565); Chapter 17 of Aṣṭ.

bodhisattvahood is referred to in the *Minor Class*, the irreversible bodhisattva is described as impervious to Māra,

"Whatever Māra does and says to him, a true irreversible bodhisattva is no longer shaken, crushed, put out or led astray by others or Māra. Māra cannot possibly gain access to him."⁵⁴⁴

"A bodhisattva considers himself an irreversible bodhisattva, but truly he is likely to be induced, put out and led astray by Māra."⁵⁴⁵

"A bodhisattva is possibly disturbed and irritated by Māra when "Māra tries to vex a bodhisattva who has not produced the thought of firm belief in the *prajñāpāramitā*."⁵⁴⁶

The original sense of an irreversible bodhisattva implies one that does not regress to the level of a Śrāvaka or Pratyekabuddha. In the *Minor Class*, it is said that "as long as a bodhisattva is not taken hold of by the *prajñāpāramitā* and skill-in-means, he is bound to lapse and fall to the level of a Śrāvaka or Pratyekabuddha."⁵⁴⁷

In contrast it is taught, "if a bodhisattva is taken hold of by the *prajñāpāramitā* and does not lack skill-in-means, it should be known that he will not lapse and fall, and that he is able to reach the state of full enlightenment."⁵⁴⁸

All these circumstances lead to the conclusion that the *prajñāpāramitā* is treated as skill-in-means by the masters of the *Minor Class*.⁵⁴⁹ Nāgārjuna says that the *prajñāpāramitā* belongs solely to the bodhisattvas,⁵⁵⁰ and that faith and comprehension must not depart from it because it is the insight and basic skill-in-means that prevents bodhisattvas from regressing to the level of Śrāvakas or Pratyekabuddhas. The question arises as to whether the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas also possess *prajñā*. In answering this question, the teachers of the *Minor Class* said,

"A bodhisattva, while he courses in path of a bodhisattva, does not make any effort to reach the state in which all signs are forsaken in this present birth. If he were to reach that state before all Buddha-*dharma*s were complete in him, he would automatically become a Śrāvaka . . . The skill-in-means of a bodhisattva consists in this, that he cognises that sign, both its mark and cause, and yet he surrenders himself completely to the signless."⁵⁵¹

To reach the state in which all signs are forsaken and to enter into the signless state, are the achievements of the Śrāvaka. By contrast, the bodhisattvas make no effort to grasp any signs

⁵⁴⁴ T8:0564b-565a.

⁵⁴⁵ T8:0570b-0571b.

⁵⁴⁶ Aṣṭa, pp.417-421; T8:0573bc.

⁵⁴⁷ Aṣṭa, p.286-291.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., p.291; T8:0560ab.

⁵⁴⁹ In the Large Class, it is repeatedly said that the *anupalabdhyā* is treated as 'a skill in mean (無所得爲方便)'.

⁵⁵⁰ MPŚ, T25:371a.

⁵⁵¹ Aṣṭa, p.356; T8:0567b. "菩薩不如是學: 我行菩薩道, 於是身斷諸相. 若斷是諸相, 未具足佛道, 當作聲聞. 是菩薩大方便力, 知是諸相, 過而不取無相."

or to reach the state in which all signs are forsaken. This is said to be due to the power of supreme skill-in-means of the *prajñāpāramitā*. The three portals of deliverance (*vimokṣa*) are the concentrations on emptiness, signlessness and wishlessness. The Śrāvakas practise and enter into these states, and realise (*sākṣīkaroti*)⁵⁵² the reality-limit (*bhūta-koṭi*) or enter into *nirvāṇa*.⁵⁵³ The bodhisattvas also practise and enter into these states, but without realising them or entering into *nirvāṇa*. This particular mental attitude is described in the *PSV* as follows,

"A bodhisattva that has stood firmly in the concentration on emptiness, has originally raised the thought that: "I only concentrate on emptiness, but I will not realise emptiness. I should train in emptiness, this is the time for training, not for realization." Without losing himself in concentration, he ties his thought to an objective support (for his compassion) . . . And why? For, endowed with the *dharma* of the wholesome root which has thus come about, he is capable of contemplating that "this is the time for training, and not for realization."⁵⁵⁴

If the mind of a bodhisattva forms the aspiration not to abandon all sentient beings, but to set them free, and if in addition he aspires for the concentration on emptiness, signlessness, wishlessness, namely the three doors to deliverance, then the bodhisattva should be known as one who is endowed with skill-in-means, and he will not realise the reality-limit midway, before his Buddha-*dharma*s have become complete. And why? If a bodhisattva brings all sentient beings to think in such a way, if he is endowed with this recollection of all sentient beings with this production of thought, if with the power of the previously described skill-in-means he is taken hold of by the *prajñāpāramitā*, if endowed with all these qualities he thus contemplates the true nature of those deep *dharma*s, and if through their emptiness, or signlessness, or through their being unaffected, unproduced, without birth, and without any possibility, it is this skill-in-means which protects him . . ."⁵⁵⁵

Since the bodhisattva trains in the referent of the statement, "now this is time for practising, not for realization," the bodhisattva is able to "concentrate on emptiness, but without realising it." This signifies not deeply entering into the *samādhi* of *sūnyatā*. This shows that the *prajñāpāramitā*, as great skill-in-means, prevents a bodhisattva from falling back to a reversible state. Additionally, compassionate vows are generated in the aspiration not to abandon sentient beings and to set them free.

According to the *PSV* and the *Aṣṭa*, a bodhisattva endowed with compassionate vows and aspirations is in possession of skill-in-means, which offers protection and together with

⁵⁵² The Chinese verb *zhèng* (證) literally means to obtain or achieve, but it was translated from the Sanskrit verb *sākṣīkaroti*, which means to realise in the BHS, p.589a. Conze, in his translation of the *Aṣṭa*, uses the word "realise" to translate the word *sākṣīkaroti*. In this text, I also use the word "realise" to convey the meaning of the Chinese word *zhèng* (證).

⁵⁵³ The reality-limit (*bhūta-koṭi*) is the point where reality as we know it comes to an end, a synonym for *nirvāṇa*.

⁵⁵⁴ *PSV*, T8:0458b, 0568c. Concerning the assertion that a Bodhisattva must prepare to enter the three *samādhis*, the *Aṣṭa* insists that a Bodhisattva should recognize that "now is the time for maturing beings, not for realization." (*Aṣṭa*, p.371.). Both the *Daoxing* and the *PSV* read: "Now is the time for training, not for realization." (今是學時非是證時).

⁵⁵⁵ *PSV*, T8:0569ab; *Aṣṭa*, pp.375, 378-387.

the thought of enlightenment, enables one to refrain from the realisation of the reality-limit before the *Buddhadharmas* mature. Though the significance of the bodhisattva's compassionate vows and skill-in-means are clearly indicated in the *Minor Class*, the fundamental force that prevents one from falling into the level of a Śrāvaka or Pratyekabuddha is the *prajñāpāramitā*,

"Even if a bodhisattva would, for countless aeons, give gifts, guard morality, perfect patience, exert vigour, and enter the trance, however great may be the setting forth and the thought which one raises to full enlightenment, one is bound to fall to the level of a Śrāvaka or Pratyekabuddha if one is not upheld by the *prajñāpāramitā* and has no skill-in-means."⁵⁵⁶

Thus the bodhisattva's compassionate vows and skill-in-means cannot be achieved without the *prajñāpāramitā*.

In the original *prajñāpāramitāparyāya*, the exposition of the methods of following the *prajñāpāramitā* course is limited to the following instructions: non-seeing (*adarśana*), non-apprehension, non-recollecting (Aṣṭa, p.9.), non-creation (Aṣṭa, p.25), not-grasping at any *dharma* (Aṣṭa, p.13), non-appropriation of all *dharmas* (Aṣṭa, p.8.), realisation of non-production (Aṣṭa, p.25 ff.), and realisation of non-duality (Aṣṭa, p.27). Among them, non-production and non-duality are used to refer to *dharma* nature (*dharmatā*).⁵⁵⁷ The teachers of the *Minor Class* indicated that it is by the *prajñāpāramitā* that the Tathāgata became enlightened in suchness and *dharmatā*,

"It has been said by the Tathāgata that "the five *skandhas* are reckoned as the 'world'." Therefore then, Subhūti, that which is the suchness of the *skandhas*, that is the suchness of all *dharmas*; that which is the suchness of all *dharmas*, that is the suchness of the fruit of a stream-winner . . . that is the suchness of the Tathāgata. In consequence, all this suchness is just one single suchness, which is non-dual, non-different, inexhaustible and immeasurable . . . It is this suchness which the Tathāgatas have, thanks to the *prajñāpāramitā*, fully known. It is thus the *prajñāpāramitā* which instructs the Buddhas in this world, and which has generated the Buddhas. It is thus that the Buddhas cognize the suchness of the world. And in consequence, because they have been enlightened in suchness they are called the Tathāgatas."⁵⁵⁸

The *prajñāpāramitā* reveals the suchness of the world, or the suchness of the five *skandhas*. Suchness is non-dual, non-different, inexhaustible and immeasurable, and one who has been enlightened in suchness is called Tathāgata.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁶ PSV, T8:0563a; Aṣṭa, p.311.

⁵⁵⁷ *Dharmatā* corresponds to Chinese as *faxiang* (法相) or *faxing* (法性). *Dharmatā* is defined as "natural state," or "true nature," in the BHS, p.278a.

⁵⁵⁸ T8:0558b. Aṣṭa, pp.271-272.

⁵⁵⁹ T8:0562b. "隨如行故. . . 如來生." Aṣṭa, p.307.

According to the *Minor Class*, suchness is “neither coming nor going”, “immutable and unchangeable”, “undiscriminated and undifferentiated at all time and in all *dharma*s”, and “nowhere obstructed”. The suchness of the Tathāgata and all *dharma*s is “neither past, nor future, nor present,” and so on. Finally, it is said that “this is the suchness through which a bodhisattva, having definitely won full enlightenment, comes to be called a Tathāgata.”⁵⁶⁰

The *Minor Class* also discusses the reality-limit (*bhūta-koṭi*) and its connection with the bodhisattva’s ideal and practice. In most *prajñāpāramitā* texts, the reality-limit (*bhūta-koṭi*) is used as a synonym for *nirvāṇa*. However, bodhisattvas refuse to realize the reality-limit, since this would lead one enter *nirvāṇa*, fall back to the level of a Śrāvaka or Pratyekabuddha, and forfeit the chance to become fully enlightened. However, when a bodhisattva becomes enlightened in suchness, it is also called the realization of the reality-limit. Great importance is placed upon this point by the followers of the *prajñāpāramitā* course,

“A bodhisattva who courses in the *prajñāpāramitā* and who is upheld by skill in means, does not realise that farthest reality-limit until his wholesome roots are matured, well matured in full enlightenment. Only when his wholesome roots are matured, well matured in full enlightenment, only then does one realise that farthest reality-limit.”⁵⁶¹

The true nature (*dharmatā*) of *dharma*s, suchness (*tathatā*) and the reality-limit (*dharmakoṭi*) are regarded as the real character of the *dharma*s which are immutable and unchangeable. They are contemplated and meditated on by the bodhisattvas who course in *prajñāpāramitā*. The philosophical aspects of the terms *dharmatā* and *tathatā* are rarely found in the *Āgamas/Nikāyas*.⁵⁶² However, they are discussed extensively in the *Minor Class* of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, among the texts intended for bodhisattvas. For instance the *PSV* says,

1. “Deep is the suchness (of all *dharma*s) . . . the marks are fixed on to the fact that all *dharma*s are empty, signless, wishless, not produced, not stopped, not supported by anything⁵⁶³ . . . Those marks are not fixed upon by human beings, not fixed upon by the non-human beings . . . Independent of whether Buddhas exist or not, those marks always stand out and are unalterable, for they always stand out just as such. After the Tathāgata fully knew them therefore, was the Tathāgata called a Tathāgata.”⁵⁶⁴
2. “The limitation of all *dharma*s is the same as the calm and quiet, the sublime, as *nirvāṇa*, as the really existing, the unperverted.”⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶⁰ T8:0562bc. “菩薩以是如，得阿耨多多羅三藐三菩提，名為如來。”

⁵⁶¹ T8:0569a; Aṣṭa, pp.374-5.

⁵⁶² According to the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sāstra*, the term ‘*dharmakoṭi*’ is not found in the *Tripiṭaka*. T25:0298b.

⁵⁶³ In the same paragraph of the Aṣṭa, “not defiled, not purified, non-existence, *nirvāṇa*, the realm of *Dharma* and Suchness” are added. This may have been added by a later editor of the Aṣṭa.

⁵⁶⁴ T8:0558bc; Aṣṭa, p.273. In the Aṣṭa, the statement, “those marks are not fixed on by the Tathāgata,” occurs.

⁵⁶⁵ T8:0561b; Aṣṭa, p.296.

3. "Profound positions of an irreversible bodhisattva are the synonyms of emptiness, of signless, wishless, the unproduced, of non-birth, the unstopped, non-existence, dispassion (or the undefiled), cessation, departing and *nirvāṇa*."⁵⁶⁶
4. "The teaching of the Tathāgata is "immeasurable," or "incalculable" or "inexhaustible," or "empty," or "signless," or "wishless," or "the uneffected," or "non-production," "non-birth" "non-existence," "dispassion," "cessation" [*nirvāṇa*] . . . Subhūti said: "It is wonderful to see the extent to which the Tathāgata has demonstrated the true nature [*dharmatā*] of all *dharmas*; even the true nature of all *dharmas* cannot be talked about."⁵⁶⁷
5. "A bodhisattva contemplates the true nature (*dharmatā*) of the profound *dharmas*, through their emptiness, or signlessness, or wishlessness, or through their being uneffected, unproduced, without birth, and without existence."⁵⁶⁸

Although the true nature of the profound *dharmas* (*dharmāṅgām gambhīradharmatā*) is described briefly or extensively, various *prajñāpāramitā* texts of the *Minor Class* are unanimous on the main points. It is also obvious that the technical terms, 'the true nature of the deep *dharmas*,' 'the true nature of all *dharmas*,' 'the limitation of all *dharmas*,' 'profound positions or marks', 'the nature of *dharmas*,' and 'suchness (*dharmatā*)' are identical in the texts belonging to the *Minor Class*. Among the marks described above, 'the non-birth,' 'the unstopped,' 'the dispassion or undefiled,' 'the non-existence,' 'unsupported by anything,' 'cessation' and 'departing': all them indicate *nirvāṇa*.⁵⁶⁹ For example, the emptiness, the signless and the wishless are called the three doors of deliverance (*vimokṣa-dvāra*) and portals of *nirvāṇa*. The above concepts have also been used to explain the profound *Dharma* course of the *prajñāpāramitā*.

D. Types of bodhisattvas

The contents of the *Minor Class* reflect a compilation executed many times by different hands because doctrinal aspects range from the simple to the profoundly complex. A single type of bodhisattva is treated in various passages, indicating the intent to create an encompassing description of the position of a bodhisattva.

⁵⁶⁶ T8:0566a; Aṣṭa, p.341.

⁵⁶⁷ T8:0566c; "如來所說無盡，無量，空，無相，無作，無起，無生，無滅，無所有，無染，涅槃，但以名字方便故說。須菩提言：希有世尊！諸法實相不可得說而今說之！ Aṣṭa, p.347.

⁵⁶⁸ T8: 569b.

⁵⁶⁹ The *Samyuktāgama* also contains 20 technical terms indicating *nirvāṇa*, i.e. '*asaṅskṛita*,' 'hard to see (難見)' . . . "non-existence," "*nirvāṇa*," and so on. T2:0224b. "無爲，難見，無所有，涅槃。"等。 The *Samyutta-nikāya*, there are 33 technical terms, i.e. "*asaṅkhata*," "*Pāraṇ*.'" See the *Asaṅkhata-Samyuttaṅ* in the *Samyutta-nikāya* volume 4, PTS; Woodward, F. L. tr., *Kindred Sayings*, PTS, 1927, p.258 ff.

The types of bodhisattva that are often mentioned in the *Minor Class* are those that (1) have just set out on the great vehicle,⁵⁷⁰ (2) have set out long before,⁵⁷¹ and (3) those that are irreversible bodhisattvas.⁵⁷² In the *PSV* however, four types of bodhisattva are mentioned by Śakra,

"If one rejoices at the generated thought (*cittotpāda*) of (i) those bodhisattvas who have just set out [in the vehicle], at the generated thought of (ii) those who advance on the course of the six perfections, at (iii) the irreversible nature of those who are irreversible, as well as at (iv) the state of those who are bound to only one more birth (一生補處), to what extent is one's merit a superior one?"⁵⁷³

These four types of bodhisattva occur frequently in the early stage of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and they are adopted in most Mahāyāna texts. But the names of the four types of bodhisattva vary slightly in the *Minor Class* of the *prajñāpāramitā* texts. They can be enumerated as follows,

- I. The beginner who has just set out on the vehicle of bodhisattvas, a bodhisattva who is only just beginning the *prajñāpāramitā*, those who have recently set out in the vehicle of bodhisattvas, and the bodhisattvas who have newly set out in the vehicle.⁵⁷⁴
- II. The bodhisattvas who endeavour in the six perfections, who follow the grades or sequences of bodhisattvas and make progress, who have set out for a long time in the vehicle of bodhisattvas or great vehicle, who have practised the *prajñāpāramitā* course, who have raised the mind to full enlightenment, for countless aeons practiced the five perfections, but some of whom are not upheld by the *prajñāpāramitā* and lack skill-in-means.
- III. The irreversible bodhisattvas - the great-beings (*Avinivartanīya bodhisattva-mahāsattvas*), the bodhisattvas who have been predicted to attain the irreversible stage,⁵⁷⁵ the bodhisattvas who have been predicted to full enlightenment, or who have been predicted as irreversible from full enlightenment.⁵⁷⁶
- IV. The bodhisattvas who will quickly win the full enlightenment that the Tathāgatas of the past had predicted for them,⁵⁷⁷ who will go forth to All-Knowledge,⁵⁷⁸ who come close to full enlightenment;⁵⁷⁹ who are bound to only one more birth (before attaining full enlightenment),⁵⁸⁰ who have set out for the benefit and happiness of the world and will win full enlightenment in order to become a rescuer for the world, a shelter for the world, a refuge, the place of rest, the final relief, island, light and leader of the world; and who is an Anivartana-bodhisattva.⁵⁸¹

⁵⁷⁰ Aṣṭa, pp.17, 178, 250, 286, 385-6.

⁵⁷¹ Aṣṭa, pp.178, 310-311.

⁵⁷² Aṣṭa, pp.7-8, 40, 60, 128-134, 139ff., 213-218, 231, 238, 272,302, 323-339, 379-384, 420, 424, 448, 451-452, 472.

⁵⁷³ PSV, T8:0575; Aṣṭa, p.435.

⁵⁷⁴ Aṣṭa, p.282.

⁵⁷⁵ Aṣṭa, p.380.

⁵⁷⁶ Aṣṭa, pp.383-4

⁵⁷⁷ Aṣṭa, p.13.

⁵⁷⁸ *niryāsyati sarvajñātāyām*, cf. Aṣṭa, pp.8.11, 42-3, 320.

⁵⁷⁹ *abhyāsannī bhavaty anuttarāyāh samyaksaṃbode*, cf. Aṣṭa, pp.11, 348, 361, 400, 413,432,440,469.

⁵⁸⁰ PSV, T8:0575; Aṣṭa, p.435. Lethcoe has given a schema of the Aṣṭa's major classifications of Bodhisattvas in *The Bodhisattva Ideal in the Aṣṭa and Pañca. Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*, (see Lancaster, L., *Prajñāpāramitā and Related Systems*, Berkeley, Cal.: Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series, 1, 1977, pp.263-82) but the Bodhisattva who is bound to one more birth only to attain full enlightenment is not in found.

⁵⁸¹ Aṣṭa, pp.293-298.

There are also three types of bodhisattva in the *Minor Class* who are characterised in Chapter 6 of the *PSV* as follows, (a) bodhisattvas who have produced the thought of enlightenment, (b) bodhisattvas who have become irreversible from full enlightenment, and (c) irreversible bodhisattvas who want to win full enlightenment more quickly.⁵⁸²

Another four types of bodhisattva appear in Chapter 21 of the *PSV*.⁵⁸³ These four vary slightly in wording in the different versions of the *prajñāpāramitā* texts,

(1) bodhisattvas who learn the thought of full enlightenment, who have recently set out upon full enlightenment, who have resolved to know full enlightenment, who have produced the great thought of enlightenment.

(2) bodhisattvas who practice as they were taught; who progress in suchness, who train in the course of the bodhisattvas.

(3) bodhisattvas who train in all-knowledge (i.e. train in the *prajñāpāramitā* and make endeavours connected to the teaching of the *prajñāpāramitā*, who have mounted on the path of the *prajñāpāramitā*, who course in the path of the *prajñāpāramitā* and skill-in-means.

(4) bodhisattvas who are irreversible from full enlightenment and also training in the *prajñāpāramitā*.

Of the above four types of the bodhisattvas, types (1), (3) and (4) are found in the *Daoxing* and the *Daming*,⁵⁸⁴ which closely resemble the three types in Chapter 6 of the *PSV*.⁵⁸⁵ The *PEL* also has three types of bodhisattvas who course in the *prajñāpāramitā*, and appears to treat types (2) and (3) as one.⁵⁸⁶ Unit 4 also contains four types, but type (3) is defined as a bodhisattva who learns the *prajñāpāramitā*, and courses in both the *prajñāpāramitā* and skill-in-means". This narration seemingly indicates two stages or types of bodhisattvas.

Comparing the lists of the four types of bodhisattva, it is clear that type (3) in the second list is similar to type II in the first list. But why did the compilers of the *Minor Class* record two versions of the four types of bodhisattva? In my opinion they sought to collate various views on the bodhisattvas that existed at that time, and also to distinguish the beginners that had recently produced the thought of enlightenment with the bodhisattvas that had already coursed in the *prajñāpāramitā* and gained some benefits. This is in contrast to the bodhisattvas that have not yet coursed in the *prajñāpāramitā* or that have coursed in it without getting any benefit.

⁵⁸² T8:0547ab; Aṣṭa, pp.128-234.

⁵⁸³ T8:0574b; Aṣṭa, pp.429-430. 恭敬菩薩品, chapter 21 of the *PSV*.

⁵⁸⁴ *Daoxing*, T8:0465a; *Daming*, T8:0501a.

⁵⁸⁵ T8:547ab. 佐助品, Chapter 6 of the *PSV*.

⁵⁸⁶ *PEL*, T8:100c-101a, “行菩薩道學般若波羅蜜者” (those who practise the path of the Bodhisattva and those who train or learn the *prajñāpāramitā*)

It is said in the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts that the bodhisattvas who are only just beginning⁵⁸⁷ the course of the *prajñāpāramitā* should tend, love and honour good friends.⁵⁸⁸ This class seems to include those that have newly set out in the vehicle of bodhisattvas and those who have recently set out for full enlightenment or produced the thought of full enlightenment. Judging from the qualities, namely the spiritual and moral progress of the bodhisattvas, the beginner (*ādikarmikā*) bodhisattvas in the *Minor Class* are identical with the *Ādikarmika*-bodhisattva, one of the ten abodes (*vihāra*) of bodhisattvas.

By closely examining the activities and capacities of the three types of bodhisattvas that are elaborated in the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras*, namely those who have recently set out for full enlightenment, those who course in the course of bodhisattvas, who have newly set out in the bodhisattva vehicle, and those who rejoice in the study and practice the course of the *prajñāpāramitā*, we have established that these stages are identical in sequence to (i) ‘the abode (*vihāra*) of the initially generated thought (發心住),’ (ii) ‘the abode of preparing the ground (治地住),’ and (iii) ‘the abode of practice action’ of bodhisattvas (相應行住菩薩). Finally the above type (4) - the irreversible bodhisattvas – corresponds to the above type (iv) – the *Anivartana*-bodhisattvas.⁵⁸⁹

It should be pointed out that in the *Minor Class*, the bodhisattvas who have recently or newly produced the thought of full enlightenment (初發意者) are different from those who have newly set out in the great vehicle of bodhisattvas (新學者). The course of an irreversible bodhisattva as described in a later section of the *PSV*, is outlined as follows,

1. A bodhisattva that wants to win full enlightenment should from the very beginning tend, love and honour good friends . . . A bodhisattva should train in just this *prajñāpāramitā* if he himself wishes to reach deep cognition of all-knowing, a state where he cannot be led astray by others’ words and teachings, and if he wishes to become a benefactor to all sentient beings.⁵⁹⁰
2. A bodhisattva who courses in the *prajñāpāramitā* as it has been taught, so that the lineage of all-knowledge should not be interrupted . . . will surely sit on the seat of enlightenment, and will

⁵⁸⁷ ‘*ādikarmikeṇa bodhisattven prajñāpāramitāyaṇi sthātavyāṇi śikṣitavyāṇi*,’ *Aṣṭa*, p.292; ‘*navayānasamprasthitāḥ (parītakusālamūlā) Bodhisattvā*,’ *Aṣṭa*, pp.17, 282, 139-40; in the *PEL*, see T8:0070a; *Daoxing*, T8:0438b; *Daming*, T8:0486b

⁵⁸⁸ *Daoxing*, T8:0452b; *Daming*, T8:0493; *Aṣṭa*, p.292.

⁵⁸⁹ Cleary, T. *The Flower Ornament Scripture (Avataṃsaka Sūtra)*, Boulder, Colorado: Shambhala, 1984/6, p.384ff.

⁵⁹⁰ T8:0571bc; *Aṣṭa*, pp.395-8.

rescue the sentient beings sunk in *saṃsāra*⁵⁹¹ . . . if a bodhisattva trains himself in this way, the four Great Kings will bring four begging bowls and offer them to him.⁵⁹²

3. A bodhisattva who trains himself in this way trains in all-knowledge; one who trains in all-knowledge, trains in *prajñāpāramitā*. He will gain the ten powers of the Buddhas, the four grounds of self-confidence and the eighteen special attributes of the Buddhas. O Subhūti! When a bodhisattva trains himself thus, he will reach the perfection of all trainings (到諸學彼岸) . . . He cannot be crushed by Māra, or by Māra's associates or by Māra's host . . . He shall soon reach the irreversible stage . . . He will soon sit on the seat of enlightenment . . . He trains in the *dharma*s that make him a protector . . . trains in the great friendliness and the great compassion . . . He trains for the sake of turning the wheel of *Dharma* . . . He trains so as to save no fewer sentient beings than he should . . . He trains to ensure the non-interruption of the lineage of the Tathāgatas . . . He trains in order to open the door of the deathless element.⁵⁹³

4. A bodhisattva should train in *prajñāpāramitā* if he wants to achieve full enlightenment, to arrive at the supreme position among all sentient beings, to become a protector of the helpless, to reach the Buddha sphere, to emulate the Buddha manliness, to revel in the play of Buddha, to roar the Buddha's lion-like roar, to reach the accomplishment of the Buddha, and to explain the *Dharma* in the great trichiliocosm.⁵⁹⁴

5. If a bodhisattva wants to attain the highest perfection of all training, then he should train in *prajñāpāramitā*.⁵⁹⁵

6. When the bodhisattva sits on the seat of enlightenment, he surveys the twelve links of conditioned co-production in such way that he avoids the duality of the extremes. He surveys it without seeing any beginning, end, or middle. He surveys conditioned co-production in such a manner that constitutes the special *dharma* of the bodhisattva . . . The bodhisattva who wants to achieve full enlightenment should course in *prajñāpāramitā* . . . For in the bodhisattva who courses in *prajñāpāramitā* all the (six) perfections reach their most perfect development, and also all the varieties of skill-in-means . . . Whatever deeds of Māra may arise in a bodhisattva who courses in *prajñāpāramitā*, he will wisely know them when they occur . . . He will then produce the thought that "I also shall reach those *dharma*s which the Lord Buddhas have reached!"⁵⁹⁶

Thus the main aim of the last five and a half chapters of the *PSV*⁵⁹⁷ is to inspire bodhisattvas to educate themselves and course in both skill-in-means and the *prajñāpāramitā*. It is to perfect both of them, to master the four stages of a bodhisattva, to attain the merit of the Buddhas, to acquire the attributes, powers and all-knowledge of the Tathāgatas, and to rescue and enlighten sentient beings. Thus the teachings of the first twenty-five chapters of the *Minor Class* are classified as follows: (I) the first chapter of the *Daoxing* which belongs to the *Minor Class* contains the original *Prajñāpāramitā*, discloses its profound course. (II) The remaining chapters deal with the gradual training in the course of the *prajñāpāramitā*, closely associated with the four types of bodhisattva discussed above.

⁵⁹¹ It is notable that in the Aṣṭa, 'a Bodhisattva will rescue sentient beings who have sunk into the mud of defilement (*klesāpaṅke*).' Aṣṭa, p.414.

⁵⁹² T8:0573; Aṣṭa, pp.313-4.

⁵⁹³ T8:0574a; Aṣṭa, pp.423-6.

⁵⁹⁴ T8:0574c; Aṣṭa, p.432. "... 欲得佛所遊戲... 三千大千世界大會講法, 當學般若波羅蜜"

⁵⁹⁵ T8:0578b; Aṣṭa, p.466. "若菩薩欲到一切法彼岸, 當學般若波羅蜜."

⁵⁹⁶ T8:0578-9; Aṣṭa, p.469, 473. "... 觀十二因緣, 離於二邊... 不共之法..."

⁵⁹⁷ More specifically, the latter half of Chapter 20 to the Chapter 25. T8: 571b -579b; Aṣṭa., p.395-473.

To conclude, the original *prajñāpāramitā* course specifically refers to the *prajñāpāramitā* and attaches importance to the non-production of all *dharmas*, perfectly comprehended by irreversible bodhisattvas. The spread of the *prajñāpāramitā* course was, except for the doctrine of the irreversible bodhisattvas, closely associated with the categories of bodhisattvas who had coursed in both the great vehicle and the *prajñāpāramitā* for a long time, who had newly set out and coursed in both, and who had recently produced the thought of full enlightenment and coursed in both.

The course of the *prajñāpāramitā* for beginners primarily involved listening, reading and reciting the *prajñāpāramitā*, keeping it in mind, asking questions about it, enquiring about its meaning, comprehending it, copying, honouring, worshipping it, and giving it to others. In order to guide the followers of the *prajñāpāramitā* and strengthen their confidence in coursing in the *prajñāpāramitā*, the *Minor Class* contrasted the merit generated by coursing in it with the evils generated by denouncing it.

The course of the *prajñāpāramitā* for irreversible bodhisattvas⁵⁹⁸ involved training in the merit of the Buddhas, in all-knowledge and skill-in-means, coursing in the *prajñāpāramitā*, realising full enlightenment of the Tathāgatas, and enlightening and rescuing sentient beings. Thus the *prajñāpāramitā* becomes the bodhisattva course from the beginning to the end of their journey to enlightenment. Comparing the teaching in the original *prajñāpāramitā* with the teaching in the *Minor Class*, we find that the *prajñāpāramitā* course evolved in the following ways,

1. Courses were designed according to the abilities and faculties of bodhisattvas and followers.
2. Importance was attached to popularising the course for beginners, and to finding solutions to the problems and controversies that emerged on the varying practices of the bodhisattvas.
3. The focus was not only on the *prajñāpāramitā* course, but on the six perfections
4. It was established that the irreversible bodhisattva's deep realization of non-production did not constitute entering into *nirvāṇa*, but recognizing and appreciating it from experience.

⁵⁹⁸ Later, the idea of irreversibility of the Bodhisattvas was reconstructed and developed in the *bhūmis*. For instance, irreversible Bodhisattvas are classified into three or four *bhūmis* in the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*.

5. It was shown that the fruits and achievement of the Śrāvakas do not depart from the *anutpattikadharmakṣānti* of the bodhisattvas.⁵⁹⁹

6. The three portals of deliverance (*vimokṣa-dvāra*) were used to illustrate the profound *prajñāpāramitā* course, and the emptiness of all *dharmas*.⁶⁰⁰

7. Among the *bodhipakṣyā dharmas*, the faculties (*indriya*), power (*bala*), the factors of enlightenment (*bodhyaṅga*) and the noble eightfold path (*āryāṣṭāṅga-mārga*) were also mentioned.⁶⁰¹

8. The special *dharma* of the bodhisattva, the excellent middle-way of surveying conditioned co-production (*prañitya-samutpāda*) free from the two extremes, was also clearly disclosed.⁶⁰²

Thus the course of the *prajñāpāramitā* consists of the fundamental teachings of early Buddhism. However, it is not limited to what the Śrāvakas were asserted to know and have realised, but more profound by focusing on the *anutpattikadharmakṣānti*, the insight of the Tathāgata, the wisdom of the Buddhas, all-knowledge (*sarvajñātā*), and the super-knowledges (*abhijñā*).⁶⁰³

The *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* says that the *prajñāpāramitā* course was not taught within one day or one sitting.⁶⁰⁴ In fact, the various attributes and signs of the irreversible bodhisattvas which are repeatedly mentioned in many chapters and paragraphs of the *Minor Class*, show that materials were collected, synthesized from various discourses, and compiled into a particular text. The first 25 chapters of the *Minor Class* were in all probability compiled numerous times. Evidence for this is attested in the varying contents of *prajñāpāramitā* texts in the *Minor Class*. The period spanning from the development of the original *prajñāpāramitā* to the compilation of the first 25 chapters of the *Minor Class* was likely to number approximately one hundred years, or from 50 BCE to 50 CE. When the chapters were composed, the *prajñāpāramitā* course was already widespread in Northern India.

⁵⁹⁹ T8:540c;

⁶⁰⁰ T8:558c, 563b, 566c.

⁶⁰¹ T8: 566b, 569b.

⁶⁰² T8: 578c. 十二因緣,離於二邊,是為菩薩不共之法. Aṣṭa, p.469. "by non-extinction, a Bodhisattva surveys conditioned co-production and avoids the duality of extremes in order to survey conditioned co-production in such way that is the special *dharma* of the Bodhisattva. Thus surveying conditioned co-production, the Bodhisattva acquires the cognition of all-knowing."

⁶⁰³ T8: 572c.

⁶⁰⁴ MPŚ, T25: 356a, 般若“非一日一坐說。”

E. The bodhisattva in the supplements to the *Minor Class* and other *Classes*

Among the *prajñāpāramitā* texts of the *Minor Class*, the *PSV* appears to conclude with Chapter 25. However, the current edition consists of 29 chapters, which suggests four additional chapters were composed at some later period.⁶⁰⁵ These four chapters we take as supplements that may be divided into two groups, namely Chapter 26, the *Anugama-parivarta* which in turn is an appendix of the *Minor Class*, and chapters 27-29, which were perhaps grafted from the *prajñāpāramitā* texts of the *Medium Class*. The interesting aspects of the bodhisattva ideal in these supplements may be outlined as follows:

(i) In Chapter 26,⁶⁰⁶ the *Anugama-parivarta*, it is taught that the bodhisattva ought to approach and practise the *prajñāpāramitā* by non-attachment to all *dharmas* and the sameness of all *dharmas* (*sarvadharmasamatā*),⁶⁰⁷ and should act in a manner corresponding to the *prajñāpāramitā* course of bodhisattvas. It teaches further that “all *dharmas* are equal in the sense of being unaffected by change, and that all talk of *dharmas* consists of mere words.” Some new elements appear in this chapter such as the great ocean, the firmament, the rays of the sun, the lion’s roar, the multicoloured Meru, the earth, water, fire, air and space. All represent analogies to illustrate the fact that the *prajñāpāramitā* cannot be altered by external factors. These analogies are also used in the oldest version of the *Kāśyapaparivarta*⁶⁰⁸ and other *sūtras*.⁶⁰⁹ In fact, most introductions to the Mahāyāna *Sūtras* employ the same analogies

⁶⁰⁵ As for the Aṣṭa, Conze has suggested the following additions: (i) Chapters 30 and 31 - the story of Sadāpraruditā; (ii) Chapter 29 - an independent essay in the form of a litany; (iii) Chapter 13 - an independent treatise. But (ii) and (iii) are not supported by the Chinese translations, and (i) has been considerably altered. Moreover, the *avadāna* of Sadāpraruditā has considerable similarities with Chapters 22 of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* and Chapter 33 of the *Samādhirājasūtra*. All three versions are concerned with the sacrifice of the body out of a desire for the *dharma*. The sacrificed limb is then restored by a declaration of truth. Conze, in his *Thirty Years of Buddhist Studies* (p.170 ff.), points out that a book with seven seals appears in a curious passage in Chapter 30, p. 507, 12-18. Incidentally, this offers a striking parallel to a passage in the Revelations of St. John - “I saw lying in the right hand of Him a book written within and without closely sealed with seven seals;”. This of course does not prove that Chapter 30 was composed in the first century of the Christian era, especially since the passage in question is absent in the two oldest Chinese translations: the *Daoxing* (T224, AD. 180) and the *Daming* (T225, 225 CE).

⁶⁰⁶ In the *PSV* and the *PD*, the corresponding chapter is entitled as *The Chapter on the Approach to Knowledge* (隨知品); but in the *Daoxing* and the *Daming*, it is entitled as *The Chapter on the Approaches* (*anugama-parivarta*, 隨品) which is similar to Chapter 29 of the Aṣṭa.

⁶⁰⁷ Aṣṭa, pp.475-480; T8:470abc, 503bc, 579b-580a,667a-668a.

⁶⁰⁸ T11: 633ab; 《大寶積經》卷 112 《普明菩薩會》; *Index to the Sanskrit Text of the Kāśyapaparivarta*, Weller, F., Mass.: Harvard - Yenching Institute, 1935; *The Kāśyapaparivarta: A Mahāyā Sūtra of the Ratnakūta Class*, Stael-Holstein, A. von, ed., Shanghai, 1963.

⁶⁰⁹ T16: 219c-222b; 《寶雲經》卷 2 . 3.

to praise the bodhisattva's merit. The analogies of the *Anugama-parivarta* used to explain the course of the *prajñāpāramitā* must have been influenced by the Mahāyāna *sūtras* which were current at the time when the *Anugama-parivarta* was committed to writing.

(ii) Of the remaining three chapters, namely the *Sadāprarudita-parivarta* (ch. 27), the *Dharmodgata-parivarta* (ch. 28) and the *Paṇḍanā-parivarta* (ch. 29), Chapters 27 and 28 give the story of bodhisattva Sadāprarudita (The ever-weeping), who sought the *prajñāpāramitā* and was willing to sacrifice everything to gain it. Chapter 29 gives a very brief summary of the *PSV* and indicates that the Buddha entrusted the *Sūtra* to Ānanda.⁶¹⁰ Taking a comparative approach, we assume that these three chapters were originally included in the texts of the *Medium Class* and moved into the texts of the *Minor Class*. We base this conclusion on the following evidence:

1. It is said in the *PSV* that "the holy bodhisattva Dharmodgata has acquired the *dhāraṇīs*, and possesses the supernormal powers".⁶¹¹ *Dhāraṇīs* are also referred to in the *Daoxing*, the *Daming* and the *PD*. However, there is no mention of *dhāraṇīs* in the first 25 Chapters of the *Minor Class*. The *dhāraṇīs*, as short formulas which enable one to remember the salient points of the doctrine, are the *Mahāyāna-paryāya*, which originated in the *prajñāpāramitā* texts of the *Medium Class*.
2. Sadāprarudita, wholeheartedly wishing to see the bodhisattva Dharmodgata, established himself in various concentrations (*samādhis*)⁶¹² and as a result, produced a form of perception that did not rely on any *dharma*. After meeting and listening to the bodhisattva Dharmodgata expounding the *prajñāpāramitā*, he acquired six million doors of concentration.⁶¹³ The names of the concentrations (*samādhis*) that are enumerated in Chapters 27 and 28 are identical to those found in the *prajñāpāramitā* texts of the *Medium Class*.
3. In the first 25 chapters of the *PSV*, the Buddha's merit and qualities are listed in four places as (1) the ten powers, the four grounds of self-confidence and the eighteen

⁶¹⁰ T8: 477b (in the *Daoxing*), 507c (in the *Daming*), 586bc (in the *PSV*), 676bc (in the *PD*). The *Paṇḍanā-parivarta* begins on Chapter 28 of the *Aṣṭa*, p.460, 14, up to p. 464, and is resumed again in Chapter 32, p.527. p.525 logically follows from p.464. See Conze's *Thirty Years of Buddhist Studies*, p.178.

⁶¹¹ T8: 582a, "已得陀羅尼, 諸神通力." In the *Aṣṭa*, p.497, the supernormal powers or super-knowledges of the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata are five in number.

⁶¹² *Aṣṭa*, pp.490-492; T.8.p.581bc.

⁶¹³ T8: 586ab; *Aṣṭa*, pp.525-526.

special *dharma*s of the Buddha,⁶¹⁴ (2) the powers, the grounds of self-confidence and the *dharma*s of the Buddha;⁶¹⁵ (3) the perfect purity of the powers, the grounds of self-confidence, and of the Buddha-*dharma*s.⁶¹⁶ All these qualities are identical in the texts belonging to the *Minor Class*. But in Chapter 27, the qualities of the Buddha such as great compassion, great sympathetic joy, great impartiality, the ten powers, the four ground of self-confidence, the four analytical knowledges and the eighteen special *dharma*s of a Buddha⁶¹⁷, are identical to those in the text belonging to the *Medium Class*.

Thus it is reasonable for us to infer that the main sources of Chapters 27 and 28 are contained in the *Medium Class*. The most compelling argument which locates the sources of these chapters is the development in the practices of the bodhisattvas found in the texts of the *Minor Class*, which originally belonged to the texts of the *Medium Class*.

We know that the spread of the original *prajñāpāramitā* course was due to the establishment in the concentrated insight of non-appropriation of all *dharma*s through the conduct of non-dispute (*araṇa-carya*). Therefore, in the texts belonging to the *Medium Class*, though the proponents teach the four-fold disciples (sons and the daughters of good families) how to emulate the bodhisattvas and course in the *prajñāpāramitā*, they maintain the traditional concept that life of a householder is undesirable, disgusting, and hinders spiritual progress. This concept is clearly evident in the *Daoxing* and the *PSV*,

"When a [bodhisattva] householder meets his wife, he has no love for pleasure, but has the feeling of fear within. When he has intercourse with his wife, he thinks: "impure are these foul elements and ports; it is not my *dharma*. I will not come near it again for the rest of my life. I should depart and go away from the foul." He should abandon the lust and get away from it just as a man who walks in a wilderness infested with robbers constantly thinks of getting away, of getting out of the dangerous road in this wilderness. And also he does not talk of the faults of others. And why? Because he has incited all sentient beings in the world to win supreme happiness . . . It is in this spirit that bodhisattvas live the life of householders, inasmuch as they have been impregnated with the power of the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁶¹⁸

When a bodhisattvas lives the life of a householder, he has no great love for pleasant things, and he does not want them too much. One possesses all pleasant things with fear and disgust. Situated in a wilderness infested with robbers, one would eat one's meal in fear, and with the constant thought of getting away, of getting out of the wilderness, and not with repose. Just so an irreversible bodhisattva who lives the life of a householder possesses the pleasant, but he sees the

⁶¹⁴ T8:544c, 574a.

⁶¹⁵ In Chapter 24 of the *PSV*, T8:577b; Chapter 27 of the *Aṣṭa*, p.455.

⁶¹⁶ In Chapter 21 of the *PSV*, T8: 574b; Chapter 25 of the *Aṣṭa*, p.428.

⁶¹⁷ T8:582c, "佛十力四無所畏四無礙智十八不共法." *Aṣṭa*, p.499.

⁶¹⁸ *Daoxing*, T8:455b; "在家者與婦人相見心不樂喜,常懷恐怖,與婦人交接,念之惡露臭處不淨潔,非我法也...當脫是惡露中去...當棄遠是姪洗,畏懼如行大荒澤中...是皆深般若波羅蜜威神力."

faults of it. His mind is not greedy; he earns his livelihood in a clean way, not in a wrong way. He would rather lose his own body and life than inflict injuries on others. And why? Because the bodhisattvas have incited all sentient beings to win supreme happiness. It is in this spirit that bodhisattvas live the life of householders, inasmuch as they have been impregnated with the power of the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁶¹⁹

Comparing the attitudes of the bodhisattva-householders concerning pleasurable objects and lust in the versions of the *Prajñāpāramitā* text, we see that the bodhisattva householders in the older versions such as the *Daoxing* and the *PSV*, are portrayed differently than those in the later versions, namely Unit 1. The bodhisattva householder's attitude towards the sexual and the pleasant in the oldest texts of the *Minor Class* is identical in spirit to that of traditional Buddhism. But these attitudes change in the texts belonging to the *Medium Class* and the *Large Class*, and evidenced in Unit 1,

"The bodhisattva has the life of a householder, endowed with the skill-in-means. Although he is involved in the five kinds of sensuous pleasures, he does not become attached to them. Whatever he does is to give to and rescue all sentient beings . . . he gains treasures and wealth through his great wish and supernormal powers . . . Although he lives the life of a householder, he constantly practices continence (*brahmacarya*), and he is never interested in its excellent and pleasant consequences. He gains a variety of treasure and wealth, but he does not become addicted to it."⁶²⁰

The type of bodhisattva householder in Unit 1 of the *Large Class* is also founded in the *prajñāpāramitā* texts belonging to the *Medium Class*. According to the *Sūtras*, the life of an irreversible bodhisattva was purposely chosen. It is in order to help sentient beings ripen that through skill-in-means, the bodhisattva lives the life of a householder and is involved in the five kinds of sensuous pleasures. It is worth noting that although the practice of continence is mentioned, the sense that a bodhisattva dislikes the life of a householder has completely disappeared in the *Medium Class* and the *Large Class*. Since the bodhisattva may exercise great and super-normal powers, he is no longer a normal human, but a celestial bodhisattva.

Furthermore, comparing the irreversible bodhisattva householder in the *Minor Class* with those of the *Medium Class*, there are significant differences. In the *Minor Class*, the irreversible bodhisattva householder is a real householder, a human being who has coursed in the *prajñāpāramitā* and reached the stage of irreversibility from full enlightenment.⁶²¹ But in the *Medium Class*, the *dharmakāya* and the Mahāsattvas are regarded as irreversible, and both skilful in maturing and enlightening sentient beings. The sense of the *Medium Class* is expressed in the story of Sadāprarudita. When the young layman Sadāprarudita went to seek

⁶¹⁹ T8: 565a. However, in the Aṣṭa, p.332-3, the same passage was expanded by adding some details.

⁶²⁰ T6: 673c-674a.

⁶²¹ Unit 4, Unit 5, T7: 902a.

the *prajñāpāramitā*, he was accompanied by a wealthy daughter of a merchant and her five hundred maidens in five hundred carriages. At that time, the interlocutor of the *Dharma* was the bodhisattva Dharmodgata, who lived with sixty-eight thousand women. With his retinue, he found joy in the parks and ponds, and felt and tasted the five types of sensual pleasure.⁶²² He also accepted the five hundred maidens and five hundred well-decorated carriages that Sadāprarudita presented to him. These examples show that both bodhisattvas Sadāprarudita and Dharmodgata were householders who accepted and lived with women, and felt and tasted the five types of sensual pleasure. Although they were the wealthiest, and enjoyed the life of the householder, they established themselves in the *prajñāpāramitā* and skill-in-means to guide, mature and train others in the same way. The *Medium Class* thus presents a new model of the bodhisattva.

But in order to remove any confusion surrounding the new model of the bodhisattva, some attitudes and instructions are found in the texts belonging to the *Medium Class*. Thus when the bodhisattva Sadāprarudita was searching for the *prajñāpāramitā*, from the air he heard a voice say,

"You must also see through Māra's deeds. For there is also the Evil One, who may suggest that your teacher tends, enjoys and honours things that can be seen, heard, smelled, tasted or touched, when in truth he does so through skill-in-means, and has really risen above them. You should not therefore lose confidence in him, but say to yourself, "I do not know that skill-in-means as he wisely knows it. He tends, enjoys and honours those *dharma*s in order to discipline sentient beings, in order to win wholesome roots for them. For no attachment to objective supports exists in bodhisattvas."⁶²³

According to this advice, bodhisattvas do not attach themselves to any *dharma*. On seeing that the proponents of the *dharma* felt and tasted the five kinds of sensual pleasure, the bodhisattva does not produce the thought of impurity, but honours and worships them, present gifts to them and follows their example,⁶²⁴ all in order to hear the *prajñāpāramitā* and skill-in-means.

The historical significance of the story of Sadāprarudita in the *Medium Class* is that for the first time, both a laywoman and layman learn the *dharma* from a lay teacher. In the story, young Sadāprarudita and the daughter of the richest merchant are the foremost lay disciples, and the bodhisattva Dharmodgata is the foremost lay teacher. Although this story is contained in the *prajñāpāramitā* texts belonging to the *Minor*, *Medium* and *Large Class*, the

⁶²² Aṣṭa, p.488. The Bodhisattva Dharmodgata did this only for a certain time, and therefore he always used the occasion to demonstrate the *prajñāpāramitā*.

⁶²³ T8:580b; Aṣṭa, p.483.

⁶²⁴ Aṣṭa, pp.519-522;

event of a bodhisattva accepting and enjoying the five types of sensual pleasure through skill-in-means portrays a new bodhisattva ideal. Sadāprarudita and Dharmodgata represented a new model of the bodhisattva for lay followers.

Chapter Six: The *Pāramitās*

In this chapter we analyse two systems of the *pāramitās* present in early non-Mahāyāna texts and later developed in Mahāyāna texts. The first system is that of six *pāramitās* and the second of ten *pāramitās*. In previous chapters we have analysed the *pāramitās* in the context of early non-Mahāyāna texts and early-Mahāyāna texts. In later Mahāyāna texts there is a conceptual development in the interpretation of the *pāramitās*. For example, in the earlier texts, the perfection of generosity is described in terms of material giving, and in Mahāyāna texts it is expanded and developed to include the *Dharma* teaching (*dharmadeśanā*) as a superior kind of giving. It is this type of development that will be discussed here.

It is not our purpose in this analysis to suggest that the system of six *pāramitās* was developed into a system of ten *pāramitās*, nor that a theory of ten become compressed into a system of six. Rather, by the time Mahāyāna texts were composed, two separate systems were followed and developed into systems distinct from each other. All texts refer exclusively to one of these two systems. It is thus possible to divide all Mahāyāna texts which treat the *pāramitās* into two groups, those numbering six,⁶²⁵ and those numbering ten⁶²⁶ *pāramitās*. It is left to examine the development of each *pāramitā*, and the ways in which these ideas were refined and expanded. Since the subject of the *pāramitās* is very vast and covers many aspects of the bodhisattva career, our analysis is limited to the system of six *pāramitās* and its doctrinal evolution in the Chinese sources.

A. The system of six *pāramitās* in the *Āgamas*

The term referring to the ten *pāramitā* is not found in the Chinese translations of the *Āgamas*, but that referring to the six *pāramitās* is found in four texts,⁶²⁷ and referred to in more than ten

⁶²⁵ The principle texts related to the system of six *pāramitās* are: the *Āgamas*, *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṅgraha*, *Mahāvastu*, Lkt, *Prajñapāramitāsūtras*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, *Vimalakīrīṇīrdeśa*, *Subāhupariṣccha*, and the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*.

⁶²⁶ The principle texts related to the system of the ten *pāramitās* are: the *Dasabhūmisūtra*, *Dasabhūmikasūtra*, *Avataṃsakasūtra*, *Mahāyānaratnameghasūtra*, and *Samdhinirmocanasūtra*.

⁶²⁷ 尸迦羅越六方禮經, DA, T01:252a, No.16; 新歲經 (*Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha on the New Year Day*), MA, T01:0860c, No. 62; 施食獲五福報經 (*Sūtra on the five meritorious recompenses by giving food*), EA, T02:855b,

places in the Chinese version of the *Vinayaṭīka*.⁶²⁸ The absence of the ten *pāramitās* in the *Āgamas* may imply that they were either not known or not accepted by the compilers of the *Āgamas*. Since they are absent in the *Āgamas*,⁶²⁹ we may assume the system of six *pāramitās* was earlier.

The six *pāramitās* that are specified in the *Āgamas* and *Vinaya* texts are identical with those of the *Mahāvastu*, the *prajñāpāramitāsūtras*, and many other Mahāyāna texts. They are the *pāramitās* of *dāna*, *sīla*, *kṣānti*, *vīrya*, *dhyāna* and *prajñā*. It is important however, to point out that in the *Āgamas* they are not specified as the course for the bodhisattva, but are said to be the teachings that *śrāmanas* should teach to the common people. These teachings consisted of the correct manner of abandoning evil and cultivating the virtues for being reborn in a celestial realm.⁶³⁰ They are also sanctioned as a law for religious practice and taught to the monks by the Buddha on one occasion.⁶³¹ In addition, they are said to belong to the profound teachings that are often taught by someone who produces the thought of enlightenment and gives things to all sentient beings.⁶³²

The terms bodhisattva and Mahāyāna appear in the first chapter of the *Ekottarāgamasūtra*, where for the first time in the *Āgamas*, we see the connection between the six *pāramitās* and bodhisattvas. “On account of bodhisattvas producing the thought of interest in the Mahāyāna, the Tathāgata gives various kinds of teaching. The Honoured One teaches the six *pāramitās* –

No.132; 增壹阿含經, EA, T02:0550a, No.125.

⁶²⁸ 根本說一切有部毘奈耶 (*Mulasarvāstivāda-vinaya*), T23:694a, No. 1442; *Mulasarvāstivāda-bhikṣuṇī-vinaya* (根本說一切有部苾芻尼毘奈耶), T23:0911a, No. 1443; *Mulasarvāstivāda-vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu* (根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事), T24: 0367c, No. 1451; 毘尼母經 (卷 1), T24: 0801b, No. 1463; 沙彌尼戒經 (卷 1), T24:0937b, No. 1474; 大愛道比丘尼經 (卷 2), T24:0951a, No. 1478; 菩薩瓔珞本業經 (卷 1), T24:1017a, No. 1485; 佛說菩薩內戒經 (卷 1), T24:1029a, No. 1487; 優婆塞戒經 (卷 7), T24:1073c, No. 1488; 清淨毘尼方廣經 (卷 1), T24:1077c, No. 1489; 寂調音所問經 (卷 1), T24:1082b, No. 1490; 菩薩藏經 (卷 1), T24, p1088a, No. 1491; 根本說一切有部毘奈耶破僧事 (卷 16), T24:0182b, No. 1450; 菩薩受齋經 (卷 1) T24:1116c, No. 1502; 四分律行事鈔資持記 (卷 15), T40:0405b, No. 1805.

⁶²⁹ By saying so, we are aware of the ten perfections in the later texts of the Theravādin *Kuddaka Nikāya*.

⁶³⁰ See DA, T01: 0251c-0252a21, No.16. 佛說尸迦羅越六方禮經: “沙門道士當以六意視凡民。一者教之布施。不得自慳貪二者教之持戒。不得自犯色。三者教之忍辱。不得自恚怒。四者教之精進。不得自懈怠。五者教人一心。不得自放意。六者教人點慧。不得自愚癡。沙門道士教人去惡爲善。開示正道... 勉進以六度,修行致自然,所生趣精進,六度爲橋梁。”

⁶³¹ See MA, T01: 0860c01-5, NO. 62. 佛說新歲經: “佛告諸比丘。今佛世尊。雖新歲一年一會。修行法則。清淨道護。嚴身口意三事無穢。奉行十善四等六度。蠲除六情三毒五蓋十二牽連。” The Chinese term 四等 generally refers to the four boundless states (*apramāṇa*) (四無量心,蓋從心而言,平等緣於一切,故稱四等、四等心。若從所緣之境而言,其所緣之眾生無量,故稱四無量.)

⁶³² EA, T2: 0855b, No. 132. 施食獲五福報經: “若發道意施於一切... 所生之處常見現在佛諮受深法。四等四恩六度無極三十七品。”

dāna, śīla, kṣānti, vīrya, dhyāna, prajñā - which possess power like the rising moon, and enable one to see [the true nature of] the *dharmas*.⁶³³ Clearly the notion of seeing [the true nature of] the *dharmas* is the crucial reason for the bodhisattvas to practice the *pāramitās*.

The *Dānapāramitā*: The concept of each *pāramitā* is briefly defined in the *Ekottarāgamasūtra*. Some of the essential teachings are also found in the Pāli *Cariyāpiṭaka*. The perfection of generosity is said to be practised by “those who can bravely give their own heads, eyes, bodies, blood and flesh without regret or miserliness, and those who give their wives, country, property and male and female followers.”⁶³⁴ A further exposition of this *pāramitā* is given in chapter 27 of the *Ekottarāgamasūtra*. In response to Maitreya’s question upon how to fulfil the *dānapāramitā*, the Buddha gives four principles to the bodhisattva and the Mahāsattvas to practise. These principles of practising the *dānapāramitā*⁶³⁵ slightly resemble those in the *Cariyāpiṭaka*.⁶³⁶ In the *Ekottarāgamasūtra* they are as follows,

“In practicing generosity, the bodhisattva and the Mahāsattva should treat every human being equally without exception;⁶³⁷ . . . Be joyful in practising generosity without any attachment;⁶³⁸ . . . Dedicating merit to all sentient beings, the bodhisattva does not simply consider his own affairs, but also inspires sentient beings to achieve perfect enlightenment;⁶³⁹ . . . One contemplates that the bodhisattvas, being the best among sentient beings, fulfil the six *pāramitās* and understand the true nature of all *dharmas*.”⁶⁴⁰

It is further said that if the bodhisattvas follow these four principles in practising generosity and the six *pāramitās*, they are able to fulfil the *dānapāramitā* and to quickly achieve perfect enlightenment.⁶⁴¹ A similar way of practising this *pāramitā* is also found in the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgrahasūtra*.⁶⁴² In summary, the perfection of generosity in the *Ekottarāgamasūtra*, the *Nikāyas* and the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha* is essentially the same in practice. It consists in giving without any reservation and following the above four principles.

⁶³³ EA, T2: 0550a, No.125. 增壹阿含經序品第一 “菩薩發意趣大乘, 如來說此種種別, 人尊說六度無極布施持戒忍精進, 禪智慧力如月初, 速度無極諸法。”

⁶³⁴ EA, T2: 0550a13-16. “諸有勇猛施頭目, 身體血肉無所惜, 妻妾國財及男女, 此名檀度不應棄。”

⁶³⁵ EA, T2: 0645b04. “若菩薩摩訶薩行四法本。具足六波羅蜜, 疾成無上正真等正覺。”

⁶³⁶ See the concept of *dānapāramitā* in Chapter One.

⁶³⁷ EA, T2: 0645b04. “菩薩惠施 . . . 皆悉平均不選擇人。”

⁶³⁸ EA, T2: 0645b10. “菩薩若惠施之時 . . . 不生著想。”

⁶³⁹ EA, T2: 0645b13-14. “菩薩布施之時。普及一切。不自爲己使成無上正真之道。”

⁶⁴⁰ EA, T2: 0645b15-22. “菩薩摩訶薩布施之時。作是思惟, 諸有眾生之類。菩薩最爲上首。具足六度。了諸法本。”

⁶⁴¹ EA, T2: 0654b22. “使此諸施具足六度, 成就檀波羅蜜。若菩薩摩訶薩行此四法, 疾成無上正真等正覺。”

⁶⁴² See the reference in Chapter Three, and also see T3: 0001a15-20; No.152. “布施度無極者。厥則云何。慈育人物, 悲愍群邪。喜賢成度。護濟眾生, 跨天踰地, 潤弘河海。布施眾生。飢者食之。渴者飲之, 寒衣熱涼。疾濟以藥。車馬舟輿, 眾寶名珍。妻子國土。索即惠之。猶太子須大犢, 布施貧乏。若親育子。父王屏逐, 愍而不怨。”

The *Śīlapāramitā*: Unlike the *dānapāramitā*, the remaining five *pāramitās* are not illustrated. The concept of *śīlapāramitā* in the *EA* is presented in the following manner,

"The perfection of morality (*śīlapāramitā*) is like a diamond. It can not be destroyed, transgressed or lost. One should constantly mind and protect it like one minds a semi-finished vessel. It is in this way that the *śīlapāramitā* should not be abandoned."⁶⁴³

When compared with the *Buddhavaṃsa*,⁶⁴⁴ the concept of *śīlapāramitā* has common features in the *Āgama* and the *Nikāya*, where the emphasis is placed on safeguarding morality rather than on doctrinal instructions. There is very little evolution of this concept in the *Cariyāpiṭaka*⁶⁴⁵ and in the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgrahasūtra*. The *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgrahasūtra* states that a bodhisattva who has faith in the Three Gems and brings benefit to benefactors, prefers to be killed rather than engage in the sources of evil: violation, or destruction at life, theft, unchastity, slanderous words and injurious words, idle talk, falsehood, jealousy, anger, assassination of holy persons, abuse of the Buddha, stealing monastic property, violence and rebellion, and ruining objects destined to the Three Gems.⁶⁴⁶

On the whole, the *EA* stresses the importance of guarding morality, which may also imply moral rules. The perfection of morality in the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha* is presented as observance of specified rules and the avoidance of sources of evil. It is an early view on the perfection of morality that belongs to the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha*.

The *Kṣāntipāramitā*: The suppression of hatred is considered central in the practice of the perfection of patience. The *Ekottarāgamasūtra* says,

"Suppression of hatred is the power of one's patience even if one's feet and hands are cut by others. Patience is like the ocean containing all without increase or decrease . . . The *kṣāntipāramitā* should not be abandoned."⁶⁴⁷

The concept of *kṣāntipāramitā* in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* is not illustrated, but in the *Buddhavaṃsa* the capability of retaining a calm and peaceful mind whether one is respected or disrespected is emphasized.⁶⁴⁸ The *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgrahasūtra*, while agreeing with the *Ekottarāgamasūtra*, says that the practice of the perfection of patience involves the realisation that hatred and

⁶⁴³ EA, T2:0550a17-18. "戒度無極如金剛，不毀不犯無漏失，持心護戒如坏瓶，此名戒度不應棄。"

⁶⁴⁴ See *śīlapāramitā* in Chapter One.

⁶⁴⁵ See *śīlapāramitā* in Chapter One..

⁶⁴⁶ T3:0016c09- 14. 六度集經：“戒度無極者。厥則云何。狂愚兇虐，好殘生命。貪餘盜竊。姪犷穢濁。兩舌惡罵，妄言綺語。嫉恚癡心。危親戮聖。謗佛亂賢，取宗廟物。懷兇逆。毀三尊。如斯元惡，寧就脯割。殖醢市朝。終而不爲，信佛三寶，四恩普濟矣。”

⁶⁴⁷ T2: 0550a19-20. “或有人來截手足，不起瞋恚忍力強，如海含容無增減 . . . 此名忍度不應棄。”

⁶⁴⁸ See *kṣāntipāramitā* in Chapter One.

anger are the source of suffering, and that patience and compassion are the source of happiness,

"A bodhisattva practising the *kyāntipāramitā*, deeply contemplates that sentient beings obstruct themselves by their ignorance and always desire to conquer others. They are inclined to monopolize official ranks, titles of nobility, lands and countries, things that can satisfy their six organs. Seeing the possessions of others, they crave and become jealous . . . The bodhisattva realizes that all sufferings of sentient beings originate in their uncharitable and impatient conduct . . . Hence the bodhisattva takes a vow never to anger and be cruel to sentient beings. To bear the unbearable is the source of every good fortune. Knowing this, the bodhisattva practices compassion in every life. The bodhisattva controls and suppresses his inner poisonous anger and hatred when sentient beings abuse him, beat him with sticks, rob and seize his wealth, valuables, wives, sons, lands and country, injure his body and damage his life. He is compassionate towards them, helps and protects them. When sentient beings correct their faults, the bodhisattva is pleased."⁶⁴⁹

In brief, the scope of this perfection in the *EA* is very clear, namely the elimination of hatred. The perfection of patience is fulfilled with the help of understanding that uncharitable and impatient conduct is the source of pain, and that to endure the unbearable is the source of good fortune. To be patient is not asserted as being inactive. Additionally, the sense of patience is the active involvement of wisdom used in compassionate deeds.

The *Vīryapāramitā*: Physical and mental fatigue are regarded as a grave obstacle to any achievement of the perfection of energy. The *Ekottarāgamasūtra* says that wholesome activities of body, speech and mind must not become slackened. The result of slackening these activities is the impairment of conduct and the failure to gain enlightenment.⁶⁵⁰ The *Buddhavaṃsa* does not indicate to what subject the energy should be directed to, but it does say that a bodhisattva needs to exert energy at all times, to persevere in the perfection of energy and to attain full-enlightenment (*saṃbodhi*).⁶⁵¹ Thus we see that the perfection of energy is practised for the spiritual aim of *saṃbodhi* in both the *Ekottarāgamasūtra* and the *Khuddaka-nikāya*. The *Cariyāpiṭaka* has no illustration of this perfection. The *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgrahasūtra*, like the *Ekottarāgamasūtra*, specifies the subjects and ways in which a bodhisattva should apply and direct energy,

"The perfection of energy means being proficient in retaining profound doctrines, and in diligently practising them. Whether the bodhisattva is walking, sitting, or lying down . . . his ears always hear the voice that gives righteous instruction and virtue; his nose smells the fragrance of the doctrine; his mouth speaks the doctrine; his hands service the things related to the doctrine, and his feet tread on the teaching-hall. Thus he acts and does not change his

⁶⁴⁹ T3:0024a19-24b04. "... 忍辱度無極者... 皆由不能懷忍行慈, 夫忍不可忍者, 萬福之原矣自覺之後, 世世行慈; 眾生加己罵詈捶杖, 奪其財寶妻子國土危身害命, 菩薩輒以諸佛忍力之福, 泯滅毒患, 慈悲愍之追而濟護; 若其免咎, 爲之歡喜。"

⁶⁵⁰ EA, T2: 0550a21-22. "諸有造作善惡行, 身口意三無厭足, 妨人諸行不至道, 此名進度不應棄。"

⁶⁵¹ See Chapter One.

resolution even while breathing in and out. He is concerned about and compassionate towards the sentient beings . . . The bodhisattva, being concerned for sentient beings, desires to rescue them even when the path is full of raging fire, harmful swords, and poisons. He will throw out his body, endanger his own life and happily rescue them from disasters."⁶⁵²

While the importance of the perfection of energy in the *EA* and *the Nikāyas* lies in making efforts for obtaining *sambodhi*, in the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgrahasūtra* it lies in being proficient in the profound doctrine, being compassionate towards the sentient beings,⁶⁵³ and even risking one's life to rescue them.

The *Dhyānapāramitā*: Strong resolution and concentrated mind are emphasized in the perfection of meditation (*dhyānapāramitā*). The *Ekottarāgamasūtra* says that in every moment of meditation one's mind and consciousness should be strong, firm and undistracted. One's body must not move even if the earth trembles.⁶⁵⁴

This perfection is not found in the Pāli *Nikāyas*. The *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgrahasūtra* reiterates the early version of the *dhyānapāramitā* in the sense of completely discarding the five sensual desires, removing the five hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*), and fulfilling the four *dhyānas*. The ways of obtaining the four *dhyānas* are also briefly defined in the same text. To fulfil this perfection, "one must attune one's mind and fix it in one-pointedness, one must accumulate the wholesome *dharma*s and retain them in one's mind, and one must reflect on the impure and unwholesome *dharma*s and get rid of them by replacing them with wholesome *dharma*s."⁶⁵⁵

To gain a full picture of the four *dhyānas* in the early Mahāyāna concept of *dhyānapāramitā*, it is pertinent to trace its development in the earlier sources quoted below,

"The way of gaining the first *dhyāna* is to eliminate one's sensual desires – the five wicked objects that cause one's mind to be affected and mad, the beautiful forms that one's eyes see, the sounds that one's ears hear, the odours that one's nose smells, the flavours that one's mouth and tongue tastes and the tangibles that one's body touches. One who has the resolution to follow the way must distance oneself from them. Further, one must remove the five hindrances – one's covetousness for property, ill will, sloth and torpor, excessive excitement, regret and doubt. By following this way, whether the teachings exist or not, whether the

⁶⁵² T3:0032a09-19; No. 152. "精進度無極者，厥則云何。精存道輿，進之無怠。臥坐行步。喘息不替。其目彷彿，恒睹諸佛靈像變化立己前矣。厥耳聽聲，恒聞正真垂誨德音。鼻爲道香。口爲道言。手供道事。足蹈道堂。不替斯志呼吸之間矣。憂愍眾生長夜沸海。洄流輪轉。毒加無救。菩薩憂之。猶至孝之喪親矣。若夫濟眾生之路。前有湯火之難刀毒之害。投躬危命。喜濟眾難。志踰六冥之徒獲榮華矣。" 道 in this quotation is not likely to refer to the spiritual aim of enlightenment, but to the teachings of the Buddha.

⁶⁵³ The idea of a compassionate bodhisattva is also expressed in the *MN* as follows: "A being not liable to delusion has arisen in the world for the welfare of the many-folk, for the happiness of many folk, out of compassion for the world, for the good, the welfare, the happiness of gods and men (*Asammohadhammo satto loke uppanno bhujanahitāya bhujanasukhāya lolānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānam*), *MN*, I, pp.21, 83; however there is no reference to any *pāramitā*.

⁶⁵⁴ EA, T2: 0550a23-24. "諸有坐禪出入息，心意堅固無亂念，正使地動身不傾，此名禪度不應棄。"

⁶⁵⁵ T3: 0039a15-17. "禪度無極者，端其心，壹其意，合會眾善內著心中，意諸穢惡，以善消之。凡有四禪。"

Buddha lives or not, whether the *sūtras* are available or not, one's mind, will, consciousness and thought shall be purified and undefiled. When one's mind is serene one sees the truth and gains the knowledge that one does not have, one will not be deluded by gods, *nāgās*, ghosts and evil spirits, like some one who has escaped from enemies to the mountains not known to others. One is alone and fearless. One discards sense desires one attains internal purity and mental composure, namely the first *dhyāna*.⁶⁵⁶

After one's mind obtains the first *dhyāna*, one progresses to the second *dhyāna*. In the second *dhyāna*, the practitioner . . . distances oneself from sensual desires, which can damage the resolution to become enlightened.⁶⁵⁷ Having attained the second *dhyāna*, one distances oneself from sensual desires and remains undefiled by them.⁶⁵⁸

In the first *dhyāna*, admonitions on the wholesome and the unwholesome *dharma*s come to end. One eliminates the unwholesome *dharma*s with the wholesome *dharma*s, the unwholesome *dharma*s fade, and the wholesome *dharma*s bloom.⁶⁵⁹

In the second *dhyāna*, one's joyful mind is tranquil, one is no longer using the wholesome to eliminate the unwholesome. The thought of both joyfulness and wholesomeness completely disappears, the ten unwholesome *dharma*s completely vanish . . . The wholesome comes out from one's internal mind and the unwholesome is no longer entering from the ear, eye, nose and mouth. Thus one tames one's own mind and turns towards the third *dhyāna*.⁶⁶⁰

In the third *dhyāna*, one firmly guards one's own mind so that neither the wholesome nor the unwholesome can enter, one's mind is peaceful and firm like Sumeru. The wholesome does not exit because both the wholesome and the unwholesome are tranquil . . . In practicing the third *dhyāna* one is pure like the lotus flower, has discarded the unwholesome, and both one's mind and body are peaceful. Thus one tames one's own mind and turns towards the fourth *dhyāna*.⁶⁶¹

In the fourth *dhyāna*, one has discarded both the wholesome and the unwholesome. One's mind is neither reflecting the wholesome nor retaining the unwholesome, and is bright and clear as crystal like a woman purified by bathing and applying the best fragrances, clothing herself with new underwear and outer garments, vivid upper clothes, is externally and internally pure and fragrant. A bodhisattva attains the four *dhyānas* with a righteous mind, evil influences and defilements cannot seduce or cover the mind . . . All fantastic works and craftsmanship come from the desires of mind.⁶⁶² A bodhisattva whose mind is pure and attains these four *dhyānas*, acts according to the mind. One can fly in air, walk on the surface of water, divide and multiply one's body, manifest in immeasurable forms, appear and disappear, be alive or die at will,⁶⁶³ touch the sun and the moon, shake the heaven and earth, see and hear clearly whatever one wishes to see and hear. One's mind is pure and one's vision is bright, one attains all forms of knowledge (*sarvajñāna*),⁶⁶⁴ and understands the thoughts and minds of the sentient beings in the ten directions, the events in the future, and the rebirths of sentient beings.⁶⁶⁵

One who has obtained the four *dhyānas* easily attains the fruits of *śrotāpanna*, *saṅgāgāmi*, *anāgāmi* and *arhat*, wisdom, and the *anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi* of the Buddhas. As the earth is

⁶⁵⁶ T3:0039a17(01)-25(01).

⁶⁵⁷ T3:0039a28(07); 道志 (*dāozhi*) means the resolution to or the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*).

⁶⁵⁸ T3:0039a25(01)-28(07).

⁶⁵⁹ T3:0039a29(02). 第一之禪。善惡靜已。以善消惡。惡退善進。

⁶⁶⁰ T3:0039b01-6. 第二之禪，喜心寂止，不復以善住消彼惡也；喜善二意悉自消滅，十惡煙絕，外無因緣來入心者，譬如高山其頂有泉無流入者，亦非龍雨，水自內出，水淨泉滿。善內心出。惡不復由耳目鼻口入，御心如是，便向三禪。

⁶⁶¹ T3:0039b06-10. “第三之禪，守意牢固，善惡不入，心安如須彌，諸善不出外事，善惡寂滅不入心。猶蓮華根莖在水，華合未發為水所覆，三禪之行，其淨猶華，去離眾惡身意俱安，御心如是，便向四禪。”

⁶⁶² T3:0039b16. “百奇千巧從心所欲。”

⁶⁶³ T3:0039b19(04). “出入無間存亡自由。”

⁶⁶⁴ T3:0039b20(05). “心淨觀明得一切智。”

⁶⁶⁵ T3:0039b10-23.

the base for everything to live and grow, the four *dhyānas* are the base for one to achieve the five super-knowledges and buddhahood.⁶⁶⁶

The Bhagavat says, even sentient beings in this world have the skill and wisdom of the deities, the wise and the king of the heavens are still fools if they do not see this *sūtra* and do not attain the four *dhyānas*. When one has wisdom and maintains one-pointedness of mind, one is ready to rescue the world.⁶⁶⁷ This is the bodhisattva's *dhyānapāramitā*."

Clearly the exposition of the *dhyānapāramitā* in the early Chinese texts is not remote from the traditional teaching on the practice of *dhyāna*, but an adoption of the traditional teaching. If anything is innovatory, it is the occurrence of the term *sūnyatā*.

The *Prajñāpāramitā*: The power of wisdom is described as immeasurable. Thus the *Ekottarāgamasūtra* remarks that by the power of wisdom and knowledge, one is able to know the numbers of dust particles, *kalpas*, immeasurable omens, to count and comment upon karmic accumulations, and one's mind is not distracted.⁶⁶⁸ In addition to this, the bodhisattva is able to discuss the profound *dharmas* and the doctrine of emptiness.⁶⁶⁹

The perfection of wisdom finds no exposition in the Pāli canonical texts, but in the *Āgamas*, the concept of the *prajñāpāramitā* denotes knowledge and capability, and also refers to the doctrine of emptiness. The way to fulfil the six perfections is not fully treated.

B. The system of six perfections in Mahāyāna texts

Prior to discussing individual perfections, we examine several Mahāyāna texts to establish their views on the six perfections.

B.1. The views on the six perfections

In response to the question of why the six *pāramitās* are called *pāramitās*, *Sūtra* No. 678 gives five reasons. They have the character of a non-obstacle as they are free from the things opposed to perfections. They have the character of non-care, as they are free from the cares of retribution and present benefits, of non-sin, as they are free from the impure and non-skilful things, of non-irrational thought, as they are free from the attachment to the characteristics of self as being taught, and have the character of dedication, as they are practised for supreme

⁶⁶⁶ T3:0039b26-27. "自五通智至于世尊, 皆四禪成, 猶眾生所作非地不立."

⁶⁶⁷ T3:0039bc01. "既有智慧。而復一心即近度世。" The Chinese term 度世 can be rendered either as "to transcend the world," or "to rescue the world." In the context of this text, "to rescue the world" is more suitable.

⁶⁶⁸ EA, T2: 0550a25-26. "以智慧力知塵數, 劫數兆載不可稱, 書疏業聚意不亂, 此名智度不應棄。"

⁶⁶⁹ EA, T2: 0550a27-28. "諸法甚深論空理, 難明難了不可觀, 將來後進懷狐疑, 此菩薩德不應棄。"

and perfect enlightenment.⁶⁷⁰

Concerning the bodhisattvas' need to practise the six perfections, the *prajñāpāramitā-sūtras* say that all Buddhas have been born of the six perfections.⁶⁷¹ *Sūtra* No.474 states that the practice of the six perfections for perfecting the minds of many people is the conduct of the bodhisattva.⁶⁷² *Sūtra* No.460 says that the six perfections transform the six sensual desires.⁶⁷³ *Sūtra* No.459 states that the six perfections are for relieving the poor and suffering.⁶⁷⁴ *Sūtra* No.441 states that by practicing the six perfections and the four boundless states, the bodhisattvas can perfect their morality, meditation and wisdom, complete the Buddha's thirty-two major marks and eighty minor marks, and gain the ten powers.⁶⁷⁵ *Sūtra* No. 614 states that by fulfilling the six perfections, bodhisattvas are able to make offerings to the Buddhas, purify the lands, instruct sentient beings, achieve the ten stages, and the supreme enlightenment.⁶⁷⁶ *Sūtra* No. 606 says that by practising the six perfections the bodhisattvas achieve buddhahood.⁶⁷⁷ *Sūtra* No.642 states that to seek wisdom and to achieve the enlightenment of the Buddha, bodhisattvas practise the six perfections for a long time and acquire the marks of the Buddha.⁶⁷⁸ *Sūtra* No.594 states that the practice of the six perfections is to seek omniscience (*sarvajñāna*) and achieve the stage of the Buddha.⁶⁷⁹ *Sūtra* No. 620 indicates that it is for the purpose of supreme *sambodhicitta* that bodhisattvas fulfil the six perfections.⁶⁸⁰ *Sūtra* No.621 states that by practising the six perfections the bodhisattvas accumulate merit.⁶⁸¹

⁶⁷⁰ 相續解脫地波羅蜜了義經, *The Sūtra on the Certain Meaning of the Pāramitās for the Successive Stages of Liberation*, 宋天竺三藏求那跋陀羅譯, T16:0716b13-21, No. 678.

⁶⁷¹ Dàoqing, 道行般若經 (卷 7) T08, p0462a, No. 224, "過去但薩阿竭阿羅訶三耶三佛。皆從六波羅蜜出。" MP, 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 (卷 20), T08:0363b, No. 223; PSV, 小品般若波羅蜜經 (卷 8), T08:0571c, No. 227, "諸佛皆從六六波羅蜜生".

⁶⁷² 佛說維摩詰經 (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*), T14: 0526c, No. 474, "行六度無極為眾人意行而度無極。是菩薩行。"

⁶⁷³ 佛說文殊師利淨律經, T14: 0451c, No. 460, "六度無極攝於六欲。"

⁶⁷⁴ No. 459 佛說文殊悔過經, T14, p0446b, "六度以濟窮厄。"

⁶⁷⁵ No. 441, 佛說佛名經, T14: 0205b, "六度四等常擱行首。戒定慧品轉得增明。速成如來三十二相八十種好。十力無畏大悲三念。"

⁶⁷⁶ *Sūtra* No. 614, 坐禪三昧經, T15: 0285b, "具足六度供養諸佛。淨佛國土教化眾生。立十地中功德成滿。次第得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。"

⁶⁷⁷ *Sūtra* No. 606 修行道地經 (*Yogacāryabhūmi-sūtra*), T15: 0227c, "奉六度無極行是得至佛。"

⁶⁷⁸ *Sūtra* No. No. 642, 佛說首楞嚴三昧經 (*Śuraṅgamasamādhi-sūtra*), T15: 0639a, "樂求智慧行佛菩提,久行六度有成佛相;" T15:0684b, "bodhisattvas should practise the six perfections to obtain the state of a Buddha."

⁶⁷⁹ 佛說大自在天子因地經, T15: 0127c, "行六波羅蜜求一切智智。今得佛位圓滿。"

⁶⁸⁰ 治禪病祕要法, T15: 0335b, 因發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心,具六波羅蜜。

⁶⁸¹ 佛說佛印三昧經, T15:0343b.

Sūtra No.624 indicates that the six perfections are the ancient path of the bodhisattvas to enlightenment.⁶⁸² *Sūtra* No. 634 states that the great bodhisattvas practiced the six perfections for three *asamkhyā kalpas* and obtained great merit and wisdom.⁶⁸³

Sūtra No.659 says that the *saddharma* is the six perfections, or namely the *bodhisattvapīṭaka*.⁶⁸⁴ *Sūtra* No.660 states that through the practice of generosity the bodhisattvas are able to fulfil the six perfections.⁶⁸⁵ *Sūtra* No.664 reveals that the bodhisattvas receive the prediction of becoming a Buddha after they have fulfilled the six perfections.⁶⁸⁶

Sūtra No.722 states that by mental, verbal and physical efforts and constantly learning and enduring the path, and finally for completing the equipment of merit and wisdom, bodhisattvas practise the six perfections and can obtain complete *bodhi*.⁶⁸⁷ *Sūtra* No.672 states that by the mastery of the six perfections the bodhisattvas obtain supreme enlightenment. This text reveals three levels of the six perfections: the mundane, the transcendent, and the bodhisattva level.⁶⁸⁸ *Sūtra* No.673 says that to achieve supreme enlightenment is to happily and energetically practise the six perfections in the manner of having no ill thoughts of sentient beings, not attaching to worldly things, and having no obstacles in the analytical insight of the Buddha's *dharma*.⁶⁸⁹

Sūtra No. 639 says that by practising the six perfections the bodhisattva gains various advantages.⁶⁹⁰ *Sūtra* No. 228 says that the six perfections are the parents of the bodhisattvas and give birth to the Buddhas.⁶⁹¹

Concerning the time and circumstances the bodhisattvas fulfil the six perfections, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* says that the six perfections are fulfilled at the stage of irreversibility.⁶⁹²

⁶⁸² 佛說佉真陀羅所問如來三昧經(卷2), T15: 0360a, “六波羅蜜是故道。”

⁶⁸³ 佛說大乘智印經(卷2), T15:0479c, “具足修習六波羅蜜。所有難行最勝行願。”

⁶⁸⁴ 大乘寶雲經, T16:0251c, “思諸供具願得供養承事三寶。此則能得滿足六波羅蜜行。” T16:0276c, “夫正法者。所謂六波羅蜜菩薩法藏。於諸眾生心無憍慢。”

⁶⁸⁵ 佛說寶雨經(卷3), T16:0294b.

⁶⁸⁶ 合部金光明經, T16:0394b; 金光明最勝王經, 16:0447b.

⁶⁸⁷ *Sūtra* No. 722, 妙法聖念處經, T17:0427c, “三業勤精進, 多聞習總持, 二嚴修六度圓滿證菩提。”

⁶⁸⁸ 大乘入楞伽經, T16:0621c; 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經, T16:0512c.

⁶⁸⁹ 大乘同性經, T16:0644b; 證契大乘經, T16:0656c.

⁶⁹⁰ Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 15, No. 639 月燈三昧經, T15:0583c21- 0586b07.

⁶⁹¹ 說佛母出生三法藏般若波羅蜜多經 (*Prajñāpāramitā—the mother of the Buddha and the teachings of tripiṭaka-sūtra*), T08:0654a, “六波羅蜜多爲父爲母。乃至阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。皆因六波羅蜜多故而成就... 是諸如來皆從六波羅蜜多生... 又三世諸佛一切智亦從六波羅蜜多生。” *Sūtra* No. 221 放光般若經, T08: 0097b.

⁶⁹² No. 475 維摩詰所說經, T14: 0556b, “至不退轉成就六度。”

Sūtra No.486 says that to complete them and to attain buddhahood one needs three *asamkhyā kalpas*, and that they can be completed by constructing a platform for practitioners and by making offerings in a proper way.⁶⁹³

Sūtra No. 489 indicates that the six perfections can be fulfilled through meditation and contemplation.⁶⁹⁴ *Sūtras* No. 586 and No. 587 provide the following characterisation of the six perfections. The complete abandonment of all defilements is the perfection of generosity. Not elevating any dharma is the perfection of morality, not damaging any dharma is the perfection of patience, not viewing the characteristics of any dharma is the perfection of energy, not attaching to any *dharmā* is the perfection of meditation, and not speaking sophistic words about any *dharmā* is the perfection of wisdom.⁶⁹⁵

Sūtra No. 543 states that to fulfil the six perfections, it is important to understand the unreality and illusion of the world, and to have no attachment to the changeable and impermanent nature of existence. When practising the six perfections, practitioners should restrain their minds, make energetic effort, and have no expectations of recompense, by seeing the threefold emptiness of the donor, beneficiary and given objects.⁶⁹⁶

Sūtra No. 586 states that the ability to abandon the characteristics of all *dharmas* is the perfection of generosity, the ability to dispel mental formations is the perfection of morality, the freedom from the harm of the six sense objects is the perfection of patience, to refrain from sense engagements is the perfection of energy, non-reflecting any *dharmā* is the perfection of meditation, and knowing the nature of non-production of all the *dharmas* is the perfection of wisdom.⁶⁹⁷ Again, not reviewing anything is generosity, not having recourse to anything is morality, not making analytical distinctions is patience, not grasping anything is energy, not abiding in anything is meditation, and sameness is wisdom.

Sūtra No. 642 states that great bodhisattvas are able to generate and complete the six perfections in a moment of thought,⁶⁹⁸ and *Sūtra* No. 643 states that by penetrating the non-

⁶⁹³ 師子莊嚴王菩薩請問經 T14:0698a.

⁶⁹⁴ 佛說除蓋障菩薩所問經, T14:0716a.

⁶⁹⁵ 思益梵天所問經, T15:0045c; 勝思惟梵天所問經, T15:0077b.

⁶⁹⁶ 佛說巨力長者所問大乘經, T14:0833a.

⁶⁹⁷ 思益梵天所問經, T15:0046a.

⁶⁹⁸ 佛說首楞嚴三昧經, T15:0633c, "How does a bodhisattva generate the six *pāramitās* in every moment of thought? The bodhisattva has complete equanimity and is without attachment, this is the *pāramitā* of giving (*dāna*). His mind is well serene and ultimately without any wrong, this is the *pāramitā* of morality (*śīla*). He understands that the mind exhausts all characteristics and exists unharmed within the realms of sensory data, this

characteristics of *dharmas* bodhisattvas can achieve the profound six perfections.⁶⁹⁹ *Sūtra* No. 652 says that all bodhisattvas practise the six perfections.⁷⁰⁰

Sūtra No. 658 reveals that mendicant bodhisattvas can complete the six perfections by meditating and making mental offerings to the Buddhas.⁷⁰¹ By making mental offerings they practise the perfection of generosity, by engendering the thought of wholesome *dharmas* toward sentient beings they practise the perfection of morality, by enduring passing joy and happiness they practise the perfection of patience, by avoiding physical and mental sluggishness in their engagements they practise the perfection of energy, by concentrating their mind without any distraction they practise the perfection of meditation, and by fulfilling their dignified practices they practise the perfection of wisdom.⁷⁰² The *Ugraparipṛcchā* says with reference to the mendicant bodhisattvas living in the forests, that by giving their body and life they fulfil the *dānapāramitā*. By disciplining their body, speech and mind, and by living according to ascetic practices (*dhūta*) they fulfil the *śīlapāramitā*. By having no hatred towards sentient beings they fulfil the *kṣāntipāramitā*. By training themselves without leaving the forests until they gain the certainty of non-production, they fulfil the *vīryapāramitā*. By meditating while giving instructions to sentient beings on the roots of the wholesome *dharmas*, they fulfil the *dhyānapāramitā*. By training and learning that ‘just as this body of mine is emptiness, so this body of mine is *bodhi*,’ and by cherishing the truth without any wrong thoughts, they fulfil the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁷⁰³

is the *pāramitā* of patience (*ksānti*). He strives in contemplation and selects advantageous states of mind but understands that the mind transcends characteristics, this is the *pāramitā* of energy (*vīrya*). He is ultimately well serene and has controlled his mind, this is the *pāramitā* of meditation (*dhyāna*). He contemplates and understands the mind, penetrating the characteristics of the mind, this is the *pāramitā* of wisdom (*prajñā*). A bodhisattva who resides in the *śūrangama-saṅgādhī* possesses the six *pāramitās* in every moment of thought.”

⁶⁹⁹ 佛說觀佛三昧海經, T15:0695b, “觀法無相無相力故。當得甚深六波羅蜜”

⁷⁰⁰ 佛說大乘隨轉宣說諸法經, T15:0776b, “一切菩薩行六波羅蜜。具足功德安樂一切。”

⁷⁰¹ *Sūtra* No. 658 寶雲經 (*Ratnamegha-sūtra*), T16: 021, “出家菩薩少欲知足不積財寶。唯以法施為利。爾時在閑靜處獨坐思惟。我今何為不作供養佛想。即自思惟種種運心供養諸佛。如是思惟已便能具足六度。云何具足六度。以種種供養而具檀波羅蜜。恒與一切眾生善。是名尸波羅蜜。歡喜忍樂。是名羸提波羅蜜。心身不懈。是名毘梨耶波羅蜜。專心不散。是名禪波羅蜜。莊嚴眾行皆悉具足。是名般若波羅蜜。菩薩如是靜處思惟時。能具六波羅蜜。”

⁷⁰² *Ibid.*, T16:0021

⁷⁰³ *Sūtra* No. 310, T11:0472b07-0479a12, 郁伽長者會第十九, 曹魏三藏法師康僧鎧譯, “. . . 出家菩薩住阿練兒處。以少許事滿六波羅蜜. . . 不惜身命. . . 出家菩薩住頭陀戒。身口意戒. . . 於諸眾生無瞋恚心忍一切智. . . 而是菩薩應如是學。我不離是處。要當得於無生法忍. . . 捨於禪定教化眾生修諸善根. . . 應如是學。如我此身空處亦爾。如我此身菩提亦爾。如如無妄想。如空無妄想. . . 如是修滿六波羅蜜。”

Sūtras No. 671 and No. 672 distinguish three levels of practicing the six perfections: the mundane level, transcendent level and bodhisattva or supreme level.⁷⁰⁴ The mundane level of practicing the six perfection refers to ordinary people who affirm the existence of the self and the subjects of self, hold the two extreme views, seek the rebirth of the body, and strive toward form and other objects. They practise the six perfections and thus gain high powers and become reborn in Śakra's heaven. The transcendent level of practicing the six perfections refers to the practices of the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas, who are asserted to only seek their own benefit and *nirvāṇa*. The supreme level of practicing the six perfections refers to the bodhisattva practices. The bodhisattvas generate no wrong thoughts and no attachment, grasp no characteristics in things, and constantly practise the six perfections. The state of being indifferent, being of benefit to sentient beings, and not distinguishing sensual objects is the perfection of generosity. The state of being indifferent to views, and the knowledge of the nature of grasping and subjects of grasping, are the perfection of morality. The energetic practices without negligence during the three watches of the night, and striving for real truth constitute the perfection of energy. The act of refraining from making distinctions and generating heretical views is the perfection of meditation. The wisdom which grasps without distinctions the avoidance of the two extreme views, the pursuit of purification, and striving after the wisdom of noble ones, constitute the perfection of wisdom.⁷⁰⁵

Concerning the ways of gaining non-regression from the *pāramitās*, text 21 of the *Ratnakūta* lists four things that can ensure the bodhisattva's non-regression from the *pāramitās*: (1) To master all *pāramitās* by mastering one *pāramitā*; (2) to know all sentient beings by knowing one sentient being; (3) to realize the purity of all *dharma*s by realizing the purity of one *dharma*, and (4) to understand all the Buddhas by understanding one Buddha. This approach is based on the theory that all things are not different in nature.⁷⁰⁶

Sūtra No. 220 states that the nature of the six perfections is non-bondage (*viśaṃyoga*) and non-liberation (*avimokṣa*) because they are in the nature of non-existence, tranquil, emptiness, non-sign, non-wish, non-production, non-destruction, non-polluting and non-purifying.⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰⁴ T16:0559c20-2.

⁷⁰⁵ 楞伽經 (*Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*), T16:0559c-0560a; 大乘入楞伽經, T16:0621c-622a

⁷⁰⁶ 授幻師跋陀羅記會第二十一, 大唐三藏菩提流志譯, T11:0491b13-0491b19.

⁷⁰⁷ T05: 287a02-27, No.220a, 大般若波羅蜜多經 (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*), 三藏法師玄奘譯, “布施波羅蜜多無縛無解。淨戒安忍精進靜慮般若波羅蜜多無縛無解... 布施波羅蜜多性無淨故無縛無解。淨戒乃至

The investigation of the six perfections in these selected texts discloses several salient features. The six perfections are aimed at the attainment of complete enlightenment (*sambodhi*) or omniscience (*sarvajñāna*). They have been followed by laypeople and mendicants on mundane, transcendent and supreme levels. They can be fulfilled within a certain period of time on which the texts are not in agreement. They are linked with four types of bodhisattvas: beginners, those who have practiced the six perfections for a long time, those who are on the stage of non-regression, and those who have received the prediction of becoming a Buddha. The texts offer different opinions on why bodhisattvas should practice the six perfections, how they fulfil them, and how they gain the non-regression from the six perfections.

B.2. The Six *Pāramitās*

In the Mahāyāna texts the six perfections (*pāramitā*) have the same names as in the early and sectarian texts, but their definitions and descriptions are considerably developed in a variety of ways. Perhaps the most significant shift is the one from the action required of the bodhisattva to achieve the *pāramitās* to more theoretical considerations and new formulations of the bodhisattva practices.

In the sections that now follow we provide short discussions of each *pāramitā* and then offer an in-depth treatment of three more illustrative *pāramitās*.

B.2.1. The perfection of generosity

There is a distinct shift in the understanding of generosity in the Mahāyāna texts in comparison to its understating in the *Mahāvastu* and the earliest Mahāyāna texts. In the earlier texts there are two kinds of generosity, internal and external. Giving is a process of parting with what one possesses, including one's body (internal), family and possessions (external). There is also an emphasis on the correct attitude in the practice of generosity. Anger and resentment are not compatible with a successful achievement of this *pāramitā*.

In Mahāyāna texts, there are three categories of generosity. The first is the gift of possessions, both internal and external. The second is the gift of comfort, help or assistance. The texts focus on the removal of the fear of others. The third kind of generosity is the gift of

spiritual guidance, the gift of Dharma (*dharmadāna*).⁷⁰⁸ In this context the term *dharmā* covers both religious and secular matters. The best gift is called the teaching of Mahāyāna practice. In this way the monk's life is seen as the highest form of giving, and higher than the material gifts (*āmiṣadāna*) of lay people. The texts therefore strengthen the social position of the monks, especially in the lands where the wise are respected.

The *Jātakas*, *MN* and *Āgamas*, and even the *Mahāvastu* highly praise the practice of giving one's limbs and body to others. However, a passage in the text 26 of the *Ratankūta* prohibits the conduct of cutting and giving one's limbs in practicing the perfection of generosity. The basic reason for prohibiting cutting or having one's limbs cut is rooted in the rule of no harm. Whoever induces this kind of harm will fall into the great hells.⁷⁰⁹ This text also strongly prohibits the bodhisattva to force people or relatives to make material gifts,⁷¹⁰ and stresses the principle of treating all sentient beings with impartiality and compassion.⁷¹¹ Giving material possessions (*āmiṣadāna*) and giving instructions (*dharmadāna*) to sentient beings are to be practised⁷¹² for the welfare of sentient beings, for the removal of greed, and for the attainment of omniscience.

Sūtra No. 678 refers to three kinds of giving, namely giving material possessions (*āmiṣadāna*), giving comfort or fearlessness (*abhayaḍāna*) and giving the Dharma (*dharmadāna*).⁷¹³ *Sūtra* No. 261 states that the *dharmadāna* is inexhaustible, beneficial at present and in future, a real benefit to both the donor and the recipients in the sense of gaining enlightenment (*bodhi*).⁷¹⁴ The advantage of giving food to the hungry is that by giving food the bodhisattva actually gives life, good health, strength and physical and mental comforts.⁷¹⁵

⁷⁰⁸ *Sūtra* No. 658 寶雲經 (*Ratnamegha-sūtra*), T16:021, “云何名菩薩善能恭敬供養三寶。出家菩薩少欲知足不積財寶。唯以法施爲利。” *Subāhu*, 善臂菩薩會, 後秦三藏法師羅什譯, text 26 of the *Ratnakūta* presents the six perfections and reveals that among all kinds of generosity the *dharmadāna* is the best, T11:0529c07, “諸施中最勝第一。” *Sūtra* No. 678, T16:0716b04, “檀波羅蜜三種者。謂法施財施無畏施。”

⁷⁰⁹ 善臂菩薩會 (*Subāhuparipṛcchā*), T11:0529c11-14, “具足檀波羅蜜。善男子。菩薩不能自以身體支節施於乞者。若自割。若教他割。何以故。若成是業。令彼乞者於大地獄受無量罪故。”

⁷¹⁰ T11:0529c16-18, “菩薩乞索所須。是時菩薩若自無財。不應強逼父母妻子眷屬親戚奴婢取其財物。令其貧匱持以施人。”

⁷¹¹ T11:0529c19. “欲於一切眾生中。行平等慈心故。”

⁷¹² *Subāhu*, T11:529b21, No.310.

⁷¹³ 相續解脫地波羅蜜了義經, 宋天竺三藏求那跋陀羅譯, T16:0716b04, “檀波羅蜜三種者。謂法施財施無畏施。”

⁷¹⁴ *Sūtra* No. 261 大乘理趣六波羅蜜多經 (卷 4), T08:0883b

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.*, T08:0883c.

Pure and proper ways of giving are also discussed in the text.⁷¹⁶ Practicing generosity with arrogance is impure giving and giving on selected days and to some selected people is not generosity.

The *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* differentiates between external and internal gifts and associates the practice of generosity with the generation of the thought of enlightenment.

The development of the perfection of generosity is also seen in the increased number of advantages which one gains by practising it. In the early texts, the advantages are mainly the removal of greed and the cultivation of compassion. *Sūtra* No. 639 reveals ten advantages,⁷¹⁷ some of which are: the removal of greed, acquisition of a generous mind, the participation of sentient beings in the sources of spiritual and material assets, rebirth in rich and wealthy families, admiration by the four assemblies, good fame in all directions, and having good friends.⁷¹⁸ The same text also lists ten benefits for practicing the *dharmadāna*. The more important among these benefits are the removal of unwholesome things, the acquisition of wholesome things, the observance of the law of good human beings, being capable of purifying the Buddha lands, the ability to abandon cherished objects, the elimination of defilements, and having a compassionate mind towards sentient beings.⁷¹⁹

A new direction in the evolution of the *dānapāramitā* in some texts, particularly in the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras*, is developed by showing its relationship to other perfections and how it can engender the perfections.⁷²⁰ The *Sūtra on the Emitting of Light*⁷²¹ shows how generosity engenders the other five perfections. Through body, speech and mind, bodhisattvas constantly practise pure generosity toward sentient beings, and thus their generosity engenders the *śīlapāramitā*. The bodhisattvas show no hatred towards those recipients who abuse them and speak rude words to them, and thus their generosity engenders the *kṣāntipāramitā*. When the bodhisattvas are abused by the recipients they do not reciprocate, but increase their generosity

⁷¹⁶ Ibid., T08:0885a.

⁷¹⁷ Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 15, No. 639 月燈三昧經 (*Candradīpasamādhisūtra*, also named the *Samādhirājasūtra*), T15: 583c21-583c29, “菩薩信樂檀波羅蜜者。有十種利益。何等爲十。一者降伏慳吝煩惱。二者修習捨心相續。三者共諸眾生同其資產。攝受堅固而至滅度。四者生豪富家。五者在所生處施心現前。六者常爲
⁷¹⁹ T15:0585c07-13, “菩薩摩訶薩行於法施有十種利益 . . .” 安平。十者乃至道

⁷²⁰ T16, No. 656 菩薩瓔珞經, T16n0656_p0086c24, “云何於一度中便能具足六度無極。” T1

656, “不惜身命隨前所索不逆人意。於中具足施度無極 . . . 於一度中便當具足六度無極。”

⁷¹⁹ T15:0585c07-13, “菩薩摩訶薩行於法施有十種利益 . . .”

⁷²⁰ T16, No. 656 菩薩瓔珞經, T16n0656_p0086c24, “云何於一度中便能具足六度無極。” T16: 086c16-24, No. 656, “不惜身命隨前所索不逆人意。於中具足施度無極 . . . 於一度中便當具足六度無極。”

⁷²¹ T08, No. 221

and treat all recipients with impartiality whether they are good or bad, and thus their generosity engenders the *vīryapāramitā*. While practising generosity the bodhisattvas seek enlightenment with an undistracted mind and thus their generosity generates the *dhyānapāramitā*. While giving, the bodhisattvas contemplate that “I and the objects given away are like an illusion and dream”, and since they do not see the existence of the recipients, their generosity engenders the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁷²²

In *Sūtra* No. 220 the ways in which the practice of generosity engenders the other five perfections are described as follows.⁷²³ The bodhisattvas practise generosity with detached and unstinting minds, and dedicate the generosity to gain all-knowledge (*sarvaprajñāna*). They are compassionate bodily, verbally and mentally toward sentient beings, and abstain from unwholesome objects. Thus they engender the pure *śīlapāramitā*.⁷²⁴ When the recipients are unreasonable, when they slander and humiliate bodhisattvas, they have no angry or harmful thoughts, display no physical or verbal revenge, but have pity and compassion, and speak in affectionate words. Thus bodhisattvas engender the *kṣāntipāramitā*.⁷²⁵ When they are slandered and humiliated, bodhisattvas reflect the fact that the karmic actions have their causes and conditions, and that their effects will mature automatically. So in order not to ruin their efforts, they disregard aggravating recipients, strengthen their mind of generosity, and increase their energy in body and mind. Thus they engender the *vīryapāramitā*.⁷²⁶ When bodhisattvas practise generosity their minds are not distracted by the recipients and circumstances, they seek no pleasures in worldly realms or in the two vehicles, but in the state of buddhahood. Thus they engender the *dhyānapāramitā*.⁷²⁷ When practicing the perfection of generosity, bodhisattvas reflect on the fact that all the recipients, the donors and the given things are illusions and realize the empty character of all *dharmas*. Thus they engender the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁷²⁸

⁷²² PEL, *Sūtra* No. 221 放光般若經, T08:0003c; T08:016c-0107a

⁷²³ *Sūtra* No. 220c 大般若波羅蜜多經 (卷 523), T07:0679b

⁷²⁴ Ibid., T07: 679a28 - 679b05.

⁷²⁵ Ibid., T07: 0679b05 - 0679b11.

⁷²⁶ Ibid., T07: 679b11 - 679b20

⁷²⁷ Ibid., T07: 0679b20 - 0679b25

⁷²⁸ T07:0679bc, “觀諸受者施者施物皆如幻事。不見此施於諸有情有損有益。達一切法畢竟皆空不可得故。是為菩薩摩訶薩安住布施波羅蜜多引攝般若波羅蜜多。”

Sūtra No. 222 distinguishes two grades of generosity, mundane and supramundane.⁷²⁹ If one thinks, “I am the giver, that is the object given by me, this is the beneficiary,” and expects rewards when giving, thus is mundane generosity. Contrarily, when one has no expectations and sees no donor, no beneficiary and no given things, it is supramundane generosity.⁷³⁰ To explain the perfection of generosity, the doctrines of the non-existence of the self (*ātman*) and emptiness are applied to the *dharmas* and the individual.

The evolution of the perfection of generosity includes new opinions on how to fulfil the *dānapāramitā*, and new conceptual developments in terms of classifications of generosity such as those consisting of material things, the Dharma, fearlessness, being mundane or supramundane, pure or impure. The expansion in the interpretation of the perfection of generosity also includes the motivation and attitude of the donor, and doctrinal teachings on equality and non-abiding, on the non-existence of the donor, the beneficiary, the self (*ātman*) and the given thing. Finally, the teaching on the way in which the *dānapāramitā* engenders the other five perfections functioned to strengthen the theory of generosity and make it more practical.

B.2.2. The perfection of morality

The perfection of morality (*śīlapāramitā*) in the early sectarian texts such as the *Buddhavaṃsa* or *Ekottārgama-sūtra*, is generally taught to protect moral conduct and to discipline bodily, verbal and mental action. However, moral conduct is not clearly specified and remains open to debate. In the earliest Mahāyāna text, the *Saṭpāramitāsaṃgraha*, the perfection of morality is explained but its treatment is confined to specified prohibitions which are identified as the sources of faults. The later Mahāyāna compilers clearly show their discontent with the early definitions of the perfection of morality and provide their own compositions. They reinterpret the old expositions of morality in various ways. For example, the eating habits of the bodhisattvas were defined in terms of the time at which they could eat. However at this stage, the food as such became of utmost importance. The consumption of meat was declared a serious error the same gravity as killing, and the abstention from eating meat became a very important part of the perfection of morality. Similarly, in the early texts bodhisattvas are not

⁷²⁹ *Sūtra* No. 221 放光般若經 (*Fangguang*), 西晉月氏國三藏竺法護譯, T08:0204b02-p0209c17.

⁷³⁰ PPL, T08:0209c04-13, No.222, “自想。吾我想。計他人有施報想... 是名為世俗檀波羅蜜... 無有眾想悉無所見。亦為度世檀波羅蜜... 有所望想為俗間智。無所望想為度世智。”

allowed to approach prostitutes, but in the later texts they can approach them for teaching purposes and ultimately in order to rescue them.

The *Subāhupariṣcchā*, in responding to the question of what the perfection of morality is and how to fulfil it, links the five precepts with the *āśaikṣya* by saying that the bodhisattvas observe the five rules of morality in order to cause sentient beings to abide in the *āśaikṣya* stage. This implies that the observance of the five rules of morality can lead to the *āśaikṣya* stage.⁷³¹ On the basis of compassion, rules are made to prevent terrorizing other people, and abstaining from jailing and beating sentient beings. On the basis of loving and protecting others' belongings, this text also regulates rescuing and releasing people from prisons, restraint, detention, arrest, capture, punishment, and tortures.⁷³² The text also regulates how to give aid and care for victims of fire and water disasters.⁷³³ There are more bodhisattva precepts as part of the *śīlapāramitā* in this text. The unique feature of those rules is to impose on the bodhisattvas more duties and to engage more activity in social life and works. In practice and for the fulfilment of the *śīlapāramitā*, the *Subāhupariṣcchā* not only makes the bodhisattvas work for the welfare and freedom of sentient beings, but also reminds bodhisattvas to produce great vows, to generate the thought of enlightenment and dedicate their merit to *bodhi*.⁷³⁴

In its exposition of morality, text 12 of the *Ratnakūṭa*⁷³⁵ called the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* closely follows the prescriptive approach of the *Śrāvaka Vinaya* and does not permit for adjustments in moral observance even when the bodhisattva's vow should require it. Also, it recognizes sensual desire as the chief source of moral impurity.⁷³⁶ The exposition of the ten unwholesome paths of action⁷³⁷ in the *śīlapāramitā* chapter,⁷³⁸ and its insistence on traditional moral discipline, indicate that the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* originated at a time when early Buddhist

⁷³¹ T11:0530a11-17, “是菩薩持不殺戒。欲令眾生得住無學不殺戒故...是菩薩持不飲酒戒。欲令眾生得住無學不飲酒戒故。” The *Subāhupariṣcchā* was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (ca. 402-412)

⁷³² T11n0310_p0530a27-b07, “菩薩愛護他物不令漏失戒。爲得無上菩提覺定故。有他眾生婦女妻子。或被拘錄...菩薩若勸他令放。若自放或勸他令放...若見繫獄眾生。若自放若勸他令放...若見眾生當得鞭杖。若自放若勸他令放...若見眾生當被刑戮。若自放若勸他令放。”

⁷³³ T11:0530c09-10, “是菩薩受持救護縣官盜賊水火戒。爲得諸力波羅蜜故。”

⁷³⁴ Subāhu, T11:0530c, “發起菩提心。念菩提心。修菩提道。”

⁷³⁵ The *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* (abbrev: BP) was translated by Xúanzàng in 645 CE; T11, No.310 (12) 大寶積經, 大唐三藏法師玄奘奉 詔譯。

⁷³⁶ T11:0244a27, 菩薩摩訶薩作如是念。我爲貪欲之所惑亂。長夜流轉。造作種種惡不善業。由此不善惡業力故。感得穢惡自體報果。生鬼國中; T11:0256a15, 貪愛盡故名得涅槃。

⁷³⁷ T11:0242a07-25; T11:0254a27-06;

⁷³⁸ T11:0242a05-0261b16.

maxims still had considerable influence on Mahāyāna thinking. However, in this text moral rules have been increased to more than sixty for disciplining bodily, verbal and mental action, and for the welfare of others. Among the rules the six perfections are included⁷³⁹ the teachings on loving-kindness, equality, and non-self (*anātman*). The four boundless states are also drawn into the practices of moral rules.

In response to the issue of what the perfection of morality should be, *Sūtra* No. 678 specifies three categories of the perfection of morality, namely moral discipline (*saṃvaraśīla*), morality which accumulates the wholesome *dharma*s (*kuśaladharmasamgrāhakaśīla*), and morality benefiting sentient beings (*sattvārthakriyāśīla*).⁷⁴⁰ These three types of morality are included in most Mahāyāna texts, and are styled as Mahāyāna discipline. They are discussed in *Sūtra* No.159,⁷⁴¹ the *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra*,⁷⁴² and presented as the *śīlapāramitā* in *Sūtra* No.1581.⁷⁴³ Moral discipline applies to seven kinds of people: the male novice (*śrāmaṇera*), female novice (*śrāmaṇerikā*), female probationer (*śikṣamāṇā*), nun (*bhikṣuṇī*), monk (*bhikṣu*), male devotee (*upāsika*) and female devotee (*upāsaka*).

Some texts do not directly define the perfection of morality, but specify the advantages obtained by fulfilling it. These advantages reflect the scope of the moral perfection through which bodhisattvas can assess their progress. The *Candradīpasamādhisūtra* refers to ten kinds of advantage obtained by mastering the perfection of morality. They are the ability to master the wisdom of all knowing, learning in the same way as the Buddha learned, the blamelessness of the wise, non-regression from the vows, a stable practice, liberation from *saṃsāra*, the enjoyment of *nirvāṇa*, freedom from fetters, ease to obtain supreme *samādhis*, and possessing the treasure of faith.⁷⁴⁴

⁷³⁹ T11:0254c19-23, 一者柁那波羅蜜多尸羅。爲善成熟諸眾生故。二者屬底波羅蜜多尸羅。善護一切眾生心故。三者毘利耶波羅蜜多尸羅。於諸正行不退轉故。四者靜慮波羅蜜多尸羅。靜慮資糧善滿足故。五者般若波羅蜜多尸羅。聽聞根本無厭足故。

⁷⁴⁰ 相續解脫地波羅蜜了義經, T16:0716b0, “尸波羅蜜三種者。謂轉捨不善戒。轉生善戒。轉利眾生戒。”

⁷⁴¹ Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 3, No. 159 大乘本生心地觀經, 大唐般若譯, T03:0304b16-19, “普爲報於四恩故, 發起清淨菩提心, 應受菩薩三聚戒, 饒益一切有情戒, 修攝一切善法戒, 修攝一切律儀戒, 如是三聚清淨戒。”

⁷⁴² Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 16, No. 676 解深密經, 大唐玄奘譯, T16: 0705c15-17, “戒三種者。一者轉捨不善戒。二者轉生善戒。三者轉生饒益有情戒。”

⁷⁴³ Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 30, No. 1581 菩薩地持經, 北涼曇無讖, tr. Dharmarakṣa in 385~433CE, 於姑臧譯, T30:0910b06 -0912b09.

⁷⁴⁴ 月燈三昧經, T15:0584a18-23, No.639, “菩薩淨戒有十種利益。何等爲十。一者滿足一切智。二者如佛所學而學。三者智者不毀。四者不退誓願。五者安住於行。六者棄捨生死。七者慕樂涅槃。八者得無纏心。九者得勝三昧。十者不乏信財。童子。是爲十種淨戒利益。”

Sūtra No.221 says that the practice of the *śīlapāramitā* engenders the other five perfections. When the bodhisattvas observe the moral precepts, such practice is the *dānapāramitā*. While practising morality, even the bodhisattvas are cut, dismembered and flayed. Their minds do not produce hatred and anger, thus bodhisattvas abiding in morality engender the *kṣāntipāramitā*.⁷⁴⁵

How do the bodhisattvas practicing morality engender the *vīryapāramitā*? When bodhisattvas practise morality, their body, speech and mind are not slackened, and they aim to liberate sentient beings from *saṃsāra*, thus abiding in morality they engender the *vīryapāramitā*.⁷⁴⁶

How do the bodhisattvas practicing morality engender the *dhyānapāramitā*? They practise morality from the first to the fourth *dhyāna*. They do not seek the stage of *arhat* or *pratyekabuddha*. Their minds always reflect that ‘abiding in meditation I should liberate sentient beings,’ thus bodhisattvas abiding in morality engender the *dhyānapāramitā*.⁷⁴⁷

How do bodhisattvas practicing morality engender the *prajñāpāramitā*? While practicing morality, they do not see where the *dharmas* abide or cease, and even when they see the existence of *dharmas*, they know *dharmas* to be within suchness. Because of the *prajñāpāramitā*, bodhisattvas do not fall back to the states of *arhat* and *pratyekabuddha*. Thus bodhisattvas abiding in morality engender the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁷⁴⁸

In brief, the evolution of the perfection of morality includes new opinions on moral conduct, which was developed from unspecified discipline to more defined moral rules. From prohibitions turning toward the rules imposed on the bodhisattvas, more duties and more activity in social life and deeds emerged. Conceptually, the three categories of the perfection of morality indicate that the perfection of morality has been, from a single aim of disciplining bodily, verbal and mental actions for spiritual progress, developed into a multi-faceted motivation for the bodhisattva practice. Doctrinally, the *prajñāpāramitā* texts explain that the practice of the *śīlapāramitā* engenders the other five perfections which lead the bodhisattva to realize the relationship between the six perfections. Clearly, the protection of sentient beings and working for their welfare is centred in the bodhisattva moral teaching of Mahāyāna texts.

⁷⁴⁵ PEL, T08:0107a06-14

⁷⁴⁶ PEL, T08:0107a15-17.

⁷⁴⁷ PEL, T08:0107a18-21.

⁷⁴⁸ PEL, T08:0107a21-25

In addition, restraining from falling back to the states of an *arhat* and *pratyekabuddha* is a part of this perfection.

Morality is one of the three basic teachings of the Buddha.⁷⁴⁹ Its rules might be increased or reduced in some texts to meet the needs of particular circumstances. This will be discussed further in the next chapter to demonstrate yet further developments.

B.2.3. The perfection of patience

In the early texts, the teaching emphasises the development of patience (*kṣānti*) within the context of suffering and power. Thus a king or statesman is instructed to practice patience in the same way as a person who is oppressed. Bodhisattvas are encouraged to develop patience whenever they are seriously injured, and they should not produce hatred in mind. Additionally in the Mahāyāna texts, the best kind of patience is considered to be the *anutpattikadharmakṣānti*. This term is found in many Mahāyāna texts, particularly in the *prajnapāramitā-sūtras*, and fully explained in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*. *Anutpattikadharmakṣānti*, literally rendered, means “the acceptance of all things as unborn” (無生法忍). *Anutpattikadharmakṣānti* denotes existence in the Mahāyāna sense. *Kṣānti* means “patience” as one of the six *pāramitās* in the earlier texts, but here it does not mean “to endure,” or “to suffer patiently”, as endurance implies unwillingness or resentment. The sense of Buddhist *kṣānti* is tolerance or acceptance. When the non-origination of existence is truly recognized and accepted, it becomes the principle of one’s conduct and determines one’s mental attitude. It involves one’s volition and acceptance of the ultimate truth (*tattva*) as perceived by the mind free from errors or wrong judgments.

Chapter 24 of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* gives ten categories of *kṣānti*. (1) *Kṣānti* means to listen to the oral teaching of the Buddha, to accept it without fear or hesitation and to abide in it whole-heartedly. (2) *Kṣānti* as obedience, is to penetrate the nature of things, and to keep the mind pure and serene. (3) *Kṣānti* with regard to the unborn nature of existence has already been explained. The remaining categories of patience are realised when one attains the knowledge of things as (4) illusions, (5) mirages, (6) dreams, (7) echoes, (8) shadows, (9) the phenomenal and (10) the empty.⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴⁹ T16:0681c13-18.

⁷⁵⁰ *Sūtra* No. 278 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09:0580c.

Concerning the way of practising the *kṣāntipāramitā*, the texts present various views. The *Subāhupariṣcchā* reveals that as a method of practicing patience, one grasps the law of karmic causes and effects and the true nature of life. These contribute to the bodhisattva's restrain from the production of anger, hatred and the thoughts of revenge against those who are hostile and cause trouble.⁷⁵¹ It is important to have an internal peace and compassionate mind whether praised or harmed by sentient beings.⁷⁵² Reflections on the bodhisattva vows and on the thought of supreme enlightenment are presented as others ways to subdue and overcome inner obstacles and to endure harm, injury, abuse, and hardship.⁷⁵³ The practice of practicing patience is linked with the ultimate goal and fruit. For instance, if the bodhisattva's feet are cut off, the bodhisattva is patient and produces compassion in order to gain the Buddha's four supernatural feet.⁷⁵⁴

The *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra* distinguishes three categories of patience with regard to suffering, hostility and the factors of existence. *Sūtra* No. 678 also lists three categories of patience, patience with regard to unbeneficial things, patience with regard to sufferings, and patience with regard to the *Dharma*.⁷⁵⁵

The *Candradīpasamādhisūtra* lists ten advantages which result from practising the perfection of patience, freedom from harm by fire, no injury by knife, freedom from poison, freedom from water dangers, protection by non-human beings, possessing a fine figure and characteristics, freedom from evil rebirths, the chance of rebirth in heavens, constant peace day and night, and physical comfort and ease.⁷⁵⁶

Theoretically, *Sūtra* No.221 states that bodhisattvas practising the *kṣāntipāramitā* can engender the other five perfections. When the bodhisattvas are abused, looked down upon and violated, they practise patience. They dedicate the merit of practising patience to sentient beings and the supreme and perfect enlightenment (*anuttasamyaksambodhi*). They do not

⁷⁵¹ 善臂菩薩會第二十六, text 26 of the *Ratnakūta*, T11:0531ac. The sources of suffering are listed as possessions, one's body, one's wife, and one's property . . . as well as the six faculties. One should not have hatred and anger and take revenge toward others (有妻子故奪其妻. . . 此六根即是苦觸法即是惡觸。我今云何自於此命壞法滅法盡法。而生瞋恚侵害於他。)

⁷⁵² Subāhu, T11n0310_p0531c06, “若割鼻時。亦行忍辱起慈悲心。”

⁷⁵³ T11:0531c15, “爲得一切智具足一切佛法故。如是忍辱。”

⁷⁵⁴ Subāhu, T11:0531c07-8, “若截足時。亦行忍辱起慈悲心。爲得如來四神足故。”

⁷⁵⁵ 相續解脫地波羅蜜了義經, T16: 0716b06-7, “鬬提波羅蜜三種者。謂不饒益忍。安苦忍觀法忍”

⁷⁵⁶ 月燈三昧經, T15:0854b07-12, No.639.

abide in two places, the characteristic of non-vow and the characteristic of non-production. Thus do the bodhisattvas practicing the *kṣāntipāramitā* engender the *dānapāramitā*.⁷⁵⁷

How do the bodhisattvas practicing the *kṣāntipāramitā* engender the *śīlapāramitā*? When the bodhisattvas practise the perfection of patience they do not commit the ten unwholesome *dharma*s, but practise the ten wholesome *dharma*s. They dedicate their merit to supreme enlightenment, and their minds do not cling to the three vehicles. Thus bodhisattvas practicing the *kṣāntipāramitā* engender the *śīlapāramitā*.⁷⁵⁸

How do the bodhisattvas practicing the *kṣāntipāramitā* engender the *vīryapāramitā*? The bodhisattvas engender energy when they reflect: ‘I should travel to countless lands to instruct people to observe the precepts, to teach the three vehicles in conformity with people’s capacities to learn, to lead them out of *saṃsāra*, to dedicate merit to sentient beings and the supreme enlightenment (*anuttasamyaksaṃbodhi*).’ Thus the bodhisattvas practicing the *kṣāntipāramitā* engender the *vīryapāramitā*.⁷⁵⁹

How do the bodhisattvas practicing the *kṣāntipāramitā* engender the *dhyānapāramitā*? The bodhisattvas produce a wholesome thought from the first *dhyāna* until the fourth *dhyāna*, and then with this wholesome thought, they produce the thought of the supreme enlightenment without making any reflection. Thus the bodhisattvas practicing the *kṣāntipāramitā* engender the *dhyānapāramitā*.⁷⁶⁰

How do the bodhisattvas practicing the *kṣāntipāramitā* engender the *prajñāpāramitā*? They contemplate the equanimity of the *dharma*s, the purity of the *dharma*s, and the exhaustion of the *dharma*s. They have the aim to obtain all-knowledge (*sarvajñāna*) and to turn the wheel of the *Dharma*. They also realise that there is non-gain and non-giving.⁷⁶¹

At an advanced level the bodhisattva attains the acceptance of all things as unborn. This is because one has finished examining and purifying the path with transcendental wisdom and skilful means (*prajñopāya*), one has finished accumulating the stock of knowledge and merit (*sambhara*), and has equipped oneself with the vows. One is sustained by the power of the

⁷⁵⁷ PEL, 放光般若經, T08:0107a26-b03, No.221.

⁷⁵⁸ T08:0107b04-09.

⁷⁵⁹ T08:0107b09-14.

⁷⁶⁰ T08:0107b14018.

⁷⁶¹ T08:0107b18-23; “菩薩所攝取, 如不取, 如不捨” can be understood as ‘what the bodhisattvas engender is thus non-grasp and non-loose.’

Tathāgatas, one's mind is thoroughly purified and thoughtful, grounded in virtue, knowledge, power, great in pity and compassion,

"When one enters truly (1) the knowledge that all things are, in their nature, from the beginning unborn (*autpanna*), unproduced (*ajata*), devoid of particular marks (*alākṣaṇā*), unevolved (*asambhuta*), undissolved (*avināsita*), nor extinguished (*aniṣṭhita*), unchanging (*apravṛtti*), unceasing (*anabhiniṣṭti*), and non-substance (*abhāvasvabhāva*), (2) the knowledge that all things remain the same at all times and that they are suchness, non-discriminative, and enter into the knowledge of the omniscient one, (3) the knowledge of all things as they really are, one becomes completely emancipated from the individualising ideas created by the mind (*citta*) and the agent of consciousness (*manovijñāna*), one becomes detached as the sky, and descends upon all objects as if upon empty space. Finally one gains the acceptance of all things as unborn (*anutpattikadharmakṣānti*)."⁷⁶²

The above discussion shows how the perfection of patience has been conceptually developed in terms of categories and levels associated with the bodhisattva career. The mere control of one's anger, hatred and agitation is just a part of perfect patience. The capability of bearing the teachings of bodhisattvas becomes an important part of perfect patience. In addition, patience is guided by wisdom and participates in the operations of the other perfections. Practically, the bodhisattvas are encouraged to meet sentient beings, and to travel to the potential Buddha lands to learn and give teachings. The various categories of patience are not only indicating the conceptual evolution of patience, but also showing that the practice of patience has the functions of maintaining merit and increasing one's wisdom.

B.2.4. The perfection of energy

In the earlier texts the treatment of effort is included in the right conduct as part of the eightfold path. In this context, effort is understood as a determined and tireless striving on the path to liberation. In the Mahāyāna texts, the focus of perfect energy is on the effort towards the realization of truth, the welfare of sentient beings, and supreme enlightenment. Perfect energy is said to exist in every achievement and perfection.

In the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, the practice of energy is to perform effortless deeds (*anabhogocaryā*), to walk the path of signlessness (*animittapatha*), and to enter the mental state of non-semblance (*cittanirābhāsa*).⁷⁶³

⁷⁶² The *Dāśabhūmika*; Rahder, pp.125-126.

⁷⁶³ 楞伽經 (*Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*), tr. Bodhiruci, 513 CE, T16, No.671

Sūtra No. 678 distinguishes three categories of energy, energy for vows, energy for skills, and energy for benefiting sentient beings.⁷⁶⁴

Sūtra No. 639 enumerates ten kinds of advantage gained from abiding in the perfection of energy, invincibility, being cared for by the Buddhas, protection from nonhuman beings, retention of learned *dharma*s, learning new things, increased eloquence in argument, acquisition of the nature of *samādhis*, reduction of illness and worries, the ability to digest all kinds of food, and eminence.⁷⁶⁵ These advantages are obtained at the advanced level of the bodhisattva career.

The *Subāhupariṣcchā* says that fervent aspirations should become the driving force and the source of energy for the bodhisattvas to control laziness, to work energetically and without any physical, verbal and mental slackening.⁷⁶⁶ The application of the four countless states (*apramāṇa*) to the practices of the six perfections for mastering the Buddha's teaching and for gaining the supreme enlightenment is said to be one of the important areas to make efforts with diligence.⁷⁶⁷ The bodhisattvas should also employ their energy to learn and to instruct sentient beings in the teachings of the Buddha, to train and establish them in the vehicles in conformity with their learning capabilities.⁷⁶⁸ They should exercise energy in all circumstances and conditions, and endure unbearable sufferings to liberate sentient beings.

Sūtra No.221 explains how the bodhisattvas practicing the *vīryapāramitā* engender the other five perfections. From the moment of producing the thought of enlightenment until they gain enlightenment, without wasting any time bodhisattvas exert their energy for the attainment of enlightenment through their bodily, verbal and mental actions. Bodhisattvas travel to different Buddha lands⁷⁶⁹ to instruct human and other sentient beings, and strive to lead sentient beings out of *saṃsāra* by means of the three vehicles. At the time when no one can practice the paths of the Buddha or the bodhisattva, bodhisattvas teach the paths of the *arhat* and the *pratyekabuddha*. When no one can follow the practices of the *arhat*

⁷⁶⁴ 相續解脫地波羅蜜了義經 (*Sūtra of the Certain Meaning of the Pāramitā, the Successive Liberations*), T16:716b-7-9, No.678, “毘梨耶波羅蜜三種者。謂弘誓精進。善方便精進。利眾生精進。”

⁷⁶⁵ 月燈三昧經 (*Candradīpa-samādhisūtra* or *Samādhirājasūtra*), T15: 584b26-c02, No.639

⁷⁶⁶ Subāhu, T11: 531c29-532a23

⁷⁶⁷ Subāhu, T11: 532a29-b22.

⁷⁶⁸ Subāhu, T11: 532b22-28.

⁷⁶⁹ A Buddha realm is not another world of the universe, but the place and the land where Buddhism exists, or will come to exist.

and the *pratyekabuddha*, the bodhisattvas strive to teach the ten kinds of wholesome conduct. It is in these ways while the bodhisattvas practise the *vīryapāramitā* they engender the *dānapāramitā*.⁷⁷⁰ It is evident that the *Sūtra* No.221 stresses the practice of energy to work for one's own and other people's benefit.

How do the bodhisattvas engender the *śīlapāramitā* by practicing the *vīryapāramitā*? From the moment of producing the thought of enlightenment until they gain enlightenment, bodhisattvas practise the ten kinds of wholesome conduct and also encourage others to practice them. The bodhisattvas that abide in morality do not seek pleasures in this world and do not seek to gain the state of the *arhat* or the *pratyekabuddha*. Concerning their conduct, they do not see the doers of the past, present and future. It is in this way that the bodhisattvas by practicing the *vīryapāramitā* engender the *śīlapāramitā*.

When bodhisattvas are tortured by human or non-human beings, they are patient and reflect, 'I will gain significant benefits. I have this body for sentient beings. Now sentient beings come to take it. For the sake of the Dharma therefore, I should be happy and produce no hatred.' It is in this way that the bodhisattvas practicing the *vīryapāramitā* engender the *kṣāntipāramitā*.⁷⁷¹

How do the bodhisattvas practicing the *vīryapāramitā* engender the *dhyānapāramitā*? They energetically make effort to achieve the four *dhyānas*, the four boundless states, and the four *samāpattis*. Wherever they are born, they always strive to rescue sentient beings, and to guide them to transcend *saṃsāra* by means of teaching the six *pāramitās*. They travel to the Buddha lands to produce generosity, and to cultivate wholesome roots of virtue. It is in this way that bodhisattvas abiding in the *vīryapāramitā* engender the *dhyānapāramitā*.⁷⁷²

How do the bodhisattvas practicing the *vīryapāramitā* engender the *prajñāpāramitā*? While bodhisattvas practise the perfection of energy, they do not see the five *pāramitās*, their characteristics, or their functions. They do not see the thirty-seven factors of enlightenment, and they do not see the *dharmas* and their characteristics. They know the

⁷⁷⁰ Fangguang, T08:107b24-c07.

⁷⁷¹ Fangguang, T08: 107c14-21.

⁷⁷² Fangguang, T08: 107c22-26.

sameness of all *dharma*s. Thus abiding in the *vīryapāramitā* they engender the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁷⁷³

Certainly, the perfection of energy brings success in the practice of the perfections. Its concept becomes developed in terms of defining its role in the entire career of the bodhisattvas. In addition, the *sūtras* emphasize the importance of using energy to work the benefit of self and others. The bodhisattvas are asserted to master skills and the Buddha's teachings, to fulfil their vows, and to travel to the Buddha lands to teach.

B.2.5. The perfection of meditation

The perfection of meditation (*dhyānapāramitā*) in the earlier texts (the *Āgamas* and *Vinaya*) mainly consists of the four *dhyānas*. However, in the Mahāyāna texts which we examine here, in addition to the four meditations, there are many other meditations and concentrations (*samādhis*). In the development of the *dhyānapāramitā*, *samādhis* are important because they can produce particular supernatural powers that can be used to help others and to fulfil their vows. *Sūtra* No. 397 indicates that bodhisattvas abiding in the *dhyānapāramitā* can easily enter many kinds of *samādhis* and gain mastery of will (*vaśitā*) and skills.⁷⁷⁴ *Samādhis* upon the water-moon, lotus flower, non-self, signlessness (*ānimitta*), wishlessness (*apraṇihita*), and emptiness (*śūnyatā*) are included in a long list given in this text.⁷⁷⁵ Among all the *samādhis*, the *vaśitāsamādhi* of all the *dharma*s seems to be prominent because many detailed ways are given for obtaining it. One of the ways is non-attachment to all *dharma*s.⁷⁷⁶ This text also states that the bodhisattvas practise meditation (*dhyāna*) for sixteen reasons.⁷⁷⁷ For instance, bodhisattvas practise the meditation for knowing the minds of sentient beings in order to lead them to cross *saṃsāra*. In order to know the mental activities of sentient beings, bodhisattvas practise the *samādhi* which produces supernatural powers. *Sūtra* No. 403 also states that bodhisattvas abiding in the *dhyānapāramitā* should fulfil all *samādhis*.⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁷³ Fangguang, T08: 107c27-0108a03.

⁷⁷⁴ Dafangeng, T13:0195a, “菩薩住於禪波羅蜜。即於無量百千種種諸禪三昧而得自在。”

⁷⁷⁵ Ibid., T13:0195a; a same list is also seen in *Sūtra* No.401, 佛說無言童子經, T13:0531a

⁷⁷⁶ Dafangeng, T13:0042c, “菩薩摩訶薩成就何法獲得如是一切諸法自在三昧... 菩薩摩訶薩具足一法則能獲得如是三昧。所謂不著一切諸法...” It also states that completing ten *dharma*s is away to gain this *samādhi*, T13:0043b.

⁷⁷⁷ Dafangeng, T13:0194a, “菩薩摩訶薩以十六事修行禪定而無有盡。不與聲聞辟支佛共...”

⁷⁷⁸ 阿差末菩薩經 (*Aśayamatibodhisattvasūtra*), T13:0595a, “菩薩已住寂度無極,悉能逮成諸三昧定.” There is a long list of *samādhis* in this text

Some of the *samādhis* produce wisdom and realization, and speed up the bodhisattva's progress and development. For instance, the *Laṅkāvatāra* says,

"When the *manomayakāya* is obtained through the realisation of the *samādhi* known as *mayopama* (the illusion-like), one acquires the ten powers (*bala*), the tenfold self-mastery (*vasitā*), and the six psychic faculties (*abhijñā*). One becomes adorned with distinguishing marks, and is born in the family of the holy path. One thinks about the purpose of one's original vow, which is to bring all sentient beings to full maturity."⁷⁷⁹

This *samādhi* is connected with the concept of the three Buddha-bodies.

Sūtra No. 644 states that the bodhisattvas abiding in the *sūrangamasamādhi* can master one hundred *samādhis*.⁷⁸⁰ All the names of the hundred *samādhis* are listed. The first one is the *samādhi* of emptiness and the hundredth is the *samādhi* of accepting the seal of the *dharma* king.

Sūtra No. 678 distinguishes three categories of the *dhyānapāramitā*,⁷⁸¹ (1) the *dhyāna* for eliminating wrong thoughts, tranquillising worries, treating pains and sufferings, for gaining happy stages, (2) the *dhyāna* for engendering merit, and (3) the *dhyāna* for instructing and benefiting sentient beings.

In the *Sūtra* No. 397, the *dhyānapāramitā* is defined and characterised as having non-affection to all the *dharmas*, having non-thought of anything, having non-attachment to any *skandhas*, and having non-production of any realms.⁷⁸²

The *Subāhuparipṛcchā* indicates that the teachings on meditation in the *Āgamas*⁷⁸³ were adopted to enlarge the Mahāyāna teaching on the *dhyānapāramitā*. Thus according to this text, by not attaching themselves to the five sensual objects, and by not having any greed for the world, bodhisattvas control their six sense faculties. They never distance themselves from tranquillity and meditation.⁷⁸⁴ By having their feet and hands controlled they do not make mistakes. By having shame (*hrī*) and a sense of remorse (*apatrāya*) they control their bodily,

⁷⁷⁹ 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經(*Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*), T16:0496a; T16:0489c.

⁷⁸⁰ 佛說金剛三昧本性清淨不壞不滅經, T15:0697c, “菩薩摩訶薩住首楞嚴三昧已修百三昧門。”

⁷⁸¹ 相續解脫波羅蜜三義經 (*Sūtra on the Certain Meaning of the Pāramitā, the Successive Liberations*), T16:716b09, No.678, “禪波羅蜜三種者。謂離妄想寂靜煩惱苦對治樂住禪, 開引功德禪。開引利眾生禪。”

⁷⁸² 大方等大集經 (*Mahā-saṃnipāta-sūtra*), T13:0302a.

⁷⁸³ For meditation achievements, to discard sense desires (colour/form, sound, odour, flavour, tangible objects) and to remove the obstacles (lust, ill will, languor and torpor, regret, doubt) are asserted as particularly important. Teachings on the elimination of sensual desires are found in MN, I, 85-87, 92, 454; II, 42; III, 114; AN, III, 411; IV, 415, 430 449, 458; Teachings on removing the obstacles are found in AN, III, 16, 92; IV, 437; V, 207; DN, I, 71, 246; II, 300; III, 234; MN, I, 144, 181, 268, 274, 347; III, 136; SN, V, 60. These become a part of the Mahāyāna teaching of the *dhyānapāramitā*.

⁷⁸⁴ Subāhu, T11: 533a12-18.

verbal and mental acts.⁷⁸⁵ They remain calm and easily satisfied with their needs of livelihood.⁷⁸⁶ For the sake of peace they distance themselves from noisy places. Whether they are praised or blamed, glorified or abused, pleased or displeased their minds remain unmoved. They have no hatred or affection, and they regard their enemies equal to their sons.⁷⁸⁷ Whether they meet bearable or unbearable circumstances their minds always abide in equanimity and tranquillity.⁷⁸⁸ Whether the five sensual objects are lovable or disagreeable they have no desire, hatred, anger or attachment.⁷⁸⁹ The bodhisattvas, having reflected and discarded all desires and malicious *dharmas*, become endowed with reasoning (*vitarka*), investigation (*vicāra*), joy (*prīti*) and happiness (*sukha*), and thus gain the first *dhyāna*.⁷⁹⁰ By the rejection of examination and investigation, they enter a state of internal peace (*saṃprasāda*), mental one-pointedness (*ekotiḥbhāva*) which is free from reasoning and investigation, they gain joy and happiness, and obtain the second *dhyāna*.⁷⁹¹ By renouncing joy and remaining indifferent, the bodhisattvas enter a state of alertness (*smṛtīman*), awareness (*saṃprajāna*), and mental one-pointedness. They experience a kind of bodily happiness, which only holy persons are capable of renouncing, and thus they gain the third *dhyāna*.⁷⁹² Through the elimination of happiness and suffering, and through a prior rejection of mental gratification (*saumanasya*) and frustration (*daurmanasya*), they enter a state of equanimity, indifference and purification in mindfulness, and thus they gain the fourth *dhyāna*.⁷⁹³

By directing altruistic thoughts towards all sentient beings, the bodhisattvas master immeasurable benevolence (*maitreyāpramāṇa*).⁷⁹⁴ By reflecting on the sufferings of sentient

⁷⁸⁵ T11: 533a18-20

⁷⁸⁶ T11: 533a20-22

⁷⁸⁷ T11: 533a23-25

⁷⁸⁸ T11: 533a25-26

⁷⁸⁹ T11: 533a28-b05

⁷⁹⁰ T11: 533b05-07, “是故菩薩如是觀已。離欲惡不善法。有覺有觀。離生喜樂。成初禪行。”

⁷⁹¹ T11: 533b07-08, “離覺觀。內淨信心在一處。無覺無觀。定生喜樂。成二禪行。”

⁷⁹² T11: 533b08-09, “離喜捨念。正智一心身行樂。諸聖人能行能捨。成三禪行。”

⁷⁹³ T11: 533b10, “捨苦樂意。先滅憂喜。行捨念淨。成四禪行。” The *dhyānas* are mentioned in AN, I, 53, 163, 182, 242.; II, 126, 151; III, 11, 119; IV, 111, 229, 410, V, 207, 343; AA, T02:569, 582, 629, 639, 640, 641, 653, 659, 661-672, 712, 729, 733, 882; DA, T01:026, 050, 057, 059, 075, 078, 085, 093, 110, 240; DN, I, 37, 73, 172; II, 313; III, 78, 131, 222, 265; MA, T01:422-423, 470, 478, 517, 558, 561-562, 608, 679, 695, 700, 713-716, 721, 743, 747, 779, 785-789; MN, I, 21, 40, 89, 117, 159; II, 15, 204, 226; III, 4, 14, 25, 36; SN, II, 210, 216, 221; III, 235; IV, 225, 236; V, 10, 198, 213; SA, T02:045, 097, 106, 121, 123-124, 146, 202, 209, 213, 219, 256.

⁷⁹⁴ Subāhu, T11: 533b11, “於一切眾生思惟樂想。成就無量無邊慈心。”

beings, bodhisattvas master immeasurable compassion (*karuṇāpramāṇa*).⁷⁹⁵ By having sympathetic thoughts toward sentient beings, they master immeasurable sympathetic joy (*muditāpramāṇa*).⁷⁹⁶ By having impartial thoughts towards sentient beings' hostility and happiness, they master immeasurable equanimity (*upekṣāpramāṇa*).⁷⁹⁷ Thus bodhisattvas master the meditation on the four immeasurable thoughts (*apramāṇa-citta*).⁷⁹⁸ They also master the four *samāpattis*,⁷⁹⁹ the meditation on breathing (*ānāpāna*),⁸⁰⁰ the meditation on the impurity of the body⁸⁰¹ and food,⁸⁰² the meditation on the impermanence of life,⁸⁰³ and the meditation on the unpleasantness of the world.⁸⁰⁴ Likewise bodhisattvas master the eight dominations (*abhibhvāyatana*),⁸⁰⁵ the ten totalities (*kṛtsnāyatana*),⁸⁰⁶ and all other *samādhis*.⁸⁰⁷

The bodhisattvas abide in the meditation (*dhyāna*) and *samādhis* in order to gain supreme liberation, to liberate sentient beings from *saṃsāra*, to gain omniscience (*sarvajñāna*), and to master all the teachings of the Buddha. The practice for obtaining enlightenment is named the bodhisattvas' countless wholesome roots of *dhyāna* and *samādhi*.⁸⁰⁸

Sūtra No. 221 shows how the bodhisattvas practicing the *dhyānapāramitā* engender the other five perfections. How do the bodhisattvas practicing the *dhyānapāramitā* engender the *dānapāramitā*? The bodhisattvas abiding in all *dhyānas* and concentrations practise two kinds of generosity, giving possessions and teaching the Dharma. They encourage others to practise the two kinds of generosity, and extol the merit gained from practising generosity. The bodhisattvas, with sentient beings, dedicate the merit of the two kinds of generosity to

⁷⁹⁵ Subāhu, T11: 533b12, “於眾生中思惟苦想。成就無量無邊悲心”, the explanation of the *samādhis* of the four countless states is also found in the 達摩多羅禪經 (*Dharmatara-dhyāna-sūtra*), T15: 319c.

⁷⁹⁶ T11: 533b13, “於眾生中思惟喜想。成就無量無邊喜心。”

⁷⁹⁷ Subāhu, T11: 533b14, “於眾生中捨苦樂想。成就無量無邊捨心。”

⁷⁹⁸ These four countless states are explained in the DA, T01: 100, 202, 228, 354, 409, 812; DN, I, pp. 250-1; II, p. 196; III, p. 220; MA, T01: 563; T02: 537; AN, III, pp. 224-5; MN, I, pp. 370-1, pp.349-351; SN, V, p. 119.

⁷⁹⁹ T11: 533b14-18, “不思惟色想。成就空處寂靜行...”

⁸⁰⁰ T11: 533b18-20, “. . . 成就入息出息寂靜行。”

⁸⁰¹ T11: 533b20-21. See EA, T02: 326, 629, 696, 780, 788; DA, T01:054, 056, 516, 526, 920; MA, 568, 569, 602.

⁸⁰² T11: 533b22-23. See DA, T01:011, 051, 054, 256; SA, T0:135.

⁸⁰³ T11: 533b21-22 See SA, T02:020, 046-8, 070, 079, MA, T01:609.

⁸⁰⁴ T11: 533b23-25.

⁸⁰⁵ T11: 533b25-c10; The eight dominations are explained in the DA, T01:055-56; MA, T01:799-800; 大般涅槃經 (卷 1), T01:192; 大集法門經 (卷 2), T01:232-233.

⁸⁰⁶ T11: 533c10-13. “. . . 成就十一切入處行.” these ten totalities are discussed in MA, T01:800-809.

⁸⁰⁷ T11: 533c17-20

⁸⁰⁸ T11: 533c20, 534a06

supreme and perfect enlightenment. It is in this way that, while bodhisattvas practise the *dhyānapāramitā* they engender the *dānapāramitā*.⁸⁰⁹

How do bodhisattvas practicing the *dhyānapāramitā* engender the *śīlapāramitā*? Bodhisattvas do not produce thoughts of desire, hatred and ignorance, and do not direct any harmful thoughts towards others, but only engender the thought of gaining omniscience, and dedicate their merits to supreme and perfect enlightenment.⁸¹⁰

How do bodhisattvas practicing the *dhyānapāramitā* engender the *kṣāntipāramitā*? Bodhisattvas meditate in the following ways, form (*rūpa*) is like gathered lathers, pain and sensation (*vedanā*) is like foam, conception (*saṃjñā*) is like a wild horse, formation (*saṃskāra*) is like a banana tree, and consciousness (*viññāna*) is like illusion. Having contemplated in this way, they reflect on the transient nature of the five aggregates (*skandhas*) and reject them. They further reflect on the fact that the five *skandhas* do not exist, and that there is no need to generate thoughts of hatred towards the nonexistent. Thus while bodhisattvas practise the *dhyānapāramitā*, they engender the *kṣāntipāramitā*.⁸¹¹

How do the bodhisattvas practicing the *dhyānapāramitā* engender the *vīryapāramitā*? The merit from engendering the *dhyānas* causes bodhisattvas to gain supernatural abilities. With the supernatural ear one learns and hears voices, and recognizes the thoughts and intentions of sentient beings, and one identifies the events of past existences. With the supernatural eye, one sees the good and bad karmic retributions of sentient beings. By means of their five supernatural powers one travels to Buddha lands to worship the Buddhas and to cultivate wholesome roots. One purifies the Buddha lands and instructs sentient beings, and dedicates the merit to supreme enlightenment. Thus while the bodhisattvas practise the *dhyānapāramitā* they engender the *vīryapāramitā*.⁸¹²

How do the bodhisattvas practicing the *dhyānapāramitā* engender the *prajñāpāramitā*? They meditate on the non-existence of the five *skandhas* and the six *pāramitās*, the non-existence of the thirty-seven factors of enlightenment, and on the nature of the conditioned and unconditioned *dharmas*. They meditate on non-existence and non-origination, non-production, and non-cessation. Why is it so? It is because the nature of things (*dharmas*) or

⁸⁰⁹ PEL, T08: 0108a04-10

⁸¹⁰ PEL, T08:0108a10 -15

⁸¹¹ PEL, T08:0108a15-22.

⁸¹² PEL, T08:0108a22-29.

the true reality (*dharmatā*) has such characteristics, no matter whether the Buddha appears or not. They merely practise in conformity with omniscience (*sarvaprajñāna*). Thus while bodhisattvas practise the *dhyānapāramitā* they engender the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁸¹³

In Mahāyāna texts, the interpretation of the perfection of meditation has been expanded and adjusted in a variety of ways including the introduction of new concepts, categories, and levels of practices in the career of the bodhisattvas.

B.2.6. The perfection of wisdom

The perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*) is discussed but not illustrated in the Pāli canon and sectarian texts. In the *EA* it refers to knowledge and to the doctrine of emptiness of the Mahāyāna teachings.

In Mahāyāna texts, there are numerous views on the perfection of wisdom which represent new interpretations. The *Mahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra* says that non-production of all *dharmas*, abandonment of the *skandhas*, non-thought of self and sentient beings,⁸¹⁴ penetration into emptiness (*śūnyatā*), signlessness (*ānimitta*) and wishlessness (*apraṇihita*) of all the *dharmas* all constitute the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁸¹⁵

Sūtra No. 400 says that the penetration into the equality of the *dharmas* is the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁸¹⁶ When the bodhisattvas do not analyse the three realms of existence, *skandhas*, and faculties, they abide in reality and aim for the ultimate (*paramārtha*). In this way, bodhisattvas are able to mature sentient beings and fulfil the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁸¹⁷

Sūtra No. 404 says that by mastering eight kinds of *dharmas*, the bodhisattvas can practise the perfection of wisdom. The eight *dharmas* are (1) the accumulation of all wholesome *dharmas*, (2) the rejection of the view of permanence, (3) the elimination of all unwholesome *dharmas* without attachment to the view of nihilism, (4) the knowledge of dependent origination without opposing the non-production of the *dharmas*, (5) the performance of the four types of analytical knowledge (*pratisaṃvid*) without attachment to the four kinds of eloquence (*pratibhāna*), (6) skill in defining the four kinds of *udāna* along with non-seeing, impermanence, suffering, non-self and tranquillity, (7) skill in explaining the

⁸¹³ PEL, T08:0108b01-7.

⁸¹⁴ Dafangdeng, T13:0301c

⁸¹⁵ Dafangdeng, T13:0148b, “能觀諸法空無相願。即是我之般若波羅蜜。”

⁸¹⁶ 佛說海意菩薩所問淨印法門經, T13:0511c, “若能入此法界平等性中。所入即是般若波羅蜜多。”

⁸¹⁷ Dafangdeng, T13:0315a.

karmic causes and effects without falling into the theory of non-karmic causes and effects yet abiding in non-sophistic talk (*aprapañca*), (8) skill in clarifying the different characteristics of all the *dharmas*, skill in achieving the brightness of every dharma, skill in teaching which *dharmas* are pure, and identifying which *dharmas* are impure.⁸¹⁸ The *Śūraṅgama-samādhi sūtra* states that contemplating the mind, understanding the mind, and penetrating into the characteristics of the mind constitute the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁸¹⁹

The *Subāhupariṣcchā* presents a theory of how to fulfil the perfection of wisdom. According to it, to master the threefold division of wisdom is the basic conduct for bodhisattvas to follow. In order to acquire the profound *Dharma*, to eliminate ignorance (*avidyā*) and fear of any obstacle and hardship, bodhisattvas should approach the wise and learn the *Dharma*. After that one engages in generating wisdom through reflection (*cintāmayīprajñā*) and meditative realization (*bhāvanāmayīprajñā*), and thus one gains the knowledge of the aggregates (*skandha*), elements (*dhātu*), sense-fields (*āyatana*), truths (*satya*), dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*), and the three vehicles (*yāna*).⁸²⁰

The knowledge of the elements (*dhātu*) includes knowledge of two elements, the conditioned (*saṃskṛta*) and unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*), or⁸²¹ knowledge of three elements, the wholesome (*kuśala*), unwholesome (*akuśala*) and undetermined (*avyākṛta*), or⁸²² knowledge of the triple world, the Kāmadhātu, Rūpadhātu and Ārūpyadhātu. It includes⁸²³ knowledge that lust, greed, hatred and delusion (*moha*) operate in the Kāmadhātu,⁸²⁴ knowledge that attachment to form, attention and delusion operate in the Rūpadhātu,⁸²⁵ and knowledge that delusion, attention and non-attachment to material forms operate in the Ārūpyadhātu.⁸²⁶ It further includes knowledge of four realms, the Kāmadhātu, the Rūpadhātu, the Ārūpyadhātu and the unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*),⁸²⁷ knowledge of the six elements such as passion (*rāga*), hatred (*dveṣa*), harm (*hiṃsā*), ultimate truth (*paramārtha*), non-aversion (*apratigha*), non-harm

⁸¹⁸ 大集大虛空藏菩薩所問經 (卷 2), T13:0620a.

⁸¹⁹ 佛說首楞嚴三昧經 (*Śūraṅgamasamādhi-sūtra*), T15:0633c, “觀心知心通達心相。是般若波羅蜜。”

⁸²⁰ Subāhu, T11:534a19-21

⁸²¹ Subāhu, T11:0534a21-24.

⁸²² T11:0534a25-29.

⁸²³ T11:0534b01-14.

⁸²⁴ T11:0534b03-04, 若於此中欲染貪著。瞋恚愚癡悵望。欲得心所作業是名知欲界。

⁸²⁵ T11:0534b10-11, 於此中。色染愚癡悵望。欲得心所作業。是名色界

⁸²⁶ T11:0534b13.

⁸²⁷ T11:0534b14-15.

(*ahimsā*), knowledge⁸²⁸ of the six elements, namely earth, water, fire, wind, space and consciousness, and finally knowledge that they are impermanent (*anitya*), suffering (*duḥkha*) and insubstantial (*anātmaka*).⁸²⁹

The knowledge of the five aggregates perceives the origination, destruction, and impermanence of these.⁸³⁰ Knowledge of the sense-fields perceives the six internal sense faculties as the bases of suffering, decay, and destruction, as pervaded by emptiness (*sūnya*) and impersonality (*anātmaka*), as not belonging to *ātman*, and as poisons and distress.⁸³¹ It understands that the six external sense objects are unstable, unreliable, powerless, impermanent (*anitya*) and unreal.⁸³²

Knowledge that suffering consists of the aggregates, the six elements, the six internal sense faculties and the six external sense objects, and that suffering is impermanent and impersonal, constitutes the truth of suffering.⁸³³ Knowledge that lust, hatred, delusion and arrogance adhere to personality (*ātmaka*) and its eternal nature, that it is neither equal or different from the aggregates, knowledge that the *ātman* is the source of false and heretical views and produces wholesome and unwholesome deeds resulting in rebirth in the triple world, these constitute the truth of the origination of suffering.⁸³⁴ Knowledge of the destruction of passion, hatred and delusion, the cessation of *ātman* and its objects, and the extinction of feeling (*vedanā*), clinging (*upādāna*) and existence (*bhava*) constitute the truth of cessation (*nirodha*).⁸³⁵ The destruction of the origination of suffering, the realisation of the tranquillity of *nirvāṇa*, the practice of what has to be done, and of the eightfold noble path constitute the noble truth of the path (*mārga*).⁸³⁶ When the bodhisattvas reflect on the four noble truths, they see that conditioned things are suffering, impermanent, empty, non-substantial, and that unconditioned *dharma* is a protector. However, even though they make such reflections, they do not aspire to enter *nirvāṇa*.⁸³⁷

Knowledge of the twelve links of dependent origination grasps their function and

⁸²⁸ T11:0534b15-17.

⁸²⁹ T11:0534b17-21, “無常變壞無堅牢相。若無常即苦。若苦即無我。”

⁸³⁰ T11:0534b22-27, “是生滅不得久住。”

⁸³¹ T11:0534b27-c03

⁸³² T11:0534c04-10

⁸³³ T11:0534c12-16

⁸³⁴ T11:0534c16-0535a04, 若我我所。我受貪恚癡本

⁸³⁵ T11:0535a05-6.

⁸³⁶ T11: 0535a07-10.

⁸³⁷ T11:0535a11-13

realises that unawareness of them is called ignorance (*avidyā*). The bodily, verbal and mental karmic deeds, meritorious and unmeritorious actions are called formations (*saṃskāra*). Mind, thoughts and consciousness are called consciousness (*viññāna*). Feeling, thinking, reflecting and contacting are called name (*nāma*). Form made of the four great elements is called form (*rūpa*). The combination of name and form is called name-and-form (*nāma-rūpa*). The faculties of eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind are called the six sense bases. The conjunction of the sense base, sense object and sense consciousness is called contact (*sparsā*). Pain, pleasure and undetermined feelings are called feeling (*vedanā*). Craving feelings are called craving (*tṛṣṇā*). Craving for appropriation is called clinging (*upādāna*). The operation of form, feelings, thinking, formations and consciousness is called becoming [visible life]. The production of existence or becoming is called birth (*jāti*). The decay and extinction of birth is called old age and death (*jarā-maraṇa*).⁸³⁸

The bodhisattvas, by reflecting on the twelve links of dependent origination, realize and know that the elements of earth, water, fire, wind, space and consciousness are not substantial. They know that *nirvāṇa* is not *ātman*, that *ātman* is not *nirvāṇa*, and they do not have attachment to either *ātman* or *nirvāṇa*, but maintain their *bodhicitta* and do not enter *nirvāṇa*.⁸³⁹

Knowledge of the three vehicles perceives that the four *dhyānas* are for the Deva Vehicle, the four countless states for the Brahmā Vehicle, and the eightfold noble path for Ārya Vehicle. Whilst bodhisattvas practise the three vehicles in order to teach and establish sentient beings within them, bodhisattvas do not themselves enter the three vehicles.⁸⁴⁰ They know that the four noble truths are the *śrāvaka* vehicle for crossing *saṃsāra* and gaining *nirvāṇa*, the twelve links of dependent origination are the Pratyekabuddha vehicle for gaining liberation in solitude, the fourfold conversion and teachings found in Mahāyāna texts are the Mahāyāna method for achieving the welfare of sentient beings, for bodhisattvas to fulfil their vows, and to gain perfect enlightenment.⁸⁴¹

Knowledge of skill includes the ability of abiding in great *samādhis*, observance of the great vows, cultivation of the *bodhicitta*, compassion, and generosity. Other skills include the

⁸³⁸ T11:0535a14-29.

⁸³⁹ T11:0535b13-c10.

⁸⁴⁰ T11:0535c10-16.

⁸⁴¹ T11:0535c15-0536a08.

ability to remain in the world to turn the wheel of the Dharma and meet the needs of sentient beings, eliminating their worries and fear, obtaining treasure, medical treatment, clothing, food, drink, bedding, housing, and skill in fulfilling the six perfections for obtaining omniscience.⁸⁴²

Regarding the concept of wisdom (*prajñā*), unlike the later sources which tend to portray *prajñā* as *dharmanairātmya*, the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* emphasises the destruction of *ātmadr̥ṣṭi* and the realization of dependent origination. Also its threefold division of wisdom, namely learning, reflection and realization, is already found in the earliest records of Buddhist literature.

Regarding learning, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* says, “learning is application towards acquisition, retention and recitation of the teachings in the *sūtras* . . . by one who is devoted to the sayings of the Buddha. Reflection is the inference of meaning, discernment and ascertainment by one who devotes oneself to dharma-examination in solitude. Meditative realization is pleasurable repeated practice of concentrative calm, analytical insight, and equipoise preceded by exertion in concentrative calm and thorough inspection of phenomenal signs.”⁸⁴³

According to the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*,⁸⁴⁴ by the practice of skill-in-means, bodhisattvas attain an increasingly refined understanding of reality that ends eventually in the acquisition of wisdom. In fact, all skills share the same objective, namely the attainment of wisdom. Wisdom is defined as skill in all *dharma*s,⁸⁴⁵ such as the skill in the aggregates, sense-fields, elements, dependent origination, analytical knowledge, the equipment of merit and wisdom, mindfulness, the factors of enlightenment, the noble eightfold path, concentrative calm and analytical insight, and perfect effort. Skill in each of these practices contributes to the attainment of wisdom. For instance, skill in aggregates (*skandha*), element (*dhātu*), faculties (*indriya*), sense-fields (*āyatana*) and truth (*satya*) aims to destroy the view of a substantial self (*ātmadr̥ṣṭi*). Skill in analytical insight is used to reveal the non-substantiality of the factors of existence (*dharmanairātmya*). In the same text, the *bodhipākṣa* practices constitute the most

⁸⁴² T11:0536abc, “. . . 令三寶具足修六波羅蜜疾成佛道 . . . 安止眾生於善法中 . . .”

⁸⁴³ BB, pp. 108.3-110.13.

⁸⁴⁴ BP, T11: 299-314a19

⁸⁴⁵ BP, T11: 314

distinct category of practices included in the discussion of the *prajñāpāramitā*. They operate as factors constituting enlightenment.

Sūtra No. 678 presents three categories of *prajñāpāramitā*, knowledge of mundane truth (*samvrti-satya*), knowledge of absolute truth (*paramārthasatya*), and knowledge of benefiting (*upakāra*) sentient beings.⁸⁴⁶

Sūtra No. 639 lists the following ten kinds of advantage of the *prajñāpāramitā*,⁸⁴⁷ absence of the thought ‘I give’ when things are donated, faultless observance of the precepts without excessive reliance, abiding in the power of patience without having thoughts of sentient beings’ characteristics, having energy without attachment to the body and mind, practicing the *dhyānas* without abiding in them, the freedom from the disturbances of Māra, having the mind unaffected by the words of others, the ability to penetrate into the depths of *saṃsāra*, having a compassionate mind toward sentient beings, and having no pleasure in the paths of the *śrāvaka* and *pratyekabuddha*.

Sūtra No. 228 states that without the guidance of the *prajñāpāramitā* there can be no other *pāramitās*,⁸⁴⁸ and *Sūtra* No. 220 indicates that bodhisattvas practicing the *prajñāpāramitā* engender all perfections.⁸⁴⁹

Sūtra No. 221 says that bodhisattvas practicing the *prajñāpāramitā* engender the other five perfections. How do bodhisattvas practicing the perfection of wisdom engender the perfection of generosity? They know that most eminent is the emptiness of the conditioned and the unconditioned *dharmas*. All *dharmas* are asserted to be empty by nature, and bodhisattvas abiding in those fourteen types of emptiness see non-emptiness of the five aggregates, the thirty-seven factors of enlightenment, and the path. Bodhisattvas do not empty, note, or possess even the emptiness of the conditioned and unconditioned *dharmas*, as these are also empty by nature. From the moment of producing the thought of enlightenment to enlightenment, they do not produce greedy thoughts, or have attachment to supreme enlightenment, but they work for the welfare of sentient beings with their wisdom.⁸⁵⁰

⁸⁴⁶ 相續解脫波羅蜜了義經 (*Sūtra of the certain meaning of the pāramitā, the successive liberations*), T16:0716b11-12, “般若波羅蜜三種者。謂世諦緣。第一義諦緣。利眾生緣”

⁸⁴⁷ 月燈三昧經 (*Candradīpasamādhisūtra*), T15:0585a18-26, “行般若波羅蜜有十種利益...”

⁸⁴⁸ 佛說佛母出生三法藏般若波羅蜜多經, T08:0654b.

⁸⁴⁹ 大般若波羅蜜多經 (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*), T07:0679a, No.220c.

⁸⁵⁰ PEL, T8: 0108b08-26.

How do the bodhisattvas practising the *prajñāpāramitā* engender the *śīlapāramitā*? By not thinking and not seeking the state of *arhat* or Pratyekabuddha, by practising the ten wholesome *dharma*s and encouraging others to practise the ten wholesome *dharma*s, the bodhisattvas do not disparage any *dharma*s or the state of *arhat* and *pratyekabuddha*. By practising thus, the *prajñāpāramitā* engenders the *śīlapāramitā*.⁸⁵¹

How do bodhisattvas practising the *prajñāpāramitā* engender the *kṣāntipāramitā*? By reflecting on non-production and non-cessation of the *dharma*s, on non-birth, non-death and so forth, bodhisattvas produce patience whenever sentient beings beat or dismember them. It is in this way that the bodhisattvas engender the *kṣāntipāramitā*.⁸⁵²

How do the bodhisattvas practicing the *prajñāpāramitā* engender the *vīryapāramitā*? They teach the Dharma to sentient beings, establish them in the six *pāramitās*, in the thirty-seven factors of enlightenment (*bodhipākṣika*), in the three vehicles, and in supreme enlightenment. It is in this way that bodhisattvas engender the *vīryapāramitā*.⁸⁵³

How do the bodhisattvas practicing the *prajñāpāramitā* engender the *dhyānapāramitā*? Except for the *samādhi* of a Buddha, bodhisattvas are able to practise the *samādhis* of the *arhat*, the *pratyekabuddha* and the bodhisattva. They enter the *dhyānas* and *samāpattis*, the four boundless states (*apramāna*), the eight forms of liberation (*vimokṣa*), and the meditation on the nine types of unpleasantness (*aśubhabhāvanā*). They also enter the meditations in the normal and reversed process, and master the leaps of concentration and *dharma*s. Thus the bodhisattvas practicing the *prajñāpāramitā* engender the *dhyānapāramitā*.⁸⁵⁴

The above examination reveals that the perfection of wisdom has been remarkably developed not only in the sense of conceptualisations, but in terms of categories, methods, and levels in order to match the various types of bodhisattvas. Its evolution is further examined in the next chapter.

⁸⁵¹ PEL, T08: 0108b26-c04.

⁸⁵² PEL, T08: 198c04-c11.

⁸⁵³ Ibid., T08:0108c11-17.

⁸⁵⁴ Ibid., T08:0108c17-26.

C. The system of the ten *pāramitās*

References to the ten perfections in the Pāli canonical texts were discussed in previous chapters. The system of ten perfections in Mahāyāna texts is distinct from the system of ten perfections in the Pāli texts. The ten Mahāyāna perfections consist of the six perfections discussed above and of four supplementary perfections. The four additional perfections come from the six perfections, since the expositions of skill, power, vow and knowledge are given in discussions of the six perfections. Furthermore, the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra* explains the connection between the six and ten perfections. It says that to have companions for the six perfections the other four perfections are taught.⁸⁵⁵ The first three of the six perfections have the function of converting sentient beings. Skill in establishing sentient beings in the wholesome *dharma*s is the perfection of skill, a companion of the first three perfections. The perfection of vow is a companion of the perfection of energy, the perfection of power is a companion of the perfection of meditation, and the perfection of knowledge is a companion of the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁸⁵⁶

Furthermore, the Mahāyāna theory of ten *pāramitās* was developed to match the ten stages (*bhūmis*) found in the *Avataṃsakasūtra*, the *Dachangboyu-jīng* and the *Daśabhūmika*. Studies of these texts have been made by many scholars such as Dayal. Here I do not intend to study each of the ten stages or every aspect of them, but to indicate that the conceptual expansion of the six *pāramitās* has continued in the ten Mahāyāna perfections. Since the first six perfections are contained in the system of ten perfections, the *Dachengbaoyu-jīng* (*Mahāyānaratnameghasūtra*)⁸⁵⁷ is selected to demonstrate this point.

To the question of how to fulfil the ten perfections, various opinions appear in the texts. In the tenth chapter of the *Mahāratnamegha-sūtra* we see that to fulfil each of the ten *pāramitās* a bodhisattva has to complete ten types of action that correspond to the *pāramitās* by deeds such as giving teachings and giving freedom from fear. Here find significant changes to both the *pāramitās* and the paths of the bodhisattva. We will therefore list for each of the *pāramitās* the ten types of action that bodhisattvas must achieve in order to reach each perfection.

⁸⁵⁵ 深密解脫經(*Samdhinirmocanasūtra*), T16: 682a, No. 675.

⁸⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, T16: 0681c.

⁸⁵⁷ MRS, T16, No.659

Generosity: To fulfil the perfection of generosity (*dāna*), the bodhisattva must achieve the following ten events.⁸⁵⁸ One must be accomplished in:

- 1) Giving the Dharma
- 2) Giving fearlessness (*abhyadāna*)
- 3) Giving wealth, possessions for removing jealousy, greed, craving, and arrogance
- 4) Giving without expecting reward
- 5) Giving compassion and pity to others
- 6) Giving with no arrogance or improper manners
- 7) Giving with sincerity and proper manners
- 8) Giving offerings to the Three Gems
- 9) Giving without receiving good rebirth
- 10) Giving with purity

The first three of the ten refer to the three categories of generosity. The remaining six events are associated with deportment and attitude. All those are found in the system of the six perfections.

Morality: To fulfil the perfection of morality (*śīla*), the bodhisattva must accomplish the following ten goals:⁸⁵⁹

- 1) The protection of the discipline of the *prātimokṣa*
- 2) The protection and observing the moral codes and rules which a bodhisattva should learn and behave
- 3) The departure from the *kleśas* (craving, hatred, delusion)
- 4) The departure from unwholesome thought
- 5) Faith in the law of *karma*, cause and effect
- 6) The thought of fear in any evil (*pāpa*)
- 7) The contemplation of regret upon any error
- 8) and upon and strengthening the ability of acceptance and patience
- 9) The morality without receiving good rebirth
- 10) Wholesome conduct of body, speech, and mind.

⁸⁵⁸ Ibid., T16: 0244b28-0245b10.

⁸⁵⁹ Ibid., T16: 0245b11- 0246b10.

Patience: To fulfil the perfection of patience (*kṣānti*), the bodhisattva must achieve the following ten objectives:⁸⁶⁰

- 1) The patience of internal upsets such as worry, distress, misery, sadness, and melancholy
- 2) Patience of sufferings caused by internal sources and having no hatred and blame
- 3) *Dharmakṣānti* (acceptance of the Buddha's teachings without doubt)
- 4) Patience approved by the Buddha having understood non-hatred
- 5) Patience without considering time, place, space and persons
- 6) Patience with equanimity toward all sentient beings
- 7) Patience without counting on visible things
- 8) Unshakable patience not affected by anything
- 9) Patience with kindness (*maitrī*) and compassion (*karuṇā*)
- 10) Patience in completing vows having rejected hatred

Energy: To fulfil the perfection of energy (*vīrya*) the bodhisattva must achieve the following ten objectives:⁸⁶¹

- 1) Energy like an indestructible diamond by fulfilling unbreakable resolution
- 2) Energy like a brave hero by bearing the teachings of all the Buddhas and avoiding all the unwholesome
- 3) Energy by avoiding two extremes (over-exertion and undue laziness, or self-modification and self-indulgence)
- 4) Energy by increasing productive progression (obtaining the Buddha's wisdom and marks)
- 5) Energy by purifying the stains of energy (slackness, laziness and fondness of food and drinks)
- 6) Energy by ceaseless practice of the *caturvidha vīrya-pathā* without considering time, place and space
- 7) Energy by engaging in purification (by removing unbeneficial conditions, the unwholesome, and the obstacles to enlightenment, by not contradicting the path of *nirvāṇa* and *bodhi*, and by not having a single thought of subtle forms of the

⁸⁶⁰ Ibid., T16: 0246b11- 0247a17.

⁸⁶¹ Ibid., T16: 0247a25-0248a21.

unwholesome)

- 8) Energy without parallel in converting and assisting sentient beings to cross suffering
- 9) Energy without having contempt for the practices aimed at *bodhi*
- 10) Spontaneous energy (on the bodhisattva path) without being urged and arrogant

Meditation: To fulfil the perfection of meditation (*dhyāna*) the bodhisattva must achieve the following ten objectives:⁸⁶²

- 1) Possess the equipment of merit to assist in the encounter of spiritual friends
- 2) The thought of rejecting sensual desires, the source of sufferings in the world
- 3) Heroic energy by having efforts and obtaining what has not been obtained
- 4) Wealth in learning by possessing three kinds of wisdom
- 5) A righteous mind by following the truths and rejecting perverted things
- 6) Realization in the taught teachings and truths
- 7) Practice in accordance with the noble path
- 8) Sharpness in faculties by penetrating into the truth of the path
- 9) Understanding in the bases and categories of mind
- 10) Skill in understanding *samatha*, *vipāśyanā*, non-breath and consciousness

Wisdom: To fulfil the perfection of wisdom (*prajñā*) the bodhisattva must achieve the following ten objectives:⁸⁶³

- 1) Skill in understanding the truth of non-self (*anātman*)
- 2) Skill in understanding all the *karmas*, the causes and effects
- 3) Skill in understanding the conditioned (*saṃskṛta*)
- 4) Skill in understanding the continuity of birth and death (*saṃsāsa*)
- 5) Skill in understanding the discontinuity of birth and death (*nirvāṇa*)
- 6) Skill in understanding the paths (*mārgas*) of the *śrāvaka* and Pratyekabuddhas
- 7) Skill in understanding the path of the Mahāyāna⁸⁶⁴
- 8) Skill in knowledge of distancing oneself from Māra's deeds
- 9) Skill in all kinds of worldly knowledge without perverting truth⁸⁶⁵

⁸⁶² Ibid., T16: 0248a22-0249b16

⁸⁶³ Ibid., T16: 0249b17- 0250b07.

⁸⁶⁴ T16: 0250a15-18, “云何菩薩善知大乘。菩薩乃學一切諸佛所制戒律種種經法。究竟無餘。不得學者不得學道。不得所學一切種法不以如是之因緣故而墮斷見。如是菩薩善知大乘正道。”

10) Supreme wisdom without parallel

Skill: To fulfil the perfection of skill (*kausalya*) the bodhisattva must achieve the following ten objectives:⁸⁶⁶

- 1) Skill in dedicating merit (*pariṇāma*) and fulfilling vows (*praṇidhāna*)
- 2) Skill in converting heretics
- 3) Skill in transforming the poisons (of passion, hatred and delusion)
- 4) Skill in taming and removing the doubts and regrets of sentient beings
- 5) Skill in rescuing sentient beings
- 6) Skill in sustaining and improving the livelihood of people in need
- 7) Skill in the means of conversion (*saṃgrahavastu*)
- 8) Skill in knowledge of the base (*āyatana*) and wrong base (in correcting wrong applications of the right path according to people's *mṛdvindriya*, *tikṣa-indriya* and *āyatana*)
- 9) Skill in persuasion, constructive advise, beneficial and pleasant instruction
- 10) Skill in knowledge of offerings and service to the noble

Vows: To fulfil the perfection of their vows the bodhisattva must achieve the following ten objectives:⁸⁶⁷

- 1) Vow to not make any transgression
- 2) Vow to not become cowardly
- 3) Vow to benefit and liberate all sentient beings
- 4) Vow to praise all the merits of all Buddhas
- 5) Vow to tame and defeat all the assaults of Māra
- 6) Have a vow not rooted in the faith in others
- 7) Make countless vows
- 8) Vow to be free from any fear
- 9) Sustain the vows tirelessly
- 10) Vow to completely fulfil all vows

⁸⁶⁵ T16: 0250a24-02, “云何菩薩智慧不顛倒。菩薩摩訶薩一切世間技藝道術悉皆學知... 爲欲成就利眾生故。不爲欲得所知識故。但爲光揚顯示如來正法功德之最勝故。於諸外法不生優勝功德之想。唯作是解。如來經教最深最極。諸律毘尼功德無量是故菩薩不取外道邪見法則而爲清淨。如是菩薩智慧不顛倒。”

⁸⁶⁶ MRS, T16: 0250b09- 0251c29.

⁸⁶⁷ Ibid., T16:0251c29-0252c10.

Power: To fulfil the perfection of power the bodhisattva must achieve the following ten objectives:⁸⁶⁸

- 1) The power of being unconquerable
- 2) The power of being indestructible
- 3) The power resulted of merit (mundane and transcendent merits)
- 4) The power of *prajñā* (to see, realize and penetrate into all the *dharmas*)
- 5) The power to increase relatives in the bodhisattva family
- 6) The super-natural powers
- 7) The power to fulfil free-will
- 8) The power of *dhāraṇī* (mastering all the teachings of the Buddhas)
- 9) The power of unshakable position
- 10) The power that transcends those without wisdom

Knowledge: To fulfil the perfection of knowledge (*jñāna*) the bodhisattva must achieve the following ten objectives:⁸⁶⁹

- 1) Realisation of non-self (*anātman*);
- 2) Realisation of the non-substantiality of *dharmas*
- 3) Realisation at all times
- 4) Realisation of the experience of all the *samādhis*
- 5) Realisation of the knowledge that one cannot be suppressed
- 6) Realisation that one cannot be destroyed
- 7) Realisation in the conduct and mental activities of sentient beings
- 8) Intelligence and awareness without any effort at all times
- 9) Knowledge in the characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) of all *dharmas*
- 10) Knowledge in transcending *saṃsāra*.

D. Assessment of the evolution of the six perfections

Our survey of the six perfections in the above texts establishes that the first six perfections were specified as practices of the bodhisattvas in the early sectarian and Mahāyāna texts. The system of six perfections originated in the sectarian texts, and had a special character. The

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid., T16:0252c11- 0253a29.

⁸⁶⁹ Ibid., T16: 0253a29- 0254a07.

system was aimed toward achieving the status of a Buddha, for obtaining *bodhi* and *sarvajñāna*. Later, it was adopted by Mahāyāna texts and developed into a more complex system of doctrines, practices and levels to match the career of the bodhisattva. Finally, the six perfections were expanded into ten perfections to match the ten stages of the bodhisattvas.

Our selected texts represent independent views on the perfections. None of these claim ultimate authority on the theory of the perfections, although each text did contribute to the system. Further theoretical developments of the system of the perfections are reflected in the systematic treatises such as the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*. However, the most notable development is found in the *prajñāpāramitā* texts. As the perfection of wisdom was developed in many texts, the doctrinal presentation of wisdom shaped many later teachings. Furthermore, the teachings such as those on the non-production and non-gain, conquered native philosophies beyond India. *Dào* or *wu* in China was accepted and arguably interpreted by most Chinese scholars. Thus our examination of systems of the six and ten perfections not only discloses their origin and evolution, but also suggests that the teachings of wisdom influenced some forms of Buddhist thought in terms of their doctrines and practices.

Concerning the methods of accomplishing the six perfections, different opinions are voiced in texts from the period of the *Āgamas* to the Mahāyāna. Each of the six perfections underwent particular development in terms of concept and practice.

In the *Āgamas* and *Nikāyas*, the basic practices specified for fulfilling the perfection of generosity include generosity of giving internal and external possessions without reservation or attachment, dedicating merit to others, and *bodhi*. The purpose of practicing generosity is not only for the benefit of others, but also for the practitioner to eliminate greed and craving. Conceptual development is evident in the exposition of *āmiṣadāna*, *dharmadāna* and *abhyadāna*. Doctrinal development of generosity is evident in the teachings on *anātman* and *śūnyatā*, according to which the practice of generosity should be done on the assumption that the donor, beneficiary and given things do not ultimately exist. One must support and protect life, and give freedom to sentient beings as part of the practice of generosity. One must not take life and not generate difficulty for others, but guide them in doing good. Hence the four countless states, the four conversions, and the wholesome *dharmas* are discussed in the exposition of perfect generosity.

The perfection of morality of the *Āgamas* stresses the importance of safeguarding

morality rather than giving any detailed instruction. In the Pāli sources, the *śīlapāramitā* is explained in terms of perfect moral habits, the *pātimokkha*, control over the senses, complete purity of mode of livelihood, and relying on the requisites. Some texts indicate that perfect morality is the complete restraint of bodily and verbal actions, the restraint of senses, and the pure life that follows the five precepts and ten wholesome practices. Some texts such as the *Ugraparipṛcchā* separate the perfect morality of a lay bodhisattva from the mendicant bodhisattva morality. However, most Mahāyāna texts merely emphasize the importance of following the principles of morality. These include controlling the sources of evil and unwholesome deeds such as anger, hatred, lust, jealousy, craving, arrogance, and ignorance. The purpose of practicing morality is to remove lust, egoism, arrogance, hatred, ignorance, and to generate harmony and achieve the *asaika*. However, in the Mahāyāna texts such as the *Subāhuparipṛcchā*, traditional morality was accepted. Additional rules are formulated in positive ways and on both social and religious bases in order to encourage the bodhisattvas to do everything of benefit to sentient beings. In the *Bodhisattvapīṭakasūtra*, the practice of morality includes the ten kinds of thoughts, the ten wholesome actions, and the *bodhipāṅkṣika* practices. The text follows the prescriptive approach of the *śrāvaka* Vinaya as it identifies sensual desires as the chief source of moral impurity. Some texts such as the *Sūtra on the Certain Meaning of the Pāramitās and Bhūmis for Successive Liberation* say that the moral perfection consists of three categories of discipline: restraining the unwholesome (*saṃvaraśīla*), generating the wholesome (*kuśaladharma-saṃgrāhakaśīla*) and benefiting sentient beings (*sattvārthakriyāśīla*). Our sources also prove that bodhisattva's morality does not force the practitioner to retreat to forests or temples, but it guides them to towns and villages, to Buddha lands, to work for the welfare of sentient beings, to rescue them from suffering, and to establish them in the teachings of the Buddha. The model of this bodhisattva is given as Avalokiteśvara in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, and Vimalakīrti in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. The bodhisattvas can move freely regarding rules, for the benefit of others and themselves. In fact, one finds the development of rules in the *Vinayaviniścaya* and *Upālipṛcchā* of the *Ratnakūṭa*, where grave breaches of discipline and the regulations of disclosing faults and purification are explained. The text indicates that all bodhisattvas should guard against the breaches of discipline due to hatred, and the breaches of moral rules due to ignorance. If the breach is out of hatred, it is a grave breach but easy to eliminate. If the

breach is out of ignorance, it is a very grave breach, and very hard to eliminate. However, every grave offences or grave breaches of discipline can be purified. This text teaches that bodhisattvas have been authorized in their actions to satisfy all desires of sentient beings, and to move and travel freely from land to land to teach people. The text also teaches to achieve the perfection of morality by way of disclosing evils. From the surveys of the *śīlapāramitā* in the above texts, we see that moral rules are never fixed, but at the same time the principles of morality are retained. Furthermore we see that doctrinally, spiritual practice includes the teachings on non-*ātman* and non-objects of *ātman*, non-action and non-evil (*anāppatti*). More teachings on how to perfect morality are given in the *prajñāpāramitāsūtras*, especially on the ways the five perfections engender the perfection of morality.

Our survey of the perfection of patience reveals that the early discussions distinguish patience with regard to suffering, hostility and the factors of existence. The driving force for bodhisattvas to have patience is the strong wish and resolution to obtain supreme and perfect enlightenment and to release sentient beings from suffering. Traditionally, overcoming anger and hatred constitutes the perfection of patience. In addition to these, some Mahāyāna texts indicate that the non-damaging of anything (*dharma*s) is the perfections of patience. Some expositions indicate that a certain understanding is required to fulfil the perfection of patience. These include the knowledge of karmic law, cause and effect, the teachings on *anātman* and *śūnyatā*, and the sources of suffering and happiness. When the bodhisattvas are armed with those understandings they can bear the unbearable whatever it may be. Apart from these, loving-kindness, non-attachment and indifference are the qualities required for mastering patience. The conceptual development of this perfection in the Mahāyāna texts is evident in the exposition of the acceptance of teachings (*dharmakṣānti*) or the supreme acceptance of teachings (*anuttpattikadharmakṣānti*). Patience in Buddhism is practised not because of one's weakness, but because of one's wisdom, strength, and power, and because it is the best solution. The *prajñāpāramitāsūtras* indicate that the bodhisattvas abiding in the *kṣāntipāramitā* can engender the other five perfections.

Definitions of the perfection of energy (*virya*pāramitā) differ among our texts. Some texts say that the lack of physical and mental slackness while practising the six perfections is perfect energy. In other texts, the perfection of energy is explained by the rejection of karmic engagement, non-reflection of the characteristics of all the *dharma*s, non-grasping of anything,

and making constant efforts toward buddhahood. Conceptually, three categories of energy in the Mahāyāna teachings are explained: armoured energy, energy in the accumulation of factors of virtue, and energy in working for the benefit of sentient beings. However, energy would not be perfected without the guidance of wisdom and pure aspirations. Resolution for gaining full enlightenment (*sambodhi*), having compassion towards the sentient beings, and wishing to establish them in the three vehicles are said to be the sources of generating energy in the Mahāyāna teachings.

The perfection of meditation (*dhyānapāramitā*) has various definitions in the texts. Thus we see the ability to concentrate the mind on the meditating objects without any distraction is the perfection of meditation. Not abiding in anything, not reviewing any *dharma*, not engendering analysis and not generating heretical views are also perfect meditation. Three categories of the *dhyānapāramitā*, nine preparatory types of meditation, and meditation that aims for the welfare of beings are explained in the *Subāhupriṣcchāsūtra* and the *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra*. Traditional methods of meditation are endorsed in the expositions of the perfection of meditation in Mahāyāna texts. *Śamatha*, *vipāśyanā*, contemplation on the impurities of body and food, and other meditational objections are retained. Compassion towards sentient beings and the search for supreme and perfect enlightenment keep the bodhisattvas away from any attachment to the four *dhyānas* and four *samāpattis*, and for obtaining *nirvāṇa*. In theory and doctrine, the rejection of sensual desires and the removal of the five obstacles (*nīvaraṇa*) are treated in the exposition of perfect meditation. Morality, tranquillity, peace, non-distraction, non-agitation, restlessness, and non-attachment are essential qualities for the perfection of meditation. In addition, further development take place in the form of countless *samādhis*. 108 *samādhis* are presented in the *prajñāpāramitāsūtras* and among them, the *śūnyatā-samādhi*, *animitta-samādhi* and *apraṇihita-samādhi* are most prominent. The bodhisattvas favour *samādhis* because these enable the acquisition of spiritual powers, skills, and abilities to benefit all sentient beings. The *prajñāpāramitāsūtras* say that bodhisattvas practising perfect meditation can engender the other five perfections.

The perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*) has been explained in various ways in the texts we have cited. Some texts state that sameness, penetration without discriminating, not falling into the two extreme views, application of the resources of purification without damaging anything, and attainment of wisdom of the noble ones all constitute the perfection

of wisdom. Other texts say that when the bodhisattvas fulfil their dignified practices they fulfil the perfection of wisdom. Most texts emphasize the realisation of dependent origination and the destruction of the view of a substantial self (*anātman*). The threefold division of wisdom consists of study, reflection, and realisation as found in the earliest strands of Buddhist literature. These are accepted and included in the perfect wisdom presented in Mahāyāna texts.

The expositions of *prajñā* also include many ancillary practices, which are presented as various kinds of knowledge and types of skill in the trainings of the bodhisattvas in the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁸⁷⁰ Although the contents of the different lists are not always the same, virtually all of them show that skill in aggregates, elements, sense-bases and truth stand at the very beginning of the path, and constitute the cognitive foundation for the remaining types of skill. Further, skill is closely connected with compassion and the welfare of others. It becomes instrumental to both the bodhisattva's personal accomplishments and to the spiritual purification of sentient beings. Skill is placed at the very centre of many discussions and becomes the underlying force behind the bodhisattva's training in super-knowledge. However, we do not see a separate chapter on skill, and it is not treated in detail like the other perfections. This indicates that skill became a *pāramitā* only in later centuries.

The conceptual development of wisdom is seen in the discussions of *dhamanairātma*, *ātman-sūnyatā*, the sameness of defilements, *nirvāṇa*, *sarvaprajñāna*, and the discussions upon the interaction of the six perfections. These discussions show that other perfections cannot function without wisdom.

Compared to the six *pāramitā* system, the ten *pāramitā* system is much more detailed and systematic, and has a clear structure. To master each perfection one needs to do ten things which provide the path for their achievement. In the last four of the ten *pāramitās* we find that some of their concepts are discussed in the system of the six perfections, but not explained as such. We thus assert that the four additional perfections were developed from the six *pāramitās*. It is important to note that elements of these four perfections such as skill, power, vow and knowledge are within the system of six *pāramitās*, but are simply treated differently. Skill and knowledge are explained in the system of the six *pāramitās*, and are included in the

⁸⁷⁰ The origin of the concept of skill probably goes back to pre-Mahāyāna texts (e.g. in the *mātikā* and the *Niddesa* which contain an extremely close blueprint for the structure of the list of skill in the *Bodhisattvapīṭaka*).

prajñāpāramitā. The training to achieve them is not however discussed at length. In the system of ten *pāramitās*, skill and knowledge are perfections, and the ways to accomplish them are explained.

In the system of the ten *pāramitās*, the perfection of vows does not seem to be a new element, but rather an expansion of the notion of the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*). The bodhisattva who practises the theory of six *pāramitās* uses the method of making vows without considering the vows to be a perfection in themselves. In the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* the perfection of vows consists of ten vows. If a bodhisattva wishes to perfect the virtues of the Tathāgatas, the bodhisattva must practise the following ten great vows (*mahāpranīdhāna*): (1) to honour all the Buddhas, (2) to praise all the Buddhas, (3) to present all sorts of extensive offerings to the Buddhas, especially verbal offerings (*dharmapūja*), (4) to regret all evils, (5) to rejoice sympathetically in the merits acquired by others; (6) to ask the Buddhas to revolve the Wheel of the Dharma, (7) to ask the Buddhas to remain living in this world, (8) to emulate the life of the Buddhas, (9) to look after the spiritual welfare of all beings, and (10) to offer all merits for the promotion of goodness and the suppression of evils. This contrasts with the *Mahāyānaratnameghasūtra* in which the emphasis is not on the vows taken, but on the way to perfect the vows taken. Furthermore, we see that Amithāba Buddha in his existence as a bodhisattva made 48 vows. We can conclude that each bodhisattva makes individual vows to create an individual Buddha-land, and that there are ten correct ways to make those vows.

The perfection of power is found in the perfections of *dhyāna* and *prajñā* in the system of the six *pāramitās*, but it is allocated its own function in the system of the ten *pāramitās*. Finally, the *Samdhinirmocarasūtra* explains the connection between the six and ten perfections.

Chapter Seven: The Developed Theories of *Śīla*, *Dhyāna* and *Prajñā* *Pāramitās*

Although many Mahāyāna texts assert that a bodhisattva may achieve buddhahood by fulfilling the six *pāramitās*,⁸⁷¹ some texts refer to ten *pāramitās*. Either way, the developments in the concept of the perfections indicate that the bodhisattva concept also developed. In Chapter Six, we have focused on the developments in the quality and content of each of the six *pāramitās*, and on how the bodhisattva can fulfil the perfections. We have also examined some possible reasons for the development of new theories of each of the six *pāramitās*. However, among the six *pāramitās*, most theoretical developments are found in the *śīlapāramitā*, *dhyānapāramitā* and *prajñāpāramitā*. A more detailed examination of these three perfections will therefore be presented in this chapter.

A. Developments in the theory of the *śīlapāramitā*

Buddhist discipline (*vinaya*) is not only a moral law for Buddhists, but also a law for the protection and spread of Buddhism. It is flexible and arguably continues to develop in various ways. This will become clear when we treat the developments in the theory of the *śīlapāramitā* in the Mahāyāna scriptures, which was formulated in three stages. The initial stage can be seen in the *Jātakas*, *Buddhavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvastu*, in which the perfection of morality is explained by observance and protection of the moral habits and rules which differ in conformity with the practitioner's social and religious position. For instance, occasional lying was permitted when it was for the good, and did not harm anyone. The initial teachings on the *śīlapāramitā* were later accepted by the Mahāyānists and largely expanded in many written scriptures. One early scripture is the *Subāhupariṣcchā*.⁸⁷² Its expositions of the

⁸⁷¹ For instance, the *LP* (p. 478) states "a bodhisattva, a great being who is not lacking in the six perfections, is also not lacking in the knowledge of all modes. A bodhisattva, a great being who wants to know full enlightenment, should therefore train in the six perfections. When he courses in the six perfections, then the bodhisattva, the great being, having fulfilled all the wholesome roots, will reach the knowledge of all modes. Therefore then should the bodhisattva, the great being, make efforts on the six perfections (*pāramitās*)."
Furthermore, "The bodhisattva, the great being who wants to know full enlightenment, should, after he has trained in the six perfections, help beings with gifts, with morality, patience, vigour, trance, and wisdom, and should liberate them from the round of birth-and-death." (*LP*, p.179).

⁸⁷² Subāhu, T11: 514ff,

*śīlapāramitā*⁸⁷³ can be divided into three parts. The first part refers to prohibitive rules, which are mainly the five Buddhist precepts, plus a rule not to frighten sentient beings in any manner. To treat sentient beings well is always encouraged.⁸⁷⁴ The second part explains the purpose of following the prohibitive rules. The purpose is to cause sentient beings to achieve the stage of *aśaikṣa*.⁸⁷⁵ The third part largely specifies the rules of positive conduct which a bodhisattva definitely has to follow and practise at all times.⁸⁷⁶ In this part, there is a clear idea that a bodhisattva should do whatever is good for sentient beings. For this purpose, more than sixty moral rules are specifically mentioned, and heeding each of them contributes to a particular achievement. For instance, in order to help all the sentient beings to become free from *saṃsāra* and all types of suffering, a bodhisattva observes a rule having fear for the death of beings.⁸⁷⁷ For the sake of achieving the *samādhi* of enlightenment, a bodhisattva follows the rule of taking care of things belonging to others, and guarding them from loss.⁸⁷⁸ To achieve the *samādhi* of no shortage of *Dharma*, a bodhisattva rescues other sentient beings who have been captured and trapped. In order to obtain mental freedom, a bodhisattva follows the rule of persuading others to release captives.⁸⁷⁹ For the sake of sitting under the *bodhi* tree and defeating Māra's obstacles and defilements, a bodhisattva personally releases or allows others to release captives. For the sake of the freedom of mind from hindrances, when a bodhisattva sees beings in prison, he releases them personally or allows others to release them.⁸⁸⁰ For the sake of achieving the four kinds of fearlessness, when a bodhisattva sees beings being beaten, he personally releases or causes others to release them. In order to achieve the four kinds of *dharma* body, when a bodhisattva sees beings being punished or killed, he follows the rule of personally releasing or causing others to free them.⁸⁸¹ In order to achieve the Buddha's power of reading others' minds, a bodhisattva accepts and follows the rule of protecting the mind of others with his own bodily, verbal and mental deeds.⁸⁸²

The examples mentioned above show that at one point the formation of the bodhisattva

⁸⁷³ Subāhu, T11: 0529c-0531a02.

⁸⁷⁴ Ibid., T11: 0529c26-0530a10

⁸⁷⁵ Ibid., T11: 0530a11-530a17, *aśaikṣa* (無學).

⁸⁷⁶ Ibid., T11: 0530a17-0530c18.

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid., T11: 530a25-27.

⁸⁷⁸ Ibid., T11: 530a27-28.

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid., T11: 0530b01-02.

⁸⁸⁰ Ibid., T11: 0530b03-05.

⁸⁸¹ Ibid., T11: 0530b06-08.

⁸⁸² Ibid., T11: 0530c12-13.

moral rules or regulations was based on both social and religious grounds. These rules were followed as they benefited the practitioner and others. They were fully developed later when the idea of skilful means was applied to them. This will be noted later when discussing the abilities of a bodhisattva in the Mahāyāna scriptures.

There are also some moral rules in this text, which were formed solely on a religious basis. For example, in order to obtain the *dharma*s of all the Buddhas, a bodhisattva follows the rule to cleaning and walking around the *stūpas*. In order to turn the wheel of the excellent Dharma, a bodhisattva observes the rule of preserving and praising the Dharma. In order to eradicate all the passions and habits, a bodhisattva practices the rule of always disclosing offences and abandoning all the unwholesome and defiled elements. In order to obtain the *samādhi* of the excellent Dharma, a bodhisattva follows the rule of offering things to parents and teachers.⁸⁸³ In order to get the power of the *pāramitās*, a bodhisattva observes the rule of protecting and rescuing the district officers from water, fire and robbers.⁸⁸⁴ At the end of this text it is said with regard to the *śīlapāramitā* that, “in order to cause beings to achieve liberation from birth and death, age and disease, in order for beings to achieve all types of wisdom and all teachings of the Buddhas, thus the bodhisattva observes the rules without losing, breaching or ignoring them.”⁸⁸⁵ Thus, the bodhisattva generates *bodhicitta*, recollects it, practises the path of *bodhi*, and aspires for *bodhi*. This is named the immeasurable good roots of observing the rules.” The bodhisattva observing the rules does not think of having difficulties, but thinks of having enjoyment and happiness, and thus quickly fulfils the *śīlapāramitā*.⁸⁸⁶

It is clear that this text tries to illustrate the notion of the *śīlapāramitā*. It shows that in addition to the traditional and general five or ten moral precepts of a bodhisattva, more positive rules for a bodhisattva were formed on both social and religious bases. However, it seems that the rules are for all the bodhisattvas, as the Chinese text does not discriminate between layman or monk, or on the basis of gender.

Another important scripture is the *Bodhisattvapīṭaka*⁸⁸⁷ which contains long discussions on the *śīlapāramitā*. This text does not say much about the nature of the *śīlapāramitā*, but

⁸⁸³ Ibid., T11: 0530c06-07.

⁸⁸⁴ Ibid., T11: 0530c09-10.

⁸⁸⁵ Ibid., T11: 0530c17-21.

⁸⁸⁶ Ibid., T11: 0530c25-0531a03.

⁸⁸⁷ T11, No. 310 (12), *the Pu-sa-zhang-hui (Bodhisttvpīṭaka)*, tr. by Xúan Zàng (602-664 CE)

focuses on the achievement of a bodhisattva that establishes oneself in this perfection. When a bodhisattva carries out the *śīlapāramitā*, there are three kinds of wonderful conduct of bodily, verbal and mental acts.⁸⁸⁸ This refers to the ten wholesome deeds. This text, like many other texts, also places importance on the manner in which a bodhisattva purifies the mind, or the attitude one should possess in practicing the *śīlapāramitā*. A bodhisattva practicing the *śīlapāramitā* must possess ten profound thoughts (*citta*),⁸⁸⁹ and more is said on how a bodhisattva generates these. It is repeatedly said, “a bodhisattva who wants to follow the *Mahābodhisattvapiṭaka* and the wonderful gate-teaching should give offerings to the Dharma masters.”⁸⁹⁰ A bodhisattva should have pure conduct, but it is also important to abandon the view of “I observe *śīla*” as this view is egoism and attachment to *śīla*. It is also important that a bodhisattva should not have the view, ‘I observe the *śīlas*, these *śīlas* I depend on, someone else that does not observe . . .’⁸⁹¹ Discriminations of the sort are not asserted as useful for rooting out attachments.

Since the ten holy thoughts are so important in this text, it is appropriate here to give a brief outline of each of them. When a bodhisattva carries out the *śīlapāramitā*, he will have generation of the thought (*cittotpāda*) of these ten, (1) contemplation of the body, which is the aggregate of disease and suffering, weak, fast decaying, temporally existing, and like a tomb,⁸⁹² (2) contemplation on the impermanence of the body, which is easily breakable,⁸⁹³ (3) contemplation on the consequences of being associated with the evil and unwholesome elements that lead one to have wrong and evil views, the causes of being in *saṃsāra*,⁸⁹⁴ (4) contemplation on the consequences of being ignorant and full of hatred, on the harm of being ignorant and associated with evil friends, on the consequence of being cruel and consumed by hatred, (5) contemplation on the consequences of having a wrong view on the practice of taking life and eating meat,⁸⁹⁵ (6) contemplation on the consequences of being lofty and vain and having evil conduct,⁸⁹⁶ (7) contemplation on the consequences of having an evil view of

⁸⁸⁸ BP, T11: 0242a.

⁸⁸⁹ BP, T11:0242c-0249a.

⁸⁹⁰ BP, T11:0243a24-26; 0243c; 0244bc, 0245abc, 0246abc

⁸⁹¹ BP, T11:0242b008-0242c24. “. . . 於是尸羅而不執取. . .”

⁸⁹² BP, T11:0243a-c07

⁸⁹³ BP, T11:0243c08-0244a21

⁸⁹⁴ BP, T11:0244a22-b26

⁸⁹⁵ BP, T11:0245a21-c13

⁸⁹⁶ BP, T11:0245c17-0246b14

all the karmic acts and effects (an evil view is one which does not believe in karmic effects, is wrong, and not learning what is good or bad or what should be done or not done),⁸⁹⁷ (8) contemplation on the consequence of ignoring and abandoning the words and lines which contain the right teaching on the path to enlightenment and *nirvāṇa*, and on the consequence of indulging in the words and lines that contain no absolute truth, which lead to confusion, (9) contemplation on the unbeneficial conduct, and (10) to generate the thought, “sentient beings in this world have various evil habits, take the teachings in the wrong way and have not positive achievements in seven kinds of holy faculties (e.g. faith, morality, etc.)”, and the thought of benefits arising from the seven holy faculties.⁸⁹⁸

The first two thoughts refer to the Buddhist knowledge of the body. The next two thoughts link with the awareness of one’s emotions and their consequences. The later three thoughts refer to the wrong views on actions. The last three thoughts relate to the attitudes and treatments toward the holy teaching and the path.

Furthermore, the text says that a bodhisattva established in the *śīlapāramitā* achieves the power of meritorious roots that enables one to obtain four divine things: (1) the ability to swiftly approach all sorts of good things, (2) to be praised by the Dharma teachers, (3) to be able to complete practices without committing any offence, and (4) to be able to hold and sustain the Dharma without damaging it. It is by this power that a bodhisattva dwells in the human world.⁸⁹⁹

A.1. The threefold group of morality (*trividhaśīla*)

The conceptual development in the exposition of the *śīlapāramitā* is apparent in the occurrence of the concept of the threefold group of morality (*trividhaśīla*). It is only found in a few Mahāyāna texts, which indicates that not many Buddhist masters accepted this concept. However, it is important because Mahāyāna followers claimed that their discipline consists of the threefold group of morality.

In the previous chapters I have shown that the expositions of the perfection of morality in the Pāli canonical texts and the *Āgama* texts are based on the former birth stories of the Buddha. There is no question of gender, identity, occupation or social status of the bodhisattva,

⁸⁹⁷ BP, T11:0246b19-0247a17

⁸⁹⁸ BP, T11:0248c07-0249a26; T11:248c10, “信戒聞慚愧捨慧。如是等法是謂聖財。”

⁸⁹⁹ T11:0249b.

because his former births were identical with a mendicant, layman, deity, animal, and other births. In the early texts, expositions of the perfection of morality have stressed the importance of protecting morality by ways of controlling internal anger and doing no harm to others. This consists of restricting one's bodily, verbal and mental acts. Therefore, we do not see the problem of moral rules in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, the *Cariyāpiṭaka* and the *Āgama* texts. We only see the moral practice in ways of controlling hatred, causing no damage to others, or remaining in tranquillity.

The practice of the *śīlapāramitā* became a problem only when the rights of practicing it were confined to human beings, or when sectarian doctrines began to impact the practice of the *śīlapāramitā*. Various categories of moral rules emerged in many texts. Moral rules in the *śīlapāramitā* in some texts mark the gender and the life style of the practitioner. This is so because the traditional discipline (*vinaya*) marks the gender of the Buddha's followers, and has been adopted and composed into those texts which refer to lay bodhisattvas and mendicant bodhisattvas, and which include the concept of the threefold group of morality, the group of moral restrictions (*saṃvaraśīla*), the group of morality which accumulates wholesome things (*kuśaladharmasaṃgrāhakaśīla*), and the group of morality which benefits sentient beings (*sattvārthakriyāśīla*).

The group of moral restrictions refers to seven kinds of people and their corresponding moral rules. It is not an invention, but an adoption. By classifying the bodhisattvas into seven categories of people, the sentient beings in other existences are excluded. Furthermore, rules belonging to the group of morality which accumulate the wholesome, and the group of morality which benefits sentient beings, are about the works shared by the group of seven types of persons.

Texts containing the concept of the threefold morality have a connection with the Yogācāra school. For instance, we see this concept in the *Samdhimirmocanasūtra* and the *Yogacārabhūmi*. The *Bodhisattvabhūmisūtra*⁹⁰⁰ translated by Dharmarakṣa (385-433 CE), conveys the details of the threefold morality. According to this text, the group of moral restrictions includes the moral rules accepted by the seven categories of Buddhist people, a monk (*bhikṣu*), nun (*bhikṣuṇī*), male novice (*śrāmaṇera*), female novice (*śrāmaṇerikā*), female

⁹⁰⁰ The same text was translated by Guṇavarman (367-431 CE) and entitled 菩薩善戒經 (*Bodhisattvavinayasūtra*), T30, No.1582, pp.0982b05- 0985a24, 菩薩地戒品.

probationer (*śikṣamāṇā*), *upāsikā*, and *upāsaka*.⁹⁰¹ Its exposition places importance on the rejection of the five desires, on right speech, awareness of the mind, reflection of own defects, restriction of bodily, verbal and mental acts, on compassion and pity towards others, elimination of hatred and anger, on diligence, confession, no offence, patience with sufferings, and not having desire for the five sensual pleasures.⁹⁰²

The group of morality which accumulates the wholesome includes the practices of learning, reflection, *śamatha*, *vipāśyanā*, the means of purifying bodily, verbal and mental acts, living in a forest, respecting and making offerings to teachers and taking care of them, having a compassionate mind when visiting the sick, and praising those who teach the Dharma and those who possess real merit. It also includes having patience with those who are hostile, to review, share and enjoy the merits made by sentient beings, to dedicate all merits to supreme enlightenment, to cultivate noble vows at all times, to constantly make efforts to support the Three Gems, cultivating the wholesome *dharma*s without being lazy, reflecting with wisdom and protecting the bodily, verbal and mental pure discipline and controlling all the sense portals, reflecting on mistakes and correcting them without making them again, and to disclose faults to the Buddhas or the bodhisattvas. It is in this way that the bodhisattva practices, cares and cultivates morality related to the wholesome.⁹⁰³ Its exposition stresses the non-attachment to one's own possessions, the removal of the sources of offence and suffering, the elimination of hatred, anger, desire, laziness and distractions to meditation, the knowledge of the wholesome causes and effects, the knowledge of the bad causes and effects, and of obstacles of the wholesome *dharma*s, the knowledge of the perverted wholesome *dharma*s, the correct views of impermanence, sufferings, impurity and non-substantiality (*anātman*), the distance from the wholesome, the accomplishment of wisdom by practices of generosity, morality, patience, energy, and meditation.⁹⁰⁴

The group of morality which benefits sentient beings refers to eleven topics, namely (1) be a companion when the sentient beings engage in beneficial conducts, (2) to be a companion when sentient beings are sick, in suffering and getting treatment, (3) to teach sentient beings the worldly and transcendent things (*dharma*s), or to lead them to wisdom with

⁹⁰¹ 菩薩地持經 (*Bodhisattvabhūmisūtra*), T30: 910b08-10.

⁹⁰² Ibid., T30:910c13-911a27.

⁹⁰³ Ibid., T30: 910b10-24.

⁹⁰⁴ Ibid., T30: 911a28-b09.

skill, (4) to know the benefactors and to repay their kindness, (5) to rescue and protect sentient beings from various kinds of fear such as fear of wild animals, of a king, of water and fire, (6) to comfort and release the sadness and worries when sentient beings lose their relatives and possessions, (7) to give according to their needs when sentient beings are poor and fatigued, (8) to be fully equipped with merits, to become a benefactor and preceptor, (9) to rightly guide the followers in time, and to go away at right time, to move forward or stop moving according to each situation, (10) to admire and praise those who have real merits, with compassion to condemn those who commit evils, and (11) to tame those who are tough and reform them, and with supernormal power to appear in evil realms to purify sentient beings.⁹⁰⁵

The three groups of discipline show that the four means of conversion are applied to the groupings of morality. However, the teachings in the group of discipline do not relate to the concepts of emptiness and non-production, but generosity, the rejection of five desires, the removal of five obstacles, dedication of merits, disclosing faults, and more upon beneficial activities. Beneficial works imply the acquisition of power, riches and capabilities of the bodhisattvas.

A.2. Circumstances for committing offences

The second stage in the development of the *śīlapāramitā* is found in the *prajñāpāramitā* texts, where the perfection of discipline is briefly defined with special emphasis on skill-in-means. For instance, “a bodhisattva should perfect himself in the perfection of morality by committing neither offence nor non-offence.” Further, “there are others who, abiding in the perfection of morality, cleanse it by committing no offence.” Such statements are rather abstract and ambiguous to grasp the true sense of what an offence is. In some passages on the bodhisattva’s practice of the perfection of morality by training in the six perfections, we learn that a bodhisattva commits offences when (1) he produces merit by giving a gift that belongs to all beings,⁹⁰⁶ (2) when he longs for the state of the Śrāvaka or Pratyekabuddha, and for the gains of the common people,⁹⁰⁷ (3) when he does not bear the Dharma and enjoy it, (4) when he is not indefatigable to constantly dedicate his wholesome merits for full enlightenment and

⁹⁰⁵ Ibid., T30: 910b25-c10; T30:911b10-912b09.

⁹⁰⁶ Unit 12, T07: 1035bc, 1036a, No.220c

⁹⁰⁷ Ibid., T07: 1039ab

when he does not engage in wholesome *dharma*s toward all beings,⁹⁰⁸ (5) when in one-pointedness of mind one has the thought associated with a Śrāvaka and Pratyekabuddha,⁹⁰⁹ and (6) when one does not have the notion that everything is made of illusion and when one does not realize that there is truly no-one who practises morality.⁹¹⁰ According to another passage, even the bodhisattva that establishes many sentient beings in the Dharma commits an offence when not realising that there is no sentient being truly established in the Dharma. One is a bodhisattva standing firm in the perfection of morality when one realises that there is no true 'me' and 'sentient beings'. Therefore the definition of the perfection of morality is described as follows,

"The untarnished perfection of morality of a bodhisattva consists in the fact that, with the production of thoughts associated with the knowledge of all modes, one undertakes to observe the ten ways of wholesome action and instigate others also thereto, but without basing oneself on anything . . . The perfect purity of morality consists in the non-attention to *śrāvaka*-thought and to Pratyekabuddha-thought, and in the non-attention also to other dharmas which make for bad behaviour, or cause delays on the road to enlightenment.

The bodhisattva carries out the six perfections, and whatever morality one guards, that one makes common to all beings, and then turns it over to the supreme enlightenment, and without taking anything as a basis.⁹¹¹

When a bodhisattva behaves thus, there arises in one who fulfils the six perfections this mindful recollection: if I do not guard morality, there will be for me a rebirth in the three states of woe, and not among men or gods, and neither the maturing of beings nor the purifying of the Buddha-field will be accomplished, and all-knowledge will not be acquired."⁹¹²

However, a bodhisattva who guards worldly morality can become arrogant by thinking, 'I carry out the perfection of morality, I fulfil the perfection of morality.'⁹¹³ This constitutes an offence. When explaining how the bodhisattva fulfils the perfection of morality, the text teaches that while the bodhisattva practising the perfection of morality sees sentient beings who do the ten unwholesome things and who are covetous with minds full of ill will, with false views, short-lived, with many afflictions, with many troubles, with few possessions, of low-class families, and mutilated, one should thus consider,

"I carry out the perfection of morality so that when I have won full enlightenment, in that Buddha-field those beings will not have those faults and that they will not even be conceived.' Thus practicing, the bodhisattva fulfils the perfection of morality and comes near to full enlightenment."⁹¹⁴

⁹⁰⁸ Ibid., T07: 1037a; 1038c.

⁹⁰⁹ Ibid., T07: 1037b; 1039a.

⁹¹⁰ Ibid., T07: 1037a; 1036bc.

⁹¹¹ The *Large Sūtra on Perfect Wisdom*, Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1975, p.227.

⁹¹² LP, p.227

⁹¹³ Ibid., p.228; T07: 1034b.

⁹¹⁴ Ibid., p.417; P.472, "a bodhisattva, for the sake of these beings, gives no occasion to immorality. He thinks to himself, 'it would not be seemly for me, I who have set out for full enlightenment, to take life, to have false views, or should strive after sense objects, or the condition of a god or Brahma, or the level of a Śrāvaka or

The above sources show that to fulfil the perfection of morality, it is important for a bodhisattva to realize the true consequence of certain actions and also to establish a strong resolution before following any proper conduct. We also find details about how a bodhisattva following morality engenders the other perfections.⁹¹⁵

In separate chapter of the *LP*, the *śīlapāramitā* is defined in even greater detail. The bodhisattva carrying out the perfection of morality beginning with the first thought of enlightenment, guards morality with attention associated with the knowledge of all modes. No greed, hatred, or delusion obscures the mind. One has no evil tendencies or obsessions, and no unwholesome *dharma*s which obstruct enlightenment such as immorality, wrathfulness, indolence, inferior vigour, mental confusion or stupidity. One recognizes all *dharma*s as empty of own-characteristic, and sees them as not really existing, not totally real, and uncreated. When the bodhisattva enters into the dharma-characteristic of *dharma*s one sees that all *dharma*s are incapable of doing anything in themselves, and sees marks as unconditioned. Endowed with this skill-in-means, one grows in wholesome roots, carries out the perfection of morality, matures beings, and purifies the Buddha-field. But one does not aspire to any fruit from morality which could be enjoyed in *saṃsāra*, and it is only for the purpose of protecting and maturing beings that one carries out the perfection of morality.

The above sources make some strong points concerning the bodhisattva's perfection of morality. A bodhisattva should not dedicate any merit to the ranks of the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas. In any case or situation, a bodhisattva should not get angry or have ill-will. Whatever meditations one enters into, one should not fall to the rank of a Śrāvaka or Pratyekabuddha, by applying the perfection of wisdom and skill in means. One should not offend the five moral disciplines and should have no false views. All these points lead us to conclude that the theory of the *śīlapāramitā* in this stage is rather anti-Śrāvaka and Pratyekabuddha. In fact the expressions such as, 'maturing beings and purifying the Buddha-field,' 'for the sake of these beings,' 'with attention associated with the knowledge of all modes,' show us the assertion of the presence of limitations in early Buddhism. In the interests of improvement and even changing these asserted limitations, the first step was to change the old Buddhist system of discipline.

Pratyekabuddha'. When he considers thus, he courses in the perfection of morality."

⁹¹⁵ T08:0107a06-b08, details how morality engendering the other five perfections may be found in a previous section on the perfection of morality.

A.3. Developments of the *śīlapāramitā*

The third stage in the development of the *śīlapāramitā* shows the application of ideas to the practice of this *pāramitā*. On a theoretical level there are only two stages for fulfilling the *śīlapāramitā*, the conventional level and the ultimate level of truth. However, we can find a third stage which deals with the complex process of putting these two together and practically applying them to the *pāramitā*. For example, in fulfilling the *śīlapāramitā*, the bodhisattva in the *śūraṅgamasamādhī* does not pledge oneself to morality, and does not avoid it. In order to discipline sentient beings, one pledges oneself to morality, to comply with its practical attitudes, to abhor faults, whilst inwardly remaining pure and faultless. In order to ripen beings, one is born in the world of desire and becomes a Cakravartin king, takes a wife and children, and indulges in the five objects of desire. Inwardly however, one is always established in concentration, pure morality, and perfectly aware of the defects of the threefold existence. Such is the special fruit of the perfection of morality, which characterizes the bodhisattva in the *śūraṅgamasamādhī*.

Nevertheless, the most representative and significant text for studying the developments in the theory of the *śīlapāramitā* is the *Upāliparipṛcchā*. This text expands upon the fundamental principle and spirit of the Bodhisattava path and spells out the difference between the bodhisattva Vinaya and that of the Śrāvaka. In this text, the fundamental duties of bodhisattvas are explained, and the ways in which bodhisattvas should employ various skilful means to perfect sentient beings and establish them all in the Buddha-Dharma are outlined. A lay bodhisattva who dwells in kindness and harmlessness should practice two kinds of giving, (1) the giving of Dharma, and (2) the giving of material possessions. A bodhisattva who has left household life should practice four kinds of giving, (1) to give writing implements [with which to copy the *sūtras*], (2) to give ink, (3) to give scriptures, and (4) to give instructions in the Dharma. A bodhisattva who has achieved the realisation of the non-arising of *dharmas* should always be ready to give in three ways, (1) to give his throne, (2) his wife and son, and (3) his head, eyes, and limbs. To give thus is the greatest, most wonderful giving.⁹¹⁶

It is evident from the above discussion that general duties for all bodhisattvas, and particular duties for lay bodhisattvas, for monk-bodhisattvas and for advanced bodhisattvas

⁹¹⁶ Upāli, T11: 515c.

have been outlined. These duties as well as rules guide different categories of bodhisattvas to work on their general duty, to employ various skilful means to perfect sentient beings and cause them all to dwell securely in the Buddha-Dharma. In order to carry out these duties, they have to go to places and lands to associate with various categories of beings. However, they have to follow the disciplines or regulations, which mark them out as Buddhists. As mentioned earlier, early Buddhist rules prevent Buddhists from going to many places and associating with many people. However, bodhisattvas should neither ignore nor neglect any beings or places. Thus there was a contradiction and a barrier between the Buddhist discipline and the aim to rescue all beings. In order to solve this problem and to put the aim of rescuing all beings into practice, some Buddhist scholars made suggestions and offered solutions indicating how to practise the perfection of morality (*śīlapāramitā*). Out of these, two suggestions are important and should be brought to our attention. They are the disclosure of faults and skilful means. Here disclosure implies that rules can be breached, and the use of various skilful means allows the breaches of institutional rules only under some conditions. Indeed, these two give both opportunity and freedom to Mahāyāna Buddhists, and offer a good and practical solution to the need for bodhisattvas to fulfil the remaining *pāramitās*. From these facts we see the development and revised theory of the *śīlapāramitā*. The *śīlapāramitā* has been developed in response to the need to solve contradictions. It is a revised theory, in the sense one that differs from the teachings of the moral perfection in the early Buddhist texts. It is still followed by the modern Mahāyāna tradition of China.

A.4. Conviction and the serious breaches of discipline for a bodhisattva

According to the developments and a rather revised theory of bodhisattva discipline, all bodhisattvas should guard against two breaches of the discipline. Firstly they must not break the discipline out of hatred. Secondly, they must not break the discipline out of ignorance. Both constitute grave faults. However, if a breach of discipline is committed out of desire, it is a subtle fault and difficult to eliminate. If one breaches discipline out of hatred, it is a serious fault but easy to eliminate. If out of ignorance one breaches discipline it is very grave, while a deep-seated fault is very difficult to eliminate.

The obvious question arises as to why these are different. It is asserted in response that desire is the seed of all forms of existence. It causes one to be involved in *saṃsāra* endlessly. For this reason, it is explained as subtle and difficult to sever. One who breaks the precepts

out of hatred will fall into the miserable realms of existence, but may quickly be rid of hatred. One who breaks the precepts out of ignorance will fall into the eight great hells, and have great difficulty in being released from ignorance.⁹¹⁷

A. 5. Regulations for disclosing faults

If a bodhisattva has committed a *pārājika*, one should earnestly and sincerely disclose the misdeed to ten pure monks (*bhikṣus*). If a bodhisattva has committed a *saṃghāvaśeṣa*, one should earnestly disclose the misdeed to five pure monks. If a bodhisattva is affected by a woman's passion, or is attracted to her because of exchanging glances, he should earnestly disclose the fault to one or two pure monks.⁹¹⁸ If a bodhisattva has committed one of the five *pārājikas*, a *saṃghāvaśeṣa*, has done harm to *stūpas*, or a monk, or has committed some other fault, one should sincerely reflect in solitude day and night before the thirty-five Buddhas.⁹¹⁹ If his transgressions have been purified, the Buddhas will immediately appear before him. In this way any fault is removable by means of disclosure.

In explaining why bodhisattvas can purify grave breaches of discipline, but other followers cannot do so, the text says that by their wisdom of renunciation bodhisattvas who have good roots and courage can purify their transgressions, be free of worry and remorse, and thereby see Buddhas and achieve *samādhis*. However, ordinary people, Śrāvakas, and Pratyekabuddhas cannot rid themselves of the hindrances caused by their transgressions. If a Bodhisattva repeats the names of those Buddhas and does the three relevant activities day and night,⁹²⁰ one can eradicate offences, be free from worry and remorse, and achieve *samādhi*.⁹²¹

When we make a comparison between this teaching and both the early concept of bodhisattva and the earlier concept of the perfection of discipline, we find a revised theory of the perfection of discipline. In this theory, a bodhisattva is permitted to commit grave breaches of discipline, and instructed to achieve the perfection of morality by a particular method of disclosing faults. As the bodhisattva may satisfy all the desires of sentient beings,

⁹¹⁷ Ibid., T11: 515c.

⁹¹⁸ T11: 515c

⁹¹⁹ The names of the thirty-five Buddhas are given for recitation. For making this kind of disclosure, a special form of words for an offender to recite is also given. Upāli, T11: 515c-516b.

⁹²⁰ To repeat the names of thirty-five Buddhas, to pay homage to all Tathāgatas, and to disclose faults with a pure mind

⁹²¹ Upāli, T11: 516c.

be free from worry and remorse of his offences, as they are eradicable, one sustains no detrimental karmic effects.

A. 6. The criteria for judging minor and major offences

In the revised theory of morality, the rules and standards are introduced for judging which offences are minor and which offences are major. According to these rules, if a bodhisattva practicing the *pāramitās* breaks the precepts out of desire, but holds sentient beings dear, the offence is minor.⁹²² If a bodhisattva breaks precepts out of hatred even just once, the offence is very serious, because one breaks the precepts out of hatred and forsakes sentient beings altogether.⁹²³ Hence, a bodhisattva should not be afraid of the passions which can aid in holding sentient beings dear,⁹²⁴ but one should fear the passions which can cause one to forsake sentient beings altogether (T11: 517b). When involved in defilements, bodhisattvas should tolerate the minor transgressions which are difficult to avoid. If a follower of the Mahāyāna breaks precepts out of desire, one is not regarded as a transgressor (T11: 517b). Furthermore, hatred is difficult to abandon but constitutes a serious fault. Ignorance is difficult to give up, and is a very serious fault.⁹²⁵ When involved in defilements, bodhisattvas should not tolerate the grave transgressions which are easy to avoid, not even in a dream. For this reason, if a follower of the Mahāyāna breaks precepts out of hatred, it is a grave offence, which causes tremendous hindrances to the Buddha-dharma.⁹²⁶ Again, if a bodhisattva is thoroughly conversant with the *Vinaya*, one will not be afraid if transgressing out of desire, but will be afraid when transgressing out of hatred.⁹²⁷ All *dharma*s are ultimately asserted to be *Vinaya* and this is why the Buddha gradually taught them as regulations and rules to bring enlightenment.⁹²⁸

It seems that there are two principal rules to follow within such flexible and vital regulations, namely (1) whatever a bodhisattva does, one should hold sentient beings dear, and (2) one should never forsake sentient beings and guard against hatred, ignorance and other passions. Practical morality is at the heart of the new developments in the theory of the

⁹²² *Ibid.*, T11: 517b

⁹²³ T11: 517b.

⁹²⁴ T11: 517b.

⁹²⁵ T11: 517b.

⁹²⁶ T11: 517bc.

⁹²⁷ T11: 517c.

⁹²⁸ T11: 517c

śīlapāramitā.

B. The developments in the theory of the *dhyānapāramitū*

In earlier texts bodhisattvas master four *dhyānas* in order to obtain wisdom and spiritual power. During their career and whilst working for the benefit of sentient beings however, they require additional abilities and powers. Although such powers can be generated through *samādhi* or meditation, more types of meditation are needed to develop them. At this stage there are no moral rules at all, but the bodhisattva is described as being in a perfect state of discipline. One follows principles as opposed to rules.

Although in the *śūraṅgamasamādhi* the bodhisattva knows that all *dharmas* are eternally concentrated (*samāhita*), various kinds of absorptions (*dhyānaviśeṣa*) are taught. One is absorbed in *samādhi* in order to win over distracted sentient beings (*vikṣiptacitta*), but one does not see any *dharma* that could be distracted, all *dharmas* being like the fundamental element (*dharmadhātu*), eternally concentrated. In order to subdue the mind (*cittadamanārtha*), one never strays from absorption. One takes up four bodily attitudes by walking, standing, sitting or lying down whilst always calm (*śānta*) and concentrated (*samāhita*). One holds conversations with beings, but does not abandon the state of concentration. With kindness (*maitrī*) and compassion one enters villages, towns, and kingdoms (*rāṣṭra*), but always remains in concentration. When, for the welfare and happiness of beings, one seems to take food, one is always concentrated. The body of the bodhisattva is supple, diamond-like, indestructible, without a belly, stomach, excrement, urine, bad odour or impurity. One appears to take food, but nothing penetrates, and if so, only through compassion and the welfare and happiness of beings. If one seems to pursue the practices of the world (*prthagjanacaryā*), one is really free and transcends all practices. In the *śūraṅgamasamādhi*, when the bodhisattva appears in a forest, he looks exactly as if he were in a village, among the laity or among the mendicants (*pravrajita*). If he appears in white clothing (*avadātavasana*), he does not have the dissipation (*pramāda*) of a layman. If he appears as an ascetic (*śramaṇa*), he does not have the arrogance (*manyānā*) of a monk. He takes up the religious life in an heretical order (*pāśaṇḍikeṣu pravrajati*) in order to win over beings, but he does not really take it up, he is not defiled (*kliṣṭa*) by all false views (*mithyādrṣṭi*) which prevail there and does not give any credence (*prasāda*) to them. Taking into account the aspirations of beings, *śrīvākayānikas*,

pratyekabuddhayānikas or *buddhayānikas*, one indicates the appropriate path to them, and after having helped them one returns to help others. That is why this worthy one is called a guide (*prīṇāyaka*).

Just as a ship conveys innumerable beings to the other shore and having reached the other shore, returns back to convey other beings, so too, the bodhisattva sees beings being carried off by the fourfold flood of *saṃsāra* and wishes to rescue them. If the bodhisattva sees beings destined to be rescued by the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, he shows himself to them and manifests the *mahāparinirvāṇa*. If he sees beings destined to be rescued by the Vehicle of the Śrāvakas, he expounds peacefulness (*śānti*) to them and, in front of them, enters *nirvāṇa*. Then, through the power of his *sūraṅgamasamādhi*, he returns to a new birth in order to rescue other beings. That is why this worthy man is called the captain of the ship.

Just as an illusionist (*māyākāra*), shows himself in different forms in the presence of a great gathering of people, in the same way the bodhisattva in order to mature sentient beings, appears being born, old, sick and dead, but in fact he is not subject to birth, old age, sickness or death. Such is the special fruit of the perfection of absorption of the bodhisattva in the *sūraṅgamasamādhi*.

B.1. *Samādhi* in the Mahāyāna

We have already pointed out that Śrāvakas were asserted to be inclined towards *prajñā* which understands the general characteristics of things such as impermanence, suffering and impersonality. That *prajñā* is later asserted to constitute a limited enlightenment, which only ensured personal benefit (*svārtha*) of the adherent through the acquisition of holiness and *nirvāṇa*. The bodhisattva is also drawn towards *prajñā*, but this *prajñā* is asserted as infinitely higher. It is perfection of wisdom as omniscience, which knows all things in all their aspects (*sarvākārajñātā*). This perfection of wisdom constitutes the highest awakening, the supreme enlightenment pertaining specifically to the Buddhas, and ensuring not just the personal benefit (*svārtha*) of the adherent, but above all the benefit of others and the welfare and happiness of all beings (*sarvasattvahitasukha*). The most important step taken by the bodhisattva is therefore the generation of the thought of supreme enlightenment. Between the generation of the thought of enlightenment and the moment of enlightenment there stretches the whole career of the bodhisattva. The *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra* explains that the

bodhisattva does not see the self-nature of beings but, in order to ripen them, he speaks of beings. Furthermore, it says that the bodhisattva does not see anything, but he carries out, spontaneously and effortlessly, his beneficial activity. From this point of view, ultimately there is no perfection for the bodhisattva to practise. The *Śūramgamasamādhisūtra* also teaches that the bodhisattva activates great vigour but does not develop any activity of body, speech or mind, and has no dharma to practise. The bodhisattva in the *śūramgamasamādhi* has passed beyond all practices. By consequence, the bodhisattva does not act and if seeming to act, it is only skilful means aimed at maturing sentient beings.

Samādhi: The *samādhi* of the bodhisattva is not merely an exercise aimed at purifying the mind. It is above all a work of spiritual edification. The emphasis is no longer placed on the technique of concentration but on supernatural power (*ṛddhibala*) which derives from the welfare of beings.

The *prajñāpāramitā* points out that the bodhisattva quickly reaches *sambodhi* by entering the concentration on the non-arising of all things (*sarvadharmānutpāda*), but that in the wake of this there follows the infinity of other concentrations of which the *śūramgamasamādhi* is only a variation. Once the bodhisattva has penetrated the emptiness of sentient beings and things, he no longer sees them, no longer speaks or thinks about them because he has attained the summit of wisdom. By this very fact, he is in possession of the concentration and he plays at will with the resulting supreme knowledge (Śgs, 154).

The long lists of *samādhis* found in the texts are only modalities of one single *samādhi* in which the Buddhas and great bodhisattvas always abide in. Whether it is called heroic progress or something else, this *samādhi* encompasses all the good *dharma*s,⁹²⁹ contains all the perfections, and it exercises simultaneously. It has multiple aspects which coincide particularly with the ten powers of the Tathāgata.⁹³⁰ It is therefore understandable that the Mahāyānist *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* defines it as the self-nature of the Buddha. Among the great *abhijñās* that result from this *samādhi*, it is the first, the *abhijñā* of supernormal power (*ṛddhi*), that is emphasized. In the *Śūramgamasamādhisūtra* and in all Mahāyāna *sūtras* in general, the Buddha does not stop manifesting and withdrawing the bases of his supernormal power. In the *Śūramgamasamādhisūtra*, wonders follow wonders, the multiplication of the

⁹²⁹ Śgs, p.25.

⁹³⁰ Śgs, p.21.

Buddhas,⁹³¹ manifestations of marvellous bodies, the transformation of assemblies,⁹³² the capture and liberation of Māra, the creation of imaginary bodhisattvas (Śgs, p.94), changes of location without displacement, the simultaneous manifestation of a Buddha or a bodhisattva in several places at once, the appearance of the Buddhas of the ten directions,⁹³³ and the transformation of an impure land into a pure land.⁹³⁴

B.2. The abilities of wonder-working

The *Śūramgamasamādhisūtra* is not unique in presenting the abilities of wonder-working, for most Mahāyāna *sūtras* follow suit. According to current acceptance, a miracle is a supernatural action contrary to the laws of nature, or again, the insertion of divine causality into natural causes. However, this idea of a miracle cannot be applied to the Mahāyānist marvel. Since beings and things do not ultimately exist, the supposed laws of nature only originate from erroneous imagination (*abhūtaparikalpa*), and no action, as astonishing as it may seem, can run contrary to laws which do not ultimately exist. Extraordinary actions are therefore as unreal as ordinary actions. If the Buddhas and bodhisattvas manifest them, this can only be through skilful means, in order to ripen beings who mistakenly believe they are involved in the world of becoming and the laws of nature. This is what brings Vimalakīrti to say that the Buddha-fields or Pure Lands where these wonders occur are essentially empty, calm, unreal and like space (Vkn, pp. 133, 182,210). Confronted with all these splendours, the bodhisattva only experiences indifference (Vkn, p.226).

B.3. *Samādhis* in the *sāstras*

The scholars of the Great Vehicle took up all these ideas and explained them systematically in their *sāstras*. The *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sāstra* reveals no less than nineteen differences between the *samādhis* of the śrāvakas and of the bodhisattvas.⁹³⁵ Non-Buddhists, Śrāvakas and bodhisattvas can all practise the absorptions (*dhyāna*) and attainments (*samāpatti*), but the *samādhi* of the non-Buddhists is tainted by false views, particularly the belief in a self

⁹³¹ Śgs, P.15.

⁹³² Śgs, p.65.

⁹³³ Śgs, p.165.

⁹³⁴ Śgs, p.168.

⁹³⁵ MPS, pp.1043-57.

(*satkāyadr̥ṣṭi*). The Śrāvakas, even in a state of concentration, are only asserted to know the general characteristics of things (*sāmānyalakṣaṇa*): impermanence, suffering and impersonality.

Only the bodhisattva is asserted to understand the true characteristics of things (*bhūtalakṣaṇa*), namely, non-arising, non-cessation, original calm, and in a word - emptiness. When the bodhisattva enters absorptions his mind enjoys perfect peace (*kṣema*). It is no longer disturbed by contingencies – by what could be seen, heard, thought or known. It is devoid of reasoning (*vitarka*) and discursive thought (*vicāra*) which normally make language possible. It no longer makes any distinctions, to the point of not grasping any difference between distraction and absorption. People know the thought of entering absorption (*dhyānapraveśacitta*) and the thought of leaving absorption (*dhyānavyutthānacitta*) in a bodhisattva, but once a bodhisattva is absorbed neither gods nor humans know his thought any longer, that thought has neither support (*āśraya*) nor object (*ālambana*). Differing from other ascetics, the bodhisattva is incapable of ‘savouring’ the absorptions and attainments. In vain would one seek to find in him that dangerous relishing (*āsvādana*) which is asserted to lead practitioners to confuse the bliss of the mystical spheres with true deliverance.

The Śrāvakas who have entered the path of *nirvāṇa* practise *samādhi* in order to purify their minds. This is asserted to be a legitimate but egocentric preoccupation. In contrast, the bodhisattva only practices absorption for the good of others. Seeing people giving themselves to the pleasures of the senses, the bodhisattva experiences great feelings of compassion and makes the following aspiration: “I shall act so that beings may avoid impure happiness, so that they may obtain the internal happiness of the *dhyānas* and *samāpattis* and so that by relying on these practices, they may finally reach the most excellent happiness, that of buddhahood.” While his mind is no longer disturbed by any object or concept, the bodhisattva transforms the body in countless ways, enters the five realms of the triple world and wins over beings by means of the teaching of the three vehicles. Finally, the bodhisattva enjoys perfect mastery over the *dhyānas* and *samāpattis* as well as over the *abhijñās* which result from them.

In order to reach the first *dhyāna*, the ordinary ascetic must first free himself from all the passions of the world of desire (*kāmadhātu*). To do this, one enters the *anāgāmya* which is the entrance-hall of the first *dhyāna*, and one eliminates the coarse passions.

The attainment of leaping: The Śrāvaka can traverse the nine successive meditative abodes

(*anupūrvavihāra*) in four ways: by following the ascending order (*dhyānānulomatta*), the descending order (*dhyānapratilomata*), the ascending then descending order (*dhyānānulomapratilomata*) or by leaping from one abode to another (*dhyānotkrāntita*).⁹³⁶ This last method is known as the attainment of leaping (*vyutkrāntasamāpatti*).⁹³⁷ However, a bodhisattva who has mastered leaping can, on leaving the first *dhyāna*, leap to the third. One may also leap directly either to the fourth *dhyāna* or to one of the four *samāpattis* of the *ānīpyadhātu*. A bodhisattva may leap over one abode, two abodes, and sometimes even over all nine.

According to the canonical sources, when the ordinary ascetic has purified the mind by means of the *dhyānas* and *samāpattis*, one gives an impulse to the mind and directs it toward the *abhijñās*. By virtue of this effort, one gains the six supreme knowledges, supernormal power, and so forth. In contrast, the great bodhisattva of the eighth stage, without making any mental effort (*cittānābhogena*) plays at will with the superknowledges (*abhijñāvīkrīḍana*). One proceeds at will and spontaneously to the Buddha-fields, but without grasping their signs. Whilst remaining perfectly absorbed, one pays homage to the Buddhas of the ten regions and expounds the Dharma to various beings. This activity is unconscious, and may be compared to the ceaseless play of lutes of the gods without anyone to pluck them.

To sum up, *dhyānas* are found in the *Āgamas* and *Nikāyas*. In the *pāramitās* of the sectarian texts they are called the *dhyānapāramitā*. They are inherited by the Mahāyānists. However, in the Mahāyāna texts, *samādhi* is stressed as important. This can be seen in the way that many Mahāyāna texts were named after the *samādhi*, i.e. *Samādhirājasūtra*, *Śuramgasamādhisūtra* and so forth. *Samādhi* in the *Āgamas* belong to the practice of insight meditation (*vipāśyāna*) or contemplation. Thus we have *sūnyatāsamādhi*, *ānimittasamādhi*, *apraṇītasamādhi* and so forth in the *Samyuktāgama* (T02: 0149c-150a). The basic teaching of the Mahāyāna is the non-origination (*anutpāda*) and non-destruction (*anirodha*) of all the *dharmas*. This doctrine has been reflected in countless *samādhis* as the means of realisation. Thus we see 28 *samādhis* in the *Samantamukhaparivarta* for instance, *samādhis* of the five sense objects, of hatred, of ignorance, of passion, of wholesome *dharmas*, of the unwholesome *dharmas*, of the conditioned, of the unconditioned, and so forth (T11:

⁹³⁶ Athasālinī, p.187; Vism., Warren, pp.314-15.

⁹³⁷ Kośa, II, p.210; VIII, p.173; J. Rahder, Introduction to the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, p.xxii.

0158c-162a). In the *prajñāpāramitāsūtras* there are 108 *samādhis* (T08:0251a-253b). Among the lists of *samādhis*, the *sūraṅgamasamādhi*, *ekavyūhasamādhi*, *pratyutpannasamādhi*, *araṇasamādhi* and *māyāsamādhi* are seen in many texts and have their practitioners even today.

Samādhis are important to the bodhisattvas because they can generate the things for the benefit of the bodhisattvas, for cultivating a compassionate mind, benefiting sentient beings, fulfilling the *bodhicitta*, and for developing skills and abilities. According to *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, “The bodhisattva who wishes to fulfil the desires of all beings . . . says ‘I, should train myself’ in concentration of the *prajñāpāramitā*.” The *Drumakīṃnaranarājaparipṛcchā* says that after gaining the *ratnasthitasamādhi*, one can generate all types of treasures in the world (T15:0372c-373b). The text further says that “the *prajñā* is the king of the *sūtras* . . . the wisdom treasure is the body of *ratnasthitasamādhi*; when a bodhisattva gains the *ratnasthitasamādhi* all the sentient beings come and assemble around him (T15:0373bc).” Clearly the achievement of *samādhis* enables the bodhisattvas to obtain treasures and to benefit others. It is a feature of the *dhyānapāramitā* in Mahāyāna bodhisattva’s practices.

C. The developments in the theory of the *prajñāpāramitā*

In the previous sections, we have shown the early occurrences and various concepts of the perfection of wisdom in some early scriptures. In this section, the main purpose is to show that from the first to the fourth century CE, the *prajñāpāramitā* was the most widespread teaching in Mahāyāna texts. Its concept was formulated and its content fully detailed, but its functions remain open.

The *prajñāpāramitā* in the system of six *pāramitās*

Except for the *Akṣayamatiparipṛcchā*,⁹³⁸ 29 out of 48 texts in the *Mahāratnakūṭa* refer to it.⁹³⁹ Furthermore, in volumes 11, 14, 15, 16 17 of the Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon, there are more than eighty texts which treat it.⁹⁴⁰

⁹³⁸ 無盡慧菩薩會第, T11:648a14, in which ten *pāramitās* are discussed.

⁹³⁹ 三律儀會, T11:0006b24; 無邊莊嚴會第, T11:0029a06; 淨居天子會, T11, 0085b27; 無量壽如來會第, T11:0095b16; 不動如來會, T11: 0110a03; 被甲莊嚴會, T11:0124b17; 出現光明會, T11:0187b13; 菩薩藏會, T11:0294c16 -0309c04; 護國菩薩會, T11:0472a14; 菩薩見實會, T11:0434a19; 富樓那會, T11:0442b05-0453b14; 護國菩薩會, T11:0472a12; 郁伽長者會, T11:0477a11-0479a12; 授幻師跋陀羅記會, T11:0489a12;

The concept and content of the *prajñāpāramitā*

In the texts mentioned above, many factors show that there was a progressive development of the concept of *prajñāpāramitā* in Mahāyāna texts. This development may be divided into three stages. In the first stage, the traditional concept of *prajñā* was completely absorbed into

大神變會, T11:0494b13; 優波離會, T11:0518a16; 善臂菩薩會, T11:0534a-0536c17; 善順菩薩會, T11:0540a11; 勤授長者會, T11:0541c16; 妙慧童女會, T11:0549b03; 無畏德菩薩會, T11:0554b11; 無垢施菩薩應辯會, T11:0561a28-0562c22; 無垢施菩薩應辯會, T11:0562c22; 功德寶花敷菩薩會, T11:0570a15; 善住意天子會, T11:0572b17-0574c15; 阿闍世王子會, T11:0595b19; T11:0600a05; 大乘方便會, T11:0607b07; 淨信童女會, T11:0630c05; 普明菩薩會, T11:0632a18; 密跡金剛力士會, T11:0069c17.

⁹⁴⁰ 佛說大乘菩薩藏正法經, T11:0885c11; 大聖文殊師利菩薩佛利功德莊嚴經, T11:0914b28; 父子合集經, T11:0963a11; No. 418 [Nos. 416, 417, 419] 般舟三昧經, T11:0915; T11, No. 441 佛說佛名經 (卷 16) 大乘蓮華寶達問答報應沙門經, T14:0245b; No. 452 佛說觀彌勒菩薩上生兜率天經 (卷 1) T14:0419a; No. 459 佛說文殊悔過經 (卷 1) T14:0445b; No. 464 文殊師利問菩提經 (卷 1) T14:0482a; No. 465 伽耶山頂經 (卷 1) T14:0484c; No. 466 佛說象頭精舍經 (卷 1) T14:0487c; No. 467 大乘伽耶山頂經 (卷 1) T14:0490b; No. 468 文殊師利問經 (卷 1) 世間戒品第十 T14:0496c-p0497a; No. 475 維摩詰所說經 (卷 2) 文殊師利問疾品第五 T14:0545c; No. 485 無所有菩薩經 (卷 1) T14:0673c; No. 486 師子莊嚴王菩薩請問經 (卷 1) 師子莊嚴王菩薩請問經序 T14:0698a; No. 488 寶授菩薩菩提行經 (卷 1) T14:0703c; No. 489 佛說除蓋障菩薩所問經 (卷 5) T14:0716a; No. 490 佛說八大菩薩經 (卷 1) T14:0752a; No. 543 佛說巨力長者所問大乘經 (卷 2) T14:0833a; No. 546 佛說金耀童子經 (卷 1) T14:0852a; No. 550 金色童子因緣經 (卷 10) T14:0887b; No. 566 樂瓔珞莊嚴方便品經 (卷 1) T14:0933a; No. 586 思益梵天所問經 (卷 2) 問談品第六 T15:0046a; No. 587 勝思惟梵天所問經 (卷 3) T15:0065c, T15:0077b-0078b; No. 588 佛說須真天子經 (卷 3) 分別品第八 T15:0107b; No. 589 佛說魔逆經 (卷 1) T15:0114c; No. 591 商主天子所問經 (卷 1) T15:0119a; No. 594 佛說大自在天子因地經 (卷 1) T15:0127c; No. 613 禪祕要法經 (卷 3) T15:0263b; No. 620 治禪病祕要法 (卷 1) 治噎法 T15:0335b; No. 621 佛說佛印三昧經 (卷 1) T15:0343b; No. 625 大樹緊那羅王所問經 (卷 4) T15:0387b; No. 626 佛說阿闍世王經 (卷 1) T15:0391a; No. 628 佛說未曾有正法經 (卷 2) T15:429c, 0434c; No. 632 佛說慧印三昧經 (卷 1) T15:0461a; No. 633 佛說如來智印經 (卷 1) T15:0468c; No. 634 佛說大乘智印經 (卷 2) T15:0479c; No. 636 無極寶三昧經 (卷 1) T15:0508b; No. 634 佛說大乘智印經 (卷 1) T15:0475c; No. 637 佛說寶如來三昧經 (卷 1) T15:0520b; No. 639 月燈三昧經 (卷 6) T15:0583c; No. 642 佛說首楞嚴三昧經 (卷 1) T15:0633b; No. 643 佛說觀佛三昧海經 (卷 4) 觀相品第三之一 T15:0665a; No. 649 觀察諸法行經 (卷 4) 授記品第三之一 T15:0743c; No. 650 諸法無行經 (卷 1) T15:0752; No. 651 佛說諸法本無經 (卷 1) T15:0764a; No. 652 佛說大乘隨轉宣說諸法經 (卷 1) T15:0776b; No. 658 寶雲經 (卷 2) T16:0218a; No. 660 佛說寶雨經 (卷 3) T16:0294b; No. 664 合部金光明經 (卷 8) 捨身品第二十二, T16:0397a; No. 665 金光明最勝王經 (卷 2) 夢見金鼓懺悔品第四 T16:0412c; No. 671 入楞伽經 (卷 8) 剎那品第十四, T16:0559c-0560a; No. 670 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經 (卷 4), T16:0512c; No. 673 大乘同性經 (卷 1), T16:0644b; No. 674 證契大乘經 (卷 1) T16:0656c; No. 426 佛說千佛因緣經 (卷 1) T14:0071a; No. 426 佛說千佛因緣經 (卷 1) T14:0071a; No. 678 相續解脫地波羅蜜了義經 (卷 1) T16:0715c; No. 678 相續解脫地波羅蜜了義經 (卷 1) T16:0715c; No. 697 佛說浴像功德經 (卷 1) T16:0799b; No. 698 浴佛功德經 (卷 1), T16:0800b; No. 719 十二緣生祥瑞經 (卷 2), T16:0850a; No. 720 無明羅剎集 (卷 1), T16:0850b; No. 721 正法念處經 (卷 61), T17:0364c; No. 732 佛說罵意經 (卷 1), T17:0530b; No. 741 五苦章句經 (卷 1), T17:0544b; No. 754 佛說未曾有因緣經 (卷 2), T17:0587c; No. 760 惟日雜難經 (卷 1), T17:0608a; No. 761 佛說法集經 (卷 3), T17:0618a; No. 761 佛說法集經 (卷 3), T17:0626a; No. 766 佛說法身經 (卷 1), T17:0699c; No. 768 三慧經 (卷 1), T17:0702b; No. 778 佛說菩薩內習六波羅蜜經 (卷 1), T17:0714c; No. 833 第一義法勝經 (卷 1) 第一義法勝經翻譯之記, T17:0879c; No. 834 大威燈光仙人問疑經 (卷 1), T17:0884b; No. 839 占察善惡業報經 (卷 1), T17:0903a; No. 847 大乘修行菩薩行門諸經要集 (卷 2), T17:0946c; No. 847 大乘修行菩薩行門諸經要集 (卷 1), T17:0936b; No. 847 大乘修行菩薩行門諸經要集 (卷 1) 第四 T17:0940a; 出摩訶般若波羅經中, T17:0940c; T17:0944a, 出遍清淨毘尼經; T17:0944c, 出海慧菩薩所說經; T17:0959c, 出解深密經。

the concept of the *prajñāpāramitā*. In the second stage, the various views of the perfection of wisdom are seen in many texts and they represent the formulation and development of the Mahāyāna concept of wisdom. In the third stage, the perfection of wisdom was further developed in the later Mahāyāna texts, which contain various features of the *prajñāpāramitā*.

In the early translations of Mahāyāna scriptures, the perfection of wisdom refers to three kinds of wisdom (*prajñā*): (1) wisdom which depends on hearing the teaching from another person and on the study of scripture (*śrutamayī*), (2) wisdom which arises from reflection (*cintāmayī*), and (3) wisdom which is developed by cultivation and realisation (*bhāvanāmayī*).⁹⁴¹ These three types of wisdom actually refer to the methods for achieving wisdom. The early Mahāyāna exposition of these three types of wisdom are mainly encountered in the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*⁹⁴² and the *Subāhupariṣcchā*⁹⁴³ of the *Mahāratnakūṭa*,

"How can the bodhisattva achieve the perfection of wisdom? The bodhisattva, in order to learn and gain understanding (聞), in order to reflect (on these 思), should draw near to people of intelligence and wisdom, people who can study and retain their learning, people who can hear and recite what they have heard, people who hear and reflect on the meaning of what they have heard. He should draw near to people like this. He should praise them, respect them and make offerings to them; and should not allow them to drive him away under any circumstances (through wounds or beatings) . . . The bodhisattva should regard the *Saddharma* as a great treasure, should think of the Dharma teacher as a store of treasure, and should regard those who hear the Dharma as people of great rarity. He should consider those who ask the meaning of the Dharma as living a life of wisdom, and he should be inspired to wise thoughts by those great scholars who eradicate ignorance. He should think of the ability to distinguish the *Dharmas* as the eye of wisdom. The bodhisattva, having heard the *dharmas*, should remember and practise them (修). Having thoroughly distinguished them, he will know aggregates, elements (*dhātu*) and faculties, he will know the Four Noble Truths, the twelve links of co-origination, the threefold time dimension and the three vehicles, and thus will achieve knowledge."⁹⁴⁴

It seems that in this text the purpose of the expositions of the aggregates,⁹⁴⁵ elements,⁹⁴⁶ faculties,⁹⁴⁷ the four noble truths,⁹⁴⁸ the twelve links of dependent origination,⁹⁴⁹ the three

⁹⁴¹ *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (Sanskrit Manuscript Add. 702, Cambridge University Library), 84b.7. *Mahāyāna-sūtrāṅkāra*, édité et traduit par S. Lévi (Paris 1907, 1911), 82.2.

⁹⁴² BP, T11, No.310 (12), tr. by Xúan Zàng in 645 CE

⁹⁴³ Subāhu, T11n0310 (21), tr. by Kumārajīva in 412 CE; T11:0531a23, “復次善臂。菩薩如是思惟;” T11:0534a09- p0534a10, “聞已誦習。善學諸法甚深相義。亦能分別。如所聞法。聞已思義。” T11:0534a19, “是菩薩聞是諸法,受持修學。”

⁹⁴⁴ Subāhu, T11:0534a, “云何菩薩摩訶薩。具足般若波羅蜜 . . . 是菩薩聞是諸法。受持修學。廣分別已。知陰界入。四聖諦。十二因緣。三世三乘。得如是知。”

⁹⁴⁵ Subāhu, T11:0534b22

⁹⁴⁶ Subāhu, T11:0534a21-0534b21.

⁹⁴⁷ Subāhu, T11:0534b28-0534c10.

⁹⁴⁸ Sbāhu, T11:0534c-0535a13.

⁹⁴⁹ Subāhu, T11:0535a14-0535b12

time dimensions,⁹⁵⁰ and three vehicles,⁹⁵¹ is to show two essential aspects of the concept of the *prajñāpāramitā*. Firstly there is the knowledge a bodhisattva ought to have. Secondly there are truths that a bodhisattva ought to reflect upon and realise. These truths are the Buddhist philosophical teachings on the impermanency of things, the origination and the cessation of things, the non-origination and non-cessation of elements, the mind-only doctrine, non-self, suffering, the causes of suffering, the cessation of suffering, the paths leading the cessation of suffering, the karmic causes and effects of the three times, the twelve factors of co-origination, and the realities and attainments of the three vehicles. In short, the bodhisattva's perfection of wisdom is when the bodhisattva realizes the insubstantial self by distinguishing and reflecting on the twelve factors of co-origination. One realizes that *nirvāṇa* is not of the self, and one chooses not to have attachment to it. The bodhisattva sees that *dharmas* contain the truth of dependent origination. One masters the three portals of liberation, and contemplates the arising and cessation of the twelve factors of co-origination, but chooses not to achieve cessation (*nirvāṇa*).

C .1. Views on the bodhisattva *prajñāpāramitā*

Sūtras No. 671 and No. 672 reveal three different levels of *pāramitās*,⁹⁵² but only the bodhisattva level of *pāramitā* is briefly defined. For instance, these texts say that the bodhisattva's *prajñāpāramitā* is when a bodhisattva truly observes the distinguishing character of the mind, sees no distinctions, and does not fall into the 'two extremes.' The bodhisattva transcends the body by actual practice, sees that things neither arrive or perish, and then achieves the noble practices.⁹⁵³

Sūtra No. 660 stresses the importance of the mind in the fulfilment of the six perfections. It says that while presenting services and offerings, the mind makes various distinctions and observations, and this is seen as the bodhisattva *prajñāpāramitā*.⁹⁵⁴

Sūtras No. 658 and No. 659 show how a bodhisattva as a normal meditator fulfils the six perfections. For instance, it is said that when the bodhisattva meditates and thinks of the

⁹⁵⁰ Subāhu, T11:0535b13-0535c09

⁹⁵¹ Subāhu, T11:0535c11- p0536a08

⁹⁵² *Laiṅkāvatāra-mahāyāna-sūtra*, (大乘入楞伽經), T16:0621c, No. 672, “波羅蜜者。差別有三。所謂世間出世間出世間上上。” No. 671 *Laiṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, (入楞伽經), T16:0559c-p0560a

⁹⁵³ No. 672, T16:0621c-0622a; *Laiṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, T16:0559c-0560a

⁹⁵⁴ *Ratnamegha-sūtra* (佛說寶雨經), T16:0294b, No. 660

fulfilment of various types of offerings, this is practice of the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁹⁵⁵ *Sūtra* No.489 demonstrates how a bodhisattva can achieve the six *pāramitās* by reflection and contemplation on mentally presented offerings.⁹⁵⁶

Sūtra No. 650 advises upon faith and grasping the one-character and non-obstacle of the *dharma*s. “Having faith in and grasping the one-character and non-obstacle of *dharma*s, one may obtain the knowledge of the non-production of the *dharma*s, and thus achieve the six *pāramitās*.”⁹⁵⁷

Sūtra No. 642 explains that a bodhisattva dwelling in the *sūraṃgāmasamādhī* performs all six perfections. “The bodhisattva contemplates the mind and understands the mind, fully penetrates the characteristics of the mind, and this is the perfection of wisdom.”⁹⁵⁸

Sūtra No. 587 indicates that the fulfilment of the six perfections is the fulfilment of omniscience (*sarvajñāna*).⁹⁵⁹ It also defines the concept of *sarvajñāna* as the sameness of all *dharma*s.⁹⁶⁰

According to *Sūtra* No.486, a ritual performer achieves the six *pāramitās* by ritual arrangements and personal conduct.⁹⁶¹ When the bodhisattva executes a ritual performance and correctly makes the boundary and circular platform, completes the performance without mistakes and in the correct time, this is seen as the *prajñāpāramitā*.⁹⁶² At the time when ritual performances were dominant in religious life, the six *pāramitās* served to enhance the significances of rituals. This text also says that a bodhisattva requires three *asaṃkheya kalpas* to practise the six *pāramitās* and achieve buddhahood.⁹⁶³

Sūtra No. 485 specifies the dwelling of a bodhisattva, the identity of parents, travels and relatives.⁹⁶⁴ The knowledge of these and the ability to apply them are considered the perfection of wisdom.

⁹⁵⁵ *Ratnamegha-sūtra* (寶雲經), T16:0218a, No. 658; MRS, No. 659, T16:0251c

⁹⁵⁶ 佛說除蓋障菩薩所問經 (卷 5), T14:0716a, No. 489

⁹⁵⁷ 諸法無行經 (卷 1), T15:0752b, No. 650, “信解諸法一相無礙。然後乃得無生法忍具足六波羅蜜。”

⁹⁵⁸ No. 642 佛說首楞嚴三昧勝思惟梵天所問經經 (卷 1), T15: 0633c

⁹⁵⁹ 勝思惟梵天所問經, T15: 0078b; T15:0046b, “具足六波羅蜜已。能滿足薩婆若。”

⁹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* T15: 0078a, “智慧平等即是薩婆若平等。以是平等一切法。名為薩婆若。”

⁹⁶¹ No. 486, 師子莊嚴王菩薩請問經, T14: 0698b, “行六波羅蜜時修立道場以諸香水若香塗地 ...”

⁹⁶² *Ibid.*, T14: 0698b.

⁹⁶³ T14: 0698a: “我行菩薩道來。經三阿僧祇劫。修滿六度利益眾生。成等正覺。”

⁹⁶⁴ No. 485, 無所有菩薩經, T14: 0673c: “般若母佛父,佛塔爲住處,諸菩薩眷屬,遊六波羅蜜,菩提心父母,三昧爲住處,諸福爲眷屬”

Sūtra No.475 reveals that doing things without any attachment is important for a bodhisattva to practise the six perfections.⁹⁶⁵ *Sūtra* No. 468 explains the bodhisattva discipline (*vinaya*).⁹⁶⁶ Knowledge of this is part of the perfection of wisdom.

Sūtras No. 467 and No.466 say that from conventional wisdom (*saṃvṛttisatyā*) there arise the six *pāramitās*, and from them the thought of enlightenment.⁹⁶⁷

Sūtras No. 464 and No. 465 say that a bodhisattva's observation of the *Vinaya* arises from right thought or mindfulness. They also mention four levels of producing the thought of enlightenment with analogies.⁹⁶⁸ Different stages are asserted in the production of the thought

⁹⁶⁵ *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, T14: 0545c, No.475,

⁹⁶⁶ No. 468 文殊師利問經, T14: 0496c-0497a, “我持菩薩戒。我某甲乃至菩提。不殺眾生離殺生想。乃至菩提。不盜亦離盜想。乃至菩提。不非梵行離非梵行想。乃至菩提。不妄語離妄語想。乃至菩提。不飲諸酒離飲酒想。乃至菩提。不著香花亦不生想。乃至菩提。不歌舞作樂離歌舞想。乃至菩提。不坐臥高廣大床離大床想。乃至菩提。不過中食離過中食想。乃至菩提。不捉金銀生像離捉金銀想。乃至當具六波羅蜜大慈大悲。”

⁹⁶⁷ No. 466 佛說象頭精舍經, T14: 0487c; No. 467 大乘伽耶山頂經, T14: 0490b. “問。深信心依何而起。答言。依菩提心起。又問。菩提心依何而起。答言。依六波羅蜜起。又問。六波羅蜜依何而起。答言。依方便慧起。又問。方便慧依何而起。答言。依不放逸起...”

⁹⁶⁸ No. 464 文殊師利問菩提經, T14: 0482a; No. 465 伽耶山頂經 (卷 1) T14:0484c: “天子又問文殊師利。諸菩薩摩訶薩阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心以何為本。文殊師利答言。天子。諸菩薩摩訶薩阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心以六波羅蜜為本。天子又問文殊師利。諸菩薩摩訶薩六波羅蜜以何為本。文殊師利答言。天子。諸菩薩摩訶薩六波羅蜜以方便慧為本。天子又問文殊師利。諸菩薩摩訶薩方便慧以何為本。文殊師利答言。天子。諸菩薩摩訶薩方便慧以不放逸為本。天子又問文殊師利。諸菩薩摩訶薩不放逸以何為本。文殊師利答言。天子。諸菩薩摩訶薩不放逸以三善行為本。天子又問文殊師利。諸菩薩摩訶薩三善行以何為本。文殊師利答言。天子。諸菩薩摩訶薩三善行以十善業道為本。天子又問文殊師利。諸菩薩摩訶薩十善業道以何為本。文殊師利答言。天子。諸菩薩摩訶薩十善業道以持戒為本。天子又問文殊師利。諸菩薩摩訶薩持戒以何為本。文殊師利答言。天子。諸菩薩摩訶薩持戒以正憶念為本。天子又問文殊師利。諸菩薩摩訶薩正憶念以何為本。文殊師利答言。天子。諸菩薩摩訶薩正憶念以正觀為本。天子又問文殊師利。諸菩薩摩訶薩正觀以何為本。文殊師利答言。天子。諸菩薩摩訶薩正觀以堅念不忘為本。天子又問文殊師利。諸菩薩摩訶薩有幾種心能成就因能成就果。文殊師利答言。天子。諸菩薩摩訶薩有四種心能成就因能成就果。何等為四。一者初發心。二者行發心。三者不退發心。四者一生補處發心。復次天子。初發心如種種子。第二行發心如牙生增長。第三不退發心如莖葉華果初始成就。第四一生補處發心如果等有用。復次天子。初發心如車匠集材智。第二行發心如斫治材木淨智。第三不退發心如安施材木智。第四一生補處發心如車成運載智。復次天子。初發心如月始生第二行發心如月五日。第三不退發心如月十日。第四一生補處發心如月十四日。如來智慧如月十五日。復次天子。諸發心能過聲聞地。第二行發心能過辟支佛地。第三不退發心能過不定地。第四一生補處發心安住定地。復次天子。初發心如學初章智。第二行發心如差別諸章智。第三不退發心如算數智。第四一生補處發心如通達諸論智。復次天子。初發心從因生。第二行發心從智生。第三不退發心從斷生。第四一生補處發心從果生。復次天子。初發心因攝。第二行發心智攝。第三不退發心斷攝。第四一生補處發心果攝。復次天子。初發心因生。第二行發心智生。第三不退發心斷生。第四一生補處發心果生。復次天子。初發心因差別分。第二行發心智差別分。第三不退發心斷差別分。第四一生補處發心果差別分。復次天子。初發心如取藥草方便。第二行發心如分別藥草方便。第三不退發心如病服藥方便。第四一生補處發心如病得差方便。復次天子。初發心學法王家生。第二行發心學法王法。第三不退發心能具足學法王法。第四一生補處發心學法王法能得自在。

of enlightenment as the result of a bodhisattva practices. These stages of producing the thought of enlightenment were considered as part of a bodhisattva's wisdom.

Sūtra No.441 explains that the Buddha's *dharmakāya* arises from immeasurable merits and wisdoms, and from the six *pāramitās*.⁹⁶⁹ From this we see that the Buddha's *dharmakāya* is identified with the six *pāramitās*. A particular vow of the bodhisattva in this text is "the wish that all women become reborn as men and energetically practise the six perfections."⁹⁷⁰

C. 2. Developments in the Mahāyāna *prajñāpāramitā*

The scripture that may represent the end of the first stage in the development of the Mahāyāna *prajñāpāramitā* is the *Bodhisattvapīṭaka*. The text is occupied with explaining the three types of wisdom. Study (*śrutamayīprajñā*) is identified with seventy-two forms of learning (*śruta*),⁹⁷¹ reflection (*cintāmayīprajñā*) with forty-one methods of engagement (*pratipatti*) in learning,⁹⁷² and meditative realisation (*bhāvanāmayīprajñā*) with correct cultivation as cause.⁹⁷³ Furthermore, the conceptual development of the perfection of wisdom in this text is apparent in the exposition of the ten types of skill and in the references to *dharmānairātmya* and non-production of all the *dharma*s.

Non-production and sameness of all the *dharma*s - the correct view

The practice of reflection (*cintāmayīprajñā*) is explained as the cause of correct view. The text says that the emergence of correct view has two causes and two conditions, namely hearing other people's statements and correct attention of the listener. In discussing the practice of reflection, the text stresses the importance of listening to the teachings of the Noble Ones. The bodhisattva should reflect and know that those who practise and abide in *dhyānas* do not hear the teachings of the *Bodhisattvapīṭaka*, the Noble Ones and the Vinaya. They are merely satisfied with their achievement of *samādhi*. They eventually generate pride and fall under the power of pride. They are not liberated from birth, old age, suffering, grief and agitation. They

⁹⁶⁹ No. 441 佛說佛名經, T14, p0188c; T14,p0248c: "發菩提心者。經言當樂佛身。佛身者即法身也。從無量功德智慧生。從六波羅蜜生。從慈悲喜捨生。從三十七助菩提法生。從如是等種種功德智慧生如來身。欲得此身者。當發菩提心求一切種智常樂我淨薩婆若果。淨佛國土成就眾生。於身命財無所吝惜。"

⁹⁷⁰ T14: 0245b: "願諸女人皆成男子。具足智慧精勤不懈。一切皆行菩薩之道。勤心修集六波羅蜜。"

⁹⁷¹ T11:0294c17-0295a25; U. Pagel, pp.333-335.

⁹⁷² T11: 0295a26-0296a20; Pagel, 335-338.

⁹⁷³ T11:0296a21- p0296c06; Pagel, 338-340.

will be not liberated from the mass of suffering. However, one who duly hears from others will be liberated from old-age-and-death.⁹⁷⁴

The reflection on the path of obtaining knowledge and realisation is also presented in ways of correct contemplation. The *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* says that when the bodhisattva contemplates all *dharma*s as being in a state of cessation by nature, at that time one reflects correctly. At the time when one contemplates all *dharma*s as being unattained by nature, at that time one reflects correctly. At the time when one contemplates all *dharma*s as non-produced, non-originated, non-becoming and in the state of *nirvāṇa*, at that time one reflects correctly. One also reflects that there is neither contemplation nor object to be contemplated. In such a way one reflects correctly.⁹⁷⁵

In addition, the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* maintains that a bodhisattva who reflects correctly and skilfully has no doubt or confusion concerning any *dharma*. Correct and skillful reflection is free from obstruction concerning any *dharma*s. It leads to the door of liberation and it is free from inclinations towards abandonment and comprehension of any *dharma*.⁹⁷⁶

The cultivation of meditative realisation (*bhāvanāmayīpraññā*) is also explained. Correct meditative realisation of the bodhisattva is attained through *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā*, by solitude and taming the mind, by non-cessation and impermanence, causes and conditions, dependent co-origination, immutability, and the imperishability of causes and effects.⁹⁷⁷ The text also indicates that correct options are regarded as a part of the bodhisattva's wisdom. Thus although the bodhisattva has the correct meditative realisation by practising the doctrine of emptiness, signlessness and wishlessness, one chooses not to have attachments to the achievements of practicing these three portals of liberation. Although one has the correct meditative realisation by the practice of *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā*, one does not aim toward the goal of achieving certain rebirths through the power of meditation. One also chooses to have correct meditative realisation by wisdom pertaining to omniscience, thus one does not engage with the achievement of the destruction of the impure influences. One also has the correct meditative realisation by examining non-origination, but chooses not to enter into the absolute

⁹⁷⁴ T11: 0297b01- p0297b13: “依是清淨善法明門。菩薩常應如是修學...是故如來依是人故。如實說法。若能從他隨順聽聞。是則解脫諸老死等。”

⁹⁷⁵ T11: 0297c19-0298a02

⁹⁷⁶ T11:0298a04-0298a08

⁹⁷⁷ T11:0298b10-17, “...菩薩摩訶薩如理證入者...無有轉移因果不壞證入。”

achievement of *nirvāṇa*. Although one has the correct meditative realisation by contemplating the non-substantiality of all sentient beings, one does not abandon great compassion. Although one has the correct meditative realisation by contemplating the dismal nature of all origination, one chooses to have the achievements of the realms of existence. Although one has correct meditative realisation of *nirvāṇa*, one chooses not to enter it. Although one has the correct meditative realisation of abandoning the pleasures of sense objects, one chooses not to have the achievement of abandoning the pleasures of sense objects. Although one has the correct meditative realisation by abandoning all sophistical discussions (*prapañca*) and reviewing knowledge, one does not abandon skilful means.⁹⁷⁸

The *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* explains the skill in right speech as part of the bodhisattva's wisdom. Right speech is collective and incontrovertible, consistent and without contradiction, well balanced, without clinging or rejecting, free of sophistic discussion, not slanderous and not scornful. It is speech of truth and true nature, and of unfailing truth and actuality. It is correct speech when speaking of sameness in the threefold times.⁹⁷⁹ Right speech is about the unreliability of consciousness and matter, including feeling, conception and notional constructions. It is the unreliability of the elements of the six sense organs and sense objects.⁹⁸⁰ Right speech is correspondence with and has recourse to meaning (*artha*), the nature of *dharmas* (*dharmatā*), wisdom (*jñāna*), and definitive meaning (*nīthārtha*).⁹⁸¹ While practicing, the bodhisattva sustains certain mental qualities toward the pertinent action, "the bodhisattva who engages oneself in contemplation, does not consider that there is a capable practitioner. This is correct contemplation. One neither contemplates things, or contemplates things not."⁹⁸² A bodhisattva who is correct and skilful in this never becomes confused by little things, and is free from obstructions by any thing. Correct contemplation is non-seeing, non-origination, non-becoming and imperceptibility.⁹⁸³ It is in this way that a bodhisattva cultivates the perfection of wisdom.

***Dharmanairātmya* and cognitive realisation (*bhāvanāmayīprajñā*)**

⁹⁷⁸ T11:0298b17-27, "雖捨一切戲論思覺證入。而不捨善巧方便證故..."

⁹⁷⁹ T11:0298b28-0298c08, "如理句者即出生句。即趣理句。即法門句...三世平等句"

⁹⁸⁰ T11:0298c09-12, "如理句者色識無依住句。受想行識無依住句...意法意識性無依住句。"

⁹⁸¹ T11:0298c13-15: "如理句者即名依義句。即名依法句。即名依智句。即名依了義句。"

⁹⁸² T11:0298c16-19

⁹⁸³ T11:0298c20-27, "...無所見者即是無生。言無生者即是無起。言無起者名無所照"

In order to cultivate the perfection of wisdom, a bodhisattva realises the non-substantiality of phenomena (*dharmanairātmya*). The *Bodhisattvapīṭaka* says that a bodhisattva must know correct contemplation, “when I am correct, my contemplation on things is totally correct. When I contemplate that just as I am non-substantial, so all things are non-substantial, just as sentient beings are non-substantial, so are all things non-substantial.”⁹⁸⁴

Sameness of defilements and *nirvāṇa*: Correct skill is part of wisdom that a bodhisattva is taught to cultivate. According to the *Bodhisattvapīṭaka* it is correct skill when a bodhisattva does not contemplate the nature of *saṃsāra* as pervaded with the nature of *nirvāṇa*. But one should contemplate that the nature of defilements and the nature of *nirvāṇa* are the same, mutually indistinguishable and mutually concordant.⁹⁸⁵ A bodhisattva should know that all correct skills are based on and come from numberless sentient beings. Thus one does not abandon sentient beings nor destroy the *dharma*s.⁹⁸⁶

In brief, a bodhisattva should know the characteristics and forms of wisdom,⁹⁸⁷ ways of learning, correct meditative realisation, correct contemplations, correct views and so on. These are called the bodhisattva’s correct wisdom. By rightly practicing them, a bodhisattva is able to fully achieve the perfection of wisdom.⁹⁸⁸ Furthermore, “the nature of the bodhisattva’s wisdom is pure and not linked to any conditioned factors of existence.”⁹⁸⁹ Concerning the nature of the bodhisattva’s wisdom, and its difference and independence from certain *dharma*s,⁹⁹⁰ the text continues that wisdom is independent of ignorance. It is different from notional constructions, from old-age-and-death, from the sixty-two heterodox views that are based on the philosophical theory of substantiality (*satkāyadrṣṭi*), from the eight worldly conditions including the *skandhas*, *dhātu* and *āyatana*s, different from the twenty secondary defilements including conceit, grave conceit and perverted conceit, and different from all defilements. It is different from the dark mist of delusion, all evil activities of defilements (*kleśamāra*), the aggregates (*skandhamāra*), the lord of death (*mṛtyumāra*) and the Evil One

⁹⁸⁴ T11:0298c29-0299a03: “...我無我故則觀諸法亦復無我。眾生無我故則觀諸法亦復無我。”

⁹⁸⁵ T11:0299a05-10

⁹⁸⁶ T11:0299a11-13, “若眾生處不棄捨於諸法不破壞。是名菩薩如理方便。”

⁹⁸⁷ T11:0294c29-0295a, “是故說為無盡慧相...承事為相。思惟為相。不亂為相...”

⁹⁸⁸ T11:0299a13-17, “...如是如理證入。如是如理觀察。如是如理正見等流。是名菩薩如理正慧。”

⁹⁸⁹ T11:0299a18-20: “菩薩摩訶薩...所有般若自性清淨不與一切有為行法而共同止。”

⁹⁹⁰ T11:0299a20, “何等諸法不與同止。”

(*devaputramāra*).⁹⁹¹ It is different from all theories concerning substantiality, including the theories of self (*atmadṛṣṭi*), a sentient being (*sattvākhyā*) and life-force (*jīvata*).⁹⁹² It is different from defiling traces (*vāsanā*), obstacles of *karma*, heterodox theories, retribution and nescience.⁹⁹³ It is also different from all fetters (*samyojana*).⁹⁹⁴

Thus *prajñā* is also defined as different from non-virtue and virtue, merit and demerit, guilt and non-guilt, *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. Furthermore, it is distinct from a variety of different categories such as lands, Buddhas, sentient beings and *dharma*s.⁹⁹⁵ Thus, wisdom is different from wrong knowledge, knowledge, consciousness, conventional truth and absolute truth,⁹⁹⁶ and quiescence of wisdom (*na abhisam̐skaraprajñā*).⁹⁹⁷ When a bodhisattva courses in the *prajñāpāramitā* all his wisdom is subtle and pure.⁹⁹⁸

The significance of *prajñā* in the *Bodhisattvapīṭaka* is not just the definition of wisdom. It is rather, to show how a qualified bodhisattva is born and emancipated, and the difference of a bodhisattva from an ordinary person spiritual practitioner,

"Thus *prajñā* is different from avarice (*lobhā*) and generosity, morality and immorality, patient acceptance and malicious thought, energy and indolence, meditation and disquietude, ignorance and wisdom, including even all promotion and counteraction of the perfections.(Chinese version)."⁹⁹⁹

One (the bodhisattva) is emancipated from [the dichotomies of] avarice and liberality, morality and immorality, patient acceptance and malicious thought, energy and indolence, meditation and disquietude, discriminative understanding and mistaken understanding, promotion and counteraction of the perfection, knowledge and misknowledge." (Tibetan version)¹⁰⁰⁰

Skill and wisdom: A further development in the concept of the *prajñāpāramitā* is linked to the expansion and exposition of skilful means. Early Buddhist texts regard the skilful means as tools and manifestations of wisdom that can help a bodhisattva to obtain spiritual goals and help others.¹⁰⁰¹ It is said that a bodhisattva is able to meditatively realize the nature of reality by practising the skill in the reliance (*pratisaraṇa*), analytical knowledge (*pratisam̐vid*), *bodhipāṅkṣika* practices, concentrative calm (*śamatha*), analytical insight (*vipaśyanā*), the

⁹⁹¹ T11:0299b05-07

⁹⁹² T11:0299b07-9

⁹⁹³ T11:0299b12, "如是般若不與思惟分別同止...乃至不與一切結縛增益而共同止。"

⁹⁹⁴ T11:0299b12-14, "如是般若不與思惟分別同止...乃至不與一切結縛增益而共同止。"

⁹⁹⁵ T11:0299b19-22, "如是般若不與種種差別性同止...乃至不與一切差別性而共同止。"

⁹⁹⁶ T11:0299b22-24, "如是般若不與無智同止...不與一切有情相貌作意而共同止。"

⁹⁹⁷ T11:0299b24-27, "如是般若不與慧不現行同止...一切思惟心意識安住等法而共同止。"

⁹⁹⁸ T11:0299b27-29, "菩薩摩訶薩...不與如是無量無邊有為行法而共同止。"

⁹⁹⁹ T11:0299b14-16, "如是般若不與慳捨同止...不與一切波羅蜜多能治所治諸法智性而共同止。"

¹⁰⁰⁰ Pagel, pp.351-352.

¹⁰⁰¹ Text 38 of the *Ratnakūṭa Collection*, T11: 594.

accumulation of merit (*puṇya-saṃbhāra*), and the accumulation of wisdom (*jñānasam̐bhāra*). Some texts also indicate that a bodhisattva is able to destroy the view positing a substantial self (*ātmadṛṣṭi*) by practicing the skilful means in the aggregates (*skandha*), elements (*dhātu*), sense-field (*āyatana*) and truth (*satya*). One is able to realise the non-substantiality of the factors of existence (*dharmanairātmya*) by practicing the skill in analytical insight.

The earliest occurrence of the skilful means is seen in the *Mahāniddeśa*, which refers to skill in aggregates (*skandha*), sense-bases (*āyatana*), elements (*dhātu*), dependent co-origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*), mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna*), perfect efforts (*sammappadhāna*), bases of success (*iddhipāda*), faculties (*indriya*), powers (*bala*), factors of enlightenment (*bojjhanga*), path (*magga*), fruit (*phala*) and final cessation.¹⁰⁰² This text lists the totality of the Buddha's teachings as forms of skill. They become the characteristics of purification from heterodox views and they explain the attributes and qualities of wisdom (*dhīratva*). The *Visuddhimagga* also indicates that skill is essential to the development of *paññā*.¹⁰⁰³

Later, in the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, ten kinds of skill are given to define wisdom (*prajñā*).¹⁰⁰⁴ It seems that the authors of the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* knew numerous types of skill,¹⁰⁰⁵ but only briefly described the ten types of skilful means.¹⁰⁰⁶ They are skill (1) in aggregates, (2) in elements, (3) in sense-fields, (4) in truth, (5) in non-obstacles of analytical knowledge, (6) in recourses, (7) in accumulation (*sambhāra*), (8) in the path (9) in dependent co-origination and (10) in all factors. Comparing this list with the list of skill in the *Mahāniddeśa*, it is clear that the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* adopted five types of skill from the early non-Mahāyāna texts. They are skill (1) in aggregates, (2) in sense-fields, (3) in elements, (4) in truth, and (5) in analytical knowledge. These skills deal with cognition and introduce a bodhisattva to the fruitlessness of the view positing a substantial self. In its exposition of *prajñā*, the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* also includes the application of mindfulness, concentrative calm and analytical insight, four perfect efforts, five faculties, five powers, seven factors of enlightenment, and the noble eightfold

¹⁰⁰² *Mahāniddeśa*, ed., Louis de La Vallée Poussin & E.J. Thomas, 1916-17, pp.69.1-6, 71.27-72.4; *Cullāniddeśa*, ed., W. Stede, 1918, p.128.1-3.

¹⁰⁰³ This refers to skilful means in aggregates, sense-fields, elements, faculties, truth and dependent co-origination in *Vism*, p.375.1-3. There are ten kinds of skilful means in absorption in the *Visuddhimagga* (iv. §42-65).

¹⁰⁰⁴ T11:0299c11-12: 如是十種微妙善巧所有分別。若通達者。是則名爲般若分別。

¹⁰⁰⁵ T11:0299c06,

¹⁰⁰⁶ T11:0299c06-12: “云何名爲如是般若分別善巧... 今略說十種善巧...”

path. Skill in each of these practices contributes to the attainment of perfect wisdom. This text, like the *Sūtralaṅkāra*, speaks of five different types of skill.¹⁰⁰⁷

Through the practice of skills, a bodhisattva achieves an increasingly refined understanding of reality that culminates eventually in the acquisition of wisdom. The different kinds of skill reveal that skilful practices play an important role in this process.

Prajñāpāramitā in the sense of *sarvajñāna*: It is appropriate to note that the concept of *prajñā* is explained in three different ways by Buddhist authors. First *prajñā* is explained as ordinary knowledge and learning. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and the *Lalitavistara* sometimes interpret *prajñā* as the knowledge of the arts and sciences.¹⁰⁰⁸ But this simple sense of *prajñā* was not adopted in systematic Buddhist philosophy. Secondly *prajñā* is interpreted in a deeper and positive sense as “the knowledge of the supreme good or supreme truth” (*paramārtha-jñāna*), or simply as “knowledge” (*jñāna*).¹⁰⁰⁹ It depends on right investigation and concentration, which lead to the knowledge of that which exists and as it exists.¹⁰¹⁰ It consists in an unobscured and lucid knowledge of all that is knowable (*sarvajñeyānāvaraṇa-jñāna*).¹⁰¹¹ It implies the knowledge of the Four Noble Truths, of what should be done or not done (*karaṇīya, akaraṇīya*), of the philosophical categories and arguments, and of moral corruption and purification (*sankleśa, vyavadāna*).¹⁰¹² Thus *prajñā* is identified with perfect knowledge in all its aspects, and regarded as insight into reality (*tathatā*).¹⁰¹³ Thirdly, *prajñā* is interpreted in a negative sense as emptiness is extolled and glorified in the exordium of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* as if it were a substitute for the Three Gems of the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṃgha. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* declares that the *prajñāpāramitā* is the mother of all the Buddhas and bodhisattvas.¹⁰¹⁴ It is the good friend of the bodhisattvas. It is a pearl of great price. It is immeasurable, pure, lovely, profound,

¹⁰⁰⁷ The five different kinds of skilful means are 1) there is non-conceptualising wisdom (*nirvikalpajñāna*) that occasions the acquisition of the Buddha-qualities, 2) the means of conversion that assists sentient beings to spiritually mature, 3) the confession of faults, joy in the Buddha, invitation of the Buddhas and transformation of merit that speed up the attainment of enlightenment, 4) cultivation of concentrations and magic formulae that purify conduct, and 5) generation of unsupported *nirvāṇa* that prevents the bodhisattva from interrupting his course in saṃsāra.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, 85a.6, 84b.7. *Lalita-vistara*, edited by S. Lefmann (Halle a. S. 1902-8), 179.I, 169.13.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra*, édité et traduit par S. Lévi (Paris 1907, 1911), p.301, verse 15; p.109, verse 41.

¹⁰¹⁰ Ibid., p. 106 verses 27, 28. *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, 84a.7.2.

¹⁰¹¹ *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, fol.84b.6.

¹⁰¹² ibid., 84b.7, 85a.3, 85b.2.

¹⁰¹³ *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra*, édité et traduit par S. Lévi (Paris 1907, 1911), p. 112

¹⁰¹⁴ Aṣṭ, pp. 1, 2, 405, 529, 396, 525, 344, 431, 282, 311. 398. *Pr. Pā. Śata.*, 1642, 70.

wonderful, infinite, indivisible, unshakable, and inconceivable. It is greater than all the other *pāramitās*, as the moon is greater than the stars. All the other *pāramitās* should be transmuted and sublimated into the *prajñāpāramitā*, as without *prajñā*, they lead to the lower stage of the Hīnayāna, while this *prajñāpāramitā* is the essence of the Mahāyāna and is even adequate by itself without the other perfections. It produces, maintains and promotes them all.¹⁰¹⁵

This *prajñāpāramitā* is understood to mean emptiness (*śūnyata*). This elusive term may also be translated as “conditioned,” or as “non-existence”. It is explained in these two different ways by the followers of the *prajñāpāramitā* texts. The *Samādhirāja-sūtra* says: “ ‘Is’ and ‘Is not’ are both extreme opinions. Purity and impurity are also the same.”¹⁰¹⁶ The *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikās* declare that foolish people who believe in existence or non-existence, do not understand the real nature of things.¹⁰¹⁷ The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* shows that absolute existence and non-existence are relative terms, as they depend on each other.¹⁰¹⁸ Nāgārjuna has expressed this view in his famous aphorism:

There is no destruction, no production, no discontinuity, no permanence, no unity, no diversity, no appearance (coming), no disappearance (going).¹⁰¹⁹

These eight negations encapsulate the early teaching on *śūnyatā*, which in fact corresponds to the basic exposition of the old Buddhist formula of the *pratītyasamutpāda* or the twelve *nidānas*. It is firmly stated in the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikās* that *śūnyatā* does not mean non-existence (*abhāva*) and that it is identical with the principle of the *pratītyasamutpāda*.¹⁰²⁰ The root idea of the obscure formula of the twelve *nidānas* is found in the Pāli canon: “This being that becomes, from the arising of this that arises; this not becoming that does not become; from the ceasing of this, that ceases.”¹⁰²¹ The term *suññatā* also occurs in several passages of the Pāli canon,¹⁰²² and the *Andhakas* had a definite theory of *śūnyatā* (*Kathā-vatthu*).¹⁰²³ The Mahāyānist only reiterated the old doctrines and developed them to their logical conclusions.

¹⁰¹⁵ See the perfection of wisdom in the previous chapter for references.

¹⁰¹⁶ *Sam.Rū.*, fol. 35a.3-4, “*astīti nāstīti ubhe’ pi anā.*”

¹⁰¹⁷ The *Mūla-madhyamaka-kārikās* (*Mādhyamika-sūtras*) de Nāgārjuna, publié par L. de la Vallée Poussin (St.Petersburg 1903), p.135. I.

¹⁰¹⁸ Lkt, p.54.

¹⁰¹⁹ The *Mūla-madhyamaka-kārikās* (*Mādhyamika-sūtras*) de Nāgārjuna, publié par L. de la Vallée Poussin (St.Petersburg 1903), II.13, 592.7.

¹⁰²⁰ *ibid.*, p.503.10 ff.; p.491.15ff.

¹⁰²¹ *Majjhima-Nikāya*, edited by V. Trenckner and R. Chalmers (London 1888-99), 3 vols; see vol. 2, 32 (*Cūlasakuludāyi-sutta*). “*Imasmiṃsati, idam hoti; imass’ uppādā idam upapajjati,*” so on.

¹⁰²² *Ibid.*, vol.3, 104 ff; *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, section 534.

¹⁰²³ *Kathāvatthu*, edited by A.C. Taylor (London 1894); see xix, 2, p.578.

The fundamental notion is thus explained in the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikās*: “There is nothing that arises without a determining cause, hence there is nothing that is not empty or void (*śūnya*).”¹⁰²⁴ “Things and phenomena do not arise by themselves.”¹⁰²⁵ This doctrine of universal causation and inter-dependence is embodied and formulated in the numerical list of the twelve links of dependent origination, which has been devised to explain how the law of causality operates. These twelve *nidānas* are given as follows in the Sanskrit texts: “From ignorance (*avidyā*) as cause arises *saṃskāra*, from the *saṃskāra* as cause arises consciousness (*viññāna*), from consciousness as cause arises name-and-form (*nāma-rūpa*), from name-and-form as cause arises the sixfold sphere of the senses (*ṣaḍāyatana*), from the sixfold sphere as cause arises contact (*sparsa*), from contact as cause arises sensation (*vedanā*), from sensation as cause arises craving (*upādāna*), from grasping as cause arises becoming (*bhava*), from becoming as cause arises birth (*jāti*), from birth as cause arises old age, death, grief, lamentation, pain, dejection and despair.”¹⁰²⁶

The Sanskrit texts took up the ready-made formula with the twelve factors. In this form, the formula was perhaps originally intended as an expansion of the second and third of the four noble truths (the origin and the cessation of suffering, which is due to craving). The traditional explanation is that the first two terms refer to the past life, the next eight to the present life, and the last two to the future existence.

A bodhisattva understands the truth of *pratītya-samutpāda* on the sixth *bhūmi*, when one is freed from all delusion and error (*moha*). When *śūnyatā* is understood to mean “conditioned existence”, it denotes the absence of an absolute self-existent substance or a substratum in all things and phenomena (*dharmā-naijātmya*).¹⁰²⁷ It also implies the non-existence of all uncaused or self-caused entities and phenomena. Some Buddhist philosophers go further and explain *śūnyatā* as absolute non-existence (*abhāva*). The *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* seems to revel in negation and says,¹⁰²⁸

“Ignorance is non-existent; the *saṃskāras* are non-existent; consciousness, . . . are all non-existent . . . A bodhisattva does not find or discern origination or cessation, corruption or

¹⁰²⁴ The *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikās* (*Mādhyamika-sūtras*) de Nāgārjuna, publié par L. de la Vallée Poussin (St.Petersburg 1903), 505.2-3.

¹⁰²⁵ Ibid., 76, I.

¹⁰²⁶ *Le Mahāvastu*, texte sanscrit publié par E. Senart (Paris 1882-97), 3 vols; see vol. 3, p.448; *Lalita-vistara*, edited by S. Lefmann (Halle a. S. 1902-8), see p.346, 419

¹⁰²⁷ DB, 48.

¹⁰²⁸ *Pr. Pā. Śata.*, 842, 1216, 1360, 136, 141, 1197, 1643, 1440.

purification . . . All *dharma*s exist in that they do not exist. They are not merely empty, they are identical with emptiness. They are transient, painful, non-substantial, quiescent, void, signless, aimless, un-produced and unrelated. There is no form, sensation, perception, volitions and consciousness, no eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind, no forms, sounds, odours, savours, tangible things and mental objects, no pain, or its origin or cessation, no eightfold path, no past, present and future, no un-compounded elements, no bodhisattva, no Buddha and no enlightenment . . . A bodhisattva is like an illusory person (*nāyā-puruṣa*)."

Thus does the *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* expound its doctrine of negation, which is surely carried to the utmost limit. The *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* exhibits the same tendency. It declares that there are no individuals, no qualities, no ideas, no doctrine, no beings to be delivered, no production or destruction, no bodhisattva, no Buddha and no *bodhi*.¹⁰²⁹ They have also devised a set of stock analogies. All phenomena and beings are like a dream, an echo, a mirage, the stem of the plantain-tree, the image of the moon in water, and so forth.¹⁰³⁰

Śūnyatā has also been classified. There are eighteen or twenty kinds of *śūnyatā*.¹⁰³¹ The *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* applies the different aspects of *śūnyatā* to all the concepts and categorises Buddhist ontology (*rūpa*, *vedanā*, etc.), and the attributes of a Buddha. The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* mentions seven types of *śūnyatā*.¹⁰³²

Some Buddhist thinkers have also come to the conclusion that nothing can be predicated about reality. The nature of all things and phenomena is indefinable and indescribable.¹⁰³³ There is no transience or permanence, no emptiness or its opposite, no pain or pleasure. An advanced bodhisattva rises above all such dichotomies and says nothing. The bodhisattva is also above good and evil, which belong in reality to the phenomenal world.¹⁰³⁴ The bodhisattva does not recognize the existence of either virtue or sin (*puya*, *pāpa*), and is beyond merit and demerit.

Emptiness, perfections and truths: The notion of emptiness is also applied to all the perfections. They are purified in emptiness and then exercised in their highest potency. Thus a bodhisattva should purify the *pāramitā* of giving by thinking that the donor, the recipient and

¹⁰²⁹ *Vajracchedikā Prajñā-pāramitā*, edited by F. Max Müller (Oxford 1881), 21.5, 41.II, 42.8, 43.16, 23.7, 38.9, 37.13.

¹⁰³⁰ Aṣṭa, 513; Mdh., 215; Lka., 90; *Sam. Rā.*, 202a.3; *Pr. Pā. Śata.*, 906; *M.S.AI.*, 62; DB, 55, etc.

¹⁰³¹ *Pr. Pā. Śata.*, 77, 1417, 886. *Daśabhūmika*, 55, etc. *Mahāyāna-sūtralaṅkāra*, édité et traduit par S. Lévi (Paris 1907, 1911), p.62

¹⁰³² Lkt, 74.5.

¹⁰³³ Aṣṭa, 348. *Mahāyānasūtralaṅkāra*, p.58

¹⁰³⁴ *Mahāyānasūtralaṅkāra*, p.60. *Pr. Pā. Śata.*, 93, 187, 335, 765. *Mahā-vastu*, vol.3, p.401.13.

the gift do not really exist.¹⁰³⁵ In the same way, all the persons and things that he meets while practicing the other perfections should be regarded as illusory and unreal. This is the best way of exhibiting the *pāramitās* in all their glory.

The Buddhist philosophers, having so vociferously asserted the non-existence of all things, modify the sense by the subtle theory of the two kinds of truth.¹⁰³⁶ Truth may be regarded under two aspects: *saṃvṛti-satya* (or *vyavahāra-satya*, relative, conventional truth") and *paramārtha-satya* (absolute truth). The *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* says, "everything exists relatively and contingently, but nothing exists absolutely."¹⁰³⁷ The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* declares that the relative world is like a magically constructed wooden elephant, which is fundamentally unreal and illusory, but which may be said to exist.¹⁰³⁸ Śāntideva teaches that the phenomenal world, which can be grasped by the discursive intellect (*buddhi*), exists in a relative sense, as far as ordinary men and women are concerned. But the absolute truth of reality is beyond the sphere of intelligence.¹⁰³⁹

The power of wisdom: *Prajñā* and *śūnyatā* are the sources of a bodhisattva's moral strength. One is not attached to anything, and one is free from all desires and fears.¹⁰⁴⁰ *Prajñā* routs out the army of Māra, as water destroys a vessel of unbaked clay.¹⁰⁴¹ According to the *Samādhirājasūtra*, a bodhisattva that has acquired *prajñā* gives away everything and is perfect and flawless in character.

Features of the *prajñāpāramitā*

The *prajñāpāramitā* in the Mahāyāna texts has been presented as the concept of non-grasping (*anupalabdha*). The realisation of non-grasping is taught through the samādhi of non-abiding (*asthānayogena*). The perfection of wisdom has become a guide of the bodhisattva practices, and because of it the generosity and other practices not only engender wisdom but also become perfections. By adding to wisdom the notion that nothing is acquired through non-grasping, all the wholesome dharmas become the path to buddhahood. Wisdom denotes non-grasping anything, but penetrating everything. It is defined as non-attachment (*anābhiveśā*)

¹⁰³⁵ *Pr. Pā. Śata.*, 1454.

¹⁰³⁶ Lkt, p.131.

¹⁰³⁷ Lkt, pp. 280, 294.

¹⁰³⁸ *Mahāyāna-sūtralankāra*, édité et traduit par S. Lévi (Paris 1907, 1911), 54, 59.

¹⁰³⁹ *Bodhi-caryāvatāra*, edited by I.P. Minayeff (Zapiski, vol. Iv, 1889, pp. 155-225), ix, 2.

¹⁰⁴⁰ *Pr. Pā. Śata*, p471.

¹⁰⁴¹ *Lalita-vistara*, edited by S. Lefmann (Halle, a. S. 1902-8), p.314.16, 263.I.

and as being unobstructed (*ānantarya* and *apratihata*). Therefore, the worldly and transcendent dharmas can be penetrated by wisdom. On this account, numerous portals (*mukha*) and courses (*pariyāya*) of practices are seen in the *Medium Class*.

Almost every teaching on morality and meditation in the Mahāyāna texts has been influenced by the teachings on wisdom (*prajñāpariyāya*). Even the teachings on disclosing faults and the pure lands are associated with the wisdom of emptiness (*śūnyatā*). Wisdom (*prajñā*) thus became the very base of the Mahāyāna teachings. *Prajñā* is the wisdom of non-grasping anything, not mundane wisdom, but one engendered through mundane wisdom (*lokajñāna*). The *Samgrahamahāyānaśāstra* says that “non-mind (*acitta*) is mind (*citta*).”¹⁰⁴² The perfect wisdom (*prajñā*) has been linked with various types of mind in the mundane world, and its non-discrimination has been linked with worldly discriminations such as learning, reflection and meditative realisation. By discriminations one approaches non-discrimination, by letters (*vyañjanas*) one engenders the state of no-words (*a-pāda*), by *lokadharmas* (wordly things) one engenders the transcendent (*lokottara*). This pattern of acting became skill in the teachings on wisdom.

The explanation of the *prajñāpāramitā* is in the style of negation, which is discussed in previous chapters. The *Āgama* instructions on approaching spiritual friends, learning (*śruta*) the Dharma, correct reflection (*cintā*), and practice according to the Dharma, become the conditions for a bodhisattva to obtain wisdom. The *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* states that bodhisattvas who train in *prajñā* have to train in learning (*śruta*), accepting, holding (*dharana*), approaching, reading, reciting, teaching (*bhāna*), and they should have correct reflection (*cintā*).¹⁰⁴³ The *Minor Class* often states that the bodhisattvas “accept, hold, read and recite the *prajñāpāramitā* and practise it according to the taught Dharma.”¹⁰⁴⁴

Thus the above procedure of training is the method of obtaining wisdom. During the training course in the *prajñāpāramitā*, the bodhisattvas are asked to produce copies of the *prajñāpāramitāsūtras*, to give, and expose them to others. “Exposing it to others” has been developed into a detailed teaching in the *Medium Class*, and similarly for “discussing the *prajñāpāramitā*, teaching it, encouraging others to follow it, explaining its meaning to others,

¹⁰⁴² 攝大乘論(*Samgrahamahāyānaśāstra*), T31:0147c, “非心而是心。”

¹⁰⁴³ 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 (*Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*), T8: 0280c, “若聞受持親近,讀誦爲他人說,正憶念。”

¹⁰⁴⁴ 小品般若波羅蜜經, T8: 0542a.

discriminating, reciting it, explaining it, and simplifying it.”¹⁰⁴⁵ In addition to the practices of learning, reflecting, and meditative realisation, there is introduced the practice of copying texts and presenting them to others as skill in training in the course of the *prajñāpāramitā*.

The bodhisattva practices such as the six *pāramitās* have been presented in previous chapters. However, in some later texts the practices are more classified and synthesized for easy memory, which show a further development of the *prajñāpāramitā*. The *Sāgaranāgarājaparipṛcchā* styles the accomplishment of the six perfections as abiding in wisdom. The bodhisattvas abiding in wisdom cultivate each of the perfections by mastering the ten *dharma*s.¹⁰⁴⁶ More perfections are founded in the *Drumakīṃnaranarājanirdeśa*, which teaches seven perfections, six perfections plus the perfection of skill, and each perfection is explained by thirty-two *dharma*s.¹⁰⁴⁷ In the *Buddhasaṃgītisūtra* translated by Dharmarakṣa (225-305 CE), more concepts and practices are classified and used to explain wisdom. These include respecting the *dharma*s as the truth (*satya*), producing the *bodhisattvacitta*, practicing the six perfections, the ten *bodhisattvabhūmis*, the portals (*mukha*) of the forty-two letters (*vyañjanas*), obtaining the non-production (*anutpāda*), and realizing truth (*satya*).¹⁰⁴⁸ The *Buddhasaṃgītisūtra* is an important text because it seems to be an outline of the essentials of the *prajñāpāramitāsūtras* belonging to the *Medium Class*. Later it became the criterion of the Mahāyāna teachings.

The *Subāhubodhisattvapariṇcchā* translated by Kumārajīva (350-409 CE) describes how the bodhisattvas fulfil the six perfections and give more items of practice in terms of knowledge and skill.¹⁰⁴⁹

The *Ratnacūḍaparipṛcchā* translated by another Dharmarakṣa (385-433 CE), explains the wisdom in four kinds of pure practice, namely (1) the pure practice of the six perfections, (2) the pure supplementary practices of enlightenment such as the four kinds of mindfulness, the noble eightfold path and the thirty-seven factors of enlightenment, (3) the pure practice of the five supernatural powers (*abhijñā*), and (4) the pure practice of training sentient beings, or

¹⁰⁴⁵ 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 (*Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*), T8: 0311c.

¹⁰⁴⁶ 海龍王經 (*Sāgaranāgarājaparipṛcchā*), T15: 0135b-136b.

¹⁰⁴⁷ 大樹緊那羅王所問經 (*Drumakīṃnaranarājanirdeśa*), T15: 0376a-378a.

¹⁰⁴⁸ 諸佛要集經 (*Buddhasaṃgiti*), T17: 0758c-762.

¹⁰⁴⁹ 善臂菩薩會 (*Subāhubodhisattvapariṇcchā*), T11:0528

skill in converting.¹⁰⁵⁰ Those practices of the *pāramitās* together with the practices of training sentient beings are similar to the seven *pāramitās* of the *Drumakiṅṅnararājanirdeśa*.

The *Vaśītārājaparipṛcchā* translated by Kumārajīva (344-413 CE), explains the perfect wisdom as possessing four kinds of mastery (*vaśitā*). These include (1) mastery in morality (*śilavaśitā*), (2) mastery in supernatural powers (*abhijñāvaśitā*), (3) mastery in knowledge (*jñānavaśitā*) and (4) mastery in wisdom (*prajñāvaśitā*). Mastery in knowledge is knowledge in the aggregates (*skandha*), elements (*dhātu*), sense-base (*āyatana*), dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) and in truth (*satya*). Mastery in wisdom (*prajñāvaśitā*) denotes the four kinds of non-obstruction (*pratisaṃvid*), namely the *dharmaprasaṃvid*, *arthaprasaṃvid*, *nirukti-prasaṃvid* and *pratibhānaprasaṃvid*. This text also says that these bodhisattvas protected by the *prajñāpāramitā* will gain the four kinds of fearlessness (*vaiśāradyāni*), ten powers (*bala*), and eighteen special *dharma*s of the bodhisattva.¹⁰⁵¹

The *Akṣayamatibodhisattvasūtra*¹⁰⁵² translated by Dharmarakṣa (225- 305 CE), teaches one to perfect wisdom by practising that all *dharma*s are infinite (*akṣaya*). Infinite *dharma*s here refer to *bodhicitta*, the six perfections, the four immeasurable minds (*apramāṇa*), the five supernatural powers, the four means of conversion (*saṃgrahavastu*), the four kinds of dependence (*pratisaraṇa*), the factors of the enlightenment, the *dhyāna* and *prajñā*, the *dhāraṇī* and *pratibhāna*, the one vehicle path (*ekayānamarga*), and skill in practices. Clearly this text provides many more detailed items of bodhisattva practices for the perfection of wisdom. Comparing these practices with those in the *Subāhubodhisattvapariṇipṛcchā*, the accumulation and classification of bodhisattva practices in the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* are quite synthetic and rational, and they become the exposition of *prajñā*.

Knowledge and skill: The understanding of emptiness with wisdom the methods, and portals (*mukhas*) of training courses in realizing phenomena (*dharma*s) are the content of the *prajñāpāramitā*. These can be found in many texts. Firstly, the *Subāhubodhisattvapariṇipṛcchā* reveals seven types of knowledge (*jñāna*) in (1) elements (*dhātu*), (2) aggregates (*skandhas*), (3) sense-bases (*āyatana*), (4) the four noble truths (*aryasatya*), (5) dependent origination

¹⁰⁵⁰ 寶髻菩薩會 (*Ratnacūḍaparipṛcchā*), T11: 0657; 寶髻菩薩品, T13: 0173.

¹⁰⁵¹ 自在王菩薩經 (*Vaśītārājaparipṛcchā*), translated by Kumārajīva, T13: 0924; T13: 00935.

¹⁰⁵² 阿差末菩薩經 (*Akṣayamatibodhisattvasūtra*), T13: 0583; 無盡意菩薩品 (*Akṣayamatiparivarta*), T13: 00192.

(*pratītyasamutpāda*), (6) the three times (*trayo-dhvana*) and (7) the three vehicles (*yāna*).¹⁰⁵³ Secondly, the *Akṣayamatiparivarta* lists eight types of skill (*kauśalya*) in *skandhas*, *dhātus*, *āyatana*, *satyas*, *pratītyasamutpāda*, *trayo-dhvana*, *yānas*, *samskr̥ta* and *asamskr̥ta*.¹⁰⁵⁴ Thirdly, the *Subhaguṇadevanirdeśa* translated by Bodhiruci (572-727 CE) also lists eight kinds of skill which constitute wisdom. These are skills in *skandhas*, *dhātu*, *āyatanas*, *pratītyasamutpāda*, *satyas*, *trayo-dhvana*, *yānas*, and all the teachings of the Buddha.¹⁰⁵⁵ Fourthly the *Manuṣadharanirdeśa* and the *Lokadharanirdeśa* list nine types of knowledge (*jñāna*): knowledge in the five aggregates, the eighteen elements, the triple world, the realms of sentient beings, the *ātmadhātu* and space (*ākāśadhātu*), the twelve bases, the twelve links of dependent origination, the four bases of mindfulness (*smṛti*), the five faculties (*indriya*), the eightfold noble path (*āryamarga*), the mundane and transcendent *dharma*s, and conditioned and unconditioned *dharma*s.¹⁰⁵⁶ Fifthly, the *Mañjuśrībodhipariṣcchā* also says that wisdom is pure knowledge (*subhajñāna*) in the five aggregates, the twelve bases of sense, the eighteen elements, the twelve links of dependent origination, and the conditioned and unconditioned *dharma*s.”¹⁰⁵⁷ Sixthly, the *Drumakiṇṇararājasūtra* teaches that bodhisattvas “are skilful in discriminating the aggregates, skilful in *dhātus* as they know the elements of the *dharma*s, skilful in the sense-bases as they know their differences, skilful in dependent origination as they know the abiding causes, and skilful in the truths (*satyas*) as they know and understand cessation (*nirvāna*).”¹⁰⁵⁸

Exposition of the aggregates, elements, sense-bases, dependent origination, truths and the noble path constitute the basic structure of teachings in the *SA*. The knowledge in the bases of mindfulness, the five faculties, and the eightfold noble path are the main teachings in the *Mārgaparivarta* of the *SA*.¹⁰⁵⁹ We find some connections between the *Mañjuśrībodhipariṣcchā* and the *MA*. In the *Mañjuśrībodhipariṣcchā*, it is taught that nothing is acquired (*anupalabdha*), but through non-acquisition the bodhisattvas penetrate into and master the portals of all the teachings (*sarvadharmamukha*). These in turn stem from

¹⁰⁵³ 善臂會菩薩會 (*Subāhubodhisattvapariṣcchā*), T11: 0534a-536a.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *Akṣayamatiparivarta*, T11: 0196c-199b.

¹⁰⁵⁵ 善德天子會 (*Subhaguṇadevanirdeśa*), tr. by Bodhiruci (572-727 CE), T11: 0569.

¹⁰⁵⁶ 持人菩薩經 (*Manuṣadharanirdeśa*), translated by Dharmarakṣa (225-305 CE), T14: 0630bc; 持世經, (*Lokadharanirdeśa*), translated by Kumārajīva, T14: 0646.

¹⁰⁵⁷ 文殊師利問菩提經 (*Mañjuśrībodhipariṣcchā*), T14: 0483a.

¹⁰⁵⁸ *Drumakiṇṇararājasūtra*, T15: 0377b.

¹⁰⁵⁹ *SA*, 雜阿含經 (卷 23), T02: 0170c ff.

earlier teachings. Evidently the knowledge and skills cultivated by the bodhisattvas in these cited texts suggest a close connection between the early teachings in the *Āgamas* and the expositions of the *prajñāpāramitā* in Mahāyāna texts.

Knowledge: The *Viśeṣacintabrahmapariṣcchā* translated by Kumārajīva, explains five types of knowledge required in the teachings¹⁰⁶⁰ which are styled as five kinds of skill in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*.¹⁰⁶¹ According to the *Viśeṣacintabrahmapariṣcchā*, the first knowledge is the skill in the Dharma taught by the Buddha with various ways, sayings (*pāda*) and portals (*mukha*), and the skill in knowing that all the Buddha's statements do not damage the true nature of the *dharma* (*dharmatā*). One should not "favour some sayings (*dharmapāda*)" and disregard others. The second knowledge is the skill in knowing the background and purpose of the taught Dharma. The third knowledge is the skill which helps sentient beings to gain the benefits of the Dharma, although in the absolute sense nothing is acquired. The fourth knowledge is the skill in the portals of the teachings (*dharmamukha*) which disclose reality, liberation, and the Dharma flavour. The *Viśeṣacintabrahmapariṣcchā* teaches that the eye and other senses are the portals of liberation (*vimuktimukha*) because they are empty, without substantiality (*ātman*), and because their objects are also without substantiality.¹⁰⁶² This is the knowledge of the portal of emptiness (*sūnyatāmukha*). This knowledge in the *Viśeṣacintabrahmapariṣcchā* is the *dharmamukha*, which is linked with ten portals (*mukha*) such as the *sūnyatāmukha*, *ānimittamukha*, *apraṇihitamukha*, *vyupasaṃa*, *anāyavyayamukha*, *avivartyamukha*, *anutpādamukha*, *savbhāvaviśuddhamukha*, and *nīḥsvabhāvatāmukha*.¹⁰⁶³ It also indicates that the knowledge of emptiness of the eye and other senses, the non-production and non-cessation of the senses and their objects, and the natural purity of every dharma constitute the portal for the realisation of the profound meaning of the Buddha's teachings and for obtaining liberation. The fifth knowledge is the skill in knowing the Buddha's great compassion and pity for sentient beings. Thirty-two types of pity are listed.

The four kinds of reliance: In addition to the above five knowledge, the four kinds of reliance (*pratisaraṇa*), or the ways of understanding the Buddha's teachings of the *Āgamas* and

¹⁰⁶⁰ 思益梵天所問經 (*Viśeṣacintabrahmapariṣcchā*), tr. by Kumārajīva, T15: 040c-041a.

¹⁰⁶¹ 大智度論 (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*), T25: 0409b.

¹⁰⁶² SA, T02:056b; 思益梵天所問經, T15: 041b.

¹⁰⁶³ T15: 041b.

Nikayas, became included in the teachings on the *prajñāpāramitā* in many Mahāyāna texts.¹⁰⁶⁴ The four kinds of reliance are mentioned in the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, *Buddhasaṃgītisūtra*, and *Vaśīṭārājanirdeśa*.¹⁰⁶⁵ They become the criterion and rule of learning, reflecting, and meditative realisation in cultivating wisdom. However, the exposition of the four kinds of reliance in the Mahāyāna texts contains a certain degree of change in their interpretation. For instance, *arthapratisaraṇa* denotes the true meaning that cannot be expressed through words. *Jñānapratisaraṇa* implies the wisdom of non-grasping signs and non-discrimination. *Nītarthapratisaraṇa* implies the meaning of sameness, equality, purification, emptiness, non-production, non-sign and signlessness. *Dharmapratisaraṇa* implies the equality and sameness of all the *dharma*s (*dharmadhātusamatā*).¹⁰⁶⁶ The *Lokadharananirdeśa* states that “to have the knowledge in the uncertain meanings in the *sūtras*, but to rely on the certain meaning in the *sūtras*, one should not heed the words of the speaker. When one has the knowledge of the characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) and seals (*mudrā*) of all *dharma*s, one is also skilfully abiding in the wisdom of signlessness of all *dharma*s.”¹⁰⁶⁷

Sayings (*pada*): Some texts mainly present Mahāyāna wisdom as learning (*śruta*) and reflecting (*cinta*). For instances, the *Maṇuṣadharmanirdeśa* and the *Lokadharananirdeśa* ask how bodhisattvas have good knowledge of the true nature of things (*dharmadharmatā*), and their characteristics (*dharmalakṣaṇa*), the skill in mindfulness (*smṛti*), seals (*mudrā*) and sayings (*pada*) of wisdom, and skill in taking rebirth without losing mindfulness and (*dharana*) until obtaining the supreme and perfect enlightenment.¹⁰⁶⁸ The question clearly refers to the Dharma and different skills to maintain knowledge in this life until obtaining buddhahood. The main points of the above question are about the sources of knowledge and wisdom, which are referred to by such terms as seals (*mudrā*), sayings (*pada*) and learning (*śruta*). It is clear that learning and reflecting are as important as the source of wisdom in the

¹⁰⁶⁴ For instance, the *Akṣayamatīnirdeśa* states *Arthapratisaraṇena bhavitavyaṇi na vyañjanapratisaraṇena; jñānapratisaraṇena bhavitavyaṇi na vijñānapratisaraṇena; nītarthasūtrapratisaraṇena bhavitavyaṇi na pudgalapratisaraṇena*. “The meaning of [the teaching] should be trusted, not the letters; the wisdom should be trusted, not the consciousness; the *sūtra* containing certain meaning should be trusted, not the *sūtra* with uncertain meaning; the Dharma should be depended on, not the individual person.” 無盡意菩薩品 (*Akṣayamatīnirdeśa*), T13:0205.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, T14: 0556c; the *Buddhasaṃgīti*, T17: 0757; T15:495-496; the *Vaśīṭārājanirdeśa*, T13: 927abc.

¹⁰⁶⁶ T13: 0205; T15: 495-6.

¹⁰⁶⁷ The *Lokadharananirdeśa*, T14: 0643b.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, T14: 642a.

Lokadharananirdeśa. This text also speaks of the merits generated from the knowledge and skills in the *dharmalakṣana*, *smṛti* and *dharana*. In order to have the knowledge of true nature (*dharmatā*) and obtain enlightenment, bodhisattvas enter the portals of *dharmas* to gain wisdom. The *dharmamukha* and the *dharmaparyāya* (courses) in this text correspond to the nine skills mentioned earlier, the skill in the aggregates and so forth.

While explaining the skill in elements (*dhātu*), the *Lokadharananirdeśa* says that the Tathāgatas, on account of absolute truth, do not grasp the *dhātus* (elements) and the characteristics (*dhātulakṣana*) because there are no elements in the absolute truth to grasp. If there are no elements, one should not speak of their characteristics. However, the Tathāgatas do speak of the characteristics of the non-existence of the elements, although in reality the elements have no characteristics. Such is the skill in discriminating the elements.¹⁰⁶⁹

The *Kuśalamūlasaṃgrahanirdeśa* says that the bodhisattvas seek the *Dharma* and accept all the teachings of the Buddha, and that their methods of learning are skills in learning, reflecting, and mindfulness, meditative selection (*nairvedhika*), and also in seeking the profound teachings and imparting them to others.¹⁰⁷⁰ The inexhaustible source of merit for the bodhisattva is said to be right view (*saṃyak-dṛṣṭi*), the removal of ignorance (*avidyā*), generating wisdom, and teaching the Dharma to bodhisattvas. The source of demerit and non-virtue (*āpatti*) is damage to the *bodhisattvacitta*. Contemplation on the mind and its emptiness is presented as the way of producing *bodhicitta*.¹⁰⁷¹ The acquisition of wisdom is secured by accepting the Dharma, learning the teachings and understanding their meanings, mastering morality, and constantly following the teachers.¹⁰⁷² Thus learning and teaching to others as the *dharmamukha*, constitutes wisdom.

The *Pūṃaparipṛcchā* says that the cause of the cessation of the *Saddharma* lies in the non-transformation of sentient beings.¹⁰⁷³ Therefore the bodhisattva wisdom must consist in producing *bodhicitta*, practicing the bodhisattva path, accumulating knowledge of the teachings, gaining non-regression from the supreme *bodhi*, and possessing all kinds of merit. The accumulation of learning (*śruta*) is to constantly learn from the store of the Dharma-

¹⁰⁶⁹ Ibid., T14: 654a.

¹⁰⁷⁰ 攝福德經 also named 華手經 (*Puṣpahasūtra*), tr. by Kumārajīva, T16:0167c, 168b-169b, 171b-172a.

¹⁰⁷¹ Ibid., T16: 0180c -0184c.

¹⁰⁷² Ibid., T16: 0198b – 199a.

¹⁰⁷³ 富樓那會 (*Pūṃaparipṛcchā*), T11:0450b – 455c.

treasures, to gain the definite meaning of the teachings, and to understand the seals (*mudrā*) and sayings (*dharmapada*).¹⁰⁷⁴ In order to reach the irreversible stage, the bodhisattva must learn the unlearned *dharma*s, reflect on their meanings, strive in learning the profound *sūtras*, know the five aggregates and twelve links of dependent origination, and know all events (*sarvadharmā*) through the wisdom of non-discrimination (*nirvikalpajñāna*).¹⁰⁷⁵

Vyañjanadhāraṇī: In the expositions of the *prajñāpāramitā* in Mahāyāna texts, forms of *vyañjanadhāraṇī* are presented as the essential practice in cultivating wisdom through learning, reflecting, and meditative practice. It is closely linked with the meaning that is stored and held by letters or words (*arthavyañjanadhāraṇī*), the realisation of the true reality (*dharmatā*), and the skill in teaching the Dharma.

Its importance can be seen from the forty-two-syllable-portal (*dvācatvāriṃśad-akṣaramukha*) which has been added to the *prajñāpāramitā* texts belonging to the *Medium Class*, and which deeply influenced Mahāyāna teachings and texts. The *Dharmacaryā-smṛtinirdeśa* gives *dhāraṇīs* in connection with sixteen letters (*vyañjanas*), namely *a, pa, ca, na, da, ṣa, ka, sa, ga, tha, ja, kṣa, cha, tsa, ta, and dha*.¹⁰⁷⁶ The *Bhadrakalpikanirdeśa* presents a teaching based on sixteen letters (*vyañjana*), which are almost identical to these sixteen given above. It also says that,

"If the bodhisattvas can understand and practise the teaching of the sixteen letters (*vyañjana*), they can gain the stage that possesses countless portals of *dhāraṇī*, and understand (*pratisaṃvid*) every dharma and obtain the state of mastery (*vaśitā*)."¹⁰⁷⁷

The *Anantamukhadhāraṇīnirdeśa* extant in eight Chinese versions, and translated between the middle of the third century and the fifth century CE, exhorts bodhisattvas to enter the meaning of the eight letters (*vyañjana*)¹⁰⁷⁸ *pa, la, ba, ka, ja, dha, śa, kṣa*. Zhi Qian translated the meanings of these eight letters into Chinese¹⁰⁷⁹ in the middle of third century CE, but other translators merely transliterated them in Chinese.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Ibid., T11: 0436a - 0437a.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Ibid., T11: 0437a - 440a.

¹⁰⁷⁶ 觀察諸法行經 (*Dharmacaryā-smṛtinirdeśa*), T15: 0731c - 732b.

¹⁰⁷⁷ 賢劫經 (*Bhadrakalpikanirdeśa*), translated by Dharamrakṣa, T14: 0004c - 5a.

¹⁰⁷⁸ 無量門總持經 (*Anantamukhadhāraṇīnirdeśa*), translated by Zhi Qian in middle of third century.

¹⁰⁷⁹ T19:681b. "迹, 敏, 惟, 奔, 悲, 调, 灭, 忍."

The *Sarvagūṇasaṃgraha-samādhisūtra* gives the *bījamukhas* (seed-portals) linked with eight letters as *a, pa, na, da, va, ta, ka, ma*. The text states that these enable bodhisattvas to master countless abilities of eloquence (*anantapratibhāna*).¹⁰⁸⁰

The *Dhāraṇīvaśītārājaparivarta* teaches eight kinds of *dhāraṇī*. The first *dhāraṇī* is the *śuddhaprabhādhāraṇī* and is linked with the letter *a*, which enables bodhisattvas to teach every dharma with one letter. The text says, “the bodhisattvas explain countless meanings (*anantārtha*) of *dharmas* in one letter, without making any error in speech, without damaging the *dharmadhātu*, and without missing the meaning of the letter (*arthavyaṅjana*).”¹⁰⁸¹ The fourth *dhāraṇī*, the *mahāsāgaradhāraṇī*, is linked with twenty-six letters¹⁰⁸² such as the *a* of *abhāvamukha*. The *Mahākaruṇānirdeśa* gives the *mudrās* (seals) which are linked with thirty-eight letters,¹⁰⁸³ such as the *a* of *a-bhāvamudrā* (the seal of non-existence). The *Sāgaraprajñānirdeśa* explains the practices of *mukhapada* (portals of sayings), which are linked with twenty-nine letters (*vyāṅjana*) in cultivating the wisdom of the bodhisattva.¹⁰⁸⁴

The fulfilment of the perfection of wisdom by learning, reflection and meditative realisation, was developed and linked with the practices of letters (*vyāṅjana*), portals (*mukha*) and the mastery of memory (*dhāraṇī*). For instance, the *Puṣpahatanirdeśa* says that if the bodhisattvas learn those *padamukhas*, they will gain wisdom, skill and non-obstructed vision of all *dharmas* (T16:0130a).

Pada: The Mahāyāna perfection of wisdom consists of *padas* (sayings), which are stressed in some Mahāyāna texts. For instances, in the *Puṇḍarīkāvastu*, the bodhisattvas are repeatedly encouraged to master the *mārgapada* (sayings of paths), *mukhapada* (sayings of portals), *mudrāpada* (sayings of seals), *jātakapada* (sayings of stories), *vajrapada* (sayings of diamonds), *acalapada* (unshakable sayings), *anupalabdhapada* (sayings of non-gain), to master four kinds of *bāhuśrutamūlapada* (basic sayings of teachings), the seven kinds of seed-saying (*bījapada*), and the *dhāraṇīpada* (sayings of *dhāraṇī*).¹⁰⁸⁵

¹⁰⁸⁰ 集一切福德三昧經 (*Sarvagūṇasaṃgraha-samādhisūtra*), translated by Kumārajīva, T12: 0996b.

¹⁰⁸¹ 陀羅尼自在王品 (*Dhāraṇīvaśītārājaparivarta*), T13: 023a.

¹⁰⁸² Ibid., T13: 023c – 024a.

¹⁰⁸³ 大哀經 (*Mahākaruṇānirdeśa*), translated by Dharmarakṣa, T13: 0443abc.

¹⁰⁸⁴ 海慧菩薩品 (*Sāgaraprajñāparivarta*), T13: 0065c.

¹⁰⁸⁵ 富樓那會 (*Puṇḍarīkāvastu*), T11 : 0438c, 0446c, 0447a.

The bodhisattvas in the *Sāgaraprajñāparivarta* are instructed to master the “*mukhapada*, *dharmapada* and *vajrapada*.”¹⁰⁸⁶ The *Sarvagūṇasaṃgrahasamādhi sūtra* teaches eight letters of *bījapadamukha*, eight *dharmapadamukha* (portals of sayings of *dharmas*), and eight portals of diamond like sayings (*vajrapadamukha*).¹⁰⁸⁷ Here, the eight letters of *bījapadamukha* are similar to the sayings of dharma (*dharmapada*) in the *Sāgaraprajñāparivarta*.

Many of their names may differ, but their teachings and contents are the same, namely the *dharmamukha* and *vimuktimukha*. *Mukha* is a tool for bodhisattvas to realize the truth and obtain liberation (*vimukti*). Thus the *Viśeṣacintabrāhmapariṣcchā* teaches, “all *dharmas* enter this *mukha*, namely, *śūnyatāmukha* (portal of emptiness), *animittamukha* (portal of signlessness), *apranihitamukha* (portal of wishlessness), *anutpādānirodhamukha* (portal of non-production and non-cessation), and the *anāya-vyayamukha* (portal of neither coming nor going), *avinivartanīyamukha* (portal of irreversibility) . . . The Tathāgata points out this *vimuktimukha* with every letter (*vyañjana*). With every letter the Tathāgata teaches the noble truth (*āryasatya*), the portal of liberation (*vimuktimukha*). The teachings taught by the Tathāgata is stainless (*vimāla*), and every teaching leads to liberation, and enables one to attain *nirvāṇa*.” (T15:041bc) Thus, the *dharmamukha* is the *vimuktimukha*.

In the *Mañjuśrīnirdeśa*, Mañjuśrī teaches that the *dhāraṇīmukha* is “the memory that everything is empty (*sarvadharmasūnyatādhāraṇī*), the memory that everything is signless (*sarvadhrama-animittadhāraṇī*), the memory of the reflection that everything abides in the truth (*sarvadharmasatyasthitacintadhāraṇī*), the memory that everything abides in the *dharmadhātu* (*sarvadharmadhātusthitadhāraṇī*), the memory of every thing abiding in the suchness (*sarvadharmatathāsthitadhāraṇī*) . . . Everything is like illusion (*māyā*) . . . This way of discriminating the *dharmas* is called *dhāraṇī*.”¹⁰⁸⁸ When explaining the irreversible wheel (*avinivartanīyacakra*), Mañjuśrī further says that the irreversible wheel is “the diamond saying (*vajrapada*), that every dharma is cessation (*vyupaśama*) and impermanence (*anityatā*), that it is the saying of emptiness (*śūnyatāpada*), signlessness (*animittapada*), wishlessness, the *dharmadhātu*, suchness (*tathā*), dependent origination, and reflection on the unconditioned (*asamskṛtadharmasmṛti*). Thus the *vajrapada* is about seeing the *dharmasvabhāva*.”¹⁰⁸⁹

¹⁰⁸⁶ T13: 065c.

¹⁰⁸⁷ T12: 0996b.

¹⁰⁸⁸ 文殊支利普超三昧經 (*Mañjuśrīnirdeśa*), T15: 0417a.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *ibid.*, T15: 0418c- 419a.

The *Guṇasamatāsaṃgrahasamādhinirdeśa* mentions eight *saddharmapadas* concerning the equality and sameness of all *dharma*s (*sarvadharmasamatā*): the *sūnyatāmudrāpada*, *animittamudrāpada*, *apranīhitamudrāpada*, *satyamudrāpada*, *dharmadhātumudrāpada*, *tathāmudrāpada*, *māyāmudrāpada*, and *vyupaśamamudrāpada*.¹⁰⁹⁰ *Mudrā* means seal, symbol, mark, and denotes the true meanings of *dharma*s.

From the above discussion, we can see that *vajrapada*, *mukhapada*, *dharmamukha* and *dhāraṇī* are almost the same in terms of their actual contents. They originated from the *prajñāpāramitā* texts. The *Minor Version* of *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* states that “the profound character [of the *dharma*s] is the meaning of emptiness (*arthaśūnyatā*), signlessness (*animitta*), wishlessness, non-origination (*asanutthāna*), non-production (*anutpāda*), non-destruction (*anātyatā*), non-existence (*abhāva*), non-attachment (*akliṣṭa* and *anābhīniveśa*), cessation (*vyupaśama*), the unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*), and *nirvāṇa*.”¹⁰⁹¹

In the early teachings of Buddhism, there are only three portals of liberation, but in the Mahāyāna there are eight. These include emptiness, signlessness, wishlessness, non-production, non-destruction (*anāmitiyata*), cessation (*vyupaśama*), the non-defiled (*akliṣṭa*), and the unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*), which are expressive of *nirvāṇa*.¹⁰⁹² In the *Minor Class*, in addition to the eight portals, suchness and illusion (*māyā*) are also referred to as portals of liberation. However, the exposition of *prajñā* in the *Medium Class* and the *Large Class* entails fourteen, sixteen, eighteen and twenty kinds of emptiness (*sūnyatā*). Suchness, the *dharmadhātu* and truth (*satya*) were developed and give twelve different names. Illusion (*māyā*) received ten additional analogies. In some texts, the profound character of *dharma*s, emptiness, signlessness and other characteristics are united with analogies to indicate that whatever is illusion (*māyā*), that is empty, and whatever is empty, that is suchness. These became the bases to form the *dharmamukhapada*, *mudrāpada* and *vajrapada*. This is because *mukha* can be entered, *mudrā* can indicate meaning, *vajra* is unbreakable and unchangeable, and *pada* is a combination of names (*nāma*) originated from letters (*vyāñjana*) which carries the meaning (*artha*).

In the Mahāyāna teachings on wisdom, each of the forty-two letters is a portal (*mukha*), as each letter has a meaning. Each is a *pada* and a *mudrā*. The *Varmavyūhanirdeśa* lists

¹⁰⁹⁰ 等集眾德三昧經 (*Guṇasamatāsaṃgrahasamādhinirdeśa*), T12: 0979a – 0980a.

¹⁰⁹¹ 小品般若波羅蜜經 (*Minor Version of Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*), T8:0566a.

¹⁰⁹² T15: 041bc.

sixteen *mudrās*, namely the *ākāśamudrās*, *sāntamudrā*, *praśrabdhimudrā*, *a-mukhamudrā*, *a-dhātumudrā*, *sūnyatāmudrā*, *animittamudrā*, *apraṇihitamudrā*, *virāgamudrā*, *anutpādamudrā*, *vyupaśmamudrā*, *kṣayalakṣanamudrā*, *dharmadhātumudrā*, *a-smṛtimudrā*, *asamskṛtamudrā*, *nirvāṇamudrā*, and *sarvadharmapratisamvid-mudrā* (seals of space, peace, tranquility, non-portal, non-base, emptiness, non-sign, non-wish, non-craving, non-production, cessation, non-characteristic, realms of existence and non-existence, non-reflection, unconditioned, *nirvāṇa* and the non-obstacle to omniscience).¹⁰⁹³

The *Lokadharananirdeśa* gives five portals (*mukha*), namely space, non-destruction (*anānityatā*), continuity (*ānantarya*), the boundlessness (*apramaṇa*).¹⁰⁹⁴

The *Puṣpahatanirdeśa* while speaking about the *dharmamukha*, *vajrapada*, and *dharmamudrā*, says, “the Tathāgata teaches the portal of the letter *a* and enters all the *dharmas*.”¹⁰⁹⁵ The *Ratnacūḍaparipṛcchā* asserts that the *dhāraṇīvajrapada* is a saying (*pada*) which refers to each saying of *dharma* (*sarvadharmapada*) and endless sayings of *dharmas* (*ānantadharmapada*). The endless sayings of *dharma* refer to every letter (*sarvavyaṅjana*), and every letter includes every saying of *dharmas*. When one does not discriminate between *vyāñjanapada*, *dharmapada*, and *praṇihitapada*, it is named *dhāraṇīvajrapada*.¹⁰⁹⁶

As for the *vajrapada*, the *Guṇasamgrahasamādhinirdeśa* teaches eight diamond sayings, such as the *sarvadharmā-anāsrava*.¹⁰⁹⁷ The *Sāgaraprajñānirdeśa* says, “*sarvadharmā-anutpāda* (non-production of every *dharma*) is a diamond saying (*vajrapāda*), every *dharma* is Buddha’s *Dharma*, and it is a *vajrapada*. Every language (*sarvanirukti*) is the Tathāgata’s language, is a *vajrapada*.”¹⁰⁹⁸

In brief, *vajra*, *vyāñjanapada*, *mudrā*, *dhāraṇī*, *mukha* and *bīja* became united in later times. However, *vyāñjanamukha* and *dhāraṇī* in the early Mahāyāna teachings refer to the mastery of memorizing the meaning of *dharmas*, and they have nothing to do with spells or incantations. In addition to knowledge (*jñāna*) and skills (*kauśalya*), the teachings on *vyāñjanapāda*, *mudra*, *dhāraṇī*, *mukha* and *pada* in the Mahāyāna texts, are new formations

¹⁰⁹³ 被甲莊嚴會 (*Varmavyūhanirdeśa*), T11: 0140c – 141a.

¹⁰⁹⁴ T14: 0646a

¹⁰⁹⁵ 華手經 (*Puṣpahatanirdeśa*), T16: 0203a.

¹⁰⁹⁶ 寶髻菩薩會 (*Ratnacūḍaparipṛcchā*), T11: 0672a.

¹⁰⁹⁷ T12: 0996b.

¹⁰⁹⁸ 海慧菩薩品, T13: 066abc; 海意菩薩所問淨印法門經, T13: 0507c – 0507a;

for the bodhisattvas to learn and cultivate, as they carry and contain the essential teachings of wisdom.

Conclusion

Each of the texts we have analysed presents a particular view on the bodhisattva ideal. Irrespective of opinions within the Buddhist sectarian texts, there are similarities in the practices and the engagements of the bodhisattva.

In Chapter One, the *Jātaka* stories of the bodhisattva in all sectarian texts link the former births and deeds of Śākyamuni Buddha and other Buddhas with various societies. All the early authors agree that the bodhisattva concept denotes someone who searches for enlightenment for the benefit of others. This has been particularly stressed in the Theravāda canonical texts such as the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka*, in the *Mahāvastu* of the Mahāsaṃghikas, in the Sarvāstivāda texts such as the *Mūlasarvāstivādavīnaya-saṅgha-bhedavastu*, the *Mūlasarvāstivādavīnaya-bhaiṣajya-vastu*, and the *Abhidharmamahā-śāstra*. This concept of the bodhisattva is also present in the *Satyasiddhi-śāstra*, and in early Mahāyāna texts such as the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṅgraha*. Therefore, the essential criteria for being a bodhisattva are the resolution to attain buddhahood and to work for the benefit of others. The bodhisattva took the form of sentient beings such as deities, birds, mammals, human beings, religious teachers or kings in order to carry out bodhisattva-like deeds. Early texts do not indicate any aspect of the bodhisattva's gender.

Qualities of the bodhisattva are in the foreground in numerous stories. In all former births, the bodhisattva was the excellent one among sentient beings in terms of great qualities and abilities. Whether rich or poor, the bodhisattva practised giving without reserve. Whether powerful or not, the bodhisattva practised patience and subdued anger. Having brought passion and desire under control, the bodhisattva's conduct was perfectly moral. The bodhisattva seeks liberation for oneself and others. A careful examination of the *Jātaka* stories leads to the conclusion that *bodhi* is the only quality needed for a sentient being (*satta*) to be deemed a bodhisatta. Furthermore, the *jātaka* stories illustrated on the *stūpa* of Bhārhut indicate that they were widespread in the third century BCE.

The bodhisatta ideal in the context of the *Jātaka* stories portrays the bodhisatta as enjoying helping others, and as one who is wise, generous, capable of solving worldly problems, able to assume any bodily form of sentient beings, able to communicate with supernatural realms, and able to educate others in any field of worldly knowledge. He is also

skilled in all undertakings. He respects his elders, protects the weak, transforms the bad into the good, and rescues other sentient beings. At the same time, he is politically adept and diplomatic at the highest levels. Whatever he does is always for the good. He can discourse on law and knows the duties of an ascetic. He is prudent, balanced, moderate, and has measured speech and a sense of the right time to speak or act. He knows the right way to work and always makes the right decisions and correct choices. While the features of *bodhi* at this stage are many, complex, and varied, it can be stated with confidence that the concept of the bodhisatta at this stage consists of a male sentient being who cherishes *bodhi*.

More developed concepts and doctrines of the bodhisatta are found in later Pāli literature, namely the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka*. An important factor is that along with the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, the *Buddhavaṃsa* introduces for the first time in the Pāli tradition the ten perfections (*pāramīs*) that the bodhisatta is to fulfil for the attainment of buddhahood. The beginning of Gotama Bodhisatta's career as the bodhisatta starts at the time of Dīpaṅkara Buddha, when he was known as the ascetic Sumedha. The *Buddhavaṃsa* states that Sumedha reflects on the attributes which constitute a Buddha (*Buddhakara-dhamma*), and realises that these are the ten perfections.

The reason for the compilation of the *Buddhavaṃsa* in the Theravāda tradition would seem to lie in the fact that the history of the one bodhisatta who would become the Buddha Gotama, required an account of previous Buddhas to show that his enlightenment was obtained only after striving through many births in the ten perfections. There are twenty-five Buddhas referred to in this text.

It seems that the implied meaning of *bodhi* in the *Buddhavaṃsa* stands for the bodhisatta concept. Here however, it may be defined as a human being who is thoughtful about the problems of rebirth, sees the ten perfections (*pāramī*) practised by the seers of old, and wishes to attain *sambodhi*. The path that leads the bodhisatta to *sambodhi* is given as the ten perfections (*dasapāramī*).

The bodhisatta concept in the *Buddhavaṃsa* as shown by the ten perfections (*pāramī*), is a significantly more complex and systematised a concept than it is in the *Jātakas*. While in the *Jātakas* the bodhisatta is ascribed with certain kinds of behaviour, abilities and ways of being in the social context, the concept in the *Buddhavaṃsa* is far more confined to the mental and internal context. The perfections focus on the still mind of the bodhisatta, who is able to

approach the outside world in each of the necessary categories with an attitude of equanimity and control. Added to this description of the bodhisatta as the earth and the rock, strong and immovable, is the perfection of perfect energy, in which this stillness is complemented by a correct approach to practice. Of particular interest in the *Buddhavaṃsa* is a shift to the inner nature of a bodhisatta rather than external behaviour. Here we find not just the way that the bodhisatta relates to the world, but also the correct nature that serves to motivate behaviour.

The Pāli tradition maintains that the *Cariyāpiṭaka* was composed after the *Buddhavaṃsa*. The text contains thirty-five *jātaka* stories which teach the first seven perfections, but no stories are given to illustrate the remaining three perfections (*pañña*, *vīriya* and *khanti*). Some scholars have offered various explanations for why these three perfections are not illustrated, but in my understanding, it is quite possible that individual compilers of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* could not find any *jātaka* story to illustrate the three perfections. For instance, none of the *Jātaka* stories conveys the perfection of wisdom because none of the protagonists of the *Jātakas* exemplifies wisdom as it is found in the later concept of perfect wisdom.

The *Cariyāpiṭaka* has made at least three fundamental contributions to the bodhisatta doctrine. (1) By this period *sambodhi* and *sabbaññūtā* were seen as the final destination of the bodhisatta practices of the *jātakas*. (2) It confirms that only human beings can practise the perfection of renunciation, and indicates that the theory of the ten perfections is only applied to men. (3) It classifies the various practices into the categories of the *pāramīs*. The *pāramīs* are regarded as the means for attaining *sambodhi* or *sabbaññūtā*.

The *Cariyāpiṭaka* asserts that Gotama Buddha attained full enlightenment by fulfilling the ten perfections. However, no specifications are given on how the bodhisatta fulfils the ten perfections, or on the stages of the path in which they ought to be practised. Similarly, the mental attitude with regard to the ten *pāramīs* and the time required to achieve *sambodhi* remain unexplained.

The Lokottaravāda *Mahāvastu* has some features common to the Pāli texts of the Theravāda, and also features common to Mahāyāna doctrine. We find in the first volume (I, 63-193) a long section on the ten *bhūmis*, and a description of the virtues which one must possess on each of those stages. Included in this section is a *buddhānusmṛti* (I, 163ff) which reflects the spirit of the Mahāyāna by asserting that (II, 362ff) the purity of the Buddha is so great that worship suffices one for the attainment of *nirvāṇa*, and that one earns unlimited

merit by circumambulating a *stūpa* and venerating it with flowers and other offerings. This text also speaks of a large number of Buddhas, and claims that bodhisattvas are born not through parents but through spiritual capacity.

Chronologically, the concept of the four phases of the bodhisattva career is mentioned for the first time in the *Mahāvastu*. These are (1) the natural phase (*prakṛti-caryā*), (2) the aspiration phase (*praṇidhāna-caryā*), (3) the conforming phase (*anuloma-caryā*), and (4) the non-regressing phase (*anivartana-caryā*). Each of these is illustrated in the former births of Gautama Buddha.

With regard to the bodhisattva's progress towards buddhahood, the Mahāsaṃghika school describes ten stages (*bhūmis*). The first eight stages are explained, but the two remaining stages are not elaborated upon.

Mahāyāna texts such as the *Shí-dì-jīng* (*Daśabhūmikasūtra*, T10:0535ff; No.287), which contain similar teachings to those of the ten stages, have often been cited as evidence that Mahāyāna Buddhism arose from the Mahāsaṃghika School. However, the *Mahāvastu* and similar literature concerning the Buddha's life transcend sectarian lines. At the end of the *Fó-běn-xíng-jí-jīng* (佛本行集經, *Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra*, T03: 0655ff; No.190), it is noted that the same biography of the Buddha was named differently by different schools, which indicates that these schools shared a common biography of the Buddha.

The bodhisattva concept in the *Mahāvastu* contains for the first time clear elements of development such as the four phases of the bodhisattva career, and the strict guidelines about the lapses from each level. We also observe that in many stages these lapses consist of pride in progress, complacency at the stage achieved, or envy at the achievement of others.

The *Mahāvastu* introduces a new aspect, a strong emphasis on the production of *bodhicitta*. It clearly delineates the first systematised exposition of the bodhisattva's path. This path is presented as a series of progressively higher realisations that gradually release the bodhisattva from the bonds of *saṃsāra*. The *Mahāvastu* further develops the importance of mental qualities on the path that we first encountered in the *Buddhavaṃsa*. Internal mental development takes precedent over external actions. The power of will is also emphasised. There is little progress without it and if properly developed it enables control over future rebirths and is a powerful force for the production of good *karma*.

The *Mahāvastu* introduces an entirely new concept to the bodhisattva path, the bodhisattva's relationship to the production (law) of *karma* on each *bhūmi* is clearly stated. Although the emphasis is on the development of mental faculties, practical matters are still addressed and the bodhisattva is seen to be keen to develop practical skills to aid all sentient beings.

The six *pāramitās* are mentioned but the *Mahāvastu* neither presents them systematically nor comprehensively. Structurally, the focus is on the rules of conduct and discipline on each stage, rather than on the *pāramitās*. It is the dichotomy between the good characteristics on each stage and the prohibited characteristics that underpins the course of the bodhisattva path. Actually, the prohibitions of the *Mahāvastu* form an elaboration of *śīla*, in terms of the rules of conduct on each stage.

The description of the bodhisattva on the second *bhūmi* clearly indicates that bodhisattvas must be human beings. This is consistent with the *Cariyapīṭaka* and *Buddhavaṃsa*, in which renunciation is exemplified only in accounts of human beings. One new feature is that the bodhisattvas do not lapse between stages and are called *avaivartikas*, or irreversible bodhisattvas. At this level, bodhisattvas exist alongside many Buddhas, with whom they have a direct relationship as disciples. They also worship and follow many Buddhas. All the Buddhas in the *Mahāvastu* praise the virtues of energy, renunciation, self-control, generosity, morality and wisdom.

Particularly important is the new emphasis on compassion as the most esteemed characteristic of bodhisattvas throughout the text. Compassion is described as the highest goal for progression to buddhahood, and the main motivation for developing it is compassion itself. Bodhisattvas must cultivate compassion and confer happiness on all creatures without any selfish motives. It would seem that by this stage, the bodhisattva path is taking on the form associated with Mahāyānist texts.

In Chapter Two, we examine the bodhisattva concept in the numerous Chinese sources which contain the essential tenets of the Sarvāstivāda, Mahāsaṃghika, Dharmaguptaka and other Buddhist schools.

Regarding the *jātakas*, the definition, career, stages, lifespan, perfections, rank, *karma*, and will of the bodhisattva, our investigation of Chinese texts reveals that there is no

consensus among the Buddhist schools. Unlike the Theravāda and the Mahāsaṃghika schools, the Sarvastivādins do not place much trust in the *jātakas*.

The Sarvāstivāda, Vibhāṅgyavāda and Uttarāpathaka emphasise the marks (*lakṣaṇa*) of the bodhisattva. The thirty-two special characteristics indicate that these beings have significantly progressed on the path and have accumulated vast merit.

Sectarian teachings base the concept of bodhisattvahood on the idea of the past lives of Buddha Gautama. We see from the Sarvāstivādins' attitude to the *jātakas*, *avadānas* and *nidānas*, that the Buddha's previous lives as a bodhisattva must be held in esteem. Sectarian schools indicate that the *pāramitās* are to be practised through many lifetimes in order to perfect them. The length of time that a bodhisattva takes to become a Buddha remains a matter of controversy.

The Vibhāṅgyavādin masters present the bodhisattvas as having knowledge of all *dharma*s (T28:585ab). In contrast to the presentation of the bodhisattva path in the *Mahāvastu*, the teachings of the Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda schools speak of the bodhisattva as an ordinary person (*prthagjana*).

Sectarian schools differ over the number of *pāramitās* to be cultivated. *Prajñā* is always included, but is often poorly explained or even unexplained as we have seen in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Cariyāpiṭaka*, and *Mahāvastu*. Some of the *Abhidharma* masters do not include meditation among the *pāramitās*. The exclusion of meditation from the *pāramitās* is consistent with the Pāli sources.

The sectarian treatises devote much attention to the controversy surrounding the central issue of the bodhisattva's free-will. The *Mahāvastu* and the *Śāriputrābhidharma-śāstra* assert that at an advanced level, bodhisattvas may control their rebirths. This teaching caused much concern among the Sthaviravādins, and is raised in the *Kathāvatthu* where it is asserted to undermine the law of *karma*. Unlike the *Mahāvastu* with its complex stages, the Mahāsaṃghika masters make the simple distinction between bodhisattvas who possess or do not possess free will.

In Chapter Three, we investigate the earlier Mahāyāna texts: the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgrahasūtra* which attaches importance to compassion, the *Dào-zhì-dà-jīng* and *Sarvākārajñāna-caryā-sūtra* which attaches importance to the early conception of *prajñā*, and the *Triskandhakasūtra* which attaches importance to faith. It is important to emphasise that

each text has its own focus. In the first century BCE, new ideas were clearly emerging alongside those of more conservative currents of Buddhist thought, many of which proved to be foundational for the Mahāyāna.

These earliest Mahāyāna texts clearly demonstrate an acceptance of six *pāramitās* as the training courses for the bodhisattva to achieve enlightenment. They emphasise compassion and giving. A particularly important feature is the inclusion of *dhyāna* in the six *pāramitās*. *Prajñā* is important in the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgrahasūtra*, but unlike later Mahāyāna texts, the meaning of *prajñā* here is the realisation of impermanence.

Faith in the Buddhas as an expedient to remove bad karma is in the foreground of the teachings contained in the *Triskandhasūtra*. In terms of karmic law, instead of stressing one's will as the tool to achieve freedom from *karma*, an emphasis is placed on requesting the Buddhas for help. Similarly, in this text we see that the practices of bodhisattvas are extended beyond the six *pāramitās* and include new elements such as disclosing faults, rejoicing in the merits of others, and asking the Buddhas to teach.

In fact, we can say that these earliest Mahāyāna texts represent the process of re-cataloguing bodhisattva practices in response to the issues surrounding what constitutes a Buddha, what the bodhisattva was taught by the former Buddhas, and the types of training needed for enlightenment. Particularly, the *Buddhāvadānanidāna* (佛本起因緣), the *Abhiṣkramaṇasūtra* (T03, No.190), and the *Lalitavistarasūtra* (T03, No.186) introduce new features associated with the bodhisattva path. The emphasis here is on non-grasping, which is shown to be a significant aspect of the path to enlightenment. Similarly, we find references to mastering spells (*dhāraṇīs*) and achieving the irreversible stage (*avaivartakabhūmi*). In contrast to the fact that irreversibility in the *bhūmis* meant safety from falling backwards, in this context it refers to safety from falling into non-Mahāyāna practices. The emphasis on the bodhisattvas being skilful in means and achieving the *anupattikadharmakṣānti* is notable.

The *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* presents an attempt to re-compile bodhisattva practices. The term *bodhisattvapiṭaka* in the Mahāyāna understanding is a general name for Mahāyāna texts. *Śīla*, *dhutaguna* (or *dhutanga*), *kṣānti*, *vīrya*, *prajñā*, the concept of *sarvadharmasūnyatā*, the importance of *bahuśrutya*, and seeking the *dharmas* are emphasised in the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* as important aspects of the bodhisattva practices.

In Chapter Four, as we can establish the chronology of texts with relative certainty, we can trace the movement from the focus on the *pāramitās* to the discussion of the *prajñāpāramitā*. We see an expansion of the idea of *prajñā* until it comes to encompass the other *pāramitās*, and even becomes a prerequisite for their fulfilment. This is part of a larger shift from the philosophical exploration of what *prajñā* is, to a need for its practical application.

Among the various categories of *prajñāpāramitā* texts, the texts that reflect the earlier Mahāyāna teachings on the thought and activities of the bodhisattvas are the *Minor Version* (下品), *Medium Version* (中品), *Large Version* (上品) and the *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitānirdeśa* (能斷金剛分). Accordingly, our chronological survey of the main doctrines and activities of the bodhisattva focuses on these texts.

We find that the original *prajñāparamitāparyāya* deals with how to understand the truth of non-origination. The truth of non-production (*anutpāda*) and the realisation of that truth were confirmed as the *prajñāpāramitā* of the bodhisattva, the course on the irreversibility (*avinivartanīya*) of the bodhisattva. Imparting the course on the *prajñāpāramitā* is asserted to enable deep realisation of that truth. The *sarvadharmāpariḡhīta* and the *sarvadharmānupādāna* are the two relevant *samādhis*. The feature of the first *samādhi* is not abiding in any *dharma* and the non-appropriation of all *dharmas* (諸法無受三昧). That of the second is not clinging to or grasping at any sign (*nimitta*) of any *dharmas*. Concepts such as not abiding in the form or five *skandhas*, not coursing in it, not grasping at it, and not appropriating it, are inherited from earlier Buddhist teachings (T2:009a; 011a). However, the concentrated insight of the non-appropriation of all *dharmas* is regarded as the *prajñāpāramitā* unique to bodhisattvas. It is said that bodhisattvas who have attained it will never fall into the vehicles of the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas. The important points may be outlined as follows: the original *prajñāpāramitā* of the bodhisattvas consists in the non-appropriation of all *dharmas*. The concentrated insight of non-appropriation, the unique course of the bodhisattvas, cannot be shared with the Śrāvakas and the Pratyekabuddhas. It is very important for its proponent to realise the true nature (*dharmatā*) of *dharmas*, for only after realising it is one able to teach the Dharma correctly, without bringing it into contradiction with the true nature of *dharmas*.

The Buddha's power (*bala*) in the original *prajñāpāramitā* has an instrumental function. Subhūti, through the Buddha's power was able to know the thought of Śāriputra and to expound perfect wisdom. According to the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*, the Buddha's power is nothing compared to his wisdom, which is compared to an illuminating lamp.

In the archaic *prajñāpāramitā* teaching, 'bodhisattva' and '*prajñāpāramitā*' are mere words, and names without own-being (*asvabhāva*). It is in this sense that the person who receives instruction and the *dharma* which is taught, do not exist. When a bodhisattva is able to understand this, he should be instructed in the *prajñāpāramitā*.

The archaic *prajñāpāramitā* also teaches that the nature of all *dharmas* including the self (*ātma*), is uncreated (*anabhinirvṛtta*), and that non-creation is also uncreated. This shows that the non-creation and the non-cessation of all *dharmas* are non-dual (*advaya*), nor divided. In this case, the non-appropriation of all *dharmas* is elaborated upon and explained further. According to the text, non-creation and the non-duality (*advaya*) are absolute, and transcend any difference such as creation and destruction.

It is asserted that bodhisattvas should not form conceptions such as 'the difficult course of conduct' (*duṣkaracārikā*) and 'the easy course of conduct'. If they generate the notion of difficulty (*duṣkarsaṃjñā*), then they are not bodhisattvas, for they do not follow the *prajñāpāramitā* course by not grasping any *dharma*. The text indicates that bodhisattvas and all sentient beings (*sarvasattvas*) are equal in the sense of having no own-being (*asvabhāva*), *vivikta* and *anupalabdhya*. It is by such attention and understanding that the bodhisattva should follow the *prajñāpāramitā*.

The way to perceive the impermanence of all *dharmas* is to have insight into non-changing, non-origination and non-cessation of form and other *skandhas*, "for just as the non-changing of form is so, thus one perceives the impermanence of form ... If one does not course in such a perception, one courses in that which is similar to the *prajñāpāramitā*" (T8:546c). This instruction must originate from earlier Buddhist teachings, for it is close to the premise of seeing truth in one instant (T32:378a; 379a). This, however, may be achieved only by a few of individuals, who can directly perceive the non-appropriation (*anupalabdhya*), non-origination (*anutpāda*) and non-extinction (*anirodha*) of all *dharmas*.

In the original *prajñāpāramitāparyāya*, the true nature of *dharmas*, as the term *dharmānāṃ dharmatā* indicates, should be realised by the bodhisattvas and the *bhāṅakas*.

Having realised the true nature of *dharma*s, whatever they teach does not contradict the actual nature of *dharma*s (T8:537bc). Furthermore, because the true nature of all *dharma*s is the non-origination and the non-extinction of all *dharma*s, which are non-dual and not divided, this may be realised suddenly through the concentrated insight of non-grasping all *dharma*s (*sarvadharmānupādāna*), non-appropriation of all *dharma*s, and non-abiding within any *dharma* (*sarvadharmāpratiṣṭhita*). A bodhisattva may begin practise directly with seeing the nature of *dharma*s. This insight may be regarded as the original *prajñāpāramitā* course that bodhisattvas must gain. It is not shared with the Śrāvakas and the Pratyekabuddhas, and it was gradually developed during the time when the bodhisattva doctrine became widespread.

In Chapter Five, the teachings in the texts belonging to the *Minor Class* and other classes are examined. The widespread dissemination of the *prajñāpāramitā* was helped by the assertion of safeguarding the welfare and interests of common people and religion, of preventing calamities, and of removing obstacles. The original *prajñāpāramitāparyāya* was deliberately extracted from more traditional currents of Buddhist thought and developed into the *Minor Class*. The *prajñāpāramitāparyāya* was particularly widespread in northern India. The *Minor Class* was also compiled in northern India.

The entire structure of the *Minor Class* is similar to that of the *Khandhasaṃyutta* of the *Nikāyas*. Here, the Buddha's disciples are instructed in the five *skandhas*. The *prajñāpāramitāparyāya* does not discuss ontological matters in detail, but employs numerous analogies to illustrate both teaching and meaning. One of the prominent characteristics of the *Minor Class* is the use of analogy to clarify doctrinal points, and to disprove opponents who attach importance to the small vehicles.

The analogies of the *Minor Class* suggest that the masters of the *prajñāpāramitā* attached importance to the Buddha's method of *drṣṭānta*. Due to the use of a large number of analogies, the original *prajñāpāramitā* was gradually developed into the form of the *Minor Class*. Based on this analysis, it is plausible that mastery of logic became another course for the bodhisattvas in later Mahāyāna thought.

The *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* teaches that the *prajñāpāramitā* is the mother of the Buddhas. However, it is recorded in the *Minor Class* that many conservative Buddhists rejected the *prajñāpāramitā* course. Some bodhisattvas did not even hear or see the

prajñāpāramitā (T8: 573b). Some declared that the *prajñāpāramitā* was not the Buddha's word. On account of these occurrences, there are four types of bodhisattvas in the *Minor Class*.

The *Minor Class* teaches that pride, arrogance, and conceit make the bodhisattva despise other bodhisattvas, keep one far away from all-knowledge, and far from the cognition of a Buddha (Aṣṭa, p.390). It also insists that quarrels and bad attitude towards others are the sources of birth-and-death, weaken and harm others, and lose followers. Therefore in practice, it encourages the bodhisattvas to reflect upon and disclose faults.

The original teaching of the *prajñāpāramitā* gives a different attitude toward the six perfections. It specifies only the sixth *pāramitā*, the *prajñāpāramitā*, without discussing the first five. The question was put by Ānanda and Śakra as to why the Lord only praised the *prajñāpāramitā* (PSV, T8:545c) and whether a bodhisattva courses only in the *prajñāpāramitā* and not in the other *pāramitās* (T8:545c). In the *Minor Class*, we find statements that among the six *pāramitās*, the *prajñāpāramitā* is the controller, the guide and the leader, and that without the *prajñāpāramitā*, the other five cannot be called perfections. The *prajñāpāramitā* controls, guides, and leads the other five perfections (T8:0579a).

In addition to advocating the traditional methods of dissemination of the *prajñāpāramitā* course, an emphasis is also placed on achieving the irreversible stage of a bodhisattva. The qualities of irreversible bodhisattvas are extensively explained. In the *Minor Class*, characteristics of irreversible bodhisattvas are illustrated with various analogies. It is said that as long as a bodhisattva is not taken hold of by the *prajñāpāramitā* and skill-in-means, that bodhisattva is bound to collapse midway and fall to the level of a Śrāvaka or Pratyekabuddha.

Doctrinally, the *dharmatā* in the *Minor Class* has been repeatedly discussed. Suchness (*tathatā*) indicates that the Tathāgata himself realised *dharmatā*. By nature, suchness is neither coming nor going, immutable, unchangeable, discriminated, or undifferentiated at any time. It is nowhere obstructed. Suchness of the Tathāgata and all *dharmas* transcends time because it is neither past, future, or present (T8:0562bc).

In most *prajñāpāramitā* texts, the reality-limit (*bhūta-koṭi*) is used as a synonym for a non-Mahāyāna *nirvāṇa*. In the course of training, bodhisattvas must refuse to realise the reality-limit and are exhorted to fear its realisation. The true identity of *dharmas* is the true nature (*dharmatā*) of *dharmas*. Since suchness (*tathatā*) and the reality-limit are immutable

and unchangeable, this must be contemplated and meditated upon by bodhisattvas who course in and aspire to develop the *prajñāpāramitā*.

The doctrinal statements in the texts belonging to the *Minor Class* range from the very simple to the highly complex. The content and structure of the texts of the *Minor Class* suggest a plurality of hands in their compilation. An attempt to produce an encompassing presentation of the bodhisattva concept can be seen from various passages used to treat a single bodhisattva stage. We find that three bodhisattva stages are often referred to in the Aṣṭa, while four in the PSV.

Examining the texts belonging to the *Minor Class*, we find that the *prajñāpāramitā* course is expanded to comprise fundamental teachings of early currents of Buddhist thought such as the *bodhipakṣayā dharmas*. In addition, the three portals of deliverance (*vimokṣadvāra*) were employed to explain the profound *prajñāpāramitā* course. The emptiness of all *dharmas* is emphatically asserted. Furthermore, various *prajñāpāramitā* courses were made to suit different levels and faculties of bodhisattvas. Priority was placed to disseminating the *prajñāpāramitā* course for beginners, and to providing solutions to problematic and controversial matters that emerged within the varied practices of the bodhisattvas. The six perfections were treated as the important practices of the bodhisattva. The middle way of understanding dependent origination is presented as the special bodhisattva *Dharma* (T8:578c). Finally, it is said that the irreversible bodhisattva's profound comprehension of non-production does not constitute abiding in *nirvāṇa*, but recognising it from experience. The achievement of the Śrāvakas is connected with the *anutpattikadharmakṣānti* of the bodhisattvas (T8:540c). The insight of the Tathāgata, the wisdom of the Buddhas, the all-knowledge (*sarvajñātā*), and super-knowledge (T8:572c) become the goals for the bodhisattva.

Examining the *Medium Class* of the *prajñāpāramitā* texts, we find that the six perfections are extensively discussed and asserted to engender and support one another. The irreversible bodhisattva householder in the *Minor Class* is an actual householder, and a human being who has coursed in the *prajñāpāramitā* and reached the stage of irreversibility from full enlightenment (T7: 902a). Furthermore, householders were guided to course in the *prajñāpāramitā* and to go forward to the stage of irreversibility. But in the *Medium Class* this changes dramatically, for the ideals of the *dharmakāya* and the *mahāsattva* are regarded as irreversible. In the *Medium Class*, bodhisattvas are praised as being skilled in the means of

maturing and enlightening sentient beings. This aspect of the *Medium Class* is expressed in the story of Sadāprarudita. The significance of the story of Sadāprarudita is that for the first time, an opportunity for both laywoman and layman to learn the *Dharma* from a lay teacher was introduced. This story is found in all the three classes of the *prajñāpāramitā* literature we have discussed.

In Chapters Six and Seven, our survey of the six perfections in the relevant texts shows that the *śīla*, *dāna*, *kṣānti*, *vīrya*, *dhyāna* and the *prajñā pāramitās* have been specified as the practices of the bodhisattvas in the early sectarian and Mahāyāna texts. The system of six perfections originated in the sectarian texts, but it was not greatly systematised. It was used to outline the way to become a Buddha, for obtaining *sambodhi*, and for obtaining *sarvajñāna*. Later it was adopted in Mahāyāna texts and developed into a more complex system in terms of categories of practices, doctrines, methods, levels and degrees in the career of the bodhisattvas. At the end, the six perfections were expanded into the ten perfections to match the ten bodhisattva's stages.

In the *Āgamas* and *Nikāyas*, the basic practice of the perfection of generosity involved giving internal and external possessions without attachment, and dedication of merit to others and for *bodhi*. The practice of generosity is not only for the benefit of others, but for the practitioner to eliminate greediness and craving, the sources of suffering. Conceptual development is found in the triple exposition of *āmiṣadāna*, *dharmadāna* and *abhyadāna*. The doctrinal development of generosity is seen in the application of the teachings of *anātman* and *śūnyatā* to the practice of generosity, so that no donor, no gift, or no beneficiary was postulated in the Mahāyāna concept of perfect generosity. To support and protect life, and to give freedom to sentient beings are also the features of the bodhisattva's generosity. Stress is placed on the restraint from taking life and causing difficulties to others. The four countless states, the four conversions, and the wholesome *dharmas* are discussed in the exposition of perfect generosity. For spiritual progress, the perfection of generosity engenders the other five perfections, because it helps to remove defilements such as craving, hatred and delusion.

Morality is one of the three main teachings in Buddhism. It is one of the six perfections for realising the state of a Buddha. Furthermore, it is one of the important teachings in later Buddhist thought, which demarcates the differences between the Theravāda and Mahāyāna teachings. Our examination of the selected texts reveals that the perfection of morality was

substantially reformulated and developed in three stages. The initial stage is identified in the *Āgamas*, *Jātakas*, *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Mahāvastu*, and other early sectarian texts in which the perfection of morality is explained in terms of observing and protecting moral habits, and in terms of rules governing any circumstance. The early teachings of this perfection were entirely adopted by the Mahāyānists and expanded upon in various ways. At this stage we notice that bodhisattvas practise this perfection, and that morality incorporates certain prohibitive rules which differ depending on the social and religious position of the subject. In addition, there are many rules which bodhisattvas should practise for the benefit of others. Evidently, the formation of the bodhisattva's moral rules or regulations was based on both religious and social grounds. The ten types of holy thought have the capacity of assisting bodhisattvas to perfect their morality.

At this stage, conceptual development in the exposition of the *śīlapāramitā* is indicated by the appearance of the concept of *trividhāśīla*, namely the moral restrictions (*saṃvaraśīla*), morality that accumulates wholesome *dharmas* (*kuśaladharmasaṃgrāhakaśīla*), and morality that benefits sentient beings (*sattvārthakriyāśīla*). It is only found in several Mahāyāna texts. However, it is important today and in the development of Buddhist thought because many Mahāyāna followers still claim that their discipline consists of the threefold morality. The moral restrictions (*saṃvaraśīla*) refer to seven kinds of people and their corresponding moral rules. It is not innovatory, because by classifying the bodhisattvas into seven categories of people, sentient beings in other existences become excluded. Furthermore, the morality which accumulates wholesome things and morality which benefits sentient beings, are also shared by the seven kinds of people. Our examination of the threefold morality shows that the morality which benefits sentient beings includes the four kinds of conversion. However, the teachings on morality do not include the concepts of emptiness and non-production.

The second stage in the evolution of the perfection of morality is marked by incorporating Mahāyāna doctrines into the practice of morality. This is achieved by teaching non-gain, non-evil, and non-production. The most remarkable feature at this stage is the emphasis on the differences between the bodhisattva's perfection of morality and that of the Śrāvakas. This is indicated by claiming that *bodhicitta* is the bodhisattva's perfection of morality. At this stage the conditions for committing offences are also specified. Overall, the

theory of the perfection of morality is rather anti-Śrāvaka and Pratyekabuddha in terms of prohibiting the bodhisattvas to regress to the view of the Śrāvaka and Pratyekabuddha.

The third stage in the development of the *śīlapāramitā* is indicated by the continuous infusion of Mahāyāna ideas in the practice of this perfection. Disclosing faults and skilful means constitute the important factors to fulfil the perfection of morality. Disclosing faults implies that rules of morality may be breached, and the use of various skilful means indicates that the breaches of morality are permitted only under certain conditions. These two factors give increased freedom to Mahāyāna followers, and offer a practical solution to the need for bodhisattvas to fulfil the remaining *pāramitās*. From these factors there emerges a new theory of the *śīlapāramitā*. The *śīlapāramitā* developed in response to the need to solve these sorts of contradictions, and it is a new theory in the sense that it differs from the teachings of the moral perfection in the early Buddhist texts. It includes the teachings on conviction, the grave breaches of discipline, regulations for disclosing faults, and the conditions of minor and serious offences. There are two principal rules to follow within such flexible and vital regulations. (1) Whatever deed a bodhisattva performs, a bodhisattva must still cherish sentient beings, and (2) one should not forsake sentient beings in any case. *Bodhicitta*, non-gain and non-evil regarding *prajñā*, and a compassionate mind are the central elements in the perfect morality of the bodhisattva. Thus one of the texts says, “morality is *bodhicitta*, emptiness, non-arrogance, producing great compassion, and being a rescuer of those who damage morality [T15: 378c].” Another text says, “never giving up *bodhicitta* is the morality of the bodhisattva [T22: 191c].” There cannot be perfect morality for the bodhisattva without producing *bodhicitta*.

Our survey of the perfection of patience (*kṣāntipāramitā*) shows that early discussions mainly distinguish it with regard to suffering, hostility and the factors of existence. Overcoming anger and hatred is the perfection of patience. In addition, some Mahāyāna texts indicate that non-damage of anything (*dharma*s) is the perfection of patience. Some expositions of the *kṣāntipāramitā* indicate that certain understandings are required for the bodhisattvas to fulfil the perfection of patience. These include knowing karmic law, cause and effect, the teachings on *anātman* and *śūnyatā*, knowing the sources of suffering, and those of happiness. When the bodhisattvas are equipped with such understanding, they can bear the unbearable at all times. Apart from these, loving-kindness, non-attachment, and indifference

are the qualities required for mastering patience. The conceptual development of this perfection includes the expositions of *dharmakṣānti* and *anuttapattikadharmakṣānti*. It is indicated that bodhisattvas abiding in the *kṣāntipāramitā* engender the other five perfections.

Definitions of the perfection of energy (*vīryapāramitā*) differ among our texts. Some texts say that no physical or mental slackness in the practice of the six perfections is present in perfect energy. In other texts, the perfection of energy is linked with the rejection of karmic engagements, non-recollecting the characteristics of any *dharmas*, and non-grasping anything. Rather, it consists of making constant efforts towards buddhahood. Conceptually, three categories of energy in the Mahāyāna teachings are explained: armoured energy, energy towards the accumulation of virtue, and energy working for the benefit of sentient beings. However, energy is not perfect without wisdom and pure aspiration. Resolution for gaining *sambodhi*, having compassion towards sentient beings, and the wish to establish them in the three vehicles are said to be motivation for generating energy in the Mahāyāna teachings.

The exposition of the perfection of meditation in our texts is adopted from the four *dhyānas*, the four countless states, and the four *samāpattis* taught in the *Āgamas*. Evidence for this is found in the *Śaṭpāramitāsaṃgrahasūtra* [T3: 039ab]. In the *Medium Class* of the *prajñāpāramitāsūtras* for instance, “the bodhisattva abiding in *prajñāpāramitā*, with exception to the Buddha’s *samādhi*, enters every *samādhi*...such as the *śrāvakasamādhi*, *pratyekabuddhasamādhi*, and *bodhisattvasamādhi*. One practises and enters all of them. The bodhisattvas are able to enter and emerge from the *samādhis* in forward and reverse sequence, to enter and emerge from the eight liberations in forward and reverse sequence, and to enter transcendental *samādhis* [T8:0386ab].”

In addition to *bodhicitta*, the compassionate mind, skills, wisdom and dedication to *sarvajñāna*, the methods of meditation in this *prajñāpāramitāsūtra* are also the same as those in the *Āgamas*. These include the four *dhyānas*, the four countless states, the four *samāpattis*, the eightfold liberation, and the nine successive abodes (*anupūrvavihāra*). The *Subāhupariṣcchā*, in addition to the above mentioned methods, mentions the ten totalities and teaches that bodhisattvas enter those concentrations without depending on anything [T11:0533c.]. The meditation of non-reliance is also found in the *Mahāyānadaśadharmasūtra* (T11:0765c) and the *Ratnacūḍābodhisattvapariṣcchā* (T11:0660ac; T13:0175c).

Meditation on purity is found in various texts (T15:0357c; T15:0377a). *Sūtra* No. 625 states that “the purity of everything is the *dhyānapāramitā* [T15:0357c; T15:0377a].” This method of meditation is a feature of the Mahāyāna perfection of meditation. According to the *Sagarānāgarājaparipṛcchā* (*Sūtra* No.598), everything is pure by nature and non-dual. By realising the natural purity of everything, bodhisattvas obtain the realisation of sameness and achieve the meditations that bring them to the realisation of *prajñā*.

The exposition of meditation in some texts is based on the concept of sameness. The *Akṣayamatīnirdeśa* (*Wú-jīn-yī-jīng*) states that “the meditation abiding in the sameness and equality of mind is the practice of the bodhisattva’s meditation. Abiding in the wisdom of the sameness of sentient beings is concentration (*samādhi*). The equality of mental acts is concentration...the equality of sentient beings is the sameness of everything. Entering those equalities is *samādhi*. [T15:0136].” Thus the exposition of meditation is based on the mind abiding in emptiness, sameness or equality, namely the equality of sentient beings and all *dharmas*, which is a feature of the bodhisattva’s perfection of meditation.

Dhyānas have an important place in the *Āgamas*, and in the *pāramitās* of the sectarian texts they are included in the perfection of meditation (*dhyānapāramitā*). This perfection was inherited by the Mahāyānists. However, in the Mahāyāna perfection of meditation, *samādhi* is also given an important place. This may be seen in the titles of many Mahāyāna texts such as *Samādhirājasūtra*, *Śūramgamasamādhisūtra* and so forth. Most *samādhis* of the *Āgamas* belong to the practice of insight (*vipaśyāna*). We find the *sūnyatāsamādhi*, *ānimittasamādhi*, *apraṇītasamādhi* and so forth in the *SA* (T02: 0149c-150a). The basic teaching of the Mahāyāna at this stage is non-origination (*anutpāda*) and non-extinction (*anirōdha*) of all *dharmas*, and it begins with countless *samādhis* as their means of realisation. Thus we find 28 *samādhis* in the *Samantamukhaparivarta*, the *samādhis* of the five sense objects, of hatred, ignorance, passion, of wholesome *dharmas*, unwholesome *dharmas*, of the conditioned, the unconditioned, and so forth (T11: 0158c-162a). In this last *prajñāpāramitāsūtra*, there are one hundred and eight *samādhis* (T08:0251a-253b). Among the numerous *samādhis*, the *śūramgamasamādhi*, *ekavyūhasamādhi*, *pratyutpannasamādhi*, *araṇasamādhi* and *māyāsamādhi* are taught in many texts and still practised today. The *samādhis* are important for cultivating a compassionate mind, benefiting sentient beings, fulfilling *bodhicitta*, and developing skills and capabilities. According to *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, the bodhisattva who

wishes to fulfil the desires of all sentient beings with food, drink, clothing, and other useful things, should train in *samādhis* aimed at the *prajñāpāramitā*. The *Drumakiṇṇararājaparipṛcchā* says that the *ratnasthitasamādhi* reaps all kinds of treasure in the world (T15:0372c-373b). The attainment of *samādhis* serves bodhisattvas to obtain treasures and benefit others. This constitutes another development of the *dhyānapāramitā* of the Mahāyāna bodhisattva practices.

The perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*) in the system of six perfections originated from the *jātaka* stories. In the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsamgrahasūtra*, unlike the first five perfections, it is not taught at the beginning of stories. In the *Nikāyas* no stories are given to illustrate it.

The *prajñāpāramitā* in Mahāyāna texts developed from the concept of non-grasping (*anupalabdha*). The realisation of non-grasping is taught by the *samādhi* of non-abiding (*asthānayogena*). The perfection of wisdom has become a guide in the bodhisattva practices, for generosity and other practices not only engender wisdom but also become perfections (*pāramitās*). By adding wisdom (*prajñā*) to the notion that nothing is acquired, and the notion of non-grasping (*anupalabdha*), all wholesome *dharma*s become the path to buddhahood. Wisdom itself constitutes non-grasping. It is defined as being non-attachment (*anābhiveśā*) and non-obstruction (*ānantarya/ apratihata*). Thus the worldly and transcendent *dharma*s are penetrated by wisdom. On account of this, numerous portals (*mukhas*) and courses (*paryāya*) to these practices are taught in the *Medium Class*.

Almost every teaching on morality and meditation found in Mahāyāna texts has been influenced by the course on wisdom (*prajñāparyāya*). Even the teachings on disclosing faults and on the pure lands are associated with wisdom in the sense of emptiness (*śūnyatā*). Wisdom (*prajñā*) became the very foundation of Mahāyāna teachings. Wisdom is non-grasping anything, and whilst does not constitute mundane wisdom (*lokajñāna*) it is engendered by it. Perfect wisdom is linked with various types of mind in the mundane world, and its non-discrimination has been linked with worldly discrimination such as learning, reflection, and meditative realisation. Therefore, one is instructed to approach non-discrimination by discrimination. By letters (*vyañjanas*), one gains the state of non-words (*apāda*). By mundane things (*lokadharmā*), one reaches the transcendental (*lokottara*) state. It is asserted that *prajñā* cannot be expressed clearly in common language or writing, and has merely been described to the world by those.

The exposition of the *prajñāpāramitā* is primarily in the style of negation. In the *Āgamas*, the teachings on approaching spiritual friends, learning the Dharma, correct reflection, and acting according to the Dharma, become the conditions for a bodhisattva to obtain wisdom. The *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* states that bodhisattvas who train in *prajñā* have to learn, accept, hold, approach, read, recite, teach, and have correct thought (*cintā*) (T8: 0280c).

The practices in some texts are classified and synthesized for easy memorisation, and represent a further development of the *prajñāpāramitā*. The *Akṣayamatibodhisattvasūtra* says that all *dharma*s are infinite (*akṣaya*). Among the infinite *dharma*s are *bodhicitta*, the six perfections, the four immeasurables, the five supernatural powers, the four means of conversion, the four kinds of reliance, equipment assisting one on the spiritual path, the factors of enlightenment, *dhyāna* and *prajñā*, *dhāraṇī* and *pratibhāna*, the one vehicle path, and skill in practices (T13: 0583). This text provides many more items of bodhisattva practice aimed at fulfilling the perfection of wisdom. Comparing these practices with those in the *Subāhubodhisattvapariṣcchā*, the accumulation and classification of Mahāyāna practices in the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* are distinctly synthetic and rational, forming a comprehensive exposition of *prajñā*.

The conceptual development of wisdom is also found in the discussions on the selflessness of *dharma*s, the emptiness of persons, the sameness in nature of both defilements and *nirvāṇa*, *sarvaprajñāna*, and in the discussions on the interaction between the six perfections. These show that there would be no other perfections without that of wisdom. In addition, the conceptual development of the *prajñāpāramitā* in Mahāyāna texts includes the *vyañjanadhāraṇī* as the essential practice in cultivating wisdom through learning, reflecting and meditative practice. Wisdom is closely linked with the meaning that is stored and held in letters or words (*arthavyañjanadhāraṇī*), with the realisation of the true reality (*dharmatā*), and with skill in expounding the Dharma. Its importance is shown by the *dvācatvāriṃśad-akṣaramukha*, which has been added to the *Medium Class* of the *prajñāpāramitā* texts and incorporated into the Mahāyāna teachings.

The fulfilment of the perfection of wisdom through cultivating learning, reflection and meditative realisation was thus linked with the practices of letters (*vyañjana*), portals (*mukha*), and the mastery of memory (*dhāraṇī*). For instance, the *Puṣpahatanirdeśa* says that if bodhisattvas learn the *pādamukhas*, they will gain wisdom, skill, and the non-obstructed eye

(*apratihatacakṣu*) with regard to all *dharmas* (T16:0130a). In brief, *vajra*, *vyañjanapāda*, *mudrā*, *dhāraṇī*, *mukha* and *bīja* are united in later Buddhist thought. However, the *vyañjanamukha* and *dhāraṇī* in the early currents of Mahāyāna thought refer to the mastery of memorising the meanings of *dharmas* learned. At this point they have nothing to do with spells or incantations.

Each of our selected texts represents an independent view regarding the perfections. Neither does any represent an ultimate authority in the view of the perfections. Therefore, the development of the system of perfections continued, as is reflected in the Buddhist treatises such as the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sāstra*. The most notable development among the texts is exemplified by those belonging to the *prajñāpāramitā* literature. The archaic *prajñāpāramitāparyāya* has been discussed in many texts, and its doctrines have influenced many later currents of Buddhist thought.

In concluding our investigation on the progressive development of the bodhisattva ideal, we must recognise the individual aims of each textual source that has been consulted. The canonisation of texts usually appears to suggest a rather clear and linear progression. But the basis of these developments remains the individual followers, schools, and texts that make up currents of Buddhist thought such as the bodhisattva ideal and its gradual development. It is because of these figures that development ensued. Historical and societal context partially explain why the bodhisattva ideal developed. But the concept of the bodhisattva developed in response to the religious needs of followers and schools of various currents of Buddhist thought to a greater extent than the historical and societal contexts to which these belonged.

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TEXTS IN CHINESE

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中阿含經 (*Madhyamāgamasūtra*), tr. Gaudam-saṃghadeva, 397 CE, T01, No.26

五十頌聖般若波羅蜜經 (*Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra in Fifty Lines*), tr. Dānapāla, 1000 CE, T8, No. 248

出三藏記集 (a catalogue of the *Tripitaka* texts translated into Chinese from 67 CE until about 520 CE), compiled by Seng-yòu (僧祐), T55, No. 2145

伽耶山頂經 (*Sūtra of the peak of Gayā*), 元魏菩提流支譯, T14, No. 465

佛本行集經 (*Buddha-pūrvakaryā-saṅgraha-sūtra* or *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra*), tr. Jñānagupta (523-600 CE), T03, No.190

佛母出生三法藏般若經 (*Prajñāpāramitā sūtra, the Mother of the Triple Dharmapitaka*), tr. Dānapāla, 980 CE, T8, No.228

佛說佛印三昧經 (*Buddhamudrāsamādhi-sūtra*), tr. An Shigao, ca. 148-170 CE, T15, No.621

佛說佛名經 (*Buddhānamā-sūtra*), T14, No. 441.

佛說佛母出生三法藏般若波羅蜜多經 (*Prajñāpāramitā, the Mother of the Buddha and the Teachings of Tripitaka-sūtra*), tr. Dānapāla, ca. 1000 CE, T8, No.228

佛說大乘智印經 (*Mahāyānaprajñāmudrā-sūtra*), tr. Jñānaśrī, ca. 1053 CE, T15, No. 634

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佛說大自在天子因地經 (*Sūtra on Former Events of the Maheśvaradeva*), tr. Dharmapāla, T15, No.594.

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佛說巨力長者所問大乘經 (*Mahābala-mahāyānapariṣcchā*), tr. Jñānaśrī and others, 1053 CE, T14, No.543.

佛說帝釋般若波羅蜜多心經 (*Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra*), tr. Dānapāla, ca. 1000 CE, T8, No.249

佛說文殊師利淨律經 (*Mañjuśrīśubhavinaya-sūtra*), tr. Dharmarakṣa, ca. 265-291 CE, T14, No. 460

佛說文殊悔過經 (*Sūtra on the Mañjuśrī's Confession*), tr. Dharmarakṣa, ca. 265-291 CE, T14, No.459

佛說普曜經 (*Lalitavistara-sūtra*), tr. Dharmarakṣa, 308 CE, T03, No. 186;

佛說未曾有經 (*Sūtra Spoken by Buddha on Wonderfulness*), tr. unknown person, T16, No.688

佛說無量清淨平等覺經 (*Amitaṃśālamatābodhi-sūtra*), tr. Lokakṣema, ca. 147- 186 CE, T12, No.361

佛說甚希有經 (*Sūtra Spoken by Buddha on the Extreme Rareness (adbhūta-dharmaparyāya)*), tr. Xūanzàng, T16, No.689

佛說維摩詰經 (*Vīṇalakīrtinirdeśa*), tr. Zhi Qian, ca. 222-253 CE, T14, No. 474.

佛說聖佛母小字般若波多羅蜜經, tr. Devaśāntika, 1000 CE, T8, No.258,.

佛說聖佛母般若波羅蜜多經 (*Foshuo-shengmu-panruo-poluomi-duo-jing*), tr. Dānapāla, T8, No. 257

佛說莊菩提心經 (*Bodhicittavyūhasūtra spoken by the Buddha*), tr. by Kumārajīva, T10, No.307

佛說菩薩本業經(*Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on the original action of the Bodhisattva*), tr. Zhi Qian, ca. 222-280 CE, T10, No.281

佛說諸法本無經 (*Sūtra of the non-existence of dharmas*), tr. Jñānagupta, ca. 560-600 CE, T15, No.651

佛說遺日摩尼寶經 (an old version of the *Kāśyapaparivarta*), tr. Lokakṣema, ca. 179 CE, T12, No.350

佛說阿彌陀經(*Sukhāvatyaṅṛta-vyūha-sūtra*), tr. Kumārajīva, 402 CE, T12, No.366

佛說阿彌陀過度人道經(*Aparimitāyus-sūtra*),tr. Zhi Qian, ca. 222-253 CE, T12, No.362

佛說除蓋障菩薩所問經, the *Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha on the Question of the Bodhisattva Who Destroys the Āvaraṇa* (abbrev.: QB), tr. by Dānapāla and others, T14, No.489

佛說首楞嚴三昧經 (*Sūraṅgamasaṃādhi-sūtra*), tr. Kumārajīva, ca. 403-433 CE, T15, No.642

修行本起經(*Cārya-nidāna*), tr. Mahābala and Kang Mengxiang, 197 CE, T3, No.184

修行道地經(*Yogacāryabhūmi-sūtra*), tr. Dharmarakṣa, ca.265-291, T15, No. 606

優婆塞戒經(*Upāsaka-śīla-sūtra*), tr. Dharmarakṣa, ca. 415-433 CE, T24, No.1488

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勝天王般若波羅蜜經(*Pravaradevarāja-paripṛcchā*), tr. Upāśūnya, 535 CE, T8, No.231

善德天子會 (*Subhagunadevanirdeśa*), tr. Bodhiruci (572-727 CE), T11, No.310 (35)

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增壹阿含經(*Ekottarāgama-sūtra*), tr. Gaudam-saṃghadeva, 397 CE, T2, No.125

大乘三聚懺悔經 (*Dacheng-sanju-chanhui-jing*), tr. Jñānagupta and others (523-600 CE), T24, No.1493

大乘伽耶山頂經 (*Mahāyānagayā-sūtra*), tr. Bodhiruci (562-727 CE), T14, No. 467

大乘修行菩薩行門諸經要集 (*essential collection of Mahāyāna practices and the portals of the Bodhisattva's conduct from sūtras*), tr. Jñānālamkāra, 721 CE, T17, No. 847

大乘入楞伽經(*Laṅkāvatāra-mahāyāna-sūtra*), tr. Śikṣānanda, ca. 695-709 CE, T16, No.672

大乘同性經 (*Mahāyānābhisamay-sūtra*), tr. Jñānayaśa, 557 CE, T16, No.673

大乘寶雲經(*Mahāratnamegha-sūtra*), tr. Mandrasena and Saṃghapāla, T16, No.659

大乘方便會 (*Mahāyāna-upāya-paripṛcchā*), tr. Nandi, 419 CE, T11, No.310 (38)

大乘本生心地觀經 (*Mahāyānajaṭakādhyāśaya-bhūmidhyāna-sūtra*), tr. Prajñā, 789 CE, T03, No.159

大乘理趣六波羅蜜多經 (*Mahāyānabuddhiṣaṭpāramitā-sūtra*), tr. Prajñā, 788 CE, T8, No. 261

大乘集菩薩學論(*Śikṣāsamuccaya*), tr. Dharmapāla, ca. 1004-10058 CE, T1636, No.32

大哀經(*Mahākaruṇānirdeśa*), tr. Dharmarakṣa (238-316 CE), T13, No.398

大唐西域記(*Dà-táng-xī-yù-jì: Records of the Western Regions by Xúan Zàng of the Great Tang Dynasty*), T51, No.2087

大愛道比丘尼經 (*Mahāprajāpatī-bhikṣunī-sūtra*), tr. unknown, T24, No. 1478

大方廣佛華嚴經(*Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvaiṣṭvīya-sūtra*), tr. Buddhābhadda, 418 CE, T9, No.278

大方等大集經 (*Mahā-saṃnipāta-sūtra or a compilation of the mahāvaiṣṭvīya-sūtras*), compiled by Seng-jiu, ca. 581-604 CE, T13, No.397

大明了經 (*Dà-míng-dù-jing or Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*), tr. Zhi Qian, ca. 223-253 CE, T8, No.225

大智度論 (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*), tr. Kumārajīva, T25, No.1059

大本經 (*Mahāpadāna Sūtra*), tr. Lokakṣema in 179-180 CE, T1

大樹緊那羅王所問經(*Drumakīṃnararājanirdeśa*), tr. Kumārajīva, T15, No.625

大般涅槃經(*Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*), tr. Dharmarakṣa (385-433 CE), T12, No.374

大般涅槃經(*Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*), tr. Fāxiān (340-423 CE), T01, No.07
 大般涅槃經(*Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*), tr. Vidhyalamkara (350-427 CE), T12, No.375
 大般若波羅蜜多經(*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*) (f.523), tr. Xúanzàng, T07, No.220c.
 大般若波羅蜜多經(*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*), tr. Xítanzàng, T5, No.220a (fs., 1-200); T6, No.220b (Fs., 201-400); T7, No.220c (Fs., 401-600)
 大集法門經(*Mahāsaṃnipāta-dharmaparyāya-sūtra*), tr. Dānapāla, 1000 CE, T01, No.12
 太子瑞應本起經(*Tài-zi-rù-i-yìng- běn-qǐ-jīng* or *Sūtra on the origin of the lucky fulfilment of the Crown Prince*), tr. Zhi Qian, 222-253 CE, T3, No.185
 富樓那會(*Puṃparipṛcchā*) tr. Kumārajīva, T11, No.310 (17)
 寶雨經(*Ratnamegha-sūtra*), tr. Dharmaruci, ca. 684 CE, T16, No. 660
 寶雲經(*Ratnamegha-sūtra*), tr. Mandra-ṛṣi, ca. 534 CE, T16, No.658
 寶髻菩薩會(*Ratnacūḍaparipṛcchā*), tr. Dharmarakṣa (238-316 CE), T11, No.310 (47)
 小品般若波羅蜜經(*Prajñāpāramitāsūtra of a [New] Small Version*), tr. Kumārajīva, 408 CE, T8, No.227
 尸迦羅越六方禮經 (a version of the Sigalovada-sutta), tr. An Shìgāo, ca. 148-170 CE, T01, No.16
 彌勒菩薩所問本願經(*Sūtra of Maitreya's enquiring the basic vows*), tr. Dharmarakṣa, T12, No.349
 思益梵天所問經(*Vīśeṣacintabrahmaparipṛcchā*), tr. Kumārajīva, T15, No.586
 持世經(*Lokadharanirdeśā*), tr. Kumārajīva, ca. 403-413 CE, T14, No.482
 持人菩薩經(*Maṇuśadharanirdeśā*), tr. Dharmarakṣa, ca. 265-291 CE, T14, No.481
 摩訶般若波羅蜜大明咒經(*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-mahāvīdyāmantra-sūtra*), tr. Kumārajīva, T8, No.250
 摩訶般若波羅蜜經(*Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*), tr. Kumārajīva, T8, No.223
 摩訶般若波羅蜜鈔經(*Excerpts of the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*), tr. Dharmapriya and Zhú Fónián in 382 CE, T8, No.226
 攝大乘論(*Mahāyāna-saṃparigraha-śāstra*), tr. Buddhaśānta, ca. 551 CE, T31, No.1592; tr. Paramārtha, T31, No. 1592; tr. Xúan Zàng, T31, No.1594
 攝福德經 also named 華手經(*Puṣpahasūtra*), tr. Kumārajīva, T16
 放光般若波羅蜜經(*Prajñāpāramitāsūtra Which Emits Light*), tr. Mokṣala, 291 CE, T8, No.221
 文殊師利問菩提經(*Mañjuśrībodhiparipṛcchā*), tr. Kumārajīva, T14, No. 464.
 文殊支利普超三昧經(*Mañjuśrīśamantāsamādhinirdeśā*), tr. Dharmarakṣa (238-316 CE), T15, No.27
 新歲經(*Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on the new year day*), tr. Dharmarakṣa, ca. 381 CE, T01, No. 62
 方廣大莊嚴經(*Vaipulya-mahāvīyūha-sūtra*), tr. Divākara in 683 CE, T3, No.187,
 施食獲五福報經(*Sūtra on the five meritorious recompenses by giving food*), tr. unknown, T02, No.132
 普曜經(*Samanta-prabhāsa-sūtra*), tr. Dharmarakṣa in 308 CE, T3, No.0186
 最勝問菩薩十住除垢斷結經(*Sūtra on removing the defilement in the ten viḥāras*), tr. Zhú Fónián, ca. 384 - 417 CE, T10, No.309
 月燈三昧經(*Candradīpasamādhisūtra* or *Samādhī-rāja-sūtra*), tr. Narendrayaśas, 557 CE, T15, No.639
 根本說一切有部毘奈耶(*Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*), tr. Yìjìng in 703-713 CE, T23, No. 1442
 根本說一切有部毘奈耶破僧事(*Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya-saṃghabheda-khandaka*), tr. Yìjìng T24, No. 1450
 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事(*Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu*), tr. Yìjìng, 710 CE, T24, No.1451
 根本說一切有部苾芻毘奈耶(*Mūlasarvāstivāda-bhikṣuṇī-vinaya*), tr. Yìjìng, T23, No.1443
 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經(*Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*), tr. Guṇabhadra, 443 CE, T16, No.670
 法華經(*Saddharmapuṇḍarikāsūtra*), tr. Kumārajīva, T9, No.262
 法鏡經(*Dharmādarśa sūtra*), tr. Anxúán, 181CE, T12, No.0322
 海龍王經(*Sāgaranāgarājaparipṛcchā*), tr. Dharmarakṣa, ca. 265-291CE, T15, No.598
 無盡意經(*Akṣayamati-sūtra*), tr. Vidyālamkara and Ratnamegha, T13, No.0397
 無盡慧菩薩會(*Akṣayamatiparipṛcchā*), tr. Bodhiruci (562-727 CE), T11, No.310 (45)
 無量門總持經(*Anantamukhadhāraṇīnirdeśā*), tr. Zhi Qian ca. 222-235 CE

犯戒罪報輕重經 (*Sūtra on the results of minor and grave offences*), tr. An Shìgao, ca. 148-170 CE, T24, No.1467
 異出菩薩本起經 (*Yi-chu-pú-sà-běn-qǐ-jīng*), T3, No.0188
 異部宗輪論 (*A treatise on the principle teachings of different schools*), tr. Xúanzàng, T49, No.2031
 相續解脫波羅蜜了義經 (*Sūtra on the certain meaning of the pāramitā, the successive liberations*), tr. Guṇabhadra, ca. 435-468 CE, T16, No. 678
 等集眾德三昧經 (*Guṇasamatāsaṃgrahasamādhinirdeśā*), tr. Dharmarakṣa, 286 CE, T12, No.381
 經集部 (*A Collection of the Scriptures*), T14
 自在王菩薩經 (*Vasītarājaparipṛcchā*) tr. Kumārajīva, T13: 0924; T13: 00935.
 舍利弗悔過經 (*Sūtra on Śāriputra's Confession*), tr. An Shìgao, ca. 148-170 CE, T24, No.1492
 舍利弗阿毘曇論 (*Śāriputrābhidharma-sāstra*), tr. Dharmagupta and Dharmayaśas, 414-415 CE, T28, No.1548
 般舟三昧經 (*Pratyuppanna-samādhī-sūtra*), tr. Lokakṣema, 179 CE, T11, No.418
 般若燈論 (*Prajñāpradīpa-sāstra*), tr. Prabhākaramitra, ca. 630-632 CE, T30, No.1566
 菩薩善戒經 (*Bodhisattvavinayasūtra*), tr. by Guṇavarman (367-431CE), T30, No.1582.
 菩薩地持經 (*Bodhisattvabhūmisūtra*), tr. Dharmarakṣa (385-433 CE), T30, No.1581
 菩薩瓔珞本業經 (*Sūtra on the garland of the original actions of the Bodhisattva*), tr. Fónlan (374-417CE), T24, No.1485
 菩薩藏會 (*Bodhisttvaṇṇakaparivarta* or *Mahāyāna-piṭaka-sūtra*), tr. Xúanzàng, 645 CE, T11, No. 310 (12)
 菩薩藏經 (*Bodhisattvaṇṇaka-sūtra*), tr. Saṃghavarman (460-524 CE), T24, No.1491
 華手經 (*Puṣpahatanirdeśā*), tr. Kumārajīva, ca. 403-413 CE, T16, No. 657
 被甲莊嚴會 (*Varmavyūhanirdeśā*), tr. Bodhiruci, T11, No.310 (7)
 觀佛三昧海經 (*Buddha-dhyāna-samādhisāgara-sūtra*), tr. Buddhahadra, ca. 408-429 CE, T15, No.643
 觀察諸法行經 (*Dharmacaryā-smṛtinirdeśā*) tr. Jñānagupta (523-400 CE), T15, No.694
 解深密經 (*Samdhinirmocanasūtra*), tr. Xúanzàng, T16, No.676
 諸佛要集經 (*Buddhasaṃgīti*), tr. Dharmarakṣa, ca. 265-291 CE, T17, No.810
 諸法無行經 (*Sarvadharmāpravṛttinirdeśā*), tr. Kumārajīva, T15, No. 650
 賢劫經 (*Bhadrakalpikanirdeśā*), tr. Dharmarakṣa (238-316 CE), T14, No.425
 過去現在因果經 (*Sūtra on the cause and effect of the past and present*), tr. by Guṇabhadra, (394-468 CE), T3, No.189
 道行般若波羅密經 (*Dào-xíng-pān-rùo-po-lúo-mì-jīng* or *Sarvākarajñācaryā-prajñāpāramitāsūtra*), tr. Lokakṣama, ca. 179-180 CE, T8, No.224
 達摩多羅禪經 (*Dharmatara-dhyāna-sūtra*), tr. Buddhahadra, ca. 408-415 CE, T15, No.618
 郁伽長者會 (*Ugraparipṛcchā*), tr. Saṃghavarman, 252 CE, T11, No.310 (19)
 郁迦羅越問菩薩行經 (*Sūtra on Ugra's enquiry of the Bodhisattva's conducts*), tr. Dharmarakṣa, ca. 286 CE, T12, No.323
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