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 (pāramitās) 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 Tripitaka. 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
Atthasaḷīnī  Dhammasaṃgaṇī-aṭṭhakathā (Atthasaḷīnī), ed. E. Muller
BI  Bibliotheca Indica
Abhini  Abhinīṣkramana-sūtra, T3, No.190
BAOC  The Buddhist Association of China
BB  Bodhisattvabhūmi, ed. U. Wogihara
BP  Bodhisattvapitāma, T11, No. 310 (12), tr. by Xüanzàng
Bv  Buddhavaṃsa, ed. R. Morris
Bva  Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā (Maduratthavīlāsinī), 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 (Sumangalavīlāsinī), ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and others
D3  Daśabhūmika, ed. J. Rahder
DA  Daśaghāmasūtra, T01, No.01
Dbh  Daśabhūmika-sūtra, ed. P.L. Vaidya
Dafangdeng  Dàfàngdēng-dàjī-jīng (Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra), T13, No.397
Daming/MPI  Dà-míng-dì-jìng, T8, No.225
Dàoxīng  Dào-xīng-pàn-rúō-pò-liú-mì-jìng, T8, No.224
Dayal  The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature
DN  Dīgha Nikāya, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter
DhpA  Dharmapada-aṭṭhakathā, ed. H. C. Norman
EA  Ekottarāgama-sūtra, T2, No.125
BHS  Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, ed. F. Edgerton, vol., ii,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guangzan/PPL</td>
<td>Prajñāparamitā-sūtra of the Praise of Light, T8, No.222</td>
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<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Fascicle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jātaka</td>
<td>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 Buddhist India, Rhys Davids</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kośa</td>
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<td>Lkt</td>
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<td>LP</td>
<td>The Large Sūtra on Perfect Wisdom, tr. E. Conze, Delhi, 1990</td>
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<td>LP</td>
<td>The Large Sūtra on Perfect Wisdom, tr. E. Conze, Delhi, 1990</td>
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<tr>
<td>Large Version</td>
<td>refers large type of Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāparamitā-sūtra, e.g. Unit 1, T5-6, No.220ab (fs.1-400)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ma</td>
<td>Majjhima Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Papañcasūdanī), ed. J. H. Woods and others</td>
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<td>MA</td>
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<td>Mdh</td>
<td>Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra, T27, No.1547</td>
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<tr>
<td>Medium Version</td>
<td>refers medium type or class of Prajñāparamitā 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)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MN</td>
<td>Majjhima-Nikāya, ed. V. Trenckner and R. Chalmers</td>
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<td>MPK</td>
<td>Mahāprajñāpāramitāśūtra, tr. Kumārajīva, T8, No.223</td>
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<td>Mv</td>
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<tr>
<td>NJ</td>
<td>A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oliver</td>
<td>A Textual and Historical Analysis of the Khuddaka Nikāya</td>
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<td>PD</td>
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<td>Pr. Pā. Śata</td>
<td>Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, ed. P. Ghoṣa</td>
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<td>PTS</td>
<td>Pāli Text Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>RS</td>
<td>Ratnamegha-sūtra, T16, No.660</td>
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<td>Rgs</td>
<td>Prajñāpāramitā Ratnagunaṃcayagāthā, A. Yuyama</td>
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<td>SA</td>
<td>Saṃyukta-gama, T02, No.99</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sam. Rā</td>
<td>Saṃmādhirajāsūtra, ed. N. Dutt</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBB</td>
<td>Sacred Books of the Buddhists,</td>
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<td>SHR</td>
<td>Sūtra on the Highest Reliance, T16, No.669</td>
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<td>SN</td>
<td>Saṃyutta-Nikāya, ed. L. Feer</td>
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<td>STP</td>
<td>Shèng-tian-wáng-Prajñāpāramitāśūtra, T8, No.231</td>
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<td>Subāhu</td>
<td>Subāhuparipṛcchā, T11, No.310 (26)</td>
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<td>Sv</td>
<td>Saṃgaṇaḷavilāsinī, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and others</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
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<td>Šgs</td>
<td>Śūraṇgamasamādhī-sūtra, tr. É. Lamotte</td>
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<td>Skṣ</td>
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<td>Śatasāhasrikā</td>
<td>Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, ed. P. Ghosn,</td>
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<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō (Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripitaka)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>Translated</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unit</td>
<td>Individual text within Sūtra No.220 in T</td>
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<tr>
<td>UdA</td>
<td>Udāna-aṭṭhakathā</td>
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<td>Upāli</td>
<td>Upāliparipṛcchā, T11, No. 310(24)</td>
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<td>Vkn</td>
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<td>Vin</td>
<td>Vinaya</td>
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<td>Vism</td>
<td>Visuddhimagga, ed.C. A. F. Rhys Davids</td>
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<td>Vs</td>
<td>Verse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>Buddhism in Translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Winternitz</td>
<td>History of Indian Literature, Vol.ii</td>
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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 Buddhavamsa and the Cariyāpiṭaka are also examined as prescriptive texts that emphasise the perfections (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 dharmas. 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 Īśāpāramitāśānḍrakāraṇasūtra, the Dāo-zhā-dà-jīng, the Triskandhasūtra, the Buddhāvadānanidānas, the Subāhupariṇācchā, and the Buddhāsāṅgītīsūtra. The earliest Mahāyāna texts demonstrate an acceptance of six perfections (pāramitā) and emphasise compassion and generosity. The inclusion of dhīyāna 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 Prajñāpāramitāśāstra.

Chapter Five examines the bodhisattva ideal in the prajñāpāramitāsūtras belonging to the Minor Class (下品). 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.

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

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1 In ancient times, the prajñāpāramitāsūtras were classified into the Minor Class (下品), Medium Class (中品) and Large Class (上品), according to their context and time of compilation.
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.
A. The bodhisatta concept in Pāli scriptures

In Buddhism today, the title bodhisatta (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 bodhisatta in its original form may have arisen in “a purely Buddhist framework” for no word similar to bodhisatta 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 bodhisatta to Gotama Buddha himself, it first appears in words attributed to him, and with reference to his own career before his enlightenment.

According to some Khuddaka texts, Śākyamuni became a Buddha as a result of the completion of perfections. In the Apaddāna, 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, vīryya and paññā. These ten are also given in the Buddhavaṃsa. The Jātaka stories are also meant to illustrate these ten perfections. The Apaddāna speaks of thirty perfections (timsapārami sanpunna), 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 pāramiṭṭatto (attained perfection) occur in the Nikāya, but nowhere in the Pāli Tipiṭaka barring the Khuddaka Nikāya, which also mentions the pāramiṭṭas specifically. The words pāramiṭṭatto 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 pāramiṭṭas. Dutt has observed that the practice of pāramiṭṭas occupies an important place in the Mahāyānist code of

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3 The Buddha commences his sermon in MN I, 114 with the words: Pubbe va me, bhikkhave, sambodhā anābhisambodhassa bodhisattassa sato, etad ahosi. 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 (tusitaṁkāyaṁ upapajjī)
5 Sun.vv. 1018, 1020; MN, iii, p.128
discipline. In the *Saddharma-pundarīka*, it is repeatedly stated that the teaching for the Srāvakas 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. In the *Daśabhūmikā-sūtra*, 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 qualities 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 *Cariyāpiṭaka* 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,

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7 T09:0003c, “為求離闇者說應四諦法...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. 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. 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 Dhanañjaya. 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. We also see that the wisdom of a bodhisatta includes the ability to be politically adept, prudent, moderate, and to have strong resolve.

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, the virtues and the duties of an ascetic, and of a householder. It also includes having knowledge of common or civil law, the arts and crafts needed to obtain a better standard of life, the ways to associate with leaders, and the

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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, p130, *Jātaka* No. 545; the *Vidhurapaṇḍita-Jātaka*
19 The *Kusajātaka* 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. It also involves knowing how to enjoy oneself and how to treat and tempt people, the best way to run a home and a state, and suitable conduct and behaviour for all positions and occasions. A bodhisatta may also have mastery of the Vedas.

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. The type of knowledge that a bodhisatta could have also includes architectural engineering, means of protection, the values of giving, tolerance and other virtues. The bodhisatta may be a wise gambler, as is shown in the Anḍabhūta-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.

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.

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

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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 Vidhuraprajñā-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, 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, to teach people the ways of obtaining a prosperous life, to instruct children, and to teach the means of obtaining honour. A bodhisatta may also be able to meet with and teach deities and spirits, to draw people towards goodness, 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 arts 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. One such being may have the ability to practise all kinds of giving (dana) and virtue, to sacrifice oneself in order to free others, 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. The bodhisatta ought to induce human kings to abide by the five precepts, to know the mind of everyone, and to sit in mid-air whilst expounding the doctrine to audiences, and to cause invaders to surrender their weapons and become ascetics through powerful discourses.

Bodhi is used in the sense of awareness or sensitivity or cognisance. This is indicated in the Jatakas 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

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31 Jataka 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 Mahasutasoma-Jataka. Jataka V, pp.246-279
33 Jataka VI, p.142
34 Jataka V, pp.276-277
35 Jataka V, pp.141-164
36 Jataka VI, p.140
37 Jataka I, pp.36-42; Jataka No.12
38 Jataka VI, p.149
39 Jataka I, pp.36-42; Jataka No.12
40 Jataka VI, pp.2-19; No.538, Muga-Pakkha-Jataka
41 Jataka 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 Bhārhat Stūpa

According to Cunningham and Rhys Davids, the alphabetical characters of the inscriptions and the Jātakas illustrated on the bas-reliefs on the Bhārhat Stūpa belong to the third century BCE.\(^4\) 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 Bhārhat Stūpa.\(^4\)

The bodhisatta king according to the \textit{Makkhā-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.\(^4\)

The bodhisatta king-deer, or Banyan-deer in the \textit{Nigrodha-miga-jātaka},\(^4\) 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 Pigeon\(^4\) in the \textit{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 Peacock\(^4\) 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

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\(^4\) This outline is based on the table entitled “Jātakas illustrated by bas-reliefs on the Bhārhat Stūpa”, in Appendix to Chapter XI in \textit{Buddhist India}, Rhys Davies, p. 209.
\(^4\) Cunningham, A. \textit{Stūpa of Bhārhat}, (London, 1879) Plate XLVIII, Fig.2; Jātaka I, pp.30-32, Jātaka No.9 (in Fausboll’s edition).
\(^4\) Ibid., Plate XXV, Fig. 1; Jātaka I, pp.36-42, Jātaka No.12, \textit{The Nigrodha Miga Jātaka}
\(^4\) Ibid., Plate XLV, Fig. 7; Jātaka I, pp.112-4; Jātaka No.42, \textit{The Kapota Jātaka}
\(^4\) Ibid., Plate XXVII, Fig.11; Jātaka I, pp.83-4; Jātaka No 32, \textit{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 King in the *Anḍabhūta-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 Brahmin in the *Dūbhiya-Makkata-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, 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 bodhisatta 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 Antelope 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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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-makkata 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 Arāma-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,\textsuperscript{53} with the help of his wife, kills a great golden crab who ate elephants in a lake. The Bodhisatta Cock\textsuperscript{54} 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 \textit{Jātakas} show that with skill in means the bodhisatta consoled people who grieved terribly over the death of their beloved. The Bodhisatta Sujāta\textsuperscript{55} 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 \textit{Migapotaka-\textit{Jātaka}}\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Camma-Sataka-\textit{Jātaka}} the bodhisatta merchant,\textsuperscript{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 Brahmadatta Mahā-Kañcana\textsuperscript{58} 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

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., Plate XXV, Fig. 2; \textit{Jātaka} II, pp.235-7; \textit{Jātaka} No.267, \textit{The Kakkaṇā-\textit{Jātaka}}

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., Plate XLVII, Fig. 5; \textit{Jātaka} III, pp.168-9; \textit{Jātaka} No.383, \textit{The Kukkuṇā-\textit{Jātaka}}

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., Plate XLVII, Fig.3; \textit{Jātaka} III, pp.103-104; \textit{Jātaka} No.352, \textit{The Sujātu-\textit{Jātaka}}

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., Plate XLIII, Fig. 2.8; \textit{Jātaka} III, pp.140-141; \textit{Jātaka} No. 372, \textit{The Miga-potaka Jātaka}

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., Plate XLI, Fig.1.3; \textit{Jātaka} III, pp.55-6; \textit{Jātaka} No. 324, \textit{The Camma-sataka Jātaka}

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., Plate XLVIII, Fig.7; \textit{Jātaka} IV, pp.192-7; \textit{Jātaka} No.488, \textit{The Bhisa-\textit{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 monkeys 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 fairy 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-Pāṇḍita 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 Brahmin 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 Canda-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 Alambusa Jātaka
The Bodhisatta Prince Temiyā-Kumāra was conceived in his mother’s womb in order to fully exercise the perfections in the world of men. 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 Tipitaka. 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 saññyaksambodhi, 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

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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 Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpīṭaka

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 Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpīṭaka66 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-bhānąkas,67 they contain more developed elaborations of the bodhisattva ideal.

A 3.1. The concept of bodhi and the perfections in the Buddhavamsa

The Buddhavamsa is thus a relatively late addition to the canon.68 The reason for the compilation of the Buddhavamsa 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 (pāramī).69 To complete them all became a necessary pre-requisite for enlightenment. The Buddhavamsa 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 Bhārhat stūpa, showing that they had already become popular by the second century B.C.”
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 (Buddhavamsa), London: PTS, 1975, p.xiii
70 Ibid., p.xiii; Thomas, E. J., History of Buddhist Thought, London 1933, pp. 172,204
Cariyāpiṭaka. However, the Buddhavaṃsa 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 Buddhavaṃsa.

Although bodhi is still the only quality needed for a sentient being (satta) to be deemed a bodhisatta, the bodhisatta concept in the Buddhavaṃsa 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 Buddhavaṃsa 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.”

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.

Thirdly, bodhi is used in the sense of supreme awakening (bodhimuttama), the conqueror’s awakening (jinabodhi), or full enlightenment (sambodhi). 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 Buddhavaṃsa.

Considering the implied meaning of bodhi in the context of the Buddhavaṃsa, 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.

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73 Morris. R ed. The Buddhavaṃsa and the Cariyāpiṭaka, pp.13-15
74 Bv, p.16, mā te bhavantvantariyo phusa khipuṃ bodhim uttaman. ‘May there be no stumbling-block for you, quickly reach supreme Awakening.’
75 Bv, p.16
76 Bv, p.14, sambodhīṃ pāpuṇissati. ‘If you wish to attain the Awakening.’
77 Bv, p.13, yadi bodhiṃ pattum icchasi, ye dhammā bodhipacana, 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?"7 8

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 (*dana*).79 The three levels of *pāramīta*, 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.

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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
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 *Buddhavānsa*? The following is an outline of these pāramitās (Pāli: pārami) drawn from the text.

The first pāramitā is the perfection of generosity. The emphasis is placed on the donor, and no distinction is made among those who receive gifts. The term dharmadāna (teaching as giving) is not found in the *Buddhavānsa*, 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." The second pāramitā is the perfection of morality (sīla). The *Buddhavānsa* 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." 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 (nekkhā). 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 *Buddhavānsa*, 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 Samgha. 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 becomings as a prison, be one turned toward renunciation, the utter release from becoming, like a man in prison seeking only freedom."86

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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*)."

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 (*viriya*) 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."  

The sixth *pāramitā* is the perfection of patience (*khanti*). Here the *Buddhavānsa* 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 *Buddhavānsa*, 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 *Buddhavānsa*,

"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."

The seventh *pāramitā* is the perfection of speaking the truth (*sacca*). This is defined by the *Buddhavānsa* 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

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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 (adhitthāna). 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 then 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 Buddhāvāṁsa 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 Buddhāvāṁsa 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 Buddhāvāṁsa 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 Buddhāvāṁsa, 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 Cariyāpīṭaka and the Pāramitās

The Cariyāpīṭaka 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 Buddhāvāṁsa and the Cariyāpīṭaka, 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 Cariyāpīṭaka in relation to the Buddhāvāṁsa 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 Cariyāpīṭaka serves in effect as a supplement to the Buddhāvāṁsa . . . It is a late text. It was not accepted as canonical by the Dīgha-bhāṇakas." 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, 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, 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.

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 Nidanakathā. 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 Jātakatthavannana. 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 (adhitthāna) in one, the perfection of truthfulness (sacca) in six, the perfection of loving kindness (metta) in two, and the perfection of equanimity (upekkhā) in one. Of the ten perfections mentioned in the Uddānagathās, only seven are illustrated. The cariyās illustrating the remaining three perfections (pāññā, vīriya and khanti) are entirely missing. The perfection of wisdom is asserted to be illustrated in the

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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 carīyā, the perfection of energy in the Mahāvānarinda carīyā, and the perfection of patience in the Mahisarāra, Rūrumiga and Dhammadevaputta carīyaś.98

It should be noted here that both the Buddhavānsa and the Uddānagāthās mention the ten pāramīs, while the Cariyāpiṭaka illustrates only seven. Abeynayake assumes that stories illustrating pañña, viśīya 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 pāramīs. Analysing the bodhisatta concept in this text thus requires a close examination of how the pāramīs are treated. First, we find that in the Cariyāpiṭaka the term bodhi is used in the sense of omniscience (sabbāññutā). This is evident by the phrase sabbāññutaṁ piyam mayhaṁ (omniscience is dear to me). The purpose of the numerous practices is to achieve full enlightenment (sambodhi) and omniscience (sabbāññutā). The following is a condensed account of the pāramīs as discussed in the text.

1. Dānapāramītā

The perfection of generosity (dānapāramītā) 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 sabbāññutā. (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 brahmana devour him.102

2. Silapāramitā
The perfection of morality (silapāramitā)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 Cūlabodhi (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 yakka possessing great clairvoyant power. He met an evil yakka 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 Saṃkhapāla (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 silapāramitā. 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 renunciation in the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, only the bodhisatta who is born as a human being is able to practise this perfection. The concept of *nekkhampāramitā* 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*) 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 Vattapataka (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

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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 Kaṇhādīpāyana (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 Cariyāpīṭaka 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 Cariyāpīṭaka 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 Mahālomahāṃsa 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." Horner, noting a thematic link between this perfection and the Majhimanikāya, makes a reasonable suggestion that the Cariyāpiṭaka developed a theme found in the Majhimanikāya but not in the Jātakas, and turned the brahmavihāra of equanimity into the perfection of equanimity. 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 sabbāññutā 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 (nekhamapāramitā), 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 sabbāññutā. These are especially shown in the verses of the Cariyāpiṭaka, where the Gotama Buddha attained full enlightenment 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 sabbāññutā, 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

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107 Cp, p.102.
108 L.B. Horner, Minor Anthologies III, Basket of Conduct (Cariyāpiṭaka), PTS, 1975, p.ix. (my inverted commas)
109 L.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*. 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. The date of the work has not yet been fixed, but its nucleus originates in the second century BCE, 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.

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 Dīpankara (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 born there, decides to be born 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 *Vinayapīṭaka* in its main features. This is why the *Mahāvastu* describes itself as belonging to the *Vinayapīṭaka*.

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 *Śyāmakājātaka* (II, 209ff) is another version of

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


114 Hajime Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi, 1989, p.130
the *Samajātaka* known to us. The *Kinnarījātaka* (II, 94ff) corresponds in character to the Kinnara stories of the *Jātaka* book. The story of Nalinikūsa 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 *Rājavamsa*, 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 rṣi 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”,\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Mahāvastu}.\textsuperscript{116} These are the natural career \((prkṛti-caryā)\),\textsuperscript{117} the aspiration career \((pranidhāta-caryā)\),\textsuperscript{118} the conforming career \((anuloma-caryā)\),\textsuperscript{119} and the non-regressing career \((anivartana-caryā)\).\textsuperscript{120} Each of these is illustrated in the former births of Gautama Buddha.\textsuperscript{121}

The \textit{Mahāvastu} describes the ten stages \((bhūmis)\) a bodhisattva passes on his way to fully complete enlightenment. Mahāyāna texts such as the \textit{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 \textit{Mahāvastu} and similar literature concerning the Buddha’s life transcend sectarian lines. For example, at the end of the \textit{Abhinīṣkrāmaṇa-sūtra},\textsuperscript{122} a Dharmaguptaka text, it is noted that the very same biography is called the \textit{Mahāvastu} by the Mahāsaṅghika school and various other names by the Sarvāstivādin, Kāśyapīya and Mahāsaṅsaka schools. This indicates that these schools shared a common biography of the Buddha.\textsuperscript{123}

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

\textsuperscript{115} Mv, III, 137ff.
\textsuperscript{116} Basak, Radhagovinda, \textit{Mahāvastu Avadāna}, vol. i, Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1963, p. 1
\textsuperscript{117} Basak, Radhagovinda, \textit{Mahāvastu Avadāna}, vol. i, Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1963, pp. 1, 53, 54
\textsuperscript{118} Basak, Radhagovinda, \textit{Mahāvastu Avadāna}, vol. i, Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1963, pp. 1, 53
\textsuperscript{120} Basak, Radhagovinda, \textit{Mahāvastu Avadāna}, vol. i, Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1963, pp. 1, 53
\textsuperscript{121} It would seem that the section on the ten \textit{bhūmis} was inserted by the compilers to include in the \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{Bhūmi} to the sixth \textit{bhūmi}. For further investigation into the relations between \textit{bhūmis} and \textit{cariyas}, see the section on “The Stages of the bodhisattva’s Practices in Part II, and also see Rahula, B. T., \textit{A Critical Study Of The Mahāvastu}, Delhi 1978, p. 62
\textsuperscript{122} Abhini, 仏本行集綱, T03: 0655ff, No.190. This text was translated into English by Beal, Samuel, \textit{The Romantic Legend Of Śākya Buddha: From Chinese-Sanskrit}, London: Trübner & Co., 1875.
\textsuperscript{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 paramīs, 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 (duṣṭaroha). Bodhisattvas on this bhūmi are ordinary beings 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.

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 Avīcī 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. 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,

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125 ibid., p.63
126 ibid., p.61
127 ibid., p.62
128 The Mahāvastu recounts Mahākāśyapa asking Mahākāśyana 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?” Mahākāśyana 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 kośas 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 kośas 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."  

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, 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.

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 (baddhamāna). 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.

Ibid., p.64.

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."

Ibid., p.65.

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-manḍita),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

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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

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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.\textsuperscript{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 (ruciṁ),\textsuperscript{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 Sangha, (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

\textsuperscript{137} Ibid., p.76
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."

6. The sixth bhūmi

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 (rupavāt).\textsuperscript{147} On this bhūmi, bodhisattvas recognise that the whirlpool of samsāra 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 (sanjñāvedayita-nīrodha).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{149}

7. The seventh bhūmi

The seventh bhūmi is the difficult to conquer (durjayā).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{151} So that they may do goodness to many sentient beings, they master all the arts, sciences, languages, and scripts.\textsuperscript{152} They also learn all there is to know about gold, silver, precious stones,\textsuperscript{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 things\textsuperscript{154} and possess many qualities such as patience, tranquillity of mind and tenderness

\textsuperscript{147} Basak, 1963, p.142-150; Jones, 1949, pp.95-100
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid., p.149
\textsuperscript{149} Ibid., p.100
\textsuperscript{150} Basak, 1963, pp.150-161; Jones, 1949, pp.100-108
\textsuperscript{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 unalloyed 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.”
\textsuperscript{152} Ibid., pl07.
\textsuperscript{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."
\textsuperscript{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. Understanding is emphasised as one of their attributes, as is skilfulness, and the ability to be skilful in the politics of the world.

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

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, or irreversible bodhisattvas. At this stage whatever sovereignty is theirs. They go forth from home into the homeless state. 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.

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."

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.

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.

Ibid., p.80.

Ibid., p.108; Basak, 1963, p.161, ye te bho dhutadharmadhara bodhisattvā avaivartikāsteṣān saptamāto bhūmito astamānabhūmi smāktamanānān mahākāraṇāsamanpravuktan cītāmupadyate. 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 (*janmanidesa*),\(^ {165}\) 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,
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."  

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."  

9. The ninth and tenth bhūmis

The ninth and tenth bhūmis are the installation as crown-prince (yauvatīja) and consecration (abhiṣeka), 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 samsāra 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. 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. 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

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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. 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 Cariyapitaka and Buddhavamsa, where renunciation is demonstrated only in stories concerning human beings. 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 Saṅgha 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

\[173 \text{ Mv, i. 102.5; ii, p296.6-7; iii, p.67.4} \]

\[174 \text{ This is consistent with the modern Theravāda vinaya, in which only human beings can demonstrate renunciation.} \]
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,\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{175} Charity (*dāna*), see Jones, J. J., tr. *The Mahāvastu*, vol., 1, pp. 80, 141, 146-156 (*tyāga*).
Chapter Two: The Bodhisattva Concept In The Early Buddhist Schools

In addition to the Theravadin 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 Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras, particularly the Aṣṭasāhasrikā, the Pañcavimsatisāhasrikā and the Śatasāhasrikā, as these occupy a chronological position between the Mahāvastu and the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra or the Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra. 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. Dayal has etymologically listed seven meanings for the term sattva, and seven hypothetical meanings of the term bodhisattva. He points out that none of them gives the precise meaning of sattva. Based on the passages in the Pāli texts and modern studies, he suggests that the word Bodhisatta is as old as the Pāli Nikāyas, which date from the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.

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176 Dutt, N. Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Its Relation to Hinayāna, Luzac & Co., London 1930, p.64; Conze, E. (in The Prajñāparamita 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. xx, 392.

179 e.g. “mayham-pi kho .... Anabhisumbuddhassa bodhisattass’eva”, MNI, 17, 6; “Vipassissa bhikkhave ....

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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 (yŏu-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.

181 T8:0536, No.227.
182 T8:538c, “大有情眾最為上首.” 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為上首, …大有情眾者,住種性第八第十流一來不還阿羅漢偈地,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 adamantine thought (vajropamam cittam), (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, ālayaratī 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, 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 Dhamaguptakas, and that the Dhamaguptakas and the Theravādins were branches of the Vibhajyavāda. The Chinese translations of the Saṃyuktāgama and the Madhyamāgama represent the recitations of the Sarvāstivādins.

In the Saṃyuttaniyā 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 paṭiccaśamuppāda. 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, . . .”

In the canonical counterpart of the text, the Saṃyuktāgama, the term bodhisattva however, is not found. Again in the texts belonging to the Madhyamāgama such as the Upakilesa Sūtra, the Sūtra on the State of Deva, and the Ariyapariyesana Sūtra we also do not find the term bodhisattva, but in the canonical counterparts of the Majjinnīna-nikāya and other Nikāyas, we find the term bodhisatta. The Chinese translation of the Mahāpadāna-sūtra of the Dīrghāgama, states that before Vipaśyin attained buddhahood he was called bodhisattva. 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 Vibhajyavādins 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

\[186\] See Buddha-vaggo in the Nidāna-sānuyutta 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 sānyaksambodhi . . .” 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. 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 Dipaṃkara prophesied the future buddhahood of Gautama, Sumati or Amalajyoti. 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. The Caturvarga-vinaya refers to the bodhisattva Maitreya and the bodhisattva Dipaṃkara, 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 Jñānapratisthāna-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

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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-sīhanāda 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 (説本經). The Sūtra on the Practice of the Holy Cakravartirāja (轉輪聖修行經, T1:41c-42b.) within the Dīghāgama-sūtra corresponds to the narration of the Cakkavatti-sīhanāda Sutta in the Dīgha-nikāya.

191 弥勒, see the Caturvarga-vinaya-piṭaka, T22:784a-785c; the Ekottarāgama-sūtra, T2:597b-599c; the Buddhist-pāvavacayā-saṅgraha-sūtra, T3:665a-666b.

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

193 造光, in the Sūtra on the origin of practice (修行本起経, the Cūḍa-nidāna), T3:461c.

194 四分律, the Caturvarga-vinaya, T22: 779b – 786c.
Asoka (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 *Mahāvibhāṣā-sāstra*, and a later version of the latter, extant only in Chinese. The older version of the *Mahāvibhāṣā-sāstra* is the *Abhidharmavaibhāṣā-sāstra*, translated into Chinese by Buddhavarman and others, although traditionally ascribed to Kātyāyānīputra (1st c. BCE). The later version of the *Mahāvibhāṣā-sāstra* was translated into Chinese between 656-659 CE. According to the colophon of Xuan-zāng, King Kaniska assembled 500 arhats 400 years after the Buddha’s *nirvāṇa*, and sponsored them to compile the canon. The Sarvāstivādin *Abhidharma-piṭaka* is also said to date back to that time. Since Kaniska’s activities are mentioned in the *Mahāvibhāṣā-sāstra* however, some scholars maintain that it should be dated after Kaniska’s reign.

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 *ītivṛttakas* for instance, were treated as mere legends passed through many hands.

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195 阿毘達磨毘婆沙論, the *Abhidharmavibhāṣā-sāstra*, tr. Buddhavarman, ca. 437 CE, T28, No.1546, in 60 fascicles. According to Nj, this work is attributed to Kātyāyānīputra. Kātyāyānīputra is also the author of text *Abhidharmajñāna-prasthāna-sāstra*.


197 阿毘達磨毘婆沙論, the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā-sāstra*, tr. by Xuanzāng, T27, No.1545

198 MPS, T27:1004a

199 T. Kimura held this view and proposed that it was compiled in the middle of the second century CE (阿毘達磨毘婆沙論之研究 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 itivrttakas? 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 Vipaśyin, teaching his disciples the true Dharma. There was a Buddha in the past, namely Kāśyapa, teaching his disciples the true Dharma, and so on.' The tales referred to in the Mahāvibhāṣā-sāstra 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. The seven Buddhas mentioned in the Mahāvibhāṣā-sāstra are identical to the seven Buddhas of the Mahānirvāṇasūtra, and their stories are considered as Jātakas.

The Sarvāstivādins and the followers of Satyasiddhi-sāstra kept their own accounts of the Jātaka stories. The Satyasiddhi-sāstra says of the Jātakas, "the Jātakas are tales about the past, told because of present circumstances." The Mahāvibhāṣā-sāstra 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."

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

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...

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200 T27:660a, “本事如何？論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 itivrttaka. The itivrttaka 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 Krakuchchanda Buddha and his disciples.
203 T32:0239a, No. 1646; see also NJ, No.1274. This treatise was composed by Harivarman and translated by Kumārajiva (417-418 CE). This work differs from the views of the Sarvāstivādanikāyā.
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 經諸經中說過去所經生事 .... 如佛因提婆達多說五百生事等.”
206 獨正理論, the Nyāyānusāra-sāstra, 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, Mahāsudarśana, Jotipāla and the kṣatriya king of the Samyutta-nikāya. 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, King Māndhātā, Velāma, Araka and Sumetra 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 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.”

Similarly the Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā-śāstra says,

“As for the Dipankara 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.”

Among the Buddhist schools it is widely accepted that in one of his former births, as the ascetic Sumedha, the Buddha met Buddha Dīpankara 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.

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208 Dirghāgama Sūtra 3, T1: 207a, 30b; Dīghanikāya, Sutta 19
209 Dīghanikāya, Sutta 7, the Jāliya Sutta.
210 Madhyamāgama, Sūtra 63, T1:499a; Majjhanikāya, 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 (Sarvasādavinaya- vībhāṣā), 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, “然造佛本事...此非盡佛教HomeController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-kyūdraka-vastu 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 Brahmadatta, the leading householder is named Santati . . . In this way, at any time, you may speak approvingly of them."

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 Nīnāaprasthāna-śāstra, the fundamental treatise of the Sarvāstivādins states,

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

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219 Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya-kyūdraka-vastu tr. Yi-jing, T24:0207, No.1451
220 T24:328c, "當來之世，人多健忘，慧力寡少，不如世尊於何方城邑聚落，說何經典？若說說昔日因緣之事，當說何處？應云婆羅‘兜斯，王名梵授，長者名相纜，瞿波斯迦名長淨，當時稱說。’"
221 T26:0771ff, No.1543; according to NJ’s Catalogue, No. 1273, this work was composed by Kārvāyanputra, 300 years after Buddha’s entering nirvāṇa.
The Śāriputrābhidharma-śāstra\textsuperscript{223} also says,

“How 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 dharmas without obstruction, one will obtain self-power and free-will, will be a respected conqueror and honoured one. With free-will,\textsuperscript{224} one will realise perfect enlightenment (samyakānabodhi), perfect in the ten powers of a Tathāgata and the four confidences (catuvāsāradya), perfect in great compassion (karana), and will turn the Wheel of the Dharma, such is a bodhisattva.”\textsuperscript{225}

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.\textsuperscript{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 asamkhyeya kalpas of the bodhisattva’s progress toward buddhahood. The period of practice for the attainment of the

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\textsuperscript{223} 舍利弗阿毘縷論 (Śāriputrābhidharma-śāstra), tr. by Dharmagupta, together with Dharmayasas, 414-415 CE; it is in Tibetan. See T28:0525, No.1548
\textsuperscript{224} (當)尊勝自在
\textsuperscript{225} T28:585ab, “云何菩提人?若人三十二相成就,不從他聞,不受他教,不論他法,自思自觀,於一切法見無礙,當得自力自在,當得見無上正覺,當成就如來十力四無所畏,成就大慈,轉於法輪: 是名菩提.”
\textsuperscript{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 DhpA iii 212 as follows: ‘... ahetukatiracchānayoniyaḥ nibbuttakāle ...’ (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. The time spans in the Pāli accounts are significantly higher.

According to the Kathāvatthu, the Uttarāpathaka school asserts that one who is gifted with the marks is a Bodhisatta. 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. According to an inscription on one of the pillars, these can be dated to the Śunga 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.

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227 The Northern tradition seems to have adopted three incalculable (asṅkyās) aeons (kalpas) as the duration of a bodhisattva’s progress.
228 According to Pāli sources, the minimum period is four Incalculable (asṅkhyā) and one hundred thousand kalpas.
229 Lakkhasamannāgato Bodhisatto ti Kathāvatthu, IV.7. Buddhaghosa in his Kathāvatthu-Āṭṭhakathā (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 if Calcutta, 1965) p.89.
231 T26:1018a, “成就相異熟業”, 53
Before concluding this section, we must recall Nagarjuna’s observation on the definition of bodhisattva of the Sarvastivadins. Nagarjuna 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 *Abhinīkramana-sūtra*\(^{234}\) of the Dharmaguptakas refers to four types of career (*cārya*)\(^{235}\) which are connected with different grades of bodhisattvas. The *Mahāvastu* of the Lokottaravadins also refers to four levels of career (*cārya*).\(^{236}\) Notably, the Dharmaguptakas derived this particular view from the Vibhajyavadins, and the Lokottaravadins from the Mahāsāṃghikas. Though these two sects do not belong to the same sectarian group, they have a similar expression about the four grades of the *bodhisattvacāryā*. This similarity is perhaps due to the fact that their *locations are in close proximity*. Comparatively, the four grades of the *bodhisattvacāryā*\(^{237}\) in the two texts are as follows.

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\(^{232}\) MPS, T25:0273abc.

\(^{233}\) T50:304a, “七萬七千本生諸經,” 見付倉藏因緣傳 (Seventy-seven thousand *Jātakas* and *sūtras* mentioned in the *Fuhiang-Yinyuan Zhuan*).

\(^{234}\) 佛本行集經 (*Abhinīkramana-sūtra*), T03, No.190.

\(^{235}\) Abhini, T03:656c

\(^{236}\) Mv, vol., I, pp.46-63

\(^{237}\) According to M.Monier-Williams’ *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, *cārya* means career of degrees of the bodhisattvas. *Prakti-cārya* is that where the native qualities are being showed, *praviddhāna-cārya*, where they take the vow to reach the *bodhi* or enlightenment, *anuloma-cārya*, where the conduct conformable to that vow is practiced, and *anivartana-cārya*, where the preparation is done without running the risk of any forfeiture. R.Kern (in his *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Delhi, 1968) defines *cārya* as course. According to him, *prakti-cārya* is original course. *Praviddhāna-cārya* is the course of the vow or firm resolution. *Anuloma-cārya* is the course in accordance with the vow taken and *Anivartana-cārya* is the course in which no sliding back is possible.
According to the *Abhinīṣkramana-sūtra*, a bodhisattva in the rank of a *prakṛti-carya* 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 brahmans, knows all the respectable elders, servants, kin, and knowing them, carries out duties faultlessly. The bodhisattva is endowed with the ten kusala dharmas and also practises other kinds of good conduct. 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 *samyaksam bodhi*. 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. The bodhisattva in the rank of the *vartana-caryā* (the turning point of career) is one who has received the prediction from the Buddha Dīpankara. According to the *Mahāvastu*, the bodhisattva who has received the prediction from the Buddha Dīpankara is precisely the bodhisattva in the stage of irreversibility (*anivartana-caryā*).

Comparatively, the similarity between the Dharmaguptakas and the Lokottaravadins, or between the *Abhinīṣkramana-sūtra* and the *Mahāvastu*, 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

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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 *Abhinīṣkramana-sūtra* is a corruption of the word *anivartana-caryā*.
illustration of the last three stages agrees with those in the Prañāpāramitā-sūtras belonging to the Minor Class.  

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."  

The Kumārākusalapalabhidāna-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."

Similarly, the Attrapratyutpanna-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."

The Abhinirvānasastra refers to one hundred and eight gates of the law, on which it says, "I (the bodhisattva) progressed from one stage of wisdom to the next." 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 (durārohā-bhūmi) is still an ordinary individual, although mental and moral behaviour are particularly refined. The bodhisattva on the first stage also makes the resolution (pranidhāna) to become a Buddha. The bodhisattva on the seventh stage - the stage of the difficult to conquer (durjayā-bhūmi), attains the stage of irreversibility. The eighth bhūmi is called the ascertainment of birth (janma-nideśa). The ninth and tenth bhūmis are named the installation as crown-prince (yauvanāja) and

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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, 達十地行,在一生補處." Translated by Zhu Tāli (Mahābalalā?), 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 Mahāśākya.
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-Sanscrit, 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, “從一地至一地至.”
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 (*abhiseka*), 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.\textsuperscript{251} The career of the bodhisattva on the stage of crown-prince (*yauvārajā*) 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*.\textsuperscript{252} In particular, the last four *vihāras* of the *Bodhisattva-daśa-vihaṇa-parivarta*\textsuperscript{253} belonging to the ancient version of the *Buddha-avataṃsaka-sūtra*,\textsuperscript{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 *dharmamegha-bhūmi* in Mahāyāna texts, preserves an ancient saying that at this stage the bodhisattva enters the level of *abhiseka* (consecration), “the Buddhas of the ten directions emit rays and consecrate him.”\textsuperscript{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:

\textsuperscript{252} T9:0395 ff (text No.278)(Nj.87), *the Buddha-avataṃsakasūtra* translated by Buddhabhadra 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 Fōnlan 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 Fōnlan during 384-417 CE; T44:465ff (No.1815).
\textsuperscript{253} T9:444c-446a; the last four *vihāras* are: *durjayā-vihaṇa*, *Janmanideśa-vihaṇa* (T9:445c-446a), *Yauvarāja-vihaṇa* (T9:446ac) and *abhiseka-vihaṇa* (T9:446c).
\textsuperscript{254} T9:395 ff. Translated by Buddhabhadra in 418 CE.
\textsuperscript{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 *Abhinīśkramaṇa-sūtra* of the Dharmaguptakas says that when the bodhisattva was still in the stage of *prakṛti-cāryā*, 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 Deśanadhvajaneśvara Tathāgata, the bodhisattva began to produce the thought of enlightenment,²⁵⁷ which means that he entered stage of the *pranidhāna-cāryā*. 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-cāryā*. When this bodhisattva met the Buddha Dīpankara and received the prediction, he was taught that after passing a period of one *asamkhyeya-kalpa*, he would become a Buddha,²⁵⁹ which means that he reached the stage of *anivarta-cāryā*. According to the same text, there were fourteen Buddhas appearing from the time of the Buddha Dīpankara up to the Sarvābhibhū Tathāgata and the Buddha Kāśyapa.²⁶⁰

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

> "In the past, many ages ago, at the time when the lifespan of human beings was a hundred years, a Buddha named Śākyamuni 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-ūṣṇīṣu Tathāgata, this entire period was the first great *asamkhyeya kalpa* (in the career of the bodhisattva); and then from this time until the time he met with and served Dīpankara Tathāgata, this entire period was the second great *asamkhyeya kalpa* (engaged in the career of the bodhisattva). Then from this time until the time he . . ."

²⁵⁶ *Abhinīśkramaṇa-sūtra*, tr. Jñāgupta, ca. 560-600 CE, T3:655c-656b, No.190
²⁵⁷ Ibid., p.656b.  "從詢檀如來， ...... 初發遁心."
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 Vipaśyī Tathāgata, the entire period was the third great *asamkhyeya 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.”

“During the first great *asamabhaya kalpas*, the bodhisattva met and served seventy-five thousand Buddhas. Of these Buddhas, the first Buddha was called Śākyamuni, and the last Buddha was named Ratna-usṇīṣa. During the second great *asamkhyeya kalpa*, the bodhisattva met and served seventy-six thousand Buddhas. Of these Buddhas, the first Buddha was called Ratna-usṇīṣa, and the last Buddha was named Dīpankara. During the third great *asamkhyeya kalpa*, the bodhisattva met and served seventy-seven thousand Buddhas. Of these Buddhas, the first Buddha was Dīpankara and the last Buddha was Vipaśyī. 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 Vipaśyī and the last was called Kāśyapa. It should be noted that this is narrated according to the Śākya bodhisattva.”

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 Dīpankara he had yet to practise for a full *asamkhyeya kalpa* to attain buddhahood.

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

Fourthly, the *Mahāvastu* of the Lokottaravādins only states that the bodhisattva in the stage of *prakṛticaryā* met with the Buddha Aparājītadhvaja. In the stage of *prāṇidhāna-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 Dīpankara 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

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261 MPS, T27:891b-892c.
262 MPS, T27:892c.
263 By, I Vs 76; BVA, p.65; *Apadāna-ṭṭhakathā*, p.142; *Suttanipāta-ṭṭhakathā*, I, p.47.
264 AN, vol., ii, p.111; By, I, Vs 76; By, II, Vs 116; BVA, p.105
that the bodhisattva practised for three great asamkhyeya 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 asamkhyeya kalpas. Why did (some persons) say three great asamkhyeya kalpas? Three
great asamkhyeya kalpas are countable and limited."265

The idea that the bodhisattva practised the conduct of the bodhisattva for countless
asamkhyeya kalpas was not an innovation of the Mahāyānists, for it is also referred to in the
Abhinīṣkrāmaṇa-sūtra.266 Furthermore, the early translation of the Mahāyānasāṃgraha-
vyākhya says,

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

The last two possibilities are unique to Paramārtha’s translation and the seven great
asamkhyeya 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 Mahāśāṃgikas. Since the six pāramitās were commonly used by most of the
eyear 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 MPS, T25:92b.
266 Abhinn, 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 (論葉派) in Chinese sources specially refers to the Theravāda in Sri Lanka.
the five perfections are mentioned, namely the *nekkhamma*, *khanti*, *metta*, *sacca* and *adhitthāna*. The *Uddānagathās* mention ten as *dāna*, *silānekkhamma*, *adhitthāna*, *sacca*, *metta*, *upekkhā*, *khanti*, *vīrya* and *paññā*. Out of ten, the *Cariyāpiṭaka* illustrates seven *pāramitās* as *dāna*, *silā nekkhamma*, *adhitthāna*, *sacca*, *metta* and *upekkhā*. The *Buddhavānsa* gives a similar list of ten perfections. The *Jātakas* are also meant to illustrate these ten perfections. The *Apadāna* speaks of thirty perfections/timsapārami sampunnā, but it does not mention their names, and the *paññāpāramitā* may or may not be included in the *pāramitās* of this tradition. The *jīrṇa* (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*.

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

(1) “One view is that the bodhisattva, within three great asaṅkhyeya kalpas, obtained the *sannyaksambodhi* by practising the four *pāramitās*, namely the *dānapāramitā*, *silapāramitā*, *vīryapāramitā* and *praṇāpāramitā* . . . (2) Foreign masters assert that there are six *pāramitās*; the previous four plus the *kṣantipāramitā* 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 *sūta-pāramitā* and the *kṣantipāramitā*. 275

The Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma masters of Kaśmīra were the Vaibhāṣikas, who asserted four *pāramitās* of *dāna*, *śīla*, *vīrya* and *praṇā*. The foreign masters were possibly those outside Kaśmīra. However, according to the *Mahāvibhāṣa-sāstra*, foreign masters were from Western regions and the area of Gandhāra. Generally speaking, foreign masters were the Buddhist followers belonging to the ancient Karpiṣaya ( }] ) Bin). They established the six *pāramitās* of *dāna*, *śīla*, *kṣantī*, *vīrya*, *dhyāna* and *praṇā*. These six *pāramitās* are referred to in the *Abhiniveśakramaṇa-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.
273 Bv ii vs 76-77.
274 *The Apadāna*, i. P.1.
277 翻譯 ji-bin was translated from Karpiṣaya or Kapiṣā 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 Mulasarvāstivāda-vinaya-pravaraṇavastu 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 jñānas, 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 Abhidharmakosā-mahā-vibhāṣā-sūtra 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 Mulasarvāstivāda-vinaya-bhaśajyavastu 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 brahmācariyās. 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.

\(^{279}\) T24:75c,“修行滿六波羅蜜.”
\(^{280}\) For one of the few mentions, see v 132- 135 Chronical of the Buddhas, (Buddhavamsa) in I. B.Horner’s Translation of The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon book III,PTS, London, 1975, p21 also see Cariyāpāṭha, p49.
\(^{281}\) T27:892b, “菩薩名瞿曇陀, 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,當滿眼若波羅蜜.”
As for the *dhyānapāramitā*, one finds no trace of it in the *Buddha-vaṇṇa* 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 *dhyāna*, 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 Mahāyāna Buddhism, there were six *pāramitās* which were adopted and expounded in the *Satpāramitā-sūtra*,286 a text which in character is approximate to the *Satpāramitā-saṅgraha-sūtra*. The *Satpāramitā-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

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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, “但觀空而不離空 .... 不深氷心繫於緣中, 爾時菩薩不退道法亦不盡漏.” “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 *Kāśyapa-paripāra-sūtra* (T12: 189 ff, No.350), and Zhi Qian’s (支謙) translation of the *Amitābhāyājīha-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 been 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.
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. 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 *Buddhavatamsakasūtra* marks the evolution of the identification of the bodhisattva as follows:

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* (圆满天)
3. Twenty-nine human beings, who are identified as five *bhiksus*, one *bhikṣunī*, 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

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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 *Sangha*’ 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.”

The Haimavata school also held the same view. 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

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289 T49:16ac, “說一切有部本宗同義: ..... 應言菩薩是異生; 謂結未斷, 異生入正性離生, 於異生地未名超越.”

290 T49:16c, “其部云本宗同義: 謂諸菩薩是異生.”
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 (mohā). It is asserted that the bodhisattva did not destroy his klesas and did not have the identity of a true ārya. Logically then, the bodhisattvas are ordinary beings (prthagjana) 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 Mahāsāṃghika 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. Furthermore, they stressed that the Bodhisatta entered the path of assurance (niyāma) under the Buddha Kassapa. 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 Rājagirīya, the Siddhattha, the Purvaśaila and the Aparaśaila. The Andhrakas originated from the Mahāsāṃghikas, 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 Theravadins 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 ārya. 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 issariyakāmārakārīketu vinipātan gacchattā, 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. This implies that the bodhisattva endured purgatory (nirayam), saññīva, 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. This shows that the bodhisattva's free-will in the teachings of the Andhrakas concerned the Theravadins 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 Mahāsāṅghikas as outlined in Vasumitra's treatise. Vasumitra attributes the following account of the bodhisattvas to the Mahāsāṅghikas,

"(1) All bodhisattvas enter their mothers' wombs and form their own bodies without passing through the embryonic stages, namely kalala, arbuda, pesī 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 vihīnsā saññīdā). (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." 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 Sthaviraśāṅghins was primarily based on the historical Śākya Bodhisattva and enhanced with concepts from legendary Jātakas. The Mahāsāṅghikas'
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 bhadanta Dharmatrāta was a Śūrabhaṅgaka and Dārśṭāntika of the Sarvāstivāda school. In the preface to the *Avadāna-sūtra* (出曜經 chu-yao-jing), he is called the Bodhisattva Dharmatrāta. The person who inherited his tradition was the bodhisattva Vasumitra, the author of the *Ārya-vasumitra-bodhisattva-saṅghīti-sāstra*. According to Yin Shùn’s study, the bhadanta Dharmatrāta lived between the second and first century BCE, or after the completion of the *Abhidharmaśāstra*. 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-saṅghīti-sāstra* states,

> "Bhadanta Dharmatrāta, 'those who uttered that the bodhisattvas can fall into bad states of existence (durgati) commit calumny. The bodhisattvas, 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 prajñā 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."

In the bhadanta 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.”

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 bhadanta Dharmatrāta is similar to the exposition in the *Jātaka of*
the white elephant with six tusks, who was a bodhisattva that had taken that birth by free-will. The *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sāstra* 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 Mahāsāṃghikas, the Northern Sūtrabhaṇakas and the Dārṣṭāntikas. The bhadanta 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. *niyama*)."³⁰²

The view that bodhisattvas at the level of *prthāgjana* 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 *samsāra* for three great *asaṅkhyaeyas* 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，阿羅漢法中無此心，當知此為法身菩薩。”
³⁰² T27:780a, “欲廣修諸菩提故，於滅定心不樂入。……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-Āṭṭhakathā*. 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-sāstra). 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, 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:

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 Astasāhasrikā 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, as Mahāyāna ideas had already been formed in

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

A. The Satparāmitāsaṅgraha-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. Among them, the oldest Chinese translation of the Satparāmitāsaṅgraha-sūtra is regarded as the oldest Mahāyāna sūtra. This is because it receives mention in other ancient Mahāyāna sūtras such as the Longer Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra, the ancient version of the Kāsyapaparivarta-sūtra, and the Samādhīrāja (candrapradīpa)-sūtra.

The Satparāmitāsaṅgraha-sūtra, translated into Chinese by Kang-seng-hui in 251 CE, contains ninety-one stories that are divided according to the six perfections. 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 dhyanapāramitā 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 dhyanapāramitā of the bodhisattva, which is immeasurable one-mindedness.” 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 Dīrghāgama, which is a life-story of Śākyamuni Buddha. Story number 81 about the bodhisattva Sadāprādata also occurs in the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra. However, unlike the account of the

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307 T03:0039c-0041a, “you-xing-jing”
308 T12:0279, No.361 (佛説無量清淨平等覺經); T12:0300, No.362 (佛説阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓佛檀過度人道經).
309 T12:0189, No.350 (佛説迴日摩尼寶經).
310 T3:0001a, No.0152.
311 Among them, twenty-six stories relate to the dīnapāramitā, fifteen stories relate to the śīlapāramitā, thirteen stories relate to the ksantipāramitā, nineteen stories are connected with the vīryapāramitā, nine stories are about dhyanapāramitā and nine stories are attached to the praṇāpāramitā.
312 T03:0039c-0041a, “菩薩因度無極一心如是”.
313 遊行經 (you-xing-jing), 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 Śātpāramitāsaṅgraha-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 Śātpāramitāsaṅgraha 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 Śātpāramitāsaṅgraha, which contains only one story (82) from the Jātaka pertaining to the bodhisattva’s meditation, attached little importance to the dhyanapāramitā. According to the explanations of the six perfections in this sūtra, the path of the bodhisattva (bodhisattvamārga) centres upon great compassion (mahākarunā). For instance, in explaining the pāramitās, the Śātpāramitāsaṅgraha-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.313

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

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314 T03:0043a. “眾祐自說為菩薩, 名曰常悲”
315 T03:0001a.
316 T3:0024ab.
With regard to the viรยัปธีรูป, 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.¹³¹⁷

The codes of these three pāramitās emphasise compassion and merciful action towards sentient beings. In contrast, the treatment of the dānapāramitā in the Šaṭpāramitāśaṃgraha-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 Šaṭpāramitāśaṃgraha-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 Šaṭpāramitāśaṃgraha-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 viรยัปธีรูป 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."¹³¹⁸

The Šaṭpāramitāśaṃgraha-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.

¹³¹⁷ T3:0032a.
¹³¹⁸ T14:0644c; No.482, 持世經 (Chi-shi-jing)
B. The Dao-zhi-da-jing and the Sarvakarajñāna-caryā-sūtra on the importance of prajña

Although six paramitās are presented in the Šatpāramitāsāngraha-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 Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra320 and Zhi Qian’s translation of the later version of the same sūtra,321 Amitābha Buddha preached the Šatpāramitāsāngraha-sūtra and the Dao-zhi-da-jing (道智大經) to those assembled in the celestial abode called the Land of Bliss (sukhāvatī). This record shows that the Dao-zhi-da-jing appeared earlier than the Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra, and is one of the oldest texts which emphasise prajñā.

The word dāo (道) in the above title is used in the sense of mārga or bodhi. However, the title Dāo-xíng-pín (道行品) in the oldest Chinese translation corresponds to the Sarvakārajñāna-caryā-parivarta. The Sarvakārajñāna-caryā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra was named after the Sarvakārajñāna-caryā-parivarta. The texts were named in this way for two reasons: Lokakṣema translated the word sarvakārajñāna as dāo (道), and the aim of the bodhisattva in the prajñāpāramitā texts is to obtain the state of sarvājñā and sarvājñāna. Thus dāo in Lokakṣema’s translation is clearly a goal, not a means. This is an important distinction, and deciding which meaning of dāo is being used in early Mahāyāna translations is vital to understanding the meaning of the title Dao-zhi-da-jing (道智大經).

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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 Śramana 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 *Sarvākāraṇāna-caryā-parivarta* into Chinese as *Dāo-xīng-pīn* (道行品) in the *Sarvākāraṇāna-caryā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*.322 It was Lokakṣema who mentioned the *Dāo-zhi-dā-jīng* (道大經) in his translation of the *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*.323 Since Zhi Qian used the word *dāo* for *sarvākāraṇā*, in all probability the name *Dāo-zhi-dā-jīng* (道大經) was translated from *Sarvākāraṇāna-mahā-sūtra*. This in turn may represent the proto *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra*, namely the *Sarvākāraṇāna-caryā-parivarta*.

The *Sarvākāraṇāna-caryā-parivarta*324 consists of a proto-section of the *Sarvākāraṇāna-caryā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. Its earliest version circulated was entitled *Dāo-xīng-jīng* (道行經, *Sarvākāraṇāna-caryā-sūtra*). The *Chu-san-zāng-jī* (出三藏記集) says,

"One fascicle of the *Sarvākāraṇāna-caryā-sūtra* . . . whose manuscript was brought to central China by the Indian śramaṇa, Zhā Fóshū (竺佛朔), during the time of Húan-dì (桓帝) was translated into Chinese at Lo-yáng under the rule of Láng-dì (靈帝) in 183 CE.325 The one fascicle of the *Sarvākāraṇāna-caryā-sūtra* is the *Sarvākāraṇācaryā-parivarta* contained in the *Sarvākāraṇāna-caryā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. It was annotated by the Chinese monk Dāo-an (312-385 CE) and is now attached to the first fascicle of the *Dā-míng-dū-jīng* (Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra).326

An assessment of the bodhisattva ideal in this text elicits the following observations. Firstly, the earliest *prajñāpāramitā* text, the *Sarvākāraṇāna-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 *Sarvākāraṇāna-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 *śūnya* and *anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti* are present in the *PSV*.329 However, the *Sarvākāraṇāna-caryā-parivarta*

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322 *Dao-xing*, T8:0425ff, No.224, 道行般若經.
323 See T12: 0307a25, No.362.
324 *Dāo-xīng-pīn* 道行品, T08:425, No.224
325 T55:06b. *Chu-san-zāng-jī* (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 *Dā-míng-dū-jīng* 大明度經,T8:0478b-0508b. Ancient translators translated *prajñā* into Chinese as *míng* 明 and *pāramitā* as *dōu* 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 anupattika-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 Dharmatrāti,330 a great teacher of the Sarvāstivāda school. The Abhidharma-mahā-vibhāga-sāstra 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 Sarvākāra-jñāna-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 Sukhāvatīvyūha-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 Xuanzāng’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 Sarvākāra-jñāna-caryā-
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 Sarvākāraṇā-caryā-parivarta (or sūtra), stresses the achievement of wisdom (prajñā) and differs from some texts in that it emphasises faith (sraddhā). Indeed, it contains such terms as sannāha-sannaddha (僧那僧緣) and ākāśa (空) that must have been present as early as the Long Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra (T.362). Furthermore, it is probable that the Sarvākāraṇā-caryā-parivarta was the developed form of the Dao-zhi-da-jing (Sarvākāraṇā-mahā-sūtra, 道智大經), which emphasises the importance of prajñā.

C. The San-pīn-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-pīn-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 Ṣaṭpāramitāsāntāgraha-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.

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

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340 The first chapter of Kumārajīva’s translation of the PSV (T8:0536a-586c, No.227) is similar to the Sarvākāraṇā-caryā-parivarta in Lokakṣemā’s translation (T8:0425c-429a, No.224), to the Caryā-parivṛtta in Zhī Qīan’s translation (T8:0478b-0482a, No.225), and to the Sarvākāraṇā-caryā-parivarta in Dharmapriya’s and Chu Fo-nień’s translation (T8: 0508b-0513b, No.226).

341 Nearly thirty texts (T14; No.425-454), the Sahasrabuddhanidana sutra, etc., in the first division of the Collection of the Scriptures (經集部, Sūtrasaṅgraha, 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-pīn-jīng*. This text represents early teachings that attached great importance to faith (*śraddhā*).

The Chinese translation of the *Fā-jīng-jīng* (*Dharmādarśa-sūtra*, 法鏡經) refers to the *San-pīn-jīng*,

"During the three spans of the day and the three spans of the night, to recite the *San-pīn-jīng* 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-caryāparāścchā-sūtra* also mentions the *San-pīn-jīng*.\(^{343}\) The *Ugraprabha-parivarta*, the nineteenth division of the *Mahārātākīśa-sūtra*, describes the method of practising the Dharma as practicing the *san-fen* (三分, *triskandha*) and reciting the *san-fen-fā* (三分法, *triskandhadharma*).\(^{344}\) Furthermore, in Dharmarakṣa’s translation of the *Vimaladattāparāścchā-sūtra*, the Buddha advises Vimaladatta to recite and practise the *san-pīn* (triskandha), the *sūtras* of the Buddha (三品諸佛經典) and to pursue the *san-pīn-fā* (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-pīn-jīng* consist of (1) the disclosure of faults (*pāpa-deśanā*), (2) the transfer of merit (*paramāṇa*), (3) rejoicing in the virtues of others (*anumodana*) and (4) requesting all the Buddhas to turn the wheel of *Dharma* (*adhyēṣanā*). The texts that we know to be similar in contents are the following:

1. The *Śāriputrakarmāvaraṇa-pratiśrādbhi-sūtra*,\(^{346}\) translated by An Śūgao during the Later Han Dynasty between 148-170 CE (one fascicle).
2. The *Bodhisattva-pratijā-sūtra*,\(^{347}\) translated by Saṅghabhara during the Liang Dynasty in 517 CE (one fascicle).
3. The *Mahāyāna-triskandhaka-kṣaṇāpamāṇa-sūtra*,\(^{348}\) translated by Jñānakūṭa and Dharmagupta during the Sui Dynasty approximately 585-600 CE (one fascicle).
4. The *Ārya-mahāyāna-karmāvaraṇapratiśrādbhi-sūtra*,\(^{349}\) translated into Tibetan by Prajñāmitra.

The first three of the above Chinese translations are included in the *Viśūyapitaka* of the Taishō edition of the Chinese canon. According to Shizutani,\(^{350}\) the *Śāriputrakarmāvaraṇa*-
pratīṣṭhā-ṣūtra was an elementary exposition for the teaching on the doctrine of the three aggregates (trīskandha-dharma). Its major topics are (1) the disclosure of faults (paśu-adeśā), (2) rejoicing in the merit of others (anumodana), and (3) requesting the Buddhas to turn the wheel of dharma (adhyēṣṭha). These three practices are called the three aggregates (trīskandha).

Since the Śāriputrakarmāvaraṇa-pratīṣṭhā-ṣūtra does not contain the term signifying the rational knowledge of disclosure (ji-chān), 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 (paśu-karma-adeśā), rejoicing in the merit of others (anumodana), requesting the Buddhas to turn the wheel of dharma (adhyēṣṭha), rejoicing in merit (anumodana-puṇya-yaskandha), enunciating merit (upamantrita-puṇya-yaskandha), and the dedication of merit (parināma-puṇya-yaskandha).

With regard to the paśu-karma-adeśā, it is said that the paśu-karma derives from the mind (citta), and is empty (śūnyatā) and unattainable (alabha). This sort of rational knowledge of disclosure must have been influenced by the PSV.

In addition to the paśu-karma-adeśā, in the Śāriputrakarmāvaraṇa-pratīṣṭhā-ṣūtra, priority is given to the karmā-varṇapratīṣṭhā, 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 dharmas and karmāvaranās, and to seek and obtain all wholesome dharmas whilst endowed and established in them."

In brief, bodhisattvas are first to purify and destroy the karmā-varanās, stop the paśu-karmas and attain the kausalya-dharmas in order to produce wholesome deeds. The latter is presented as more advanced than the first.

It seems that before the popularity of the trīskandhas there were only two skandhas: the paśu-karmadeśā-askandha and the anumodana-askandha. Evidence for this is the absence of the upamantritaskandha in the Maitreyaparipṛcchā-parivarta of the Mahāratnakūta-ṣūtra (44), and

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350 See Shizutani’s Shoki Daijō Bukkyō no Seiritsu Katei (The process of the origination of early Mahāyāna), Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1974, p. 118-132.
351 T24:1095b.
Dharmarakṣa’s translation of the *Maitreyaparipṛcchā*.\(^{352}\) 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.\(^{n353}\)"

In fact, before the practice of the two *skandhas* was widespread, there was a period of practice of the earliest *pāpakarmadesaṇa* or *karmāvaraṇapratīṣṭabdi*. This occurred because the Śāripuṭramitrāṇa-pratīṣṭabdi-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?\(^{n354}\)"

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 *karmāvarāṇas*. Indeed, the reason for the practices of *anumodanaṇaṃyaśkandha*, *upamantrita-ṇaṃyaśkandha*, and dedication of merit (*parināmanāṇaṃyaśkandha*) is similar. The end of the Śāripuṭramitrāṇa-pratīṣṭabdi-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-pratīṣṭabdi-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 *anumodanaṇā* and the *upamantrita* were inserted in the present Śāripuṭramitrāṇa-pratīṣṭabdi-sūtra, here only the name of the Karmāvaraṇa-pratīṣṭabdi sūtra is mentioned. If we omit *anumodanaṇā* and *upamantrita* from it, would the text be consistent in its teaching on disclosure? The Bodhisattvapāṭkasūtra, translated by Sanghabhadra, replies,

"This sūtra is called Karmāvaraṇapratīṣṭabdi, you should accept and practice it! It is also named Bodhisattvapāṭaka, you should accept and practice it! It is also named Survavicikitsānirodha, 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 Karmāvaraṇapratīṣṭabdi. 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

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352 T12; No.349.
354 T24:1090a.
355 T24:1091b. "其供養天下阿羅漢佛千千，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佛百倍千倍萬倍億倍。”
356 T24:1089c. "此經名滅業障障，汝當受持! 亦名菩薩藏，汝當受持! 亦名盡一切疑，如是受持!"
through the performance of disclosure. Later, this practice was included in the perfection of morality.  

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 Samgha. The *Abhidhammamahāvibhāṣā*-sūtra says,

"The śramanas, the disciples of Śakyamuni, possess the method of eliminating evil deeds (pāpakarmanirodha) . . . if one has committed grave evil deeds, one should practice good conduct (kusāladharma) 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."  

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 (kusāladhāmas) 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 karmāvaraṇa-bāla (karmic force) became increasingly important in the writings of the Sūtrabhāṇakas, the Vinayabhāṇakas and the Abhidharmabhāṇakas, and eventually the power of karmāvaraṇa came to be more apparent. Thus in another sūtra we see that,

"One who breaks the minor rules (śiksākaraślas) will fall into nīrāya hell for a period equivalent to five hundred years [of the lifespan] in the celestial realms of the four heavenly kings (天龙八部), which is equal to nine-hundred-thousand years in the human world."  

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

"Because all karmic deeds are changeable, even the ānantaryakarmas are changeable."
In the Mahāyāna tradition, the performance of disclosing faults (pāpadeśāna) can purify even the five grave offences (ānantaryakarma). This is interconnected with the views of the Sarvāvastivādin-dārṣṭāntika tradition.

The performance of a monk’s disclosure is usually carried out among the Saṅgha. 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 Buddhadhāma, grave faults were committed by destroying the Saṅgha and so on.361 This aspect of teaching is also found in the first part of the Śāriputkarmāvaraṇa-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 Dharmādāra-sūtra says,

"The householder-practitioners (grha-sthayogin) . . . 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 (āryaprajñātā). However, when Sākyamuni 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 Saṅgha, 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 Śāriputraṁvaranāparipṛcchā-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."\textsuperscript{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, Sangha 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."\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{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 Śāriputraṁvaranāparipṛcchā-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."\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{367}

Chi-haō-xin-shí (持好心施), which means offering with a good mind, is an ancient translation of pariñāmanā (回向). In the Śāriputraṁvaranāparipṛcchā-sūtra, anumodanā and pariñāmanā are linked. This indicates that the way of attaining buddhahood among others, is

\textsuperscript{363} T24:1090b. “所以從十方諸佛求哀者何? 佛能洞察其聰, 不敢於佛前欺, 某等有過惡, 不敢覆藏.”

\textsuperscript{364} SA, T2:0275c; “手自殺生, 教人令殺, 讚歎殺生, 見人殺生心驚喜 . . . 身壞命終, 下生惡趣泥犁中.”

\textsuperscript{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.”

\textsuperscript{366} T24:1090c-1091a. “彼等諸所福德, 皆布施天下十方人民, 父母; 蝶飛蠕動之類, 兩足之類, 四足之類, 多足之類, 皆令得佛福德.”

\textsuperscript{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 *parināmanā* is identical in the text of the *PSV* translated by Kumārajīva. Therefore, the innovations presented by the terms *pāpadeśanāskandha* and *anumodanā-parināmanāskandha* occurred at about the same time as the terms *anumodanāvarta* (佐助品) and *parināmanāvarta* (回向品) found in the *PSV*.368

It is true that *anumodanā* and *parināmanā* in the *Śūra putrakarmāvaraṇa-paripṛcchā-sūtra* have more to do with the practical details of practice, while *anumodanāvarta* (佐助品) and *parināmanāvarta* (回向品) in the *PSV* have more to do with signless dedication and rejoicing (*animittanāmodanaparināmanā*), which are abstract and represent profound wisdom. However, a mutual relationship between *anumodanā* and *parināmanā* exists in both texts. This kind of practice as *anumodanāparināmanā* must have been matched with the course of profound wisdom (*prajñāparyaya*), and also linked to the regular procedure for the disclosure of faults (*pāpadeśanāparyaya*) which attached importance to faith (*śraddhā*). The *Maitreyabodhisattvaparipṛcchā-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 (*buddhdhyesanā*), and Śakra requesting the Buddha to turn the wheel of the *dharma* may have their origin in the account of Ananda failing to ask Sākyamuni Buddha to remain in this world. There are many possible reasons why *buddhayācanā* and *buddhdhyesanā* were included in Mahāyāna practice. Requesting the Buddha (*buddhdhyesana bodhayācanā*) 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 *Śūra putrakarmāvana-paripṛcchā- sūtra* says,

368 摩訶般若波羅蜜縁,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 discourse faults..."

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 Sangha. 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 Dharmādārśa-sūtra translated by An Xuan (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 Sukhāvaśyāha-sūtra and may have been formed as early as the date of the Mahāsārvākaraṇā-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 Buddhāvadānā-sūtras

Like the Śatpāramitāsaṃgraha-sūtra, the Buddhāvadānā-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-sūtra states,

"The discourses of great length (Vaipulya-sūtra) are called Mahāyāna [sūtras]. They are the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra, Śatpāramitāsaṃgraha-sūtra, Puṣpahasta-sūtra, Saddharmapuṣṭa-kā-sūtra, Buddhaśadānā-sūtra..."

The Avadānā-sūtra... Puṣpahasta-sūtra, Saddharmapuṣṭa-kā-sūtra... Śatpāramitāsaṃgraha-sūtra [and] Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra... (these) are called Mahāyāna (sūtras)."
It is clear that in addition to the Śatpāramitāsaṅgraha-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 texts 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 texts 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 Vinayapiṭaka 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 (bén-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.”

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-xīng-bēn-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

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. 累許摩訶帝經, 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-samādhi. 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 pureanutpattikadharmakṣaṇāti.\textsuperscript{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 anutpattikadharmakṣaṇāti 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 Tai-zi-rui-ying-běn-qì-jìng\textsuperscript{378} and the Guò-qu-xiàn-zài-yín-gūo-jìng.\textsuperscript{379}

In the texts such as the Fō-bēn-xìng-jì-jìng,\textsuperscript{380} the Fō-shuo-pū-yaò-jìng\textsuperscript{381} and the Fang-guāng-dá-zhuāng-yán-jìng,\textsuperscript{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 (bodhidharmaṇaparyāyas) to deities of the celestial realm of Tuṣita. The one hundred and eight bodhidharmaṇaparyāyas named in the Fang-guāng-dá-zhuāng-yán-jìng are grouped into twenty categories:\textsuperscript{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 Saṅgha, the generosity and morality, and having mindfulness with regard to the heavens
4) maitri (kindness), karuṇā (compassion), muditā (sympathetic joy), and upeksa (equanimity)
5) impermanence, suffering, non-substance (anatman), and śāti (or viviktī)
6) shame (hrī, 憤), guilt (trapa, 憤), truth (satya, 真), and reality (bhūta, 實)
7) acting according to dharma (dharmaścaryā, 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

\textsuperscript{377}修行本起經 (Cārīya-nidāna), T3:0462b, 0463a, 0471c-472a, No.184. This text was translated by Mahābala and Kang Mnxian in 197 CE. It is one of the early translations and presents the bodhisattva ideal.
\textsuperscript{378}T3, No.185, 太子瑞應本起經, 與支謙譯, tr. Zhi Qian, ca. 222-253 CE.
\textsuperscript{379}T3, No.189, (Sutra on the cause and effect of the past and present), 劉宋求那跋陀羅譯, tr. Guṇābhadra (394-468 CE).
\textsuperscript{380}Abhini, 佛本行集經, tr. Jñānagupta, ca.560-600 CE, T3, No.190
\textsuperscript{381}佛說普曜經 (Lalitavistara-sūtra), tr. Dharmarākṣa, ca. 265-291 CE, T3, No.186
\textsuperscript{382}方廣大莊嚴經 (Vaipulya-mahāvyūha-sūtra), tr. Divākara, 613-687 CE, T3, No.187.
\textsuperscript{383}See T3:0544b-0545a. Fang-guang-da-zhuang-yian-jing 方廣大莊嚴經 (Vaipulya-mahāvyūha-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 Darmaraṣṭa in 308 CE); see T3:0483ff, No.0186.
11) the contemplation on the impure (asubha), non-hatred (adveṣa), and non-
delusion (anomā)
12) seeking the dharmas, enjoying the dharmas, great learning
(bahusrūta), having skill in means (upāyakauśalya)
13) knowing all types of nāmarūpa (通知名色), rooting out the sources of
[wrong]views (拔除因見), and the removal of the rāgamāthā (斷食瞋);
14) skilful means (妙巧), the equality of the nature of the dhātus (界性平等),
non- clinging (不取, anupāda), and anutpādakṣānti (無生忍)
15) the four smṛty-upasthānā, the four samyak-prahāṇā, the four rddhi-
pādā, the five indriyā, the five balāni, the seven factors of
enlightenment, and the Noble Eightfold Way
16) the thought of enlightenment (bodhicitta), great mental
happiness mahāmanasukha, increased happiness
(uttaramanasukha, 増上意樂) increased happiness,
and right action with
skill (upāyasanyakcarita, 方便正行)
17) the six perfections (pāramitā), upāyakauśalya, and the four saṃgrahavastūni
18) ripening sentient beings, accepting and preserving samyakdharma
19) merit (puṇya), wisdom (prajñā), concentration (samādhi), and the viprasanā
20) special knowledge (pratisamvid, 聲聞解), righteous choice (法捨), dhāraṇīs (陀羅尼),
and eloquence in argument (pratibhānapratisamvid, 辯才)
21) initiative acceptance of the Dharma (anulomikidharmaksanti, 順法忍),
acceptance of the Dharma (anupattikadharmaksanti), the irreversable stage
(avaivartakahūmī), 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
anutpādakṣānti 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 upāyakauśalya, the anupattikadharmaksānti, 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-bên-qi-
jīng (佛本起經 Buddhāvadāna-sūtra) is regarded as a Mahāyāna text in the
Mahāparājñāpāramitā-śāstra. 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

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384 Here, we refer to the biographical texts of Śīkyamuni Buddha, which are listed above, e.g. Abhini.
paramitās is conducive to achieving buddhahood, whilst the Theravādins hold that fulfilment of the ten paramitās leads to buddhahood. The paramitās, though different in number, are accepted by all Buddhist sects as the course for the achievement of buddhahood.

The Fō-bēn-qi-yīn-yuán, the Buddha’s biography, was composed on the basis of the Vinaya-piṭaka, with some events extrapolated from other sources. The Śatparamitāsaṅgraha sūtra and the Fō-bēn-qi (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 Fō-bēn-qi, Śākyamuni says that in the past, Dīpaṃkara Buddha predicted that he would become the Buddha Śākyamuni. Excepting the Si-fen-lû (Caturvarga-vinaya Dharmagupta-vinaya, 四分律), this account is not narrated in the Vinaya-piṭakas of other Buddhist sects. Although the Sarvāstivāda tradition preserved the same account, it was not included in the Sarvāstivādin Tripiṭaka. Therefore, the Abhidharmamahāvībhāṣa-sāstra says,

“How is the Dīpaṃkaretīrṇaka to be regarded? ... The answer: ‘It is not necessary to regard it [as either true or false].’ Why? It is not taught in the Śūtra[piṭaka], the Vinaya[piṭaka] or the Abhidharma[piṭaka]. It is only a legend. The narration of every legend may be approvable or not approvable.”

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 Tripiṭaka. Yet while the prediction voiced by Dīpaṃkara Buddha was not included in the biographical texts of the Sarvāstivādins, for example the Mahāsammata-rāja-sūtra and the Lalitavistara-sūtra, in the texts of the Mahāsāṃghikas and the Viśhajavādins, 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 anutpattikadharmaśānti, and that,

386 Pāli Tipiṭaka, Vol.28, p.98-100.
387 Buddha-avatāra-nidāna or Buddhapūrva-vadāna (佛本起因緣), henceforth Fō-bēn-qi. Fō-bēn-qi is the biographical texts of Śākyamuni Buddha we referred above.
388 T27:0916b; “然證佛本事, 常云何通? ... 答: 此不必通, 所以者何? 此非素怛憍耶阿毘達磨所說, 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 dhāraṇī. However, the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra says,

"Why does the name dhāraṇī not exist in the śrāvakadharma, and only exist in the Mahāyāna (dharma)?"\(^{392}\)

From this question, it would appear that there are no dhāraṇīs in the śrāvakatripiṭaka, and that the dhāraṇīs were the unique dharmas of the bodhisattvas. However, the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra says, “The teaching of the Abhidharma has the meaning of dhāraṇī.”\(^{393}\) Furthermore, the Abhidharmic method of analysis is used to analyse the dhāraṇīs. In fact, the dhāraṇīs are mentioned in the Abhinīśkramaṇa-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 Viśnuyavādin schools. In that capacity, they were conducive to the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the bodhisattvadhāma.

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

According to the above findings, the main proto-Mahāyāna texts are the Satpāramitāsaṃgraha-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

\(^{391}\) 羲郡宗鏡論, T49:0015c, “菩薩為欲救益有情, 願生惡趣, 隨意能往”.

\(^{392}\) T25:0269b, “聲聞法中何以無是陀羅尼名? 但大乗中有?”

\(^{393}\) 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 *Śatpāramitāsaṃgraha-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-zhi-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 *sarvakāra-jñāna*, enlightenment or omniscience, respectively. It was shown that in Lokakṣema’s translations *dào* signifies *sarvakāra-jñāna*. 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 (*sraddhā*) 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 Buddhavadānaniṇidānas, 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 (dhāranīs) 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 anupattikadharmaśānti.

The Bodhisattvapitaka 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 Bodhisattvapitaka is found in the oldest texts of various schools of Buddhism. For example, in its early history, Bodhisattvapitaka is a general name given to Mahāyāna texts. Morality (śīla), ascetic practice (dhutanga), patience (kṣānti), energy (vīrya), wisdom (prajñā), the concept of sarvadharmaśūnyatā, the importance of great learning (bahuśrutya), and the search for dharmas are emphasised in the Bodhisattvapitaka 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 (bodhimarga). 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 Xuanzang in the seventh century CE. The earliest translation of the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras is the Dào-xíng-pān-rūo-po-lūo-mì-jíng (道行般若波羅蜜經) 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 Shixíng (竺士行) says,

"When Zhu Shixíng 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 . . . Zhu 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-pān-rūo-po-lūo-mì-jíng (道行般若波羅密經, 10 fascicles; 30 chapters) may be rendered as Sarvākaraṇācāryaprajñāpāramitā sūtra if we take the word Dào to signify sarvākaraṇā as we have in Chapter 3.

396 T55:0097ab. See 出三藏記集卷 13 〈竺士行傳〉.
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 Shixìng (朱士行) was the *Dào-xíng-pan-nüo-po-háo-mí-jìng*. After Zhú Shúlán translated the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra Emitting Light* in 295 CE, Chinese Buddhists comparatively called it the *Large Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* or the *Large Version* (大品). Since then, the *Minor Version* (小品) and the *Large Version* (大品) 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* (新大品), 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-sāstra*, 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 *Sarvākaraṇāśraya* (道行)."³⁹⁹

According to the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sāstra*, there are three types of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*: 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-zang-ji-ji(t出三藏記集); see also Nj.1476, fascicle thirteen; T55:0097ab, “朱士行時於洛陽譯小品,往往不適.每罄此經大眾之要,而譯理不倦.誓言捐身.造願大品...既至于齊,果寫得精品梵書.胡本九十章,破百餘篇.遭弟子不如禮,言言法行...造經胡本還洛陽...河南居士竺叔勗.善解方言.譯出為放光經二十卷.”
³⁹⁸ T55:0010c.
⁴₀₀ The seven Chinese texts are (1) the *Dào-xíng-pan-nüo-po-háo-mí-jìng* (道行般若經)十卷後漢支婁迦谶譯, (2) the *Dà-míng-dá-jìng* (大明度經)六卷呂支譯, (3) *Excerpts from the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (摩訶般若波羅蜜經)五卷前秦僧曇摩藥共竺佛念譯, (4) *New Version of the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (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*, *Unit Six*, *Unit Seven*, (7) *Unit Eight*, *Unit Nine*, *Unit Ten*, *Unit Eleven*, *Unit Twelve*, *Unit Thirteen*, *Unit Fourteen*, *Unit Fifteen*, *Unit Sixteen* translated by Jinamitra, and *Phags-pa šes-rab-khyi-pha-rol-tu-phug-pa khri-pa shes bya-ba theg-po'i mdo translated by Sakyasena, ⁴₀₁ The two texts are 'Phags-pa šes-rab-khyi-pha-rol-tu-phug-pa khri-pa shes bya-ba theg-po'i mdo translated by Jinamitra, and *Phags-pa šes-rab-khyi-pha-rol-tu-phug-pa bryad-stön-pa translated by Sakyasena,
(1) the Dào-xìng-pan-ròo-jìng (Sarvakārajñācaryāprajñāpāramitāsūtra) is the older translation conducted by Lokakṣema (147-70 CE). 403 (2) The Dào-mìng-dìu-jìng (Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra)404 translated by Zhi Qian (222-253 CE) contains a chapter on the Dào-xìng (Sarvakārajñācaryāparivarta), which was annotated by Dào-an (312-385 CE). (3) The Excerpts from the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra405 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-sūtra406 translated by Kumārajīva in 408 CE comprises similar teachings of (5) Unit Five 407 of Xúanzàng’s translation of the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra. (6) Unit Four 408 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 Šes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyn-pa ston-phrag-gi-su-rtsa-hia-pa is identical to Unit Two of Xúanzàng’s translation. The Phags-pa šes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyn-pa khri-brgyad-ston-pa zhes-by-a-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.
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 (ślokās).
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 Xuanzang’s translation of Unit One in 100,000 lines. The Tibetan text is entitled *Ses-rab-kyi-phal-tu-phyin-pa-ston-phrag-brgya-pa.*\(^{413}\) The *Satasahasrikāprajñāpāramitā* was edited by P. Ghosha (1902-1913).

Xuanzang’s translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*\(^ {414}\) has the following contents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Lines</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Name of unit</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Unit 1</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>初會 (First Unit)(^ {415})</td>
<td>New</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit 2</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>第二會(Second Unit)(^ {416})</td>
<td>Revised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit 3</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>第三會(Third Unit)(^ {417})</td>
<td>New</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit 4</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>第四會(Fourth Unit)(^ {418})</td>
<td>New</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unit 5</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>第五會(Fifth Unit)(^ {419})</td>
<td>Revised</td>
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<td>Unit 6</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>最勝天王分 (^{420})</td>
<td>Revised</td>
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<td><em>Suvikrāntavikrami-nirdeśa</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Unit 7</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>曼殊室利分 (^ {421})</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Mañjuśrīnirdeśa</em></td>
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<tr>
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<td>那伽室利分 (^ {422})</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Nāgarājānirdeśa</em></td>
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<td>無量金剛分 (^ {423})</td>
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<td><em>Prajñāpāramitānayanānirdeśa</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Unit 11</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>布施波羅蜜分 (^ {425})</td>
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<td><em>Dānapāramitānirdeśa</em></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit 12</td>
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<td>淨戒波羅蜜分 (^ {426})</td>
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<td>Unit 13</td>
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<td>Unit 14</td>
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<td><em>Viryapāramitānirdeśa</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Unit 15</td>
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<td>New</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Dhyānapāramitānirdeśa</em></td>
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</tbody>
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\(^{414}\) 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).

\(^{417}\) T7, 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 (fascicles 576).\(^ {423}\) T7, No.220 (fascicles 577).

\(^{424}\) T7, No.220 (fascicles 578).

\(^{425}\) T7, No.220 (fascicles 579-583).

\(^{426}\) T7, No.220 (fascicles 584-588).
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 *Prajñāpāramitānayānirdeśa* 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*.

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 *Dāloxing*, 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 Shixìng 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 Shixìng 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-sāstra* 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

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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 Vajiracchedikā-ṛṣiśāstra. Its composition is dated to 508 CE. Another significant marker lies in Xuanzàng’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 Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitānirdesa (能断金刚分).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{430} While scholars are not

\textsuperscript{428} Vajracchedikāpraṇīṭhapāramitānirdesa, T7, No.220c (f 577).
\textsuperscript{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 Ratnaguṇasaṃvatsaragāthā, which Conze sees as its verse summary. (2) The Sutasāhasrikā, the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā, and the Aṣṭadaśaḥasrikā Prajñāpāramitā. (3) The Vajracchedikā and

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entirely in agreement about which is the oldest text, their shared assertion is that the original \textit{prajñāpāramitāparyaya} lies within the first chapter of the \textit{Dīrghaṇkhā} and texts similar to it.

B. The original \textit{prajñāpāramitāparyaya}

The present discussion on the development of the original \textit{prajñāpāramitāparyaya} is naturally based on the extant Wisdom texts which belong to the \textit{Minor Version} group. In these texts, it is possible to trace the teaching and course (\textit{paryaya}) of the original \textit{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 \textit{prajñāpāramitāparyaya} teaches the profound and complete understanding of the truth of non-origination (\textit{anutpāda}). The course (\textit{paryaya}) on the \textit{prajñāpāramitā} leads to the realisation of that truth. In the earliest teaching on the \textit{prajñāpāramitā}, the truth of \textit{anutpāda} and the realization of that truth were confirmed just as the \textit{prajñāpāramitā} of the bodhisattva, specifically the course (\textit{paryaya}) on the irreversibility (\textit{avīnivartanīya}) of the bodhisattva.\footnote{Irreversibility (\textit{avīnivartanīya}) means not falling back to the stages of Arhat and Pratyekabuddha.} It was said that the course on irreversibility (\textit{avīnivartanīya}) was meant to be imparted to a small number of persons possessed of sharp faculties. The course was transmitted in that manner.

The \textit{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 (\textit{paryaya}). 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...
perspective that we examine the first chapter of the Minor Version in order to identify the original course (paryāya) of the prajñāpāramitā, what constitutes the earlier course in the bodhisattva practice. For this purpose, we base our study on the PSV. In order to distinguish the original prajñāpāramitā, we first extrapolate the essential contents of the first chapter 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 (nīdāna) 1

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

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

(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

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

(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

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432 PSV, T8:0537a-0586c, No.227
433 T8:0537a540a
434 T8:0537ab. “佛告須菩提: 爲諸菩薩說所應成就般若波羅蜜。”
435 T8:0537b. “諸菩薩弟子教有所說皆是佛力, 皆與法相不相違背。”
436 T8:0537b. “菩薩言自佛言: 我不見菩薩不得菩薩, 亦不見不得般若波羅蜜, 當教何等菩薩若般若波羅蜜?”
437 T8:0537b. “菩薩言般若波羅蜜時, 耶如是學: 不念是菩薩心, 心相本淨故。不壞不分別。菩薩聞作是說, 不驚不怖不不退, 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

When the bodhisattva follows the course in *prajñāpāramitā* he should not abide in form (*rupa*).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 dharmas” – vast, immeasurable and fixed on infinitude, which no Śrāvakas or Pratyekabuddhas can break into (不能破), 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 dharmas, he won emancipation. After winning emancipation, one does not take hold of or abandon any dharmas, 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 Buddhadharmas.441

A bodhisattva who follows the course in *prajñāpāramitā* should investigate whether the non-attainability of dharmas 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

Reply to Śāriputra: thus all the dharmas are lacking in the own-being of dharmas, 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 dharmas 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

(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 dharmas can feel and accept. This is the concentration of the bodhisattva named ‘the non-acceptance

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439 T8:0537b. “須菩提白佛: 世尊! 我不得其不見菩薩, 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。是菩薩我則疑悟。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, 爲作色行; 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; 既般若波羅蜜亦無受。菩薩應如是學行般若波羅蜜, 是名菩薩諸法無受三昧甚大無量無定。一切聲聞辟支佛所不可壞, 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, 不受色不受受想行苦。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 識無受三昧 can be rendered as non-acceptance of all dharmas, or non-appropriation of all dharmas.

442 T8:0537c82-0538a. “菩薩行般若波羅蜜, 須知是神相, 若法不可得, 是般若波羅蜜耶? 若菩薩作是思惟, 不驚不怖不没不退, 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。菩薩行如是學, 能成就薩婆若; 所以者何? 一切法無生無滅故, 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 無待, none obtain (aprapti) or not going forth.
of all dharmas, into which no Śrīvaka or Pratyekabuddha can enter or share. When a bodhisattva courses in this concentration, he will quickly win full enlightenment.  

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.  

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

(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.  

(ii) The Buddha: O Subhuti, a bodhisattva training himself in anuttarasamyakṣaṃbodhi should be like an illusory man training.  

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

The bodhisattva, The Mahāsattva.  

(V) Subhuti: 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 every place, in every moment and every way I neither apprehend nor see the bodhisattva, which bodhisattva shall I instruct in the prajñāpāramitā?]  

‘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?  

The Mahāsattva.  

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And yet, apart from the non-production of all dharmas, one cannot obtain the anuttarasamyaksambodhi. 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.

A bodhisattva, when practising the prajñāpāramitā, contemplate that the dharmas do not feel form (rupa). 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 dharmas, one practises the prajñāpāramitā.

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 dharmas a self and its objects cannot be gained, a bodhisattva should apply this notion to both inward and outward dharmas. If a bodhisattva acts with such a mind, then one's action is also named as the difficult course.

Indeed, the bodhisattva is a non-production. The bodhisattva is a non-production and the dharmas which constitute the bodhisattva are also a non-production. The knowledge of all knowing is non-production and the dharmas which constitute knowledge of all knowing are also non-production. The common people are also non-production and the dharmas 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.

All dharmas are a non-production. Those that were pronounced are non-production and those which were happily pronounced are also a non-production.

Subhūti: 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. Subhūti, that is the power of perfect wisdom. 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 dharmas.

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

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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* (大乘般若經) translated by Zhi Qian 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. Sariputra 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 dharma-bhāna practised in ancient times. We also find that the paragraphs between sections IV and V, where the Buddha expounds the doctrine to Sariputra 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 arāṇ(y)a-samādhi (無靜三昧). According to Speyer, arāṇyaprātipadāmaṇa signifies the rules of forest-life. In this case, arāṇasamādhi must occur in a remote area and not in a town or village. The term arāṇa indicates a peaceful way of life led in the ancient period of Buddhism. The nature of the arāṇasamādhi is peace without dispute or manipulation. The Aranavibhaṅga Sutta says, “knowing the dharma as it really is, Subhūti spoke in such a verse- this deed is really empty, one who abandons it, will dwell in arāṇa”.

The conduct of arāṇa, as outlined in the Sūtra, 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 arāṇa as wu-zheng (無詮), 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, for the reason that a dispute may

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467 See MN, Sūtra No. 139; also see T1:703c. “须菩提族姓子，以無詮道於後知法如法。” - Subhūti, dwelling in the arāṇa, knows the dharma as it really is.
468 MA, T1:703a.
469 T1:703a. “隨順俗法，莫是莫非”.

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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 arāṇa. According to the San-lùn-xúan-yí-jīn-you-jí (三論玄義幽集),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 dharmas and the supra-worldly dharmas are conventional names and, hence, all dharmas 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 Jī-záng (吉藏), Fǎzánɡ (法藏) (? – 699 CE) and Kuíjī (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 dharmas 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 IV 474 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-fá-wu-shou-samādhi諸法無受三味 (T8:537c-538a). See translations: section (III) and (IV) in above.
types of samādhi are rendered differently by the Chinese, and their contents and attainments are also different. It is evident that the Chinese terms correspond to Sanskrit sarvadharmāparigṛhiḥ-samādhi and sarvadharmānupādāna-samādhi. These two types of samādhi are also discussed in the first chapter of the Sanskrit version of the Aṣṭa. Conze translates sarvadharmāparigṛhtta as non-appropriation of all dharmas and sarvadharmānupādāna as not grasping at any dharma. 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 samādhīs 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 arāṇa became widespread in Mahāyāna texts, to the extent that it was asserted that without practising the arāṇa one would not attain buddhahood. The samādhīs found in the Mahāyāna teachings have a close relationship with the practice of the arāṇa. 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-fu-wu-she-shou-ding’ (一切法無著受定) and ‘yi-qie-fu-wu-gū-zhi-ding’ (一切法無取執定). But ‘she-shou’ (著受) and ‘gū-zhi’ (執) have in old Chinese translations a similar meaning of “appropriating, grasping, receiving and bearing.”
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 (*puruṣakāra*). 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-sāstra* defines the Buddha’s power as follows,

"Even if we have the wisdom-eye, if we do not meet the Buddha, if he does not illuminate us with the lamp of wisdom, [there is] nothing that we can see. So is the Buddha, if he does not teach us the dharmas, [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 Śrāvakas. 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

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479 T8:537b. In the Aṣṭa, it is “tathāgatadharmanesāsāyā 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，不逮佛法，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?" (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 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 prajñāpāramitā?" (V-2)

"Bodhisattva" and "prajñāpāramitā" are asserted to be mere words or names without own-being (asvabhava). 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 dharmas including the self (ātma) is uncreated (anabhinirvṛttatva), and that non-creation is also uncreated. Further, the non-creation and the non-passing away of all dharmas are non-dual (advaya). In this case, the non-appropriation of all dharmas 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 dharmas are further explained. The explanations indicate that bodhisattvas should not formulate conceptions upon the difficult course of conduct (duṣkaracārika) and the easy course of conduct of a bodhisattva. If they generate the notion of difficulty (duṣkaraṇjñā), 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 (anupāda). Even the word sarvadharnānupāda is non-produced. At the end, the text indicates that bodhisattvas and all sentient beings

481 T8:0537b. “菩提自佛言: 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 dharmas, 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 dharmas. 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 dharmas.

Finally we must note that in the original prajñāpāramitāparyāya the true-nature of dharmas, as the word dharmānāṃ dharmatā indicates, is regarded as the norm (pramāṇa) of the bodhisattvas and should be realised by bodhisattvas or Bhūnakas,

"having realised the true nature of dharmas, whatever they teach, and all that they do does not lead into contradiction with the actual nature of dharmas." 484

Furthermore, because the true nature of all dharmas is non-origination and non-disappearance, both of which are non-dual, the true nature of all dharmas may be realised suddenly through the concentrated insight of non-grasping at any dharma (sarvadharmānapādāna), non-appropriation of all dharmas and non-dwelling in any dharma (sarvadharmāpratiśṭhitā). It is

482 T8:546c. “不變色故観無常...; 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 *prajñāpāramitāparyaya*.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

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⁴⁸⁵ The *Prajñāpāramitā* texts belonging to the Minor Version are discussed in the previous Chapter four.
⁴⁸⁶ *Paryaya* (way, mean, manner, course) is in *BHS*, vol., II, Delhi 1970, p.335b. *Prajñāpāramitāparyaya*, 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 *Panndana* (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.
⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., pp.31,32,34.
⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., p.40.
chapter 19 of the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Dharmabhāṇakaparivarta*,\(^{491}\) where the dharma-teachers (dharmabhāṇaka) 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 dharmabhāṇakas 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 (mahāvidyā), the unsurpassed spell (anuttaravidyā). 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

\(^{491}\) *Dharmabhāṇakaparivarta* (法師品) of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (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.\textsuperscript{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 dharmabhaṇṭakas 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*,\textsuperscript{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 (*parināmanā*).\textsuperscript{497} In the *Minor Class*, Maitreya teaches both the *anumodanā* and the *parināmanā*. However, the *anumodanā-parināmanā* that Maitreya teaches is non-sign (*animitta*), and that merit should not be attached to or treated as a sign.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{495} PSV, T8:0550c-0551b. Asṭa, pp.179-181; Conze’s Asṭa, pp.58-59
\textsuperscript{496} Asṭa, p.200; Conze’s Asṭa, p.69.
\textsuperscript{497} T12:0188c. 瞑勒菩薩所問本願經 (T12; No.349.)
\textsuperscript{498} PSV, T8:547c549c.
Minor Class, the *prajñāpāramitāparyāya* 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 *prajñāpāramitāparyāya* is not like the *Abhidharma* teachings, for it does not always list each of the *skandhas*, *ayatanas* and *dhatus*. 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 *prajñāpāramitāparyāya*.

B. Analogies as pedagogic tools

The use of analogies (*drṣṭānta*) 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 Āṣa, 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

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dreaming about sitting on the terrace of enlightenment (bodhimaṇḍa). Seven analogies\textsuperscript{501} 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 Valjayaṇa 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{506} Three analogies are given in Chapter 20 to illustrate that a bodhisattva should be able to concentrate on

\textsuperscript{501} Chapter 11 of the Aṣṭa, pp. 234-240. Chapter 11 of the PSV. T8:0556ab.
\textsuperscript{502} Chapter 12 of the PSV, T8:0557bc.
\textsuperscript{503} Aṣṭa, pp.268, 287,288-291; T8:0560bc; chapter 14 of the PSV.
\textsuperscript{504} Aṣṭa, pp.310-312. T8:0563a; chapter 15 of the PSV.
\textsuperscript{505} Chapter 18 of the Aṣṭa, pp.343-344. T8:0566a.
\textsuperscript{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 analogies\(^{508}\) 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 (drṣṭānta). This characteristic leads us to suggest a relationship between the teachers (bhāṇakas) of the prajñāpāramitā and the Drṣṭāntika 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 Drṣṭāntikas 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

\(^{507}\) Asta, pp.374-375. These three analogies are also used to illustrate how a Bodhisattva should dwell in the concentrations on the signless (anîmitta) and the wishless (upraṇihita) 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 (avīnivartanīya bodhisattva-bhūmi), in the samādhi of the non-appropriation of all dharmas, 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

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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

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515 T8:0538c.
516 T8:0548a.
517 Asta, 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. 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, Mahākausthila and Pūrṇamaitrāyaṇīputra, are treated as the interlocutors that teach and discourse upon the prajñāpāramitā. Finally, the teachings of the prajñāpāramitā were entrusted to Ānanda.

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. 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.”

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 consequences. 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

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520 Asta, 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 T8:0578a. 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; Asta, pp.240-245, 416-420.

523 T8:0564.

524 Asta, 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 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*, *dharmas*, 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

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525 T8:0540a; *Aṣṭa*, pp.33-34.
526 *Sotāpatti-Śamyutta*.
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 Māra\(^{531}\) 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 who 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. 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,

‘Ananda: What attitude then should a bodhisattva have towards other persons belonging to the Bodhisattvayana?
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.”

The path and practices of the bodhisattvas, according to the Jātakas, 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 Ananda and Śakra as follows,

‘Ananda: The Lord does not praise the dānapāramitā, śīlapāramitā, ksāntipāramitā, vīryapāramitā and dhāyanāpāramitā, and he does not proclaim their name. For what reason does the Lord only praise the prajñāpāramitā?
Śakra: O Lord! Does a bodhisattva course only in the prajñāpāramitā, and not in the other pāramitās?

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."

The masters of the prajñāpāramitā asserted that a bodhisattva coursed in all six perfections. However, it is the prajñāpāramitā which controls the bodhisattva practices 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 Saṃyuktāgama that “among the beams and the other materials on the roof of a pavilion,
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.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{539}

However, when we come to the Medium Class of the prajñāpāramitā texts,\textsuperscript{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 Dīpañkara Buddha is elaborated,\textsuperscript{541} and the qualities of irreversible bodhisattvas are extensively explained.\textsuperscript{542} Moreover, the irreversible bodhisattvas treated in the Chapter on the Tokens and Signs of Irreversibility\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{538} SA, T2:0183b. “譬如堂閣眾材,樞為其首,皆依於樞,以攝諸故。如是五根,慧為其首,以攝持故.”
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{540} The term Medium Class is used to indicate the Prajñāpāramitā texts which belong to Medium Version discussed in Chapter Four.
\textsuperscript{541} PSV, T8:0541c; Aṣṭ, p.48.
\textsuperscript{542} Aṣṭ, pp.323-340; Aṣṭ, pp.379-384.
\textsuperscript{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."

"A bodhisattva considers himself an irreversible bodhisattva, but truly he is likely to be induced, put out and led astray by Māra."

"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." 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.”

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.”

All these circumstances lead to the conclusion that the prajñāpāramitā is treated as skill-in-means by the masters of the *Minor Class.* Nāgārjuna says that the prajñāpāramitā belongs solely to the bodhisattvas, 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-dharmas 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."

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

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544 T8:0564b-565a.
545 T8:0570b-0571b.
546 Asta, pp.417-421; T8:0573bc.
547 Asta, 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 (無所得方便)’.
551 Asta, 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 (vimokṣya) are the concentrations on emptiness, signlessness and wishlessness. The Śrāvakas practise and enter into these states, and realise (sāksīkaroti) the reality-limit (bhūta-kōti) or enter into nirvāṇa. 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.”

If the mind of a bodhisattva forms the aspiration not to abandon all sentient beings, but to set them free, and 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-dharmas 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 dharmas, and if through their emptiness, or signlessness, or through their being unaffected, unproduced, without birth, and without any possessivity, it is this skill-in-means which protects him . . ."

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 śūnyatā. 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

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552 The Chinese verb zhēng (證) literally means to obtain or achieve, but it was translated from the Sanskrit verb sāksīkaroti, which means to realise in the BHS, p.589a. Conze, in his translation of the Aṣṭa, uses the word “realise” to translate the word sāksīkaroti. In this text, I also use the word “realise” to convey the meaning of the Chinese world zhēng (證).

553 The reality-limit (bhūta-kōti) 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 Buddhadharma 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 Srāvakā 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 Srāvakā or Pratyekabuddha if one is not upheld by the prajñāpāramitā and has no skill-in-means."  

Thus the bodhisattva's compassionate vows and skill-in-means cannot be achieved without the prajñāpāramitā.

In the original prajñāpāramitāparāyāya, 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). 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. 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."

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556 PSV, T8:0563a; Aṣṭa, p.311.
557 Dharmatā corresponds to Chinese as fāxiāng (法相) or fāxing (法性). Dharmatā is defined as “natural state,” or “true nature,” in the BHS, p.278a.
According to the Minor Class, suchness is “neither coming nor going”, “immutable and unchangeable”, “undiscriminated and undifferentiated at all time and in all dharmas”, and “nowhere obstructed”. The suchness of the Tathāgata and all dharmas 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.”

The Minor Class also discusses the reality-limit (bhūta-koti) and its connection with the bodhisattva’s ideal and practice. In most prajñāpāramitā texts, the reality-limit (bhūta-koti) 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.”

The true nature (dharmatā) of dharmas, suchness (tathatā) and the reality-limit (dharma-koti) are regarded as the real character of the dharmas 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. 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 dharmas) . . . the marks are fixed on to the fact that all dharmas are empty, signless, wishless, not produced, not stopped, not supported by anything . . . 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.”

2. “The limitation of all dharmas is the same as the calm and quiet, the sublime, as nirvāṇa, as the really existing, the unperverted.”

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560 T8:0562bc. “菩薩以是如。得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。名為如來。”
561 T8:0569a; Asta, pp.374-5.
562 According to the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra, the term ‘dharma-koti’ is not found in the Tripitaka. T25:0298b.
563 In the same paragraph of the Asta, “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 Asta.
564 T8:0558bc; Asta, p.273. In the Asta, the statement, “those marks are not fixed on by the Tathāgata,” occurs.
565 T8:0561b; Asta, 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.”

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] . . . Subhuti 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.”

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.”

Although the true nature of the profound dharmas (dharmānām gambhiradharmatā) 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. For example, the emptiness, the signless and the wishless are called the three doors of deliverance (vimokṣa-dvārā) 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; Āśa, 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, 但以名言方便故說. 須菩提言: 希有世尊! 諸法實相不可得說而今說之” Āśa, p.347.
568 T8: 569b.
569 The Saṃyuktāgama also contains 20 technical terms indicating nirvāṇa, i.e. ‘asamskrita,’ ‘hard to see (難見)’... “non-existence,” “nirvāṇa,” and so on. T2:0224b. “無為, 難見, 無所有, 涅槃”等. The Saṃyutta-nikāya, there are 33 technical terms, i.e. “asamkhata,” “Pārami.” See the Asaṅkhata-Saṃyutta in the Saṃyutta-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 (Avinivartaniya 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 Āśa, pp.17, 178, 250, 286, 385-6.
571 Āśa, pp.178, 310-311.
573 PSV, T8:0575; Āśa, p.435.
574 Āśa, p.282.
575 Āśa, p.380.
576 Āśa, pp.383-4
577 Āśa, p.13.
579 abhyāsāṁyād bhāvānāt tattvānāt pramāṇaṁ paramārthāṁ, cf. Āśa, pp.11, 348, 361, 400, 413,432,440,469.
580 PSV, T8:0575; Āśa, p.435.Lethcoe has given a schema of the Āśa's major classifications of Bodhisattvas in The Bodhisattva Ideal in the Āśa and Pañcā. Prajñāpāramitā-śūtras, ( see Lancaster, L., Prajñāpāramitā and Related Systems, Berkely, 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 found.
581 Āśa, 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 *Darning*,\(^ {584}\) 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.

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\(^{582}\) T8:0547ab; Asta, pp.128-234.

\(^{583}\) T8:0574ab; Asta, pp.429-430. 恭敬菩薩品, chapter 21 of the PSV.

\(^{584}\) *Daoxing*, T8:0465a; *Darning*, 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 beginning\(^{587}\) 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 (ādikarmika) 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

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\(^{587}\) 'ādikarmikāvā bodhisattven prajñāpāramitāyāṃ sthātavyām śikṣātavyām,' Āṣṭa, p.292; 'navvyāyanasamprasthitāḥ (paṭtakusalamālā) Bodhisattvāḥ,' Āṣṭa, pp.17, 282, 139-40; in the PEL, see T8:0070a; Daoxing, T8:0438b; Daming, T8:0486b

\(^{588}\) Daoxing, T8:0452b; Daming, T8:0493; Āṣṭa, p.292.


\(^{590}\) T8:0571bc; Āṣṭa, pp.395-8.
rescue the sentient beings sunk in *samsāra*. If a bodhisattva trains himself in this way, the four Great Kings will bring four begging bowls and offer them to him.

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. 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 dharmas that make him a protector. He 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.

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.

5. If a bodhisattva wants to attain the highest perfection of all training, then he should train in *prajñāpāramitā*.

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 *dhharma* 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 dharmas which the Lord Buddhas have reached.”

Thus the main aim of the last five and a half chapters of the *PSV* 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.

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591 It is notable that in the *Aṣṭa*, ‘a Bodhisattva will rescue sentient beings who have sunk into the mud of defilement (*klesāpāṇika*).’ *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 *dhammas*, 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 bodhisattvas 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.

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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 anuttarikadharmakṣānti 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 bodhipkṣyā dharmas, the faculties (indriya), power (bala), the factors of enlightenment (bodhyānga) and the noble eightfold path (āryāstāṅga-mārga) were also mentioned.601

8. The special dharma of the bodhisattva, the excellent middle-way of surveying conditioned co-production (pratītya-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 anuttarikadharmakṣānti, the insight of the Tathāgata, the wisdom of the Buddhas, all-knowledge (sarvajñātā), and the super-knowledges (abhinijjā).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.

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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 MPS, T25: 356a, 阿若“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 (sarvadharmasamata),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 Kāśyapa-parivarta608 and other sūtras.609 In fact, most introductions to the Mahāyāna Sūtras employ the same analogies

605 As for the Āṣṭa, Conze has suggested the following additions: (i) Chapters 30 and 31 - the story of Sadaprarudita; (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 Sadaprurudita has considerable similarities with Chapters 22 of the Saddharmapundarika and Chapter 33 of the Samādhīrājasūtra. 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 Āṣṭa.

607 Āṣṭa, pp.475-480; T8:470abc, 503bc, 579b-580a,667a-668a.


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 *Sadāprudita-parivarta* (ch. 27), the *Dharmagarta-parivarta* (ch. 28) and the *Parāndana-parivarta* (ch. 29), Chapters 27 and 28 give the story of bodhisattva Sadāprudita (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. 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 Dharmagata has acquired the *dhāraṇīs*, and possesses the supernormal powers”. *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. Sadāprudita, wholeheartedly wishing to see the bodhisattva Dharmagata, established himself in various concentrations (*samādhis*) and as a result, produced a form of perception that did not rely on any dharma. After meeting and listening to the bodhisattva Dharmagata expounding the *prajñāpāramitā*, he acquired six million doors of concentration. 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

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610 T8: 477b (in the *Daoxing*), 507c (in the *Daming*), 586bc (in the *PSV*), 676bc (in the *PD*). The *Parāndana-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 Dharmagata are five in number.


613 T8: 586ab; Aṣṭa., pp.525-526.
special dharmas of the Buddha,\textsuperscript{614} (2) the powers, the grounds of self-confidence and the dharmas of the Buddha;\textsuperscript{615} (3) the perfect purity of the powers, the grounds of self-confidence, and of the Buddha-dharmas.\textsuperscript{616} All these qualities are identical in the texts belonging to the \textit{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 dharmas of a Buddha\textsuperscript{617}, are identical to those in the text belonging to the \textit{Medium Class}.

Thus it is reasonable for us to infer that the main sources of Chapters 27 and 28 are contained in the \textit{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 \textit{Minor Class}, which originally belonged to the texts of the \textit{Medium Class}.

We know that the spread of the original \textit{prajñāpāramitā} course was due to the establishment in the concentrated insight of non-appropriation of all dharmas through the conduct of non-dispute (\textit{aranya-carya}). Therefore, in the texts belonging to the \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{Daoxing} and the \textit{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 \textit{prajñāpāramitā}.\textsuperscript{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
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 skillful in maturing and enlightening sentient beings. The sense of the Medium Class is expressed in the story of Sadāprārudita. When the young layman Sadāprārudita 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. 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 dharmas in order to discipline sentient beings, in order to win wholesome roots for them. For no attachment to objective supports exists in bodhisattvas." 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, 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

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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. Sādāprudita 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 (*dharma-desanā*) 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, and those numbering ten *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, and referred to in more than ten

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625 The principle texts related to the system of six *pāramitās* are: the *Āgamas*, *Ṣaptapāramitāsangraha*, *Mahāvastu*, *Lkt*, *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, *Vimalakīrtiṇīdeśa*, *Subhūtparipṛcchā*, and the *Bodhisattvapāṭha*.

626 The principle texts related to the system of the ten *pāramitās* are: the *Dasaśāṁsāsūtra*, *Dasabhumikasūtra*, *Avatāraśakasūtra*, *Mahāyānaratnamāgahāsūtra*, and *Sāndhānihāmocanasūtra*.

627 戳迦瞿越大方禮經 (DA, T01:252a, No. 16; 新增經 (Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha on the New Year Day), MA, T01:0860c, No. 62; 施食獲福報經 (Sūtra on the five meritorious recompenses by giving food), EA, T02:855b,
places in the Chinese version of the *Vinayapitaka*.\(^{628}\) 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 Mahāyāṇa texts. They are the *pāramitās* of *dāna*, *śīla*, *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 Mahāyāṇa 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* –

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\(^{628}\) By saying so, we are aware of the ten perfections in the later texts of the Theravādin *Kuddaka Nikāya*.

\(^{629}\) See DA, T01: 0251c-0252a21, No.16. 佛說五蟲經 (五蟲經): “沙門道士當以六意誦凡民，一者教之布施，不得自憐貧二者教之持戒，不得自憐貧三者教之忍辱，不得自憐貧四者教之精進，不得自憐貧五者教之一心，不得自憐貧六者教之正念，不得自憐貧沙門道士教人去惡為善，示正道……勉進以六度，修行致自然，所生趣精進，六度為橋梁．”

\(^{630}\) See MA, T01: 0860c01-5, No. 62. 佛說新説經: “佛告諸比丘，今佛世尊，雖新世一會，修行法則。法法以志，善行無盡。比丘十善四等六度。四等皆善，善善相承，六度為橋梁．” The Chinese term 四等 generally refers to the four boundless states (*aparamitās*) (四無量心，善於心而言，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).

\(^{631}\) EA, T2: 0855b, No. 132. 施食獲五福報經: “若發方便無感於一切……所生之處常見佛徧受法深。四等四恩六度無極三十七品．”

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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 dānapāramitā635 slightly resemble those in the Cariyāpiṭaka.636 In the Ekottarāgamasūtra they are as follows,

"In practising 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 Satpāramitāsaṁgrahasūtra.642 In summary, the perfection of generosity in the Ekottarāgamasūtra, the Nikāyas and the Satpāramitāsaṁgraha is essentially the same in practice. It consists in giving without any reservation and following the above four principles.

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633 EA, T2: 0550a, No.125. 增壹阿含經序品第一“”
634 EA, T2: 0550a13-16. “”
635 EA, T2: 0645b04. “”
636 See the concept of dānapāramitā in Chapter One.
637 EA, T2: 0645b04. “”
638 EA, T2: 0645b10. “”
639 EA, T2: 0645b13-14. “”
640 EA, T2: 0645b15-22. “”
641 EA, T2: 0654b22. “”
642 See the reference in Chapter Three, and also see T3: 0001a15-20; No.152. “”
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."  

When compared with the Buddhavānsa, 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 and in the Śatpāramitāsaṅgrahasūtra. The Śatpāramitāsaṅgrahasūtra 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.

On the whole, the EA stresses the importance of guarding morality, which may also imply moral rules. The perfection of morality in the Śatpāramitāsaṅgraha 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 Śatpāramitāsaṅgraha.

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."  

The concept of kṣāntipāramitā in the Cariyāpiṭaka is not illustrated, but in the Buddhavānsa the capability of retaining a calm and peaceful mind whether one is respected or disrespected is emphasized. The Śatpāramitāsaṅgrahasūtra, while agreeing with the Ekottarāgamasūtra, says that the practice of the perfection of patience involves the realisation that hatred and

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543 EA, T2:0550a17-18. "戒度無極如金剛，不毀不犯無損失，持心護戒如壞瓶。此名戒度不應棄\".
544 See śīlapāramitā in Chapter One.
545 See Śīlapāramitā in Chapter One.
546 T3:0016c09-14. 関則云何。狂愚心宮。好殺生命。貪餘盜貪。嫉妬藏匿。兩舌惡罵。妄言謗語。嫉恚欲心。危親戮聖。誑佛亂賢。取宗賊財。憤怒逆。毀三尊。如斯惡思。害就諸割。諸難市朝。終而不為。佛三寶。四恩臣諸矣。\".
547 T2: 0550a19-20. "戒度無極如金剛，不毀不犯無損失".
548 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 ksantiparamita, 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, valubles, 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.”

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 Viryaparamita: Physical and mental fatigue are regarded as a grave obstacle to any achievement of the perfection of energy. The Ekottaragamasutra 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. The Buddhavansa 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. Thus we see that the perfection of energy is practised for the spiritual aim of sambodhi in both the Ekottaragamasutra and the Khuddaka-nikaya. The Cariyapitaka has no illustration of this perfection. The Satparamitasamgrahasutra, like the Ekottaragamasutra, 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, 終生加己罵雲播杖, 奪其財寶妻子國土身舍命, 蕭輯以諸佛忍力之福, 追滅毒患, 悲懺懺之過而濟護; 若其勿咎, 之歡喜。”
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.”

While the importance of the perfection of energy in the EA and the Nikāyas lies in making efforts for obtaining sambodhi, in the Śatapāramitāsāṅggrahāsūtra it lies in being proficient in the profound doctrine, being compassionate towards the sentient beings, and even risking one’s life to rescue them.

The Dhyanapāramitā. 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.

This perfection is not found in the Pāli Nikāyas. The Śatapāramitāsāṅggrahāsūtra reiterates the early version of the dhyānapāramitā in the sense of completely discarding the five sensual desires, removing the five hindrances (nīvarana), 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 dharmas and retain them in one’s mind, and one must reflect on the impure and unwholesome dharmas and get rid of them by replacing them with wholesome dharmas.”

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,

652 T3:0032a09-19; No. 152. “精進度無極者，既則云何。精存道奧，進之無意。遊坐行步。喘息不息。其目彷徨，恒睹諸佛聖像變化立己前矣。既耳聴聞，恒聞正法垂誦德音。鼻聞道香，口聞道言。手供道事，足蹈道堂。不習斯志也。所道長夜沸海。洄流輪轉。毒加無數。菩薩憂之。猶至孝之親親矣。若夫諸眾生之路。前有湯火之難刃毒之害。投戈危命。喜濟眾難。志勸六眾之徒獲榮華矣。”
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 (Asanmohaddhammo satto loke uppanno bhujanimhitāya bhujanasuhkhāya lollanukampāya anāhāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussanān), MN, 1, pp.21, 83; however there is no reference to any pāramitā.

655 T3: 0039a15-17. “禪度無極者，端其心，壹其意，合會眾善內著心中，意諸諸惡，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, nāgas, 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 *dharmas* come to end. One eliminates the unwholesome *dharmas* with the wholesome *dharmas*, the unwholesome *dharmas* fade, and the wholesome *dharmas* 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 *dharmas* 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, 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*), 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.663

One who has obtained the four *dhyānas* easily attains the fruits of *srotaṇa*, *sakṛdāgāmi*, *anāgāmi* and *arhat*, wisdom, and the *anuttarasamyaksambodhi* of the Buddhas. As the earth is

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656 T3:0039a17(01)-25(01).
657 T3:0039a28(07). "道志 (dhrzal) means the resolution to or the thought of enlightenment (bodhicitta).
658 T3:0039a25(01)-28(07).
659 T3:0039a29(02). "第一之禪。善惡淨已。以善消惡。惡盡善進。"
660 T3:0039b01-6. "第二之禪，喜心寂止，不復以善住住彼惡也。善善二意悉自消滅，十惡滅絕，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，水渾泉漸。善內出，善不復由耳目鼻口入，諸心如是，便向三禪。"
661 T3:0039b06-10. "第三之禪，守意堅固，善惡不入，心安如須彌，諸善不出外事，善惡寂滅不入心。猶蓮華植處在水，華合未發為水所覆，三禪之行，其淨蓮華，去離眾惡身意俱安，諸心如是，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 *dhyanas* are the base for one to achieve the five super-knowledges and buddhahood.\(^6\)\(^6\)\(^6\)\n
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 are fools if they do not see this *sūtra* and do not attain the four *dhyanas*. When one has wisdom and maintains one-pointedness of mind, one is ready to rescue the world.\(^6\)\(^7\)\ This is the bodhisattva's *dhyanapāramitā.*

Clearly the exposition of the *dhyanapāramitā* in the early Chinese texts is not remote from the traditional teaching on the practice of *dhyaṇa*, but an adoption of the traditional teaching. If anything is innovatory, it is the occurrence of the term *śūnyatā*.

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.\(^6\)\(^8\) In addition to this, the bodhisattva is able to discuss the profound *dhammas* and the doctrine of emptiness.\(^6\)\(^9\)

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 *paramitas* 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

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\(^6\)\(^6\) T3:0039b26-27. "自五通智至于世尊，皆四禪成，猶眾生所作非地不立。"

\(^6\)\(^7\) T3:0039bc01. “既有智難。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.

\(^6\)\(^8\) EA, T2: 0550a25-26. “以智慧力知眾數，劫數兆載不可稱，書疏案聚意不亂，此名智度不應棄。”

\(^6\)\(^9\) EA, T2: 0550a27-28. “諸法甚深論空理，難明離了不可覩，將來後進懷狐疑，此菩薩德不應棄。”
and perfect enlightenment.\textsuperscript{670}

Concerning the bodhisattvas' need to practise the six perfections, the \textit{prajñāpāramitā-sūtras} say that all Buddhas have been born of the six perfections.\textsuperscript{671} \textit{Sūtra} No.474 states that the practice of the six perfections for perfecting the minds of many people is the conduct of the bodhisattva.\textsuperscript{672} \textit{Sūtra} No.460 says that the six perfections transform the six sensual desires.\textsuperscript{673} \textit{Sūtra} No.459 states that the six perfections are for relieving the poor and suffering.\textsuperscript{674} \textit{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.\textsuperscript{675} \textit{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.\textsuperscript{676} \textit{Sūtra} No. 606 says that by practising the six perfections the bodhisattvas achieve buddhahood.\textsuperscript{677} \textit{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.\textsuperscript{678} \textit{Sūtra} No.594 states that the practice of the six perfections is to seek omniscience (\textit{sva-jñāna}) and achieve the stage of the Buddha.\textsuperscript{679} \textit{Sūtra} No. 620 indicates that it is for the purpose of supreme \textit{sambodhicitta} that bodhisattvas fulfil the six perfections.\textsuperscript{680} \textit{Sūtra} No.621 states that by practising the six perfections the bodhisattvas accumulate merit.\textsuperscript{681}

\textsuperscript{670} 杜無機編著的\textit{波羅蜜九義經}, \textit{The Sūtra on the Certain Meaning of the Paramitas for the Successive Stages of Liberation}, 宋天竺三藏求那跋陀羅譯, T16:0716b13-21, No. 678.

\textsuperscript{671} Daoxing, T16:0862a, No. 224, “過去恒側阿闍阿羅诃三耶三佛。皆從六波羅蜜出。”

\textsuperscript{672} T14: 0526c, No. 474, “行六度無極為眾人意行而度無極。是菩薩行。”

\textsuperscript{673} T14: 0451c, No. 460, “六度無極於於六欲。”

\textsuperscript{674} T10:0571c, No. 227, “諸佛皆從六波羅蜜出”。

\textsuperscript{675} T14:0205b, “六度四等常修行首。戒定慧品轉得增明。速成如來三十二相八十種好。大力無異大悲三念。”

\textsuperscript{676} T15:0285b, “具足六度供養諸佛。淨佛國土教化眾生。立十地中功德成就。次第得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。”

\textsuperscript{677} T15:0227c, “奉六度無極行是得至佛。”

\textsuperscript{678} T15:0641b, “波地波羅蜜求一切智智。今得佛位圓滿。”

\textsuperscript{679} T15: 0353b, “因發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心，具六波羅蜜。”

\textsuperscript{680} T15:0343b.
Sūtra No. 624 indicates that the six perfections are the ancient path of the bodhisattvas to enlightenment. Sūtra No. 634 states that the great bodhisattvas practiced the six perfections for three asamkhya kalpas and obtained great merit and wisdom.

Sūtra No. 659 says that the saddharma is the six perfections, or namely the bodhisattvapiṭaka. Sūtra No. 660 states that through the practice of generosity the bodhisattvas are able to fulfil the six perfections. Sūtra No. 664 reveals that the bodhisattvas receive the prediction of becoming a Buddha after they have fulfilled the six perfections.

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. 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. 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.

Sūtra No. 639 says that by practising the six perfections the bodhisattva gains various advantages. Sūtra No. 228 says that the six perfections are the parents of the bodhisattvas and give birth to the Buddhas.

Concerning the time and circumstances the bodhisattvas fulfil the six perfections, the Vimalakirtinirdesa says that the six perfections are fulfilled at the stage of irreversibility.

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682 佛說如來三昧經 (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, “忍辱供具顯得供養承事三寶。此則能得六波羅蜜行。” T16:0276c, “夫正法者。所謂六波羅蜜普藏法藏。於諸眾生心無縫慢。”
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, 索法聖念處經, T17:0427c, “三業勤精進, 多聞習總持, 二嚴修六度滿證菩提。”
688 大乘入楞伽經, T16:0621c; 楞伽阿頻多羅寶經, T16:0512c.
689 大乘同性經, T16:0644b; 證契大乘經, T16:0656c.
691 詐佛母出生三法藏經若波羅蜜多經 (Prajñāpāramitā-the mother of the Buddha and the teachings of tripiṭaka-sūtra), T08: 0654a, “六波羅蜜多為父為母。乃至阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。皆因六波羅蜜多故而能成就…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.”

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Sūtra No. 486 says that to complete them and to attain buddhahood one needs three *asamkhya 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 dharma is the perfection of meditation, and not speaking sophistic words about any dharma 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 dharma 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-

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\(^{693}\) 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.  
\(^{695}\) 佛說大方等善過ぎ長者所問大乘經, T15:0045c; 般若波羅蜜多品, T15:0077b.  
\(^{696}\) 佛說無量義經 T14:0833a.  
\(^{697}\) 佛說大方等善過ぎ長者所問大乘經, T15:0046a.  
\(^{698}\) 佛說大毘絎三味經 T15:0633c, “How does a bodhisattva generate the six *pārami*\(\text{\textordmascript s}\) in every moment of thought? The bodhisattva has complete equanimity and is without attachment, this is the *pāramī* of giving (*dīna*). His mind is well serene and ultimately without any wrong, this is the *pāramī* of morality (*sīla*). 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 Ugrapariprccha\(^{\ast}\) 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 kśāntipāramitā. 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.\(^{703}\)

\(^{699}\) T15:0695b, "觀法無相無相力故，當得甚深六波羅蜜”

\(^{700}\) T15:0776b, “一切菩薩行六波羅蜜，具足功德安樂一切”

\(^{701}\) Sūtra No. 658 賽雲經 (Ratnamegha-sūtra), T16: 021, “出家菩薩少欲知足不積財寶，唯以法施為利，時在閑靜處獨坐思惟。我今何作不住供養佛世。即自思惟無處無心供養諸佛。如是思惟已便能具足六度。云何具足六度，以種種供養而種種波羅蜜。恒與一切眾生善。是名尸波羅蜜。歡喜忍樂，是名羼提波羅蜜。心得不懈，是名毘提婆羅蜜。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。”

\(^{702}\) Ibid., T16:0021

\(^{703}\) T11:0472b07-0479a12, 郎伽長者釁第十九，曹鍔三藏法師波頡鍔譯”，“出家菩薩住阿難兒處，以少許事滿六波羅蜜...不惜命...出家菩薩住頭陀戒。身口意戒...於諸眾生無熱心忍一切...而是菩薩應如是學。我不離是處。要當得於無生法忍...捨於禪定修化眾生修諸善根...應如是學。如我此身空處亦爾。如我此身菩提亦爾。如是如無妄想。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. The mundane level of practicing the six perfections 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.

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 dharmas 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.705

Sūtra No. 220 states that the nature of the six perfections is non-bondage (visānyoga) 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 T16:0559c-0560a; 大乘入楞伽經, T16:0621c-622a
706 《大乘大集賢首法華義疏》, T11:0491b13-0491b19.
707 T05: 287a02-27, No.220a, 大般若波羅蜜多經 (Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra), 《大般若波羅蜜多經》, 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 (sarvajñana). 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

四果波羅蜜多性無生故無縛無解。”
spiritual guidance, the gift of Dharma (ḍharmaddāna). 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 (āmiśadāna) 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 Ratnakūta 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. This text also strongly prohibits the bodhisattva to force people or relatives to make material gifts, and stresses the principle of treating all sentient beings with impartiality and compassion. Giving material possessions (āmiśadāna) and giving instructions (ḍharmaddāna) to sentient beings are to be practised 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 (āmiśadāna), giving comfort or fearlessness (abhayadāna) and giving the Dharma (ḍharmaddāna). Sūtra No. 261 states that the dharmaddāna 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). 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.

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708 Sūtra No. 658 (Ratnamegha-sūtra), T16:021, “云何名菩薩善能供養三寶。出家菩薩少欲知足不貪財貨。唯以法施為利。” Subāhu, 善臂菩薩會, 漢藏三藏法師毘舍闍, text 26 of the Ratnakūta presents the six perfections and reveals that among all kinds of generosity the dharmaddāna 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 (Subāhuśāra-parāśāra), T11:0529c11-14, “具足檀波羅蜜。善男子。菩薩不能自以身施於施於乞者。若自施。若教他施。何以故。若成是業。令彼乞者於大地獄受無量罪故。”

710 T11:0529c16-18, “菩薩者受者所善。非時菩薩若自無財。不應強逼父母妻子眷屬親戚奴婢取其財物。令其貧餒持以施人。”

711 T11:0529c19, “欲於一切眾生中。行平等慈心故。”

712 Subāhu, T11:529b21, No.310.

713 六種解脫波羅蜜利益經, 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. Practicing generosity with arrogance is impure giving and giving on selected days and to some selected people is not generosity.

The *Bodhisattvapitaka* 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, 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. 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.

A new direction in the evolution of the dānapāramitā in some texts, particularly in the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*, is developed by showing its relationship to other perfections and how it can engender the perfections. The *Sūtra on the Emitting of Light* 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 silapāramitā. 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.
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 *śīlāpāramitā*.\(^{724}\) 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 *ksāntipāramitā*.\(^{725}\) 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。是為菩薩摩訶薩住布施波羅蜜多引攝般若波羅蜜多。”

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Sutra No. 222 distinguishes two grades of generosity, mundane and supramundane.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{730} To explain the perfection of generosity, the doctrines of the non-existence of the self (\textit{ātman}) and emptiness are applied to the \textit{dharmas} and the individual.

The evolution of the perfection of generosity includes new opinions on how to fulfil the \textit{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 (\textit{ātman}) and the given thing. Finally, the teaching on the way in which the \textit{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 (\textit{śīlapāramitā}) in the early sectarian texts such as the \textit{Buddhavānsa} or \textit{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 \textit{Sātrapāramitāsamgraha}, 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...
allowed to approach prostitutes, but in the later texts they can approach them for teaching purposes and ultimately in order to rescue them.

The Subhupariṇāma, in responding to the question of what the perfection of morality is and how to fulfil it, links the five precepts with the asaikṣa by saying that the bodhisattvas observe the five rules of morality in order to cause sentient beings to abide in the asaikṣa stage. This implies that the observance of the five rules of morality can lead to the asaikṣa stage.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{732} The text also regulates how to give aid and care for victims of fire and water disasters.\textsuperscript{733} There are more bodhisattva precepts as part of the śīlaparamitā 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 fulfillment of the śīlaparamitā, the Subhupariṇāma 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.\textsuperscript{734}

In its exposition of morality, text 12 of the Ratnakūṭa\textsuperscript{735} called the Bodhisattvapitaka closely follows the prescriptive approach of the Śrīvaka 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.\textsuperscript{736} The exposition of the ten unwholesome paths of action\textsuperscript{737} in the śīlaparamitā chapter,\textsuperscript{738} and its insistence on traditional moral discipline, indicate that the Bodhisattvapitaka originated at a time when early Buddhist
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 included 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 dharmas (kuśaladharma-saṃgrāhakaśīla), and morality benefiting sentient beings (sattvārthakriyāśīla). These three types of morality are included in most Mahāyāna texts, and are styled as Mahāyāna discipline. They are discussed in Sūtra No.159, the Samdhinirmocana-sūtra, and presented as the śīlapāramitā in Sūtra No.1581. Moral discipline applies to seven kinds of people: the male novice (śrāmaṇera), female novice (śrāmaṇerikā), female probationer (śikṣamāna), 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 Candradīpasaṃādhisūtra 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.
Sūtra No.221 says that the practice of the *śīlāpāramitā* 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 *kṣaṇītipāramitā*.  

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*.  

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*.  

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*.  

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 *śīlāpāramitā* 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.

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745 PEL, T08:0107a06-14  
746 PEL, T08:0107a15-17.  
747 PEL, T08:0107a18-21.  
748 PEL, T08:0107a21-25

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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. 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 anutpattikadharma-kṣānti. This term is found in many Mahāyāna texts, particularly in the prajñapāramitā-sūtras, and fully explained in the Lāṅkāvatārasūtra. Anutpattikadharma-kṣānti, literally rendered, means “the acceptance of all things as unborn” (無生法忍).

Anutpattikadharma 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 Avatānsaka-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.
Concerning the way of practising the \textit{kṣāntipāramitā}, the texts present various views. The \textit{Subhūparipṛcchā} 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.\textsuperscript{751} It is important to have an internal peace and compassionate mind whether praised or harmed by sentient beings.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{754}

The \textit{Bodhisattvapitakasūtra} distinguishes three categories of patience with regard to suffering, hostility and the factors of existence. \textit{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 \textit{Dharma}.\textsuperscript{755}

The \textit{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.\textsuperscript{756}

Theoretically, \textit{Sūtra} No.221 states that bodhisattvas practising the \textit{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 (\textit{anuttasamyaksāṃbodhi}). They do not

\textsuperscript{751} 善臂菩薩會第二十六, text 26 of the \textit{Ratnakūṭa}, 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 (有脣子故奪其妻 . . . 此六根即是苦觸法即是苦觸觸。我今云何自於此命煩法滅法盡法。而生貪恚侵害於他。)

\textsuperscript{752} Subhū, T11n0310_p0531c06, “若剝鼻時，亦行忍辱起慈悲心。”

\textsuperscript{753} T11:0531c15, “為得一切智具足一切佛法故。如是忍辱。”

\textsuperscript{754} Subhū, T11:0531c07-8,“若截足時。亦行忍辱起慈悲心。為得如來四神足故。”

\textsuperscript{755} 相續解脫地波羅蜜了義經, T16: 0716b06-7, “願提波羅蜜三種者。謂不饒益忍。安苦忍觀法忍”

\textsuperscript{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 *ksāntipāramitā* engender the *dānapāramitā*.\(^{757}\)

How do the bodhisattvas practicing the *ksāntipāramitā* engender the *śīlapāramitā*? When the bodhisattvas practise the perfection of patience they do not commit the ten unwholesome dharmas, but practise the ten wholesome dharmas. They dedicate their merit to supreme enlightenment, and their minds do not cling to the three vehicles. Thus bodhisattvas practicing the *ksāntipāramitā* engender the *śīlapāramitā*.\(^{758}\)

How do the bodhisattvas practicing the *ksāntipāramitā* 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 *sāṁsāra*, to dedicate merit to sentient beings and the supreme enlightenment (*anuttasamyaksambodhi*).’ Thus the bodhisattvas practicing the *ksāntipāramitā* engender the *vīryapāramitā*.\(^{759}\)

How do the bodhisattvas practicing the *ksāntipāramitā* 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 *ksāntipāramitā* engender the *dhyānapāramitā*.\(^{760}\)

How do the bodhisattvas practicing the *ksāntipāramitā* engender the *prajñāpāramitā*? They contemplate the equanimity of the dharmas, the purity of the dharmas, and the exhaustion of the dharmas. 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 skillful means (*prajñāpāya*), 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 (alaksana), unevolved (asambhuta), undissolved (avinasita), nor extinguished (anisthita), unchanging (apravritti), unceasing (anabhiniwtti), and non-substance (abhavasvabhāva), (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 (anupattikadharmakṣānti)."

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 Lankāvatārasūtra, the practice of energy is to perform effortless deeds (anabhogocarā), to walk the path of signlessness (animittapatha), and to enter the mental state of non-semblance (cittanirābhāsa).
Sūtra No. 678 distinguishes three categories of energy, energy for vows, energy for skills, and energy for benefiting sentient beings.\textsuperscript{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 dharmas, 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.\textsuperscript{765} These advantages are obtained at the advanced level of the bodhisattva career.

The Subāhpārīcchā 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 lands\textsuperscript{769} 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

\textsuperscript{764}相續解說地波羅蜜了義經 (Sūtra of the Certain Meaning of the Pūramitā, the Successive Liberations), T16:716b-7-9, No.678, “毘梨耶地波羅蜜三種者，謂弘誓精進。善方便精進。利眾生精進。”
\textsuperscript{765}月燈三昧經 (Candradīpa-samādhisūtra or Samādhīrājasūtra), T15: 584b26-c02, No.639
\textsuperscript{766}Subāhu, T11: 531c29-532a23
\textsuperscript{767}Subāhu, T11: 532a29-b22.
\textsuperscript{768}Subāhu, T11: 532b22-28.
\textsuperscript{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.

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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*. 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 *Silapāramitā* 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 *Silapāramitā*.

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 *Kśāntipāramitā*.

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*.

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 *dhammas* and their characteristics. They know the

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770 Fangguang, T08:107b24-c07.
771 Fangguang, T08: 107c14-21.
772 Fangguang, T08: 107c22-26.
sameness of all dharmas. Thus abiding in the viśyāpāramitā they engender the prajñāpāramitā.\footnote{Fangguang, T08: 107c27-108a03.}

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 (dhyanapāramitā) 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 (vaśītā) and skills.\footnote{Dafangeng, T13:0195a, “菩萨住於禪波羅蜜，即於無量百千種種諸法三昧而得自在。”} Samādhis upon the water-moon, lotus flower, non-self, signlessness (ānīmita), wishlessness (apraṇihita), and emptiness (śūnyatā) are included in a long list given in this text.\footnote{Ibid., T13:0042c, “菩萨摩訶薩成就何法獲得如是一切諸法自在三昧。所謂不著一切諸法，不住住諸支分，不著諸障，而無有盡。”} Among all the samādhis, the vaśītāsamādhi of all the dharmas seems to be prominent because many detailed ways are given for obtaining it. One of the ways is non-attachment to all dharmas.\footnote{Dafangeng, T13:0043b, “菩萨摩訶薩成就何法獲得如是一切諸法自在三昧。所謂不著一切諸法，不住住諸支分，不著諸障，而無有盡。”} This text also states that the bodhisattvas practise meditation (dhyāna) for sixteen reasons.\footnote{Ibid., T13:0042c, “菩萨摩訶薩成就何法獲得如是一切諸法自在三昧。所謂不著一切諸法，不住住諸支分，不著諸障，而無有盡。”} For instance, bodhisattvas practise the meditation for knowing the minds of sentient beings in order to lead them to cross samsāra. 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.\footnote{Dafangeng, T13:0194a, “菩萨摩訶薩成就何法獲得如是一切諸法自在三昧。所謂不著一切諸法，不住住諸支分，不著諸障，而無有盡。”}
Some of the *samādhis* produce wisdom and realization, and speed up the bodhisattva’s progress and development. For instance, the *Lankāvatāra* 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 (*vaśītā*), 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.”

This *samādhi* is connected with the concept of the three Buddha-bodies.

Sūtra No. 644 states that the bodhisattvas abiding in the *śūrangamasamādhi* can master one hundred *samādhis*. 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*:

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.

The *Subahupariprccha* indicates that the teachings on meditation in the *Āgamas* 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. By having their feet and hands controlled they do not make mistakes. By having shame (*hri*) and a sense of remorse (*aparāśa*) they control their bodily,

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779 *Lankāvatārasūtra*, T16:0496a; T16:0489c.
780 *Lankāvatārasūtra*, T16:0497c, “菩提摩诃薩住首楞嚴三昧已修百三昧門。”
781 *Sūtra on the Certain Meaning of the Paramitā, the Successive Liberations*, T16:716b09, No.678, PS? [SMP. PS?]
783 For meditation achievements, to discard sense desires (colour/form, sound, odour, flavour, tangible objects) and to remove the obstacles (lust, ill will, langour 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, 4111; 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*.
verbal and mental acts. They remain calm and easily satisfied with their needs of livelihood. 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. Whether they meet bearable or unbearable circumstances their minds always abide in equanimity and tranquillity. Whether the five sensual objects are lovable or disagreeable they have no desire, hatred, anger or attachment. 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. By the rejection of examination and investigation, they enter a state of internal peace (saṃprasāda), mental one-pointedness (ekotibhāva) which is free from reasoning and investigation, they gain joy and happiness, and obtain the second dhyāna. By renouncing joy and remaining indifferent, the bodhisattvas enter a state of alertness (smṛtiman), awareness (saṃprajānā), 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. Through the elimination of happiness and suffering, and through a prior rejection of mental gratification (saumanāsya) and frustration (daurmanāsya), they enter a state of equanimity, indifference and purification in mindfulness, and thus they gain the fourth dhyāna.

By directing altruistic thoughts towards all sentient beings, the bodhisattvas master immeasurable benevolence (maitreyāpramāṇa). By reflecting on the sufferings of sentient
beings, bodhisattvas master immeasurable compassion (karunāpramāṇa). By having sympathetic thoughts toward sentient beings, they master immeasurable sympathetic joy (muditāpramāṇa). By having impartial thoughts towards sentient beings’ hostility and happiness, they master immeasurable equanimity (upekṣāpramāṇa). Thus bodhisattvas master the meditation on the four immeasurable thoughts (apramāṇa-citta). They also master the four samāpattis, the meditation on breathing (ānāpāna), the meditation on the impurity of the body and food, the meditation on the impermanence of life, and the meditation on the unpleasantness of the world. Likewise bodhisattvas master the eight dominations (abhībhāvantāna), the ten totalities (kṛṣṇayatana), and all other samādhis.

The bodhisattvas abide in the meditation (dhyāna) and samādhis in order to gain supreme liberation, to liberate sentient beings from samsāra, 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.

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

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795 Subāhū, T11: 533b12, “於眾生中思惟喜愛，成就無量無邊悲心”，the explanation of the samādhis of the four countless states is also found in the 達摩大羅駿經 (Dharmatara-dhyāna-sūtra), T15: 319c.
796 T11: 533b13, “於眾生中思惟喜愛，成就無量無邊喜心.”
797 Subāhū, 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.”
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 šīlapāramitā?
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 (vijñāna) 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 Mahāsaṃnipātasaūtra 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 (aprāṇihita) 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, “能觀諸法界無相願，即是是我之般若波羅蜜。”
816 佛說金剛般若波羅蜜經, 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 (*aprāpañca*), (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 *Subāhuparipraychā* 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 (*cintāmayāprajñā*) and meditative realization (*bhāvanāmayāprajñā*), 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*), or\(^{821}\) knowledge of three elements, the wholesome (*kusala*), unwholesome (*akusala*) and undetermined (*avyākṛta*), or\(^{822}\) knowledge of the triple world, the Kāmadhātu, Rūpadhātu and Ārūpyadhātu. It includes\(^{823}\) 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 (*apratīgha*), non-harm

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\(^{818}\) 大集大盧空藏菩薩所問經 (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.”

\(^{820}\) Subāhū, T11:534a19-21.

\(^{821}\) Subāhū, T11:0534a21-24.

\(^{822}\) T11:0534a25-29.

\(^{823}\) T11:0534b01-14.

\(^{824}\) T11:0534b03-04, 若於此中欲染貪著。驕慢愚癡憚望。欲得心所作業是名知於界.

\(^{825}\) T11:0534b10-11, 於此中。色染愚癡憚望。欲得心所作業。是名色界

\(^{826}\) T11:0534b13.

\(^{827}\) T11:0534b14-15.
(ahimsā), knowledge of the six elements, namely earth, water, fire, wind, space and consciousness, and finally knowledge that they are impermanent (anītya), suffering (duḥkha) and insubstantial (anātma).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 (śūnya) and impersonality (anātma), as not belonging to ātman, and as poisons and distress.831 It understands that the six external sense objects are unstable, unreliable, powerless, impermanent (anītya) 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 (ātma) 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 (vedana), 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 (marga).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

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realises that unawareness of them is called ignorance (*avidyā*). The bodily, verbal and mental karmic deeds, meritorious and unmeritorious actions are called formations (*samskāra*). Mind, thoughts and consciousness are called consciousness (*vijñāna*). 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 (*sparśa*). Pain, pleasure and undetermined feelings are called feeling (*vedanā*). Craving feelings are called craving (*ṭṛṣṇā*). 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-marana*).

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*. They know that the four noble truths are the *sravaka* vehicle for crossing *samsāra* 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.

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

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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 Bodhisattvapitaka emphasises the destruction of ātmadrṣṭi 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 Bodhisattvabhumi 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 ascertainament 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 Bodhisattvapitaka,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 dharmas,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 (dhatu), faculties (indriya), sense-fields (āyatana) and truth (satya) aims to destroy the view of a substantial self (ātmadrṣṭi). 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 (saṃvṛti-satya), knowledge of absolute truth (paramārtha-satya), and knowledge of benefiting (upakāra) sentient beings.  

Sūtra No. 639 lists the following ten kinds of advantage of the prajñāpāramitā, 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, and Sūtra No. 220 indicates that bodhisattvas practicing the prajñāpāramitā engender all perfections.

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.

846 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 月燈三味經 (CandradTpasamadhisūtra), T15:0585a18-26, “行般若波羅蜜有十種利益…”
848 佛説佛母出生三法諦般若波羅蜜多經, 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 śīłapāramitā? By not thinking and not seeking the state of arhat or Pratyekabuddha, by practising the ten wholesome dharma and encouraging others to practise the ten wholesome dharma, the bodhisattvas do not disparage any dharma 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, 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 viśayapāramitā? They teach the Dharma to sentient beings, establish them in the six pāramīs, 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 viśayapāramitā.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 (āpamāna), the eight forms of liberation (vimokṣa), and the meditation on the nine types of unpleasantness (asubhābhavānā). They also enter the meditations in the normal and reversed process, and master the leaps of concentration and dharma. 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.

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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. The first three of the six perfections have the function of converting sentient beings. Skill in establishing sentient beings in the wholesome dharmas 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.

Furthermore, the Mahāyāna theory of ten pāramitās was developed to match the ten stages (bhūmis) found in the Avataṃsakasūtra, the Dachangboyu-jing 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 Dachengboyu-jing (Mahāyānaratnameghasūtra) 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.

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855 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.\textsuperscript{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:\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{858} Ibid., T16: 0244b28-0245b10.
\textsuperscript{859} Ibid., T16: 0245b11- 0246b10.
Patience: To fulfil the perfection of patience (kṣānti), the bodhisattva must achieve the following ten objectives:\textsuperscript{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) \textit{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 (\textit{maitrī}) and compassion (\textit{karaṇā})
10) Patience in completing vows having rejected hatred

Energy: To fulfil the perfection of energy (vīrya) the bodhisattva must achieve the following ten objectives:\textsuperscript{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 \textit{caturvidha vīrya-pathā} without considering time, place and space
7) Energy by engaging in purification (by removing unbenevolent conditions, the unwholesome, and the obstacles to enlightenment, by not contradicting the path of \textit{nirvāṇa} and \textit{bodhi}, and by not having a single thought of subtle forms of the

\textsuperscript{860} Ibid., T16: 0246b11- 0247a17.
\textsuperscript{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, vipaśyanā, non-breath and consciousness

Wisdom: To fulfil the perfection of wisdom (prajña) the bodhisattva must achieve the following ten objectives:⁸⁶³

1) Skill in understanding the truth of non-self (anatman)
2) Skill in understanding all the karmas, the causes and effects
3) Skill in understanding the conditioned (samskṛta)
4) Skill in understanding the continuity of birth and death (saṃsāsa)
5) Skill in understanding the discontinuity of birth and death (nirvāna)
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。”
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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 (parīñāma) and fulfilling vows (prāṇidhāna)
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 mṛḍvindriya, 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, “云何菩提智慧不顛倒。菩薩摩诃薩一切世間技藝道術悉皆學知…為欲成就利眾生意。不欲欲得所知識故。匝於中腸顯示如來正法功德之最勝故。於諸外法不生優勝功德之想。唯生是解。如來經數最深最極。諸律品進德無盡是故菩薩不取外道邪見法故而為清淨。如是菩提智慧不顛倒。”

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:

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:

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 (*lakṣāṇa*) 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

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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-sūtra.* 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. *Dāo* 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 *āmīṣadāna,* *dharma-dāna* and *abhya-dāna.* 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 *dharma*s 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 sīlapāramitā 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 Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra, the practice of morality includes the ten kinds of thoughts, the ten wholesome actions, and the bodhipāksika 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 Paramitās and Bhūmis for Successive Liberation say that the moral perfection consists of three categories of discipline: restraining the unwholesome (sāṇvarāśīla), generating the wholesome (kuśaladharma-sāṇagrāhakaśīla) 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 Vinayaviniscaya and Upālipṛcchā of the Ratnakūtā, 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 śīla-pāramitā 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 (dharmas) 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 (dharmaśaṅti) or the supreme acceptance of teachings (anuttaptadharmakṣaṇa). 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 kṣaṇipaṭāramitā can engender the other five perfections.

Definitions of the perfection of energy (viryāparamitā) 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 dharmas, 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 Subhūtriprācchāsūtra and the Bodhisattvaprajñāpāramitāsūtra. Traditional methods of meditation are endorsed in the expositions of the perfection of meditation in Mahāyāna texts. Śamatha, vipaśyanā, 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, anīmitta-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 (anatman). 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 Mahayana 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. 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 dhamanairatmaya, atman-sūnyatā, the sameness of defilements, nirvāna, 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

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870 The origin of the concept of skill probably goes back to pre-Mahayana 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 paramīs, skill and knowledge are perfections, and the ways to accomplish them are explained.

In the system of the ten paramīs, 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 paramīs 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 (mahāpranidhāna): (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 paramīs, but it is allocated its own function in the system of the ten paramīs. 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, 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 śīlāpāramitā, 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 śīlāpāramitā

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 śīlāpāramitā in the Mahāyāna scriptures, which was formulated in three stages. The initial stage can be seen in the Jātakas, Buddhavamsa 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 śīlāpāramitā were later accepted by the Mahāyānists and largely expanded in many written scriptures. One early scripture is the Subhūtispariprācchā. 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, having fulfilled all the wholesome roots, will reach the knowledge of all modes. 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 bird-and-death.” (LP, p.179).

\[872\] Subhūtu, T11: 514ff,
śīlapāramitā⁸⁷³ 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 samsāra 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 dharmakāya 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 Subhūt, 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.
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 dharmas 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. In order to get the power of the paramitas, a bodhisattva observes the rule of protecting and rescuing the district officers from water, fire and robbers. 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. 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.

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 Bodhisattvapiṭaka which contains long discussions on the śīlapāramitā. This text does not say much about the nature of the śīlapāramitā, but

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883 Ibid., T11: 0530e06-07.
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 (Bodhisattvapiṭaka), tr. by Xuán Zāng (602-664 CE)
focuses on the achievement of a bodhisattva that establishes oneself in this perfection. When a bodhisattva carries out the *śīla* páramitā, there are three kinds of wonderful conduct of bodily, verbal and mental acts.\(^8\) 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 *śīla* páramitā. A bodhisattva practicing the *śīla* páramitā must possess ten profound thoughts (*citta*),\(^8\) and more is said on how a bodhisattva generates these. It is repeatedly said, “a bodhisattva who wants to follow the *Mahābodhisattvapitaka* and the wonderful gate-teaching should give offerings to the Dharma masters.”\(^9\) 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...”.\(^9\) 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 *śīla* páramitā, 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,\(^8\) (2) contemplation on the impermanence of the body, which is easily breakable,\(^8\) (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 samsāra,\(^8\) (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,\(^8\) (6) contemplation on the consequences of being lofty and vain and having evil conduct,\(^8\) (7) contemplation on the consequences of having an evil view of

\(^8\) BP, T11: 0242a.  
\(^9\) BP, T11: 0243a-c07  
\(^8\) BP, T11: 0243a24-26; 0243c; 0244bc, 0245abc, 0246abc  
\(^9\) BP, T11: 0242b008-0242c24. “...於此眾生而不執取...”  
\(^8\) BP, T11: 0243a-c07  
\(^8\) BP, T11: 0243c08-0244a21  
\(^8\) BP, T11: 0244a22-b26  
\(^8\) BP, T11: 0245a21-c13  
\(^8\) 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), 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, contemplation on the unbenefficial conduct, and 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.

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 sīlapāramitā 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.

A.1. The threefold group of morality (trīvidhaśīla)

The conceptual development in the exposition of the sīlapāramitā is apparent in the occurrence of the concept of the threefold group of morality (trīvidhaśīla). 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,
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 *Buddhavamsa*, 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 *sīla-pāramitā* 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 *sīla-pāramitā*. Various categories of moral rules emerged in many texts. Moral rules in the *sīla-pāramitā* 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 (*kusala-dharma-saṃgrahaśīla*), and the group of morality which benefits sentient beings (*sattva-rthakriyāśīla*).

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 *Samdhīnimrocana-sūtra* and the *Yogācārabhumi*. The *Bodhisattva-bhūmisūtra* 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 (*bhikṣunī*), male novice (*śrāmaṇera*), female novice (*śrāmaṇerikā*), female

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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.
probationer (śīkṣāmāṇā), upāsikā, and upāsaka.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{902}

The group of morality which accumulates the wholesome includes the practices of learning, reflection, \textit{samatha}, \textit{vipaśyānā}, 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 \textit{dhammas} 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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{dhammas}, the knowledge of the perverted wholesome \textit{dhammas}, the correct views of impermanence, sufferings, impurity and non-substantiality (\textit{anātman}), the distance from the wholesome, the accomplishment of wisdom by practices of generosity, morality, patience, energy, and meditation.\textsuperscript{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 (\textit{dhammas}), or to lead them to wisdom with

\textsuperscript{901} \textit{Bodhisattvabhumīsūtra}, T30: 910b08-10.
\textsuperscript{902} Ibid., T30: 910c13-911a27.
\textsuperscript{903} Ibid., T30: 910b10-24.
\textsuperscript{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 śīla-pāramitā 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 dharmas toward all beings,\textsuperscript{908} (5) when in one-pointedness of mind one has the thought associated with a Šrāvaka and Pratyekabuddha,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.'\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{914}"

\textsuperscript{908} Ibid., T07: 1037a; 1038c.
\textsuperscript{909} Ibid., T07: 1037b; 1039a.
\textsuperscript{910} Ibid., T07: 1037a; 1036bc.
\textsuperscript{911} The Large Sutra on Perfect Wisdom, Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1975, p.227.
\textsuperscript{912} LP, p.227
\textsuperscript{913} Ibid., p.228; T07: 1034b.
\textsuperscript{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 Šrāvaka or
The above sources show that to fulfill 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.\textsuperscript{915}

In separate chapter of the LP, the *śīlāpāramitā* 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 *dharmas* which obstruct enlightenment such as immorality, wrathfulness, indolence, inferior vigour, mental confusion or stupidity. One recognizes all *dharmas* 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 *dharmas* one sees that all *dharmas* 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 *samsāra*, 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 *śīlāpāramitā* 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.

\textsuperscript{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 śīlapūramitā

The third stage in the development of the śīlapūramitā shows the application of ideas to the practice of this pāramitā. On a theoretical level there are only two stages for fulfilling the śīlapūramitā, 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 śīlapūramitā, the bodhisattva in the śūraṃgamasamādhi 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 śūraṃgamasamādhi.

Nevertheless, the most representative and significant text for studying the developments in the theory of the śīlapūramitā 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 (śīlāpāramitā). 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 śīlāpāramitā. The śīlāpāramitā 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 pāñjika, one should earnestly and sincerely disclose the misdeed to ten pure monks (bhikṣus). If a bodhisattva has committed a saṅghāvaśeṣa, 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 pāñjikas, a saṅghāvaśeṣa, 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 *paramitas* 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 dharmas 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

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śīlapāramiṭī.

B. The developments in the theory of the dhyānapāramiṭī

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 Śūraṅgamasaṃādhi 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 (dharmaḥdhi), 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 (maitri) and compassion one enters villages, towns, and kingdoms (taṣṭra), 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 Śūraṅgamasaṃādhi, 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 (avadītavasana), he does not have the dissipation (pramāda) of a layman. If he appears as an ascetic (śramaṇa), he does not have the arrogance (manyanā) of a monk. He takes up the religious life in an heretical order (pāsaṃḍikeṣu pravrajati) in order to win over beings, but he does not really take it up, he is not defiled (kliśṭa) by all false views (mithyādṛṣṭi) which prevail there and does not give any credence (prasāda) to them. Taking into account the aspirations of beings, śnāvakayānikas,
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 sūtraṃgasamādhi, 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 sūtraṃgasamādhi.

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 (svārthā) 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 (sarvakārajanātā). This perfection of wisdom constitutes the highest awakening, the supreme enlightenment pertaining specifically to the Buddhas, and ensuring not just the personal benefit (svārthā) 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 Śūramgamasamādhisūtra 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 (rddhibala) 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 (sarvadharmānupāda), 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 dharmas, contains all the perfections, and it exercises simultaneously. It has multiple aspects which coincide particularly with the ten powers of the Tathāgata. Among the great abhijñās that result from this samādhi, it is the first, the abhijñā of supernormal power (rddhi), 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

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929 Śgs, p.25.
930 Śgs, p.21.
Buddhas, the manifestations of marvellous bodies, the transformation of assemblies, 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, and the transformation of an impure land into a pure land.

B.2. The abilities of wonder-working

The Śūramgamasanādhisūtra 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 (abhutaparikalpa), 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 śāstras

The scholars of the Great Vehicle took up all these ideas and explained them systematically in their śāstras. The Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra reveals no less than nineteen differences between the samādhis of the śrāvakas and of the bodhisattvas. 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.

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931 Śgs, P.15.
932 Śgs, p.65.
933 Śgs, p.165.
934 Śgs, p.168.
935 MPS, pp.1043-57.
(satkāyadrśti). 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 (dhyānapraśacita) and the thought of leaving absorption (dhyānavyūthānacita) 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
(anupūrvavālīka) in four ways: by following the ascending order (dhyānānulomattā), the descending order (dhyānapratilomata), the ascending then descending order (dhyānānulomapratilomata) or by leaping from one abode to another (dhyānotkrāntita). This last method is known as the attainment of leaping (vṛtkaṇtaṃsamāpatti). 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 āṇūpyadhātu. 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 abhiññas. 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 (abhiññāvikīraṇa). 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. Samādhīrājasūtra, Śuramgamasamādhisūtra and so forth. Samādhi in the Āgamas belong to the practice of insight meditation (vipaśyāna) or contemplation. Thus we have śūnyatāsamādhi, ānimittasaṃmādhi, apraṇītasamādhi and so forth in the Saṃyuktāgama (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 Samantamukhāparivarta 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:

0158c-162a). In the *pāññāpāramitāsūtras* there are 108 samādhis (T08:0251a-253b). Among the lists of samādhis, the śūraṅgamasamādhi, ekavyūhasamādhi, pratuyāntapasamādhi, aranyasamādhi 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 *Pāṇcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, “The bodhisattva who wishes to fulfill the desires of all beings . . . says ‘I, should train myself’ in concentration of the *pāññāpāramitā*.” The *Drumakīrnararāja-paripṛcchā* 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 *paññā* 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 *pāññāpāramitā*

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 *pāññāpāramitā* was the most widespread teaching in Mahāyāna texts. Its concept was formulated and its content fully detailed, but its functions remain open.

The *pāññāpāramitā* in the system of six *pāramitās*

Except for the *Aṃśayamatiparipṛcchā*,938 29 out of 48 texts in the *Mahāratnakūta* refer to it.939 Furthermore, in volumes 11, 14, 15, 16, 17 of the Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon, there are more then eighty texts which treat it.940

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938 無盡慧菩薩會第, T11:648a14, in which ten *pāramitās* are discussed.
939 三律儀會, T11:006b24; 無邊莊嚴會第, T11:002a06; 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; 鎖國菩薩會, T11:0472a14; 菩薩見寶會, T11:0434a19; 富楼那會, T11:0442b05-0453b14; 鎖國菩薩會, T11:0472a12; 部伽長者會, T11:0477a11-0479a12; 授令断頭陀羅尼會, 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...
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 (*ṣrutamayā*), (2) wisdom which arises from reflection (*cintāmayā*), and (3) wisdom which is developed by cultivation and realisation (*bhāvanāmayā*). 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* and the *Subhūparipṛcchā* 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 (*dhatu*) 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."

It seems that in this text the purpose of the expositions of the aggregates, elements, faculties, the four noble truths, the twelve links of dependent origination, the three
time dimensions,\textsuperscript{950} and three vehicles,\textsuperscript{951} is to show two essential aspects of the concept of the \textit{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 \textit{nirvāṇa} is not of the self, and one chooses not to have attachment to it. The bodhisattva sees that \textit{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 (\textit{nirvāṇa}).

C.1. Views on the bodhisattva \textit{prajñāpāramitā}

\textit{Sūtras} No. 671 and No. 672 reveal three different levels of \textit{pārāmitās},\textsuperscript{952} but only the bodhisattva level of \textit{pārāmitā} is briefly defined. For instance, these texts say that the bodhisattva’s \textit{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.\textsuperscript{953}

\textit{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 \textit{prajñāpāramitā}.\textsuperscript{954}

\textit{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

\textsuperscript{950} Subālū, T11:0535b13-0535c09
\textsuperscript{951} Subālū, T11:0535c11-0536a08
\textsuperscript{952} \textit{Lankāvatāra-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 \textit{Lankāvatāra-sūtra}, (入楞伽經), T16:0559c-p0560a
\textsuperscript{953} No. 672, T16:0621c-0622a; \textit{Lankāvatāra-sūtra}, T16:0559c-0560a
\textsuperscript{954} \textit{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 dharmas. “Having faith in and grasping the one-character and non-obstacle of dharmas, one may obtain the knowledge of the non-production of the dharmas, and thus achieve the six pāramitās.”⁹⁵⁷

Sūtra No. 642 explains that a bodhisattva dwelling in the sūtraṅgāmasamādhi 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 fulfillment of omniscience (sarvajñāna).⁹⁵⁹ It also defines the concept of sarvajñāna as the sameness of all dharmas.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.

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⁹⁵⁵ Ratnamegha-sūtra (寶雲經), T16:0218a, No. 658; MRS, No. 659, T16:0251c
⁹⁵⁶ 大智度論 (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 (卷 1), T15: 0633c
⁹⁵⁹ 贊嘗惟梵天所問經, 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, 鄭子莊譯王菩薩請問經, 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，修滿六度利益衆生，成等正覺。”
⁹⁶⁴ No. 485, 無所有菩薩經, T14: 0673c: “般若波羅蜜，菩薩無盡，無差別，以是諸法，平等無二，平等住，平等行。”
Sūtra No. 475 reveals that doing things without any attachment is important for a bodhisattva to practise the six perfections.\textsuperscript{965} Sūtra No. 468 explains the bodhisattva discipline (vinaya).\textsuperscript{966} Knowledge of this is part of the perfection of wisdom.

Sūtras Nos. 467 and 466 say that from conventional wisdom (saṃvṛttsatya) there arise the six pāramitās; and from them the thought of enlightenment.\textsuperscript{967}

Sūtras Nos. 464 and 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.\textsuperscript{968} Different stages are asserted in the production of the thought
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. 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.”

C. 2. Developments in the Mahāyāna prajñāpāramitā

The scripture that may represent the end of the first stage in the development of the Mahāyana prajñāpāramitā is the Bodhisattvapiṭaka. The text is occupied with explaining the three types of wisdom. Study (srutamayāprajñā) is identified with seventy-two forms of learning (sruta), reflection (cintāmayāprajñā) with forty-one methods of engagement (pratipatti) in learning, and meditative realisation (bhāvanāmayāprajñā) with correct cultivation as cause. 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 dharmanairatmaya and non-production of all the dharmas.

Non-production and sameness of all the dharmas - the correct view

The practice of reflection (cintāmayāprajñā) 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 Bodhisattvapiṭaka, 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

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969 No. 441 佛說佛名經, T14, p0188c; T14,p0248c: “發菩提心者，發言當樂佛身。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障波羅蜜果。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。”
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.\textsuperscript{974}

The reflection on the path of obtaining knowledge and realisation is also presented in ways of correct contemplation. The \textit{Bodhisattvapitaka} says that when the bodhisattva contemplates all \textit{dharma}s as being in a state of cessation by nature, at that time one reflects correctly. At the time when one contemplates all \textit{dharma}s as being unattained by nature, at that time one reflects correctly. At the time when one contemplates all \textit{dharma}s as non-produced, non-originated, non-becoming and in the state of nirvana, 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.\textsuperscript{975}

In addition, the \textit{Bodhisattvapitaka} maintains that a bodhisattva who reflects correctly and skilfully has no doubt or confusion concerning any \textit{dharma}. Correct and skillful reflection is free from obstruction concerning any \textit{dharma}s. It leads to the door of liberation and it is free from inclinations towards abandonment and comprehension of any \textit{dharma}.\textsuperscript{976}

The cultivation of meditative realisation (\textit{bhāvanāmayāprajñā}) is also explained. Correct meditative realisation of the bodhisattva is attained through \textit{samatha} and \textit{vipaśyāna}, 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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{samatha} and \textit{vipaśyāna}, 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

\textsuperscript{974} T11: 0297b01- p0297b13: “依是清淨善法門。菩薩常應如是修學...是故如來依是人故。如實說法。若能從他聽聞。是則解脫諸老死等。”
\textsuperscript{975} T11: 0297c19-0298a02
\textsuperscript{976} T11:0298a04-0298a08
\textsuperscript{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 (prapaṇca) and reviewing knowledge, one does not abandon skilful means.978

The Bodhisattva Pitaka 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 dharma (dharma), 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.

Dharmanairatmya and cognitive realisation (bhāvanāmayāprajñā)

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, “如理文句即出生句，即趣理句，即法門句…三世平等句”
980 T11:0298c09-12, “如理文句色識無依住句，受想行識識無依住句…意法識識性無依住句”
981 T11:0298c13-15: “如理文句即名依義句，即名依法句，即名依言句，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，言無起者名無所知”
In order to cultivate the perfection of wisdom, a bodhisattva realises the non-substantiality of phenomena (*dharmaṃairātya*). The *Bodhisattvapitaka* 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.”

**Sameness of defilements and nirvāṇa:** Correct skill is part of wisdom that a bodhisattva is taught to cultivate. According to the *Bodhisattvapitaka* it is correct skill when a bodhisattva does not contemplate the nature of *samsāra* 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. 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 *dharmas*.

In brief, a bodhisattva should know the characteristics and forms of wisdom, 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. Furthermore, “the nature of the bodhisattva’s wisdom is pure and not linked to any conditioned factors of existence.”

Concerning the nature of the bodhisattva’s wisdom, and its difference and independence from certain *dharmas*, 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 *āyatanas*, 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 (*klesamāra*), the aggregates (*skandhamāra*), the lord of death (*mṛtyumāra*) and the Evil One.

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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 T11:0299a11-13, “若眾生處不善趣於諸法不破壞。是名菩薩如理方便。”
987 T11:0294c29-0295a, “是故說為無盡諸相...承事諸相。思惟諸相。不亂諸相...”
988 T11:0299a13-17, “...如是如理入。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...所有薩若自性清凈不與一切有為行法而同止。”
990 T11:0299a20, “何等諸法不與同止。”

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It is different from all theories concerning substantiality, including the theories of self (atmadrṣṭi), a sentient being (sattvākhyā) and life-force (jīvata). It is different from defiling traces (vāsanā), obstacles of karma, heterodox theories, retribution and nescience. It is also different from all fetters (samyojana).

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 dharmas. Thus, wisdom is different from wrong knowledge, knowledge, consciousness, conventional truth and absolute truth, and quiescence of wisdom (na abhisamśkaraprajñā). When a bodhisattva courses in the prajñāpāramitā all his wisdom is subtle and pure.

The significance of prajñā in the Bodhisattvapitaka 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 (lobha) 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)."

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)

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. It is said that a bodhisattva is able to meditatively realize the nature of reality by practising the skill in the reliance (pratisāranā), analytical knowledge (pratisamvid), bodhipākyika practices, concentrative calm (śamatha), analytical insight (vipaśyanā), the

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991 T11:0299b05-07
992 T11:0299b07-9
993 T11:0299b12-14
994 T11:0299b19-22
995 T11:0299b22-24
996 T11:0299b24-27
997 T11:0299b27-29
998 T11:0299b14-16
999 Pagel, pp.351-352.
1000 Text 38 of the Ratnakīṭa Collection, T11: 594.
accumulation of merit (*puṇya-saṃbhāra*), and the accumulation of wisdom (*jñānasamādhi*). Some texts also indicate that a bodhisattva is able to destroy the view positing a substantial self (*ātmadrṣṭi*) 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 *Mahāniddesa*, 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. 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*.

Later, in the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, ten kinds of skill are given to define wisdom (*prajñā*). It seems that the authors of the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* knew numerous types of skill, but only briefly described the ten types of skilful means. 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 *Mahāniddesa*, 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 path.

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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。是則名為般若分別。
1005 T11:0299c06,
1006 T11:0299c06-12: “云何名為如是般若分別善巧…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 *Sūtralāṅkāra*, 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.

**Prañāpāramitā 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 (*sankleṣa, vyavādāna*).\(^{1012}\) 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,

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\(^{1007}\) The five different kinds of skilful means are 1) there is non-conceptualising wisdom (*nirvikalpa-jñāna*) 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.


\(^{1009}\) *Mahāyāna-sūtralāṅkāra*, 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-sūtralāṅkāra*, édité et traduit par S. Lévi (Paris 1907, 1911), p. 112

wonderful, infinite, indivisible, unshakable, and inconceivable. It is greater than all the other
prāṇāmīśas, as the moon is greater than the stars. All the other prāṇāmīśas should be transmuted
and sublimated into the prajña-pāramitā, as without prajña, they lead to the lower stage of the
Hīnayāna, while this prajña-pāramitā is the essence of the Mahāyāna and is even adequate by
itself without the other perfections. It produces, maintains and promotes them all.\textsuperscript{1015}

This prajña-pāramitā 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 prajña-pāramitā texts. The Samādhiśāja-sūtra says: “‘Is’
and ‘Is not’ are both extreme opinions. Purity and impurity are also the same.”\textsuperscript{1016} The
Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikās declare that foolish people who believe in existence or non-
existence, do not understand the real nature of things.\textsuperscript{1017} The Lankāvatārasūtra shows that
absolute existence and non-existence are relative terms, as they depend on each other.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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
nicānas. 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.\textsuperscript{1020} The
root idea of the obscure formula of the twelve nicānas 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.”\textsuperscript{1021} The term suññatā also occurs in several passages of
the Pāli canon,\textsuperscript{1022} and the Andhakas had a definite theory of śūnyatā (Kathā-vatthu).\textsuperscript{1023} The
Mahāyānists only reiterated the old doctrines and developed them to their logical conclusions.

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\textsuperscript{1015} See the perfection of wisdom in the previous chapter for references.
\textsuperscript{1016} Sam.Rū., fol. 35a.3-4, “asti nasti ubhe’ pi anā.”
\textsuperscript{1017} The Mūla-madhyamaka-kārikās (Mādhyamika-sūtras) de Nāgārjuna, publié par L. de la Vallée Poussin
(St.Petersburg 1903), p.135. 1.
\textsuperscript{1018} Lkt, p.54.
\textsuperscript{1019} The Mūla-madhyamaka-kārikās (Mādhyamika-sūtras) de Nāgārjuna, publié par L. de la Vallée Poussin
(St.Petersburg 1903), II.13, 592.7.
\textsuperscript{1020} Ibid., p.503.10 ff.; p.491.15ff.
\textsuperscript{1021} Majjhima-Nikāya, edited by V. Trenckner and R. Chalmers (London 1888-99), 3 vols; see vol. 2, 32 (Ciḷa-
sakuludāyi-sutta). “Imassāni pi sattati, idam hoti; imass’ upāpāti idam upapajjati,” so on.
\textsuperscript{1022} Ibid., vol.3, 104 ff; Dhammasangāni, section 534.
\textsuperscript{1023} Kathā-vatthu, edited by A.C. Taylor (London 1894); see xix, 2, p.378.
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*)." 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 *nicānas* are given as follows in the Sanskrit texts: "From ignorance (*avidyā*) as cause arises *samskāra*, from the *samskāra* as cause arises consciousness (*vijñāna*), from consciousness as cause arises name-and-form (*nāma-tūpa*), from name-and-form as cause arises the sixfold sphere of the senses (*ṣaḍāyatanā*), from the sixfold sphere as cause arises contact (*sparśa*), 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.

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 (*dharma-naiyātmya*). 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, *Ignorance is non-existent; the *samskāras* 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 Nagarjuna, publié par L. de la Vallée Poussin (St.Petersburg 1903), 505.2-3.
1025 Ibid., 76, i.
1027 DB, 48.
1028 *Pr. Pā. Šata*, 842, 1216, 1360, 136, 141, 1197, 1643, 1440.
puriﬁcation . . . All dharmas 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 (māyā-purusa)."

Thus does the Śatasahasrikāpūrajñāpāramitāsūtra expound its doctrine of negation, which is surely carried to the utmost limit. The Vajracchedikāpūrajñāpāramitāsūtra 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1030}

Śūnyatā has also been classiﬁed. There are eighteen or twenty kinds of śūnyatā.\textsuperscript{1031} The Śatasahasrikāpūrajñāpāramitāsūtra applies the different aspects of śūnyatā to all the concepts and categorises Buddhist ontology (rūpa, vedanā, etc.), and the attributes of a Buddha. The Lāṅkāvatārasūtra mentions seven types of śūnyatā.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1034} The bodhisattva does not recognize the existence of either virtue or sin (puṇya, pāpā), 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

\textsuperscript{1029} Vajracchedikā Prajñā-pāramitā, edited by F. Max Müller (Oxford 1881), 21.5, 41.11, 42.8, 43.16, 23.7, 38.9, 37.13.

\textsuperscript{1030} Asta, 513; Mdh., 215; Lka., 90; Sam. Rū., 202a.3; Pr. Pā. Śata., 906; M.S.Al., 62; DB, 55, etc.

\textsuperscript{1031} Pr. Pā. Śata., 77, 1417, 886. Daśabhūmika, 55, etc. Mahāyāna-sūtraśāstra, édité et traduit par S. Lévi (Paris 1907, 1911), p.62

\textsuperscript{1032} Lkt, 74.5.

\textsuperscript{1033} Asta, 348. Mahāyānaśūtraśāstra, p.58


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the gift do not really exist.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{1036} Truth may be regarded under two aspects: \textit{svanvṛtī-сутya} (or \textit{vyavahāra-сутya}, relative, conventional truth") and \textit{paramārtha-сутya} (absolute truth). The \textit{Lāṅkāvatāra-сутra} says, “everything exists relatively and contingently, but nothing exists absolutely.”\textsuperscript{1037} The \textit{Mahāyānasūtra-śāntakāra} 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.\textsuperscript{1038} Śāntideva teaches that the phenomenal world, which can be grasped by the discursive intellect (\textit{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.\textsuperscript{1039}

The \textbf{power of wisdom}: \textit{Prajñā} and \textit{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.\textsuperscript{1040} \textit{Prajñā} routs out the army of Māra, as water destroys a vessel of unbaked clay.\textsuperscript{1041} According to the \textit{Samādhiyājasūtra}, a bodhisattva that has acquired \textit{prajñā} gives away everything and is perfect and flawless in character.

\textbf{Features of the \textit{prajñāpāramitā}}

The \textit{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 (anābhiveśa)

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1035} \textit{Pr. Pā. Śata}, 1454.
\item \textsuperscript{1036} Lkt, p.131.
\item \textsuperscript{1037} Lkt, pp. 280, 294.
\item \textsuperscript{1038} \textit{Mahāyāna-śūtralankāra}, édité et traduit par S. Lévi (Paris 1907, 1911), 54, 59.
\item \textsuperscript{1039} \textit{Bodhi-caryāvatāra}, edited by I.P. Minayeff (Zapiski, vol. Iv, 1889, pp. 155-225), ix, 2.
\item \textsuperscript{1040} \textit{Pr. Pā. Śata}, p471.
\item \textsuperscript{1041} \textit{Lalita-vistara}, edited by S. Lefmann (Halle, a. S. 1902-8), p.314.16, 263.1.
\end{itemize}
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 (paryāya) 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 (prajñāparyāya). 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 Sanāgrahamaññānasūtra says that “non-mind (acitta) is mind (citta).”

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 (vyanjanas) one engenders the state of no-words (a-pāda), by lokadharma (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 (śrūta) 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 (śrūta), accepting, holding (dharana), approaching, reading, reciting, teaching (bhāna), and they should have correct reflection (cintā).

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,”

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1042 Sanāgrahamaññānasūtra, T31:0147c, “非心而是心。”
1043 Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra, T8: 0280c, “若聞受持親近,誦誦為他人説,正憶念。”
1044 Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra, T8: 0542a.
discriminating, reciting it, explaining it, and simplifying it.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{prajñāpāramitā}.

The bodhisattva practices such as the six \textit{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 \textit{prajñāpāramitā}. The \textit{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 \textit{dharmas}.\textsuperscript{1046} More perfections are founded in the \textit{Drumakīṃnarājjanirdeśa}, which teaches seven perfections, six perfections plus the perfection of skill, and each perfection is explained by thirty-two \textit{dharmas}.\textsuperscript{1047} In the \textit{Buddhasaṃgitiśūtra} translated by Dharmarakṣa (225-305 CE), more concepts and practices are classified and used to explain wisdom. These include respecting the \textit{dharmas} as the truth (\textit{satya}), producing the \textit{bodhisattvacitta}, practicing the six perfections, the ten \textit{bodhisattvabhūmis}, the portals (\textit{mukha}) of the forty-two letters (\textit{vyañjanas}), obtaining the non-production (\textit{anutpāda}), and realizing truth (\textit{satya}).\textsuperscript{1048} The \textit{Buddhasaṃgitiśūtra} is an important text because it seems to be an outline of the essentials of the \textit{prajñāpāramitāsūtras} belonging to the \textit{Medium Class}. Later it became the criterion of the Mahāyāna teachings.

The \textit{Subāhubodhisattvaparipṛcchā} 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.\textsuperscript{1049}

The \textit{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 (\textit{abhijñā}), and (4) the pure practice of training sentient beings, or

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{1045} 摩訶般若波羅蜜經\textit{(Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra)}, T8: 0311c.
\textsuperscript{1046} 海龍王經\textit{(Sāgaranāgarājaparipṛcchā)}, T15: 0135b-136b.
\textsuperscript{1047} 大樹緊那羅王所聞經\textit{(Drumakīṃnarājjanirdeśa)}, T15: 0376a-378a.
\textsuperscript{1048} 諸佛要集經\textit{(Buddhasaṃgiti)}, T17: 0758c-762.
\textsuperscript{1049} 普賢菩薩議會\textit{(Subāhubodhisattvaparipṛcchā)}, T11:0528
\end{flushright}
skill in converting.\textsuperscript{1050} Those practices of the \textit{pāramitās} together with the practices of training sentient beings are similar to the seven \textit{pāramitās} of the Drumakīṭṭharaśājanirdeśa.

The \textit{Vaśitārāja-parivṛtta} translated by Kumārajīva (344-413 CE), explains the perfect wisdom as possessing four kinds of mastery (\textit{vaśitā}). These include (1) mastery in morality (\textit{śīla-vaśitā}), (2) mastery in supernatural powers (\textit{abhiśīva-vaśitā}), (3) mastery in knowledge (\textit{jñāna-vaśitā}) and (4) mastery in wisdom (\textit{prajñā-vaśitā}). Mastery in knowledge is knowledge in the aggregates (\textit{skandha}), elements (\textit{dhātu}), sense-base (\textit{āyatana}), dependent origination (\textit{pratītyasamutpāda}) and in truth (\textit{satya}). Mastery in wisdom (\textit{prajñā-vaśitā}) denotes the four kinds of non-obstruction (\textit{pratisaṃvīda}), namely the \textit{dharma-pratisaṃvīda}, \textit{artha-pratisaṃvīda}, \textit{nimittaprisaṃvīda} and \textit{pratibhāṇa-pratisaṃvīda}. This text also says that these bodhisattvas protected by the \textit{prajñā-paraśāra} will gain the four kinds of fearlessness (\textit{vaisāra-dvāpi}), ten powers (\textit{bala}), and eighteen special \textit{dharmas} of the bodhisattva.\textsuperscript{1051}

The \textit{Aśayamanibandhisattvāsūtra}\textsuperscript{1052} translated by Dharmarakṣa (225- 305 CE), teaches one to perfect wisdom by practising that all \textit{dharmas} are infinite (\textit{akṣaya}). Infinite \textit{dharmas} here refer to \textit{bodhicitta}, the six perfections, the four immeasurable minds (\textit{apramāṇa}), the five supernatural powers, the four means of conversion (\textit{saṃgrahavastu}), the four kinds of dependence (\textit{pratisarāṇa}), the factors of the enlightenment, the \textit{dhyāna} and \textit{prajñā}, the \textit{dharma} and \textit{pratibhāna}, the one vehicle path (\textit{ekāyānamarga}), 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 \textit{Subāhubodhisattvāraśāja}, the accumulation and classification of bodhisattva practices in the \textit{Aśayamanibandhisattvāsūtra} are quite synthetic and rational, and they become the exposition of \textit{prajñā}.

**Knowledge and skill:** The understanding of emptiness with wisdom the methods, and portals (\textit{mukha}) of training courses in realizing phenomena (\textit{dharmas}) are the content of the \textit{prajñā-paraśāra}. These can be found in many texts. Firstly, the \textit{Subāhubodhisattvāraśāja} reveals seven types of knowledge (\textit{jñāna}) in (1) elements (\textit{dhātu}), (2) aggregates (\textit{skandhas}), (3) sense-bases (\textit{āyatana}), (4) the four noble truths (\textit{aryasatya}), (5) dependent origination

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\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1050} 寶髻菩薩會 (\textit{Ratnacūḍapaśāha}), T11: 0657; 寶髻菩薩品, T13: 0173.
  \item \textsuperscript{1051} 自在王菩薩經 (\textit{Vaśitārāja-parivṛtta}), translated by Kumārajīva, T13: 0924; T13: 00935.
  \item \textsuperscript{1052} 阿毘末菩薩經 (\textit{Aśayamanibandhisattvāśūtra}), T13: 0583; 無盡意菩薩品 (\textit{Aśayamanīparivarta}), T13: 00192.
\end{itemize}
(pratityasamutpāda), (6) the three times (trayo-dhvana) and (7) the three vehicles (yāna).  

Secondly, the Aksayamatiparivarta lists eight types of skill (kauśalya) in skandhas, dhātus, āyatana, satyas, pratityasamutpāda, trayo-dhvana, yānas, samskṛta and asamskṛta. Thirdly, the Subhaguṇadevanirdeśa translated by Bodhiruci (572-727 CE) also lists eight kinds of skill which constitute wisdom. These are skills in skandhas, dhātu, āyatana, pratityasamutpāda, satyas, trayo-dhvana, yānas, and all the teachings of the Buddha. 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 dharmas, and conditioned and unconditioned dharmas. Fifthly, the Mahājūśrībodhiparipṛcchā 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 dharmas. Sixthly, the Drumakīrtinarājāsūtra teaches that bodhisattvas “are skilful in discriminating the aggregates, skilful in dhātu as they know the elements of the dharmas, 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 (nirvāṇa).”

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. We find some connections between the Mahājūśrībodhiparipṛcchā and the MA. In the Mahājūśrībodhiparipṛcchā, 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...
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 Viśeṣacintabrahmapariprcchā translated by Kumārajīva, explains five types of knowledge required in the teachings1060 which are styled as five kinds of skill in the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra.1061 According to the Viśeṣacintabrahmapariprcchā, 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 dharmas (dharmatā). One should not “favour some sayings (dharmpāda)” 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 (dharmanukha) which disclose reality, liberation, and the Dharma flavour. The Viśeṣacintabrahmapariprcchā 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 (śūnyatāmukha). This knowledge in the Viśeṣacintabrahmapariprcchā is the dharmamukha, which is linked with ten portals (mukha) such as the śūnyatāmukha, ānimittamukha, apraṇihitamukha, vyupāsaṇa, anāyayayamukha, avivartyamukha, anupādamukha, savbhāvaviśuddhamukha, and niḥsvabhāvatāmukha.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

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1060 思益梵天所問經 (Viśeṣacintabrahmapariprcchā), tr. by Kumārajīva, T15: 040c-041a.
1061 大智度論 (Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra), 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. 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. Nitartha-pratisaraṇa implies the meaning of sameness, equality, purification, emptiness, non-production, non-sign and signlessness. Dharmapratisaraṇa implies the equality and sameness of all the dharmas (dharmadhātusamata). The Lokadharanaṇirdeśa 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 (laksana) and seals (mudrā) of all dharmas, one is also skilfully abiding in the wisdom of signlessness of all dharmas.”

Sayings (pada): Some texts mainly present Mahāyāna wisdom as learning (śrūtā) and reflecting (cintā). For instances, the Manuṣaḍharmaratnirdeśa and the Lokadharanaṇirdeśa ask how bodhisattvas have good knowledge of the true nature of things (dharmadharmatā), and their characteristics (dharmalaksana), the skill in mindfulness (smṛti), seals (mudrā) and sayings (pada) of wisdom, and skill in taking rebirth without loosing mindfulness and (dharana) until obtaining the supreme and perfect enlightenment. 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 (śrūtā). It is clear that learning and reflecting are as important as the source of wisdom in the

1064 For instance, the Aksayamatinirdeśa states Arthapratisaraṇena bhavitavyam na vyādhanapratisaraṇena; jñānapratisaraṇena bhavitavyam na viśīṣṭapratisaraṇena; nītartha-pratisaraṇena bhavitavyam 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.”

1065 Vimalakīrtinirdeśa, T14: 0556c; the Buddhāṣaṅgītī, T17: 0757; T15: 495-496; the Vasitārājanirdeśa, T13: 927abc.


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 dharmalakṣaṇa, smṛti and dharana. In order to have the knowledge of true nature (dharma-tā) 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 (dhatū), the Lokadharananirdeśa says that the Tathāgatas, on account of absolute truth, do not grasp the dhātus (elements) and the characteristics (dhatulakṣana) 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 Puṃaparipṛcchā 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 (śrūta) is to constantly learn from the store of the Dharma.

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1069 Ibid., T14: 654a.
1070 The Pūrṇaprajñāpāramitāsūtra, tr. by Kumārajīva, T16: 0167c, 168b-169b, 171b-172a.
1071 Ibid., T16: 0180c -0184c.
1072 Ibid., T16: 0198b -199a.
1073 Puṃaparipṛcchā, T11: 0450b -- 455c.
treasures, to gain the definite meaning of the teachings, and to understand the seals (mudrā) and sayings (dharmapada). In order to reach the irreversible stage, the bodhisattva must learn the unlearned dharmas, reflect on their meanings, strive in learning the profound sūtras, know the five aggregates and twelve links of dependent origination, and know all events (sarvadhārma) through the wisdom of non-discrimination (nirvikalpajñāna).

Vyanjayānadhāraṇī: In the expositions of the prajñāpāramitā in Mahāyāna texts, forms of vyanjayānadhāraṇī 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 (arthavyānjayānadhāraṇī), 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 (dvācatvārimśad-akṣaramukha) which has been added to the prajñāpāramitā texts belonging to the Medium Class, and which deeply influenced Mahāyāna teachings and texts. The Dharmacaryā-smytinirdeśa gives dhāraṇīs in connection with sixteen letters (vyānjana), namely a, pa, ca, na, da, sa, ka, sa, ga, tha, ja, kṣa, cha, tsā, ta, and dha. The Bhadrakalpikanirdeśa presents a teaching based on sixteen letters (vyānjana), 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 (vyānjana), they can gain the stage that possesses countless portals of dhāraṇī, and understand (pratisattvāya) every dharma and obtain the state of mastery (vasitā)."

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 (vyānjana) pa, la, ba, ka, ja, dha, sa, kṣa. Zhi Qian translated the meanings of these eight letters into Chinese in the middle of third century CE, but other translators merely transliterated them in Chinese.

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1074 Ibid., T11: 0436a - 0437a.
1075 Ibid., T11: 0437a - 440a.
1076 觀察諸法行經 (Dharmacaryā-smytinirdeśa), T15: 0731c – 732b.
1077 善劫經 (Bhadrakalpikanirdeśa), translated by Dharamraṣṭa , T14: 0004c – 5a.
1078 無量門總持經 (Anantamukhadhāraṇīnirdeśa), translated by Zhi Qian in middle of third century.
1079 T19:681b. “逃，敬，惟，棄，涅，調，法，忍。”
The *Sarvagunasaṃgraha-samādhisūtra* gives the *bijamukhas* (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*).

The *Dhāraṇīvasitārājaparivarta* teaches eight kinds of *dhāraṇī*. The first *dhāraṇī* is the *suddhaprabhādhāraṇī* 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 *dharma-dhātu*, and without missing the meaning of the letter (*arthavyājana*)”.

The fourth *dhāraṇī*, the *mahāsāgaradhāraṇī*, is linked with twenty-six letters such as the *a* of *abhāvamukha*. The *Mahākaraṇānirdeśa* gives the *mudrās* (seals) which are linked with thirty-eight letters, 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 (*vyāhjana*) in cultivating the wisdom of the bodhisattva.

The fulfillment of the perfection of wisdom by learning, reflection and meditative realisation, was developed and linked with the practices of letters (*vyāhjana*), 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 *Pumaparipṛcchā*, 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 *bāhuśrutamālapada* (basic sayings of teachings), the seven kinds of seed-saying (*bijapada*), and the *dhāraṇīpada* (sayings of *dhāraṇī*).

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1082 Ibid., T13: 023c – 024a.
1083 大哀經 (*Mahākaraṇānirdeśa*), translated by Dharmarakṣa, T13: 0443abc.
1084 海慧菩薩品 (*Sāgaraprajñāpāparivarta*), T13: 0065c.
1085 富樓那會 (*Pumaparipṛcchā*), T11: 0438c, 0446c, 0447a.
The bodhisattvas in the Sāgaraprajñāparivarta are instructed to master the "mukhapada, dharmapada and vajrapada."\textsuperscript{1086} The Sarvagunasaṃgrahasaṃādhi sūtra teaches eight letters of bijapadamukha, eight dharmacintapadamukha (portals of sayings of dharmas), and eight portals of diamond like sayings (vajrapadamukha).\textsuperscript{1087} Here, the eight letters of bijapadamukha are similar to the sayings of dharma (dharmacintapada) in the Sāgaraprajñāparivarta.

Many of their names may differ, but their teachings and contents are the same, namely the dharmacintapada and vimuktimukha. Mukha is a tool for bodhisattvas to realize the truth and obtain liberation (vimukti). Thus the Viśeṣacintātramaparamāpracchāteaches, “all dharmas enter this mukha, namely, śūnyatāmukha (portal of emptiness), anīmitamukha (portal of signlessness), apranihitamukha (portal of wishlessness), anupādānāvyayamukha (portal of neither coming nor going), avivartanīyamukha (portal of irreversibility) . . . The Tathāgata points out this vimuktimukha with every letter (vyāñjana). 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 dharmacintapada is the vimuktimukha.

In the Mañjuśrīnirdeśa, Mañjuśrī teaches that the dhāraṇīmukha is “the memory that everything is empty (sarvadharmasūnyatādharanī), the memory that everything is signless (sarvadharmasānyatādharanī), the memory of the reflection that everything abides in the truth (sarvadharmasatyaśthitacintadharanī), the memory that everything abides in the dharmadūtu (sarvadharmadhūtasthitadharanī), the memory of every thing abiding in the suchness (sarvadharmatathāsthitadharanī) . . . Everything is like illusion (māyā) . . . This way of discriminating the dharmas is called dhāraṇī.”\textsuperscript{1088} When explaining the irreversible wheel (avinivartanīyacakra), Mañjuśrī further says that the irreversible wheel is “the diamond saying (vajrapada), that every dharma is cessation (vyupasāma) and impermanence (anityatā), that it is the saying of emptiness (śūnyatāpada), signlessness (anīmitapada), wishlessness, the dharmadūtu, suchness (tathā), dependent origination, and reflection on the unconditioned (asamskrtadharmasamrti). Thus the vajrapada is about seeing the dharmasvabhāva.”\textsuperscript{1089}

\textsuperscript{1086} T13: 065c.  
\textsuperscript{1087} T12: 0996b.  
\textsuperscript{1088} (Mañjuśrīnirdeśa), T15: 0417a.  
\textsuperscript{1089} ibid., T15: 0418c-419a.
The *Gunasamatāsāṅgrahasamādhinirdeśa* mentions eight *saddharmapadas* concerning the equality and sameness of all *dharmas* (*sarvadharmasamata*): the śūnyatāmudrāpada, animittamudrāpada, apranihitamudrāpada, satyamudrāpada, dharmaḥtumudrāpada, tathāmudrāpada, māyāmudrāpada, and vyupaśamamudrāpada.  

*Mudrā* means seal, symbol, mark, and denotes the true meanings of *dharmas*.

From the above discussion, we can see that vajrapada, mukhapada, dharmaṃukha and dhāraṇī are almost the same in terms of their actual contents. They originated from the *prajñāpāramitā* texts. The *Minor Version* of *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* states that “the profound character [of the *dharmas*] is the meaning of emptiness (*arthasūnyata*), signlessness (*animitta*), wishlessness, non-origination (*asamutthana*), non-production (*anutpāda*), non-destruction (*anātyata*), non-existence (*abhava*), non-attachment (*akliṣṭa* and *anābhīnivesa*), cessation (*vyupaśama*), the unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*), and nirvāṇa.”

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 (*anāmitāta*), cessation (*vyupaśama*), the non-defiled (*akliṣṭa*), and the unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*), which are expressive of nirvāṇa. In the *Minor Class*, in addition to the eight portals, suchness and illusion (*māya*) 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 (*śūnyatā*). Suchness, the *dharmaḥtūta* and truth (*sātya*) were developed and give twelve different names. Illusion (*māya*) received ten additional analogies. In some texts, the profound character of *dharmas*, emptiness, signlessness and other characteristics are united with analogies to indicate that whatever is illusion (*māya*), that is empty, and whatever is empty, that is suchness. These became the bases to form the *dharmaṃukhapada*, *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 (*vyañjana*) 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...
sixteen mudrās, namely the ākāśamudrā, śāntamudrā, praśrābdhimudrā, a-mukhamudrā, a-dhātumudrā, śūnyatāmudrā, animitamudrā, apraṇihitamudrā, virāgamudrā, anutpādamudrā, vyupāsmamudrā, kṣayalakṣanamudrā, dharmadḥātumudrā, a-smytimudrā, asamśkrta-mudrā, 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).

The Lokādhārana-nirdeśa gives five portals (mukha), namely space, non-destruction (anānityatā), continuity (anantārya), the boundlessness (aprānapā). The Puṣpahatani-nirdeśa while speaking about the dharmamukha, vajrapada, and dharmamudrā, says, “the Tathāgata teaches the portal of the letter a and enters all the dharmas.” The Ratnacīṇaparipṛcchā asserts that the dhāraṇīvajrapada is a saying (pada) which refers to each saying of dharma (sarvadharmapada) and endless sayings of dharmas (anantadharma-pada). The endless sayings of dharma refer to every letter (sarvavyaṇājana), and every letter includes every saying of dharmas. When one does not discriminate between vyāñjanapada, dharmapada, and praṇihitapada, it is named dhāraṇīvajrapada.

As for the vajrapada, the Guṇasamgrahasaṃādhi-nirdeśa teaches eight diamond sayings, such as the sarvadharma-anāsrava. The Sāgaraprajñānirdeśa says, “sarvadharmā-anutpāda (non-production of every dharma) is a diamond saying (vajrapada), every dharma is Buddha’s Dharma, and it is a vajrapada. Every language (sarvanirukti) is the Tathāgata’s language, is a vajrapada.”

In brief, vajra, vyāñjanapada, mudrā, dhāraṇī, mukha and bija 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 vyāñjanapada, mudra, dhāraṇī, mukha and pada in the Mahāyāna texts, are new formations.
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 Mahāsāṃghikas, in the Sarvāstivāda texts such as the *Mūlasarvāstivādinayasaṅghabheda-vastu*, the *Mūlasarvāstivādinayabhaṣajya-vastu*, and the *Abhidharmamahā-sāstra*. This concept of the bodhisattva is also present in the *Satyasiddhi-sāstra*, and in early Mahāyāna texts such as the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha*. 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 Bhārhat 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 Dipaṇkara 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 *Buddhavamsa* 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 *Buddhavamsa*. 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 *sabbannutā* 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 *sabbannutā*.

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 Lokottara *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 *bhūmīs*, and a description of the virtues which one must possess on each of those stages. Included in this section is a *buddhānusmytī* (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 (pranidhāna-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 Mahāsāṃghika 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 Shi-di-jing (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 Mahāsāṃghika School. However, the Mahāvastu and similar literature concerning the Buddha’s life transcend sectarian lines. At the end of the Fō-bēn-xīng-jí-jīng (佛本行集經, Abhinīkramaṇasūtra, 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 pāramīs 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 pāramīs. 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 sīla, 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 Buddhavamsa, 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, Vibhājyavāda and Uttarāpathaka emphasise the marks (laksāna) 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 Vibhajyavādin masters present the bodhisattvas as having knowledge of all dharmas (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 Buddhavamsa, 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-sāstra 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 Śatpāramitāsaṃgrahāsūtra which attaches importance to compassion, the Dào-zhī-dà-jìng 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 in important in the Śatpāramitāsamgrahāsūtra, but unlike later Mahāyāna texts, the meaning of praṇāḥ 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 Buddhavadānānidana (佛本起因縁), the Abhinīkramaṇasūtra (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 (dharaniḥ) 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 anupattikadharmakṣaṇi 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, praṇāḥ, the concept of sarvadharmaśānyatā, the importance of bahuṣrutya, 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-originating. 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 (*avivartanīya*) of the bodhisattva. Imparting the course on the *prajñāpāramitā* is asserted to enable deep realisation of that truth. The *sarvādharma-parigṛhīta* and the *sarvādhammanupādāna* are the two relevant *samādhis*. The feature of the first *samādhi* is not abiding in any *dharma* and the non-appropriation of all *dharmas* (諸法無受三味). 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 Šāriputra 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 (*duṣkarasāṃjñā*), 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 *anupalabdhyā*. 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 (*anupalabdhyā*), non-origination (*anutpāda*) and non-extinction (*anirodha*) of all *dharmas*.

In the original *prajñāpāramitā-paryāya*, the true nature of *dharmas*, as the term *dharmānāṃ-dharmatā* indicates, should be realised by the bodhisattvas and the *bhāṇakas*.
Having realised the true nature of dharmas, whatever they teach does not contradict the actual nature of dharmas (T8:537bc). Furthermore, because the true nature of all dharmas is the non-origination and the non-extinction of all dharmas, which are non-dual and not divided, this may be realised suddenly through the concentrated insight of non-grasping all dharmas (sarvadharmaṃupādāna), non-appropriation of all dharmas, and non-abiding within any dharma (sarvadharmaṃpratīṣṭhitā). A bodhisattva may begin practise directly with seeing the nature of dharmas. 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
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 dharma*. 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 Śrāvākas is connected with the *anuttarikadharmakṣānti* 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 household, 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 trividhaśīla, namely the moral restrictions (saṃvaraśīla), morality that accumulates wholesome dharmas (kuśalaḥarmasāṅgrāhāśīla), 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 (dharmas) 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 anuttpattikadharmakṣānti. 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 Śatpāramitāsaṅgrahasūtra [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 bodhisattva 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 (anupūrvavīra). The Subāhupariprcchā, 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 Mahāyānadasadharmasūtra (T11:0765c) and the Ratnacūḍabodhisattvapariprcchā (T11:0660ae; 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 Sagarāgarājaparipṛcchā (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 Aksayamatinirdeśa (Wū-jin-yi-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.

Dhyanas 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, Śurangamasamādhisūtra and so forth. Most samādhis of the Āgamas belong to the practice of insight (vipaśyāna). We find the śūnyatāsamādhi, ānimītasamādhi, aprājitasaṃmādhi 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 (aniruddha) 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 śūraṅgamasamādhi, 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 Pañcavidūsatisāhasrikā, 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 Drumakīṁnarājaparipṛcchā says that the ratnasthisasamādhi 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 Saṭpāramitāsamgrahasūtra, 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 dharmas become the path to buddhahood. Wisdom itself constitutes non-grasping. It is defined as being non-attachment (anabhivesā) and non-obstruction (ānantaryā apratiñhatā). Thus the worldly and transcendent dharmas 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 (vyanjanas), one gains the state of non-words (apāda). By mundane things (lokadharma), 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 Aksayamatibodhisattvasūtra says that all dharmas are infinite (aksaya). Among the infinite dharmas 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 Subḥubodhisattvaparipṛcchā, the accumulation and classification of Mahāyāna practices in the Aksayamatinirdesa 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 dharmas, 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 vyahjanadharani 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 (arthavyaṇjanadharani), with the realisation of the true reality (dhammatā), and with skill in expounding the Dharma. Its importance is shown by the dvācatvaṁśad-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 (vyāñjana), portals (mukha), and the mastery of memory (dhāraṇī). For instance, the Puspahanirdeśa 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 bija 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-śāstra. 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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