The Buddhist scripture containing teachings that bestow heroic progress on the path to Enlightenment

The Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra is an early Mahāyāna Buddhist scripture. Within a narrative framework provided by a dialogue between the Buddha and the bodhisattva Drḍhamati, it airs central issues of Mahāyāna Buddhism by means of philosophical discussion, edifying anecdote, marvellous feat, and drama. At its core is a description of the seeming conversion of Māra, the embodiment of all malign tendencies that obstruct advancement, and the prediction that he too will become a Buddha.

Concentration, samādhi, is understood to denote the altered mental states attainable through Buddhist meditation techniques, in particular that in which discursive thought is allayed, the mind is calm and is capable of sustained awareness of a single object.

The present volume comprises the first full English translation Kumārajīva’s Chinese translation of the Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra, with an extensive explanatory introduction and annotations. Lamotte’s French version appeared in 1965 and now Sara Boin-Webb’s English rendering of that gives the English speaking world access both to an important Buddhist scripture and also to a classic work of Buddhist Studies scholarship.

ÉTIENNE LAMOTTE (1903-1983), a major figure in the field of Buddhist Studies, was the author of Histoire du bouddhisme indien, des origines à l’ère Śaka, (Louvain 1958); he has also translated the Samdhinirmocanasūtra, the Karmasiddhiṣṭapakaraṇa, the Vimalakīrtinirdèṣasūtra, Asaṅga’s Mahāyānasaṅgraha, and the 5-volume commentary by Nāgārjuna on the Prajñāpāramitāsūtra, Le Traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna.

Sara Boin-Webb is the official translator of Lamotte’s work. Her success is attested by the publication of her English-language renderings of Lamotte’s Vimalakīrtinirdēṣa (The Teaching of Vimalakirti, London 1976) and Histoire du bouddhisme indien (History of Indian Buddhism, Louvain 1988), as well as several other works from the French. Her translation of the above-mentioned commentary on the Prajñāpāramitāsūtra awaits publication. She is Assistant Editor of Buddhist Studies Review.

Andrew Skilton is a post-doctoral Research Fellow at Cardiff University, working on Mahāyāna literature, including the Samādhirājasūtra. He has published A Concise History of Buddhism (1994) and Śāntideva’s Bodhicaryāvatāra (1996).
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INTRODUCTION
from the Technical Editor

The Śūramgamasamādhisūtra (Śgs) is an early Mahāyāna Buddhist scripture. It is ancient, composed anonymously, close to the beginning of the first millennium. It was one of the very first Mahāyāna scriptures to be transmitted to China, where we know its first translation was published in 186 C.E. Because of its popularity the Śgs was translated a further nine times, and the last of these, made by the great translator Kumārajīva at the very beginning of the fifth century C.E., survives to form a part of the modern Chinese Buddhist canon. The other major translation of the Śgs was made into Tibetan at the beginning of the ninth century.

The Śūramgamasamādhisūtra (The Concentration of Heroic Progress), the first full English translation of Kumārajīva’s text, is a welcome addition to the growing library of English language versions of Buddhist scriptures. Lamotte’s French version was published in 1965, and now with the publication of Sara Boin-Webb’s translation of the English speaking world has direct access both to an important scriptural text and also to a classic work of Buddhist Studies. Direct comparison can now be made with The Teaching of Vimalakīrti, the English version of Lamotte’s treatment of the Vimalakīrtinirdesa, to which the present work was conceived as the companion volume.

The title of the text describes in brief its subject. The Śūramgamasamādhisūtra is the scripture that contains teachings concerning the samādhi that bestows an ‘heroic progress’, śūramgama, on the path to Enlightenment. Samādhi is traditionally understood to denote the altered mental states attainable through meditation techniques, in particular the mental state in which discursive thought is allayed and the mind is calm, concentrated and capable of sustained awareness of a single object, hence ‘concentration’. As an integral part of this technology of altered consciousness, samādhi is also understood to bestow power upon the practitioner – not just the power of spiritual insight, but also of magical feat and transformation – and it is this theme which most incited the imagination of Mahāyāna Buddhists to produce an array of ‘Mahāyāna samādhis’, each accredited with special magical powers of spiritual advancement. As Lamotte explains in his Introduction, he understands the Śgs to be concerned with just such a specific meditative state that is or gives ‘heroic progress’.

The Śgs is one of a small group of Mahāyāna sūtras that teach
specific, named ‘samādhis’. Only one other text from this group is published in English translation – the *Pratyutpannasūtra* (see Bibliography). Others in this genre are the *Samādhirājasūtra*, the *Praśāntavinīścayaprātihāryasamādhisūtra*, and the *Kuan ch′a chu fa hsing ching* (T.649).

The Śgs is not just an object for study and comparison, but was surely composed to be enjoyed, seeking to entertain as it edifies. Nor must we forget that for the community of Buddhist practitioners, to which this text truly belongs, “The sūtras only ask to be believed, remembered, repeated, expounded and put into practice” (p.41).

For this English translation the index has been expanded, the bibliography revised and supplemented, and minor typographic errors of the French edition corrected.

Andrew Skilton, Cardiff
The Śūraṅgamāsamādhisūtra is neither more nor less interesting than the other texts of the Great Vehicle, but it was one of the first Mahāyāna sūtras to be translated into Chinese and, in the periods of the Han, Wei, Wu, Chin, Liang and Ch’in, it enjoyed considerable success. In less than four centuries it was translated some ten times and certain of these translations were subjected to a combined edition; the Sūtra was commented upon several times and it inspired the first Buddhist philosophical school to be established in China: the Hsin-wu-i, ‘Theory of the non-existence of the mind’.

Yet another reason dictated the choice of this text. Three years ago I published a translation of the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa. In fact, according to well-established custom, those who are interested in the latter work also translate the Śūramgamasamādhisūtra. This was the case for Chih Ch’ien, Dharmarakṣa, Shu-lan and Kumārajīva. It has been my wish here to conform to such a justified tradition: the two works are closely related through their ideas and complement each other.

Continuing the interest that he has always taken in my work, Professor Paul Demiéville, Member of the Institut de France, has checked my translation with the talent and care which characterise him. It is a pleasure once again to express my profound gratitude to him.

While publishing, in a new presentation, this thirteenth volume of the Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, may I be allowed to evoke the memory of their illustrious founder, M. Louis de La Vallée Poussin. May the present work not fall too short of the hopes he set on his successors.

Louvain, 1 May 1965

PREFACE

to the original French edition
FOREWORD

to the English edition

by Étienne Lamotte


It is not merely by chance that, among so many other Mahāyāna sūtras, the Vimalakirtinirdeśa (abbreviated to Vkn) and Śūramgama-samādhi (Śgs) should appear together. Both Sanskrit texts, which appeared about the second century of our era but are now lost, figured among the first Mahāyāna sūtras to be rendered into Chinese; they were, over the centuries, the object of many translations into Chinese, the languages of Central Asia and Tibetan. As if through tacit agreement, the Yüeh-chih, Indian and Serindian masters, such as Chih Ch’ien, Chu Fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa) and Kumārajiva, who translated the Vkn into Chinese also produced a version of the Śgs in the same language. We have remained faithful to such a long-standing tradition.

The Introductions that we devoted to both these Sūtras allow us to perceive the close links which unite the Vkn and the Śgs. Along with the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras, they set out the Madhyamaka, the ‘Philosophy of the Middle Way’, which professes the twofold emptiness of beings and things: they draw up the idealised portrait of the bodhisattva combining Prajñā with Upayakausalya. The former is the right vision of the true nature of things which is none other than the absence of any nature; the latter ripens beings by making them aware of the perfect equation between Samsāra and Nirvāṇa. This engagement in awareness results in the elimination of false views, the cutting off of idle words and practices (sarvavādācaryaccheda) and the calming of the mind. From this point of view, the Teaching of Vimalakīrti and the Concentration of Heroic Progress are in perfect agreement.

However, if they have ideas in common, these are expressed in different ways. Vimalakīrti, the protagonist of the Vkn, is a lay bodhisattva, a master of paradox who, in order to convince his hearers, does

* See acknowledgements, p.xviii
not hesitate to scandalise them. His argument is striking, his style lively and picturesque. In the Śgs, Dṛḍhamati, also a great bodhisattva, is presented as a respectful and meek disciple. He, too, makes use of the traditional language, rich in stock-phrases, of the early canonical sūtras. He is a meditator (dhyāyin) who seeks less to win over people than to glean from the Buddha new light on the best of Concentrations. It is not without reason that Japanese scholars classify the Śgs as one of the ‘Meditation Sūtras’, while they link the Vkn with ‘Laymen Buddhism’.

In order to understand the Vkn, it is not enough to meditate on the text; account should also be taken of the success achieved by Vimalakirti, in China from the fourth century under the Eastern Chin, in Japan from the seventh century under the sponsorship of Prince Shōtoku. Even in our own time, in the Far East he incarnates the type of wise and skilful Upāsaka, examining Dharmatā in depth and displaying, not only in our world but also in more distant universes, the full range of Upāya capable of winning over beings. Most of the Buddhist sects and schools have adopted him. Thinkers and philosophers study his message; painters and sculptors devote the best of their talent to depicting him; his Sūtra, translated and retranslated over the centuries and commented upon at length, is the object of public recitation during religious ceremonies and is even introduced into theatrical productions.

To return to the Śūraṃgamasamādhi, it should be noted that its title is a cause of difficulty.

According to Professor J.C. Wright, “the term Śūraṃgama can scarcely properly denote ‘marche héroïque’ (sūrair gamyata iti), and the alternative resolution proposed, sūra iva gacchatiti (to be construed, however, as a Buddha-designation), seems inevitable. In view of the subject-matter of the text, the term is to be accounted a BHSk. reflex of śūramgrāma ‘with pantheon’, applied in RV 9.90.3 to sarvavīra jêtṛ (cf. mahāvīrā tuvibādhā, 1.32.6, and Mahāvīrā Jina) and indicating that ‘Concentration on Śūraṃgama’ is fundamentally somewhat older than

the ‘vieilles conceptions bouddhiques’ against which the Sūtra is felt to be in revolt.”

Professor R.E. Emmerick\(^4\) does not accept this argument: “We do not know whether the term śūramgama- has any pre-Buddhist history. J.C. Wright’s dogmatic assertion in BSOAS xxx, 2, 1967, 417-8, that ‘the term is to be accounted a BHSk. reflex of śūragrāma’ is entirely arbitrary and without a shred of evidence to support it. Śūragrāma, a Rigvedic hapax legomenon, is an epithet of Soma, rendered by K. Geldner ‘mit tapferem Clane’ and by Renou (ix-40) ‘rassemblant les héros’.”

Professor J. May\(^5\) proposes a more attractive explanation. For him, [tr.] “the compound śūram-gama, in fact is hardly clear and warrants further grammatical investigation. The end syllable in the accusative of the preceding member is hard to explain. BHSD has no mention of it. It is possible that it is one of those terms in which °gama- is an appendage and does not represent the root GAM- but the extending of a suffix °ga- wrongly connected with that root. Cf. Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, Paris 1961, p.263, referring to Wackernagel II 1 201 (201.39-202.16, to be precise). The term already seems to have posed a problem to the Chinese interpreters, who hardly attempted to translate it but merely transcribed it... Perhaps śūram-gama means nothing more basically than ‘heroic’.”

In my opinion, it is not certain that śūramgama is an Aluk Samāsa with the first member in the accusative. The m could be euphonous (śūra-m-gama). In fact, alongside the adjectives śūra-māna and śūra-mānin, there is also to be found, as a euphony, śūra-m-manya.

Personally, I would be tempted to split the title into śūramgamah samādhih, and I would see in śūramgama (abbreviation of śūragamana?) a Vyadhikarana Bahuvrīhi, or attributive compound whose members are not in apposition to each other, i.e., are in different cases when dissolved. A Vyadhikarana Bahuvrīhi is not allowed in any case except in the genitive and locative. Here, it would be a matter of a genitive expressing a term of comparison. Its analysis would therefore be as follows: śūrasya iva gamanam yasya sa śūramgamah samādhih ‘the samādhi whose progress is like that of the hero is śūramgamah samādhih’. A compound of the same kind often proposed by grammarians is candrakāntih analysed into candrasya iva kāntir yasya sa candrakāntih. For the author of the Śgs, the hero in question is the


cakravartin king, the universal monarch, always accompanied by his seven jewels. Hence this comparison appearing in § 25: ‘Just as a noble cakravartin king, while travelling, is followed by his seven jewels, so the Śūramgamasamādhi is always followed by all the auxiliary dharmas of enlightenment (bodhipāksika dharma) [and these are associated with it]’.

In 1951, Sir Harold W. Bailey published a long Khotanese fragment of the Śgs, which appeared in his *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, London, pp.1-7. Since then, our documentation has been considerably enriched. In 1970, Professor R.E. Emmerick produced an excellent critical edition of all the fragments of the Śgs identified at the time: *The Khotanese Šūraṅgamasmādhisūtra*, London Oriental Series, vol. XXIII, Oxford 1970. There appear in the latter three groups of fragments respectively corresponding to §§ 3 and 4, 125 to 134, 134 to 152 of my translation of the Śgs. Group 1 comes from Dandan Öilik, groups 2 and 3, taken from one and the same manuscript, were discovered in Khadalik. Emmerick’s work contains three main sections: 1. the Khotanese text of the fragments, accompanied by an English translation; 2. an elaborately detailed linguistic commentary; 3. the Tibetan text from the Kanjur (Otani Cat., No.800) corresponding to the Khotanese fragments; this is a critical edition based on the collation of blockprints from Derge, Lhasa, Narthang and Peking. The Tibetan index and Khotanese glossary which accompany this work make it an extremely valuable working tool.

The portions of the Khotanese Śgs are in the most ancient type of Old Khotanese. They date at the earliest from the seventh century C.E., but are in reality copied from much older manuscripts. The first Khotanese recension of the Śgs is most probably earlier than the Chinese version of the same text compiled by Kumarajiva about 400 C.E.

Emmerick remarks in his Introduction (p.xiii): “We must remember that the aim of the Khotanese translators was not to produce a word for word rendering such as a philologist might desire. They were seeking to make the texts intelligible and did not hesitate to expand or condense.” In other words, the Khotanese version is not as scrupulously faithful as are the Tibetan translations, but is more comparable to the Chinese versions which, in order to make themselves better understood, often sacrificed the letter for the spirit. There is one point, however, over which the Khotanese translators did not compromise: this concerns the proper names which they reproduced without change in their original Indian form. Indologists can but be pleased with this, since when one has only the Chinese and Tibetan sources at one’s disposal, it is not easy to reconstruct a proper name in Sanskrit, and the equivalents proposed by
philologists are always subject to caution.

Another difficulty which should be taken into account is that one and the same sūtra in its Indian form changed greatly in the course of time and was the object of Iranian, Chinese, Tibetan, etc., translations which have notable divergences between them. The reason for this is that they are based on different recensions. To attempt to reconstruct the Urtext of a sūtra by submitting the material at our disposal to a process of textual criticism is an enterprise which is bound to fail. Each recension requires its own study.

It would therefore be impossible to restore the original list of bodhisattvas mentioned in § 3 of the Śgs: the Chinese translation counts twenty-six of them, and the Tibetan translation thirty-one. Their names do not agree exactly and are not quoted in the same order. The Khotanese list, incomplete and full of lacunae, only supplies fourteen names.

Nevertheless, the Khotanese fragments are not unusable for all that. They enabled Emmerick to correct my translation in two places: the Bodhisattva Meruṣikharadhara mentioned in § 50 is called Meruṣikharakūṭarāja or, in abbreviated form, Merukūṭarāja; the devaputra Vimalacandragarbha who appears in §§ 136 to 138 had the name of Šaśivimalagarbha; in future ages he will be the Buddha Ekaratnacchatra and his Kṣetra will be called Sarvaratnapratyupta (and not Sarvaratnaraicitā).

The Mahāyāna manuscripts from Central Asia published until now have for the most part been rediscovered in the oases bordering on the Silk Road of the Tarim Basin. One of them is the Śgs. It was authoritative among the Mahāyānist Samghas of Khotan, while the Śrāvakas continued to resort to the early canonical texts of the Tripitaka. A Tibetan document from Tun-huang, ‘The Religious Annals of the Li Country’ makes the following remarks with regard to the

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7 They are Prāmodyasvaranirghoṣita, Sarvadevastuti, Dhāraṇīśvararāja, Pratibhānālakārvyāharāja, Maṇjuśrī, Maitreya, Sumeruṣikharakūṭarāja, Sāgaraṇaṇarāṇavīhamati, Mahāvyūhamati, Mahāvīrya, Mahāratnaketu, Prabhāketu, Prabhāṣrī, ——, ——, Drāḍhamati, ——.


Samghas of Khotan [tr. Thomas]: “As to the views of the Samghas of the two divisions: Of the monks and nuns, two divisions, those of the Mahā-yāna adopt the principles of the Avikalpa and the Śūraṃgama-samādhi; the śrāvakas adopt the principles of the Four Truths; taking the Samghas of both divisions and the laity, as regards the measure of many and few of those who adopt the Mahā-yāna principles and those who adopt the principles of the Śrāvakas, the Mahā-yānists being as the hairs of a horse’s body, the Hinayānists as the hairs of a horse’s ear, the measure of many and few is about that.”

Thus, the Mahāyānists of Khotan attached very special importance to the Śūraṃgamasamādhi. An even more interesting fact is that Khotan and the neighbouring kingdom of Khargalik had at their disposal a considerable reserve of Mahāyāna sūtras in their long recensions, and the Chinese Fa-ling was able to consult this in 392 C.E.10

The English version of the Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra (The Concentration of Heroic Progress) is the work of Sara Boin-Webb. Once again, she has discharged this heavy duty with an eagerness and talent to which I am happy to pay homage. May she accept my profound gratitude.

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NOTE
from the English Translator

The original French version of this work appeared under the title *La Concentration de la marche héroïque* (Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra) *traduit et annoté* as Volume XIII in the collection *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, published by the Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, Brussels, 1965. Grateful acknowledgement is made to them for granting permission to translate and publish this English version.

For the benefit of readers familiar with the original French version of this book, I should make it clear that all translations herein from the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (Upadeśa, Ta-chih tu lun, T 1509) are based directly on Prof. Lamotte’s version in his five-volume translation of this work, *Le Traité de la grande vertu de sagesse*, and therefore not necessarily the same as he gave in the original of the present volume. All references to his Vimalakīrtinirdeśa translation and *History of Indian Buddhism* are to the relevant English version.

In the pages that follow, any words in square brackets preceded by an obelisk [⁺] are my additions. Although I was able to consult Prof. Lamotte to a much lesser degree than with the Vimalakīrti translation, some amendments have been made with his agreement.

I wish to express my profound gratitude to the late Dr Arnold Kunst, as well as Prof. T.H. Barrett, for their help in clarifying certain points, Mr John Acquier and Dr Andrew Skilton for their meticulous checking of the proofs and Mr Peter Ma for kindly providing the Chinese characters throughout.

Sara Boin-Webb
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In the event, the Pali Text Society was unable to publish the work and it lay dormant for several years. It was eventually taken up by the Buddhist Society with the intention of fulfilling Lamotte’s wish to make the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa and Šūramgamasamādhisūtra available in translation side by side.

We would like to thank Eric Cheetham for bringing this translation to our attention and Alethea Creighton for her invaluable contribution to the work of the Publishing Committee. We are grateful to the Venerable Myokyo-ni for her encouragement.

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INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

THE ŚŪRAMGAMASAMĀDHISŪTRA

I. THE TEXT

Śūramgamasamādhisūtra (abbreviation Śgs) means ‘Text of the Concentration of Heroic Progress’ in Sanskrit. Samādhi means concentration, a state of mind fixed on one point (cittai kāgratā). The concentration concerned here is the Śūramgama, Heroic Progress. It is not so much a question of a special concentration as of an aspect of concentration as conceived by the Buddhism of the Great Vehicle. It is called Heroic Progress because whoever possesses it goes everywhere in the manner of a hero (śūra) without meeting any resistance, or because it is frequented (gata) by those heroes the Buddhas and bodhisattvas.

The work is undoubtedly of Indian origin, but we possess only a few fragments of the Sanskrit original: two quotations in Śāntideva’s Śikṣāsamuccaya and one folio of a manuscript discovered in Eastern Turkestan. The complete work is known at present through two translations: a Chinese translation made by Kumārajiva, probably between 402 and 409 C.E. and a Tibetan translation dating from the beginning of the ninth century C.E. ascribed to the collaboration of the Indian pandit Śākyaprabha and the Tibetan exegete Ratnaraksita.

Prior to Kumārajiva, the Śūramgamasamādhisūtra had already been translated into Chinese by Serindians or Chinese: Chih Ch’an (in 186 C.E.), one or several scholars from Ssu-chuan (between 220 and 265), Chih Ch’ien (between 222 and 229), Po Yen (in 258), Dharmarakṣa (in 291), Chu Shu-lan (in 291), Chang T’ien-hsi, Chih Shih-lun and Po Yen (in 373). These translations were already lost by the sixth century and we only know of them through their titles.

The full title of the Śūtra was Śūramgamasamādhi, transliterated in Chinese by Shou-lěng-yen san mei 首楞嚴三昧, translated into Chinese as Yung fu-ting 勇伏定 ‘Concentration of Heroic Victory’, and rendered

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1 C. Bendall edition, pp.8, 19-20; 91, 8 - 92, 6.
3 Shou-lěng-yen san-me ci, Taishō 642.
5 See below, Ch. Two of the Introduction.
in Tibetan by dPah-bar-hgro-bahi tiṅ-ñe-hdzin. It is in this full form that it appears or is quoted in the translation by Dharmarakśa (entitled Yung-fu-ting), in that by Kumārajīva (having the title of Shou-lêng-yen san-me), in three places in the Upadesa (T 1509, pp.926 3; 134b 18; 349c 19 [† for details of translation of this work, see below p.54]), in the Nandimitrāvadana (T 2030, p.14a 16) and in a section of the Śikṣāsamuccaya (ed. C. Bendall, p.91,8; T 1636, p.93c 23).

Conversely, it is abridged to the title of Śūramgama (transliterated in Chinese as Shou-lêng-yen) in all the Chinese versions except for those by Dharmarakśa and Kumārajīva. It is equally in this abridged form that it is quoted in five places in the Upadesa (T 1509, pp.249c 11; 273b 5; 303b 11; 312a 27; 586b 1), in one place in the Śikṣāsamuccaya (ed. Bendall, p.8,19; T 1636, p.77a 14) and once in the Bodhicaryāvatārapaññikā (ed. L. de La Vallée Poussin, p.24,12).

The titles of nearly all Mahāyāna sūtras display these discrepancies, but in the present case they had particularly serious consequences: a Chinese apocryphal work composed at the beginning of the eighth century, with the abridged title of Śūramgamasūtra (T 945), has often been confused in the past as well as the present with the authentic Śūramgamāsamādhisūtra with which we are concerned here, and this confusion explains in part the considerable success that the forgery met with in China.

We do not know where or when the Indian Sgs was published. With regard to its date, we can say no more than that it preceded the first Chinese translation made in 186 C.E. On the other hand, it presupposes a very advanced elaboration of the early canonical writings of Buddhism. As far as its place of origin is concerned, the scant details supplied by the text itself regarding the location of its teaching, i.e. the Vulture Peak Mountain in Rājagrha, have no historical value. The action does not take place on earth, but unfolds within the framework of the Buddha-fields and Pure Lands which, by definition, escape the confines of time and space.

Chih Ch’ān, who was the first to translate the Sgs, was a Yuēh-chih, an Indo-Scythian from Central Asia. He translated other Buddhist texts in collaboration with Chu Shuo-fo or Chu Fo-shuo, an Indian who arrived in Lo-yang with the original texts or who knew the latter by heart. However, it does not seem as though Chu Shuo-fo participated in the translation of the Sgs, and we do not know how Chih Ch’ān came into possession of this text.

6 See below p.98.
II. SETTING AND PERSONS

Canonical sūtras begin with an introduction (nīdāna) which briefly indicates the circumstances of the time, place and persons with which the sūtra is concerned. This tradition continued to be followed by the Mahāyāna sūtras with the difference that the assembly surrounding the Buddha is particularly numerous.

According to the introduction of the Śgs (§ 1–4), one day, the Buddha Śākyamuni was in Rājagrha, on the Grdhrakūṭaparvata ‘Vulture Peak Mountain’ with a great assembly consisting of 32,000 bhiksus, 72,000 bodhisattvas, all the gods and demi-gods of the Great Cosmos of which our small universe of four continents is part.

This assembly should be envisaged not according to the realist views of Sthaviravāda Buddhism but from the perspective particular to the Mahāyāna for which persons and things are absolutely non-existent.

Thus the Grdhrakūṭaparvata where the assembly gathers is not the most famous of the five mountains which dominate Rājagrha, the ancient Magadhan capital, but an idealised place blessed by the presence of the dharmakāya of the Buddhas. It could be called bodhimanda on the understanding that it is not localised at Bodh-Gayā, where all the Buddhas attain enlightenment, but anywhere – Bodh-Gayā, Rājagrha, Vaiśālī, Śrāvasti – where minds are edified by the expounding of the Buddhas (§ 118, n.242). The Grdhrakūṭaparvata concerned here is not part of the receptacle-world; it is derived from a Buddha-field (buddhaksetra) or, as it will later be called, a ‘Pure Land’. This is so true that, on the injunction of a bodhisattva, all its trees are transformed into ‘Bodhi trees’ each sheltering a bodhisattva (§ 168).

The Buddha Śākyamuni who appears in the Sūtra is not the Buddha of the sixth century B.C.E. whom we call ‘historical’ and whom the Mahāyānists term ‘transformational’, that Buddha who was born in the Lumbini Park, attained enlightenment at Bodh-Gayā, expounded the Dharma for forty-five years, and passed into Nirvāṇa in Pāvā. This is Śākyamuni in Heroic Progress, a pure ray of wisdom and power, who manifests himself simultaneously in our little universe of four continents, in the Great Cosmos from which the latter derives, and in all the great cosmic systems as numerous as the sands of the Ganges; here, he repeats the feat of the historical Buddha; there, he is some divinity; there again, he is a banker, householder, minor king, great king, warrior, brahmin or śūdra (§§ 122–3). He is identical with the Buddha Sarvagunadharmasamṛddhakavikurvaṇaprabhāraja who expounds the
Dharma in the Ekapradipā universe located at the zenith and separated from our world by universes as numerous as the sands of the Ganges (§§ 125–6). He is the same as the Buddha Vairocana who, on the borders of the East, rules over the Pratimanditā universe. Proof of this is that both Buddhas have an identical life-span of 700 incalculable periods (§§ 170–2).

But enough of these comparisons! This Śākyamuni is able, among other prodigies, to create through transformation 84,000 replicas of himself and to sit with these 84,000 fictitious Buddhas on the innumerable thrones that the devas offered him (§§ 15–16). The authentic Buddha and the fictitious Buddhas are equally ‘real’ (according to the Chinese version) or ‘unreal’ (according to the Tibetan version). Originally and spontaneously, they are not born; they are non-existent in the present and the future; they are the same and without difference, in the beginning, in the middle and at the end (§ 18).

Like things of illusion, things of mirage, we see them perform the classic feats of the Buddha: they are born, reach enlightenment, set turning the Wheel of the Dharma and enter Nirvāṇa. However, all this is only illusion: the appearance of a Buddha is the absence of arising, duration and destruction (§ 72); their Nirvāṇa is the fact that they are always and at all times in Nirvāṇa (§ 71). The world of the Buddha is no different from the world of Māra (§ 114).

The other persons in the assembly participate in this ineffable non-existence in some way. They can be classified into three categories: śrāvakas, devas and bodhisattvas.

The śrāvakas are the great disciples of Śākyamuni, the faithful followers of the Master during the forty-five years of his public life, the depositories of his Teaching and guardians of his Order after the Nirvāṇa. The Buddha solemnly recognised their pre-eminence: Śāriputra is the foremost of the wise; Mahākāśyapa, the foremost of those who observe the ascetic rules; Ānanda, the foremost of the learned; Subhūti, the foremost of those worthy of offerings, etc.

We would expect them to play in the Śgs the same role as they did in the past in the canonical sūtras. We would especially like them to defend their status of Arhat of which they are so proud, and the right to Nirvāṇa, the object of their ardent aspirations.

Nothing of the kind. Here they are represented as vanquished, disabused figures who have lost faith in their ideal. Ānanda humbly admits his erudition is nothing compared with that of the bodhisattvas (§ 136); he still agrees to memorise the sūtras, but these sūtras are no longer the
authentic word of the Master, they are new theories devised by the Mahā-
yānist trend. Moreover, the protection that Ānanda is able to assure them is so weak that he has to be bolstered by Śakra Merusikharadhara (§ 168).

Subhūti is no longer the foremost of those worthy of offerings, he admits that he does not fulfil any of the ten qualities needed to be a 'true field of merit' (§ 134).

The questions posed by Sārīputra again clearly call for clarification of the fictitious nature of entry into Nirvāṇa (§§ 141–2).

As for Kāśyapa, he is no longer the austere monk who, after the decease of the Buddha, convened the First Council and ruled the Community with a rod of iron. He no longer has that total and exclusive respect for the Master which he dedicated to him in the past, he considers all beings as being the Master in person and thus refutes his own authority (§ 102). Even more, he considers himself, as well as all the śrāvakas, as being like those blind from birth, not knowing the profound teachings of the Buddha, not knowing and not seeing the domain of the Blessed One (§ 132).

These nondescript beings no longer have anything in common with the glorious disciples described to us in the canonical texts. Let us say that they are bodhisattvas who, through skill in means and in order to win over beings, assume the role of a śrāvaka and make him as unpleasant as possible. Do we not know that the great bodhisattva Maitreya is present in the thousand million Jambudvīpas which constitute our cosmic universe? ‘Here, he is the attendant of the Buddha like Ānanda, there the foremost of the sages like Śāriputra, there again like the foremost of the ascetics like Mahākāśyapa, etc’ (§ 156). One cannot help but feel that the srāvakas who appear in the Śgs are nothing but bodhisattvas in disguise.

It is the same for the devas, gods and demi-gods of all kinds, who also have their part to play. Already the early canonical texts and the old Central Indian school of sculpture had associated them directly with the life and legend of Sākyamuni. Whether it is a question of the six classes of the gods of the world of desire – Caturmahādevas, Trāyāstrimśas, Tusitas, etc – or of the seventeen classes of the Brahmā gods of the world of subtle form, all acknowledge the supreme dominion of the Buddha, they applaud his teachings and pledge him an attachment which is as humble as it is sincere. There is only one exception among them Māra, the ‘Buddhist Satan’, supreme chief of the Kāmadhātu (the world of desire) and, because of this, the sworn
enemy of the Buddha who destroyed desire. Throughout history Māra and his daughters, the devakanyās, intensify attacks on Śākyamuni and his disciples which are as ineffectual as they are incessant.

These devas also have their place in the Mahāyāna sūtras. The fact that in the past they adhered to the Four Truths in no way prevents them from rallying enthusiastically to the theories and doctrines of the Great Vehicle, which they consider to be the 'second turning of the Wheel of the Dharma' (dvītya dharmacakrapravartana). In the Sūtra with which we are concerned here, the devas congratulate themselves on hearing the homily on Heroic Progress (§§ 11, 169); they offer thrones to the Buddha (§§ 12–14); they scatter flowers over Śākyamuni (§ 129), over the bodhisattvas Māragocarāṇupālīpta (§ 89) and Mañjuśrī (§ 148); they praise the new teaching (§§ 67, 83) and go so far as to develop themselves revolutionary theories on the superiority of the offender over the holy one (§ 150).

However, the main point is the arousal of the thought of Bodhi (cittotpāda) to which the devas proceed one after the other (§§ 17, 90, 167): a step of cardinal importance which starts them on the bodhisattva career. The devakanyās are not slow to do this and seven hundred of them obtain the preparatory certainty on the spot (§ 90). Two hundred young goddesses are of a passionate nature and seek the favours of the bodhisattva Māragocarāṇupālīpta as a preliminary; the latter creates through transformation two hundred replicas of himself and unites with each of them. Their desires thus satisfied, they arouse the cittotpāda (§§ 93–4) and the Buddha 'gives the prediction' to them: after their death they will change their feminine bodies, be reborn in the Tuṣita heaven and one day become a Buddha with the name of Vyūharāja (§§ 110–12).

There is, therefore, no clear demarcation between the devas and the bodhisattvas. Moreover, it is in the form of devas that the latter prefer to manifest themselves in the Śgs.

The bodhisattvas appear in great numbers and there would be no point in listing these elusive beings.

The introduction of the Śgs supplies, in § 3, a list of twenty-six bodhisattvas, all of them unknown except Maitreya. These are only names intended to enhance the innumerable qualities of these future Buddhas. The last one, Drḍhamati ‘Firm Intelligence’, will be the moving spirit of the Sūtra. It is he who questions Śākyamuni on the Concentration of Heroic Progress (§§ 5–7) and converses with his kind. The immense merit that he has accumulated in the past enables him to obtain the Śgs (§ 167).
Among the other great bodhisattvas on whom the literature of the Mahāyāna has conferred a semblance of reality, we must point out Maitreya, Mañjuśrī and Matyabhimukha who play a leading part here. There is no mention of Avalokiteśvara, nor of the Buddha Amitābha.

Maitreya already occupied a special position in the writings of the Small Vehicle. He was, along with Ajita, one of the sixteen disciples of the brahmanic ascetic Bāvari. Śākyamuni predicted to him that he would be the next Buddha and as a pledge gave him the gold tunic which his aunt Mahāprajāpati Gautamī had just presented to the Sangha. Under the name of Ajita-Maitreya, he plays the part of the Buddhist Messiah and will appear in the golden age when a human's life-span lasts for 80,000 years. In the writings of the Great Vehicle which multiply the Buddhas in time and space, this privilege tends to be softened down, but Maitreya still continues to be a very great bodhisattva. Here, the Śrāvakas show him as being present everywhere at once in the Jambudvīpas of the Great Cosmos, a god among gods, a man among men, begging for his food, expounding the Dharma or plunged into solitary meditation (§ 156). Moreover, he is the authorised guardian of the Mahāyāna sūtras.

Mañjuśrī is a purely Mahāyānist creation, but he is the wisest and most zealous of the bodhisattvas. He is in no hurry to attain enlightenment and will stay in the world of rebirth until the end, as long as a being remains to be saved. He moves from buddhaksetra to buddhaksetra to go and question the Buddhas and remove the doubts of the assembly (§§ 125–8). Gifted with unequalled intelligence and eloquence, he rethinks the old doctrines in the light of the Mahāyāna and supplies new definitions of the ‘field of merit’ and the learned disciple (§§ 133, 135). As a master of skilful means, his exploits can no longer be counted. During the Virocana kalpa, in the course of three hundred and sixty hundreds of thousands of existences, he entered Nirvāṇa through the Vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas (§§ 142, 144–7). In the course of his long career he appears in turn as a bodhisattva of the present, a Buddha of the present, and even a Buddha of the past and already in Parinirvāṇa. It is thus that, in the remote past, the Buddha

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Nāgavamsāgra appeared in the Samā universe separated from ours by a thousand Buddha-fields. He reached enlightenment, set turning the Wheel of the Dharma and won over an infinite number of beings to the three Vehicles. His life-span was 440 myriad years and, his work accomplished, he entered Nirvāṇa after having given the prediction to the bodhisattva Jñānaprabha. Well, that bygone Buddha Nāgavamsāgra is none other than Mañjuśrī (§§ 158–62). That immense work was carried out by Mañjuśrī without the least effort because, for him who has understood the emptiness of dharmas, nothing is difficult (§ 164).

However, the great find of the Sūtra which concerns us here is the invention of the devaputra Matyabhimukha or, according to the Tibetan version, Buddhahamatyabhimukha ‘Close to the Intelligence of a Buddha’. He is a great bodhisattva of the tenth stage, in possession of the Heroic Progress (§ 64). His supernormal power is such that he successively transforms all the members of the assembly into cakravartin kings, devendra Śakras, Brahmadevas, Kāśyapas, and, in culmination, Śākyamuni Buddhas (§ 65). He engages Dṛḍhamati in a long philosophical discussion (§§ 69–75) on the question of the Buddha attributes, absolutely the same as the qualities of worldlings (§ 69), the Heroic Progress which does not lead anywhere (§ 70), the Buddhas who do not go to Nirvāṇa because they undergo no real birth (§§ 71–2), the true eloquence which presupposes the previous eradication of all notions (§§ 74–5), and above all, the absence of a base (apratīṣṭhāna) upon which beings and things can lean (§ 73). As will be seen in the notes covering these paragraphs, these are theories dear to Vimalakīrti and which are developed at length in the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa. Might not the famous lay bodhisattva from Vaiśāli be one and the same as the devaputra Matyabhimukha? Just like Vimalakīrti, Matyabhimukha comes from the Abhirati universe occupied by the Buddha Aksobhya (§ 77). Later, in the Sahāloka which will then bear the name of Prasannadarśanā, during the 63rd small kalpa of the period which will follow the present Bhadrakaṇḍa, Matyabhimukha will become a Buddha with the name of Vimalaprabhākirtirāja (§§ 78–9), a title of which ‘Vimalakīrti’ is only a variation (§ 78, n.181).

Alongside these great bodhisattvas, the Sūtra also brings on the scene a devaputra Vimalacandragarbha who, because he offered some precious parasols to Śākyamuni, is destined to become the Buddha Ekaratnacchattrā in the Sarvaratnaracitā universe (§ 138). There is also the bodhisattva Nāmamati or Rājamati who sees the Heroic Progress as the source of all benefits (§ 157) and suspects Maitreya of possessing it (§ 155).
The Concentration of Heroic Progress places the bodhisattvas who possess it well above the gods of the world of desire (kāmadhātu) and the world of subtle form (rūpadhātu).

According to early Buddhist cosmography, partly coinciding with brahmanical cosmography, the Kāmadhātu is not only the receptacle of the hell-born, animals, pretas and mankind. It also contains the six classes of Kāmadevas, the second of which is that of the Trayastrimśa gods ruled by the devendra Śakra; the sixth is that of the Paranirmitavaśavartins over whom Māra holds sway.

To the devendra Śakra of the early texts, the Śgs here opposes Meruśikharadhara, a bodhisattva in possession of the Heroic Progress. He also occupies the summit of Mount Meru, but an idealised Meru, located outside the confines of the great cosmic system (§§ 50–1). He manifests himself in all Śakra’s palaces, but Śakra has never seen him (§§ 52–3). At the Buddha’s request, he displays his marvellous body to the assembly, and his precious jewels shine with a brilliance more vivid than those of the god Śakra (§§ 54–5). He vows to protect the Śrūtra and, as witness of his good faith, transforms all the trees on the Grṛdhraṇītaparvata into as many bodhivrksas, each one sheltering a bodhisattva (§ 168).

Still on the subject of the Trayastrimśas, the Śgs skilfully exploits the case of a certain Gopa or Gopi. According to early canonical sources, she was a young girl of the Śākyan clan who lived in Kapilavastu and had known Śākyamuni before he left home. She took refuge in the Three Jewels, rejected all feminine thoughts and cultivated masculine thoughts. Because of this, after her death she was reborn in the Trayastrimśa heaven as the daughter of the devendra Śakra. Basing itself on this tradition, the Śgs brings on the scene a devaputra Gopaka whom it presents as once having been the wife of Śākyamuni and, above all, as a bodhisattva. Gopaka invites all the members of the assembly to arouse the thought of Bodhi (§ 57). A convinced supporter of sexual equality, he admits to having taken on a masculine body, but nonetheless without having lost his feminine form (§ 58). If he has not as yet obtained the Concentration of Heroic Progress, he nevertheless knows a small part of it and this enables him to make some interesting revelations (§§ 59–60).

Māra the Malign, whose aerial palaces (vimāna) dominate the whole of the Kāmadhātu, is compared by the Śgs with the bodhisattva Māragocarāṇupalipta who frequents Māra’s dwelling without being defiled (§ 87). He manifests his marvellous body, and his radiance is so brilliant that it eclipses Māra, who becomes as black as a block of ink.
A past master of skilful means, he unites by means of fictitious substitutes with two hundred devakanyās and thus causes them to arouse the bodhicitta (§ 94). All these exploits he accomplishes through the supernormal power of the Heroic Progress (§ 121).

Faced with this all-powerful bodhisattva, Māra the Malign is a lamentable figure. The sworn enemy of the Buddha, he wants to join the assembly in order to disrupt the teaching of the Heroic Progress, but immediately finds himself tied by five bonds (§ 82). The latter fall away when he renounces his plan (§ 88). After the goddesses in his entourage are converted, he pretends to arouse the bodhicitta in the hope of winning them back (§ 92). He goes to the assembly and begs the Buddha not to expound the Heroic Progress any more (§ 95). When his attempt fails, he wants to return to his paradise. He has not even started out when he finds himself in his palaces but, horror of horrors, these are occupied by the great assembly and Śākyamuni is expounding the Heroic Progress there (§ 115).

This unhappy figure no longer has anything in common with the fearful Māra of the canonical sources, that Māra who contended with Śākyamuni over the seat of Bodhi and brought about the Master’s premature entry into Nirvāṇa. The Māra of the Śgs covers himself with so much ridicule that we can but suspect him of playing a voluntarily humiliating role. Might he not be one of those bodhisattvas who are ‘established in inconceivable liberation and who, through skilful means, behave like Māra in order to ripen beings’? (Vkn, p.150) Anyway, the very fact of having heard the name of the Śūramgamasamādhi uttered, the very fact of having aroused the bodhicitta with a self-interested motive, will one day win him access to Buddhahood (§ 98).

We now leave the Kāmadhātu for the Rūpadhātu, the world of subtle form inhabited by the sixteen or seventeen classes of Brahmā gods; that world with which the practice of dhyāna can momentarily put us in contact. The effects of the Śūramgamasamādhi are felt there as well and, alongside the Brahmās Tudu, Nārada, Ghaṭikāra, Baka, Sanatkumāra and Sahampati of whom the early sources speak, we now see the appearance of bodhisattva-Brahmās, fully won over to the teachings of the Great Vehicle. Here, it is the Brahmarāja Samatā-vihārin ‘Residing in Sameness’ who persuades Śākyamuni to explain that there is no difference between a ‘real’ Buddha and an ‘imaginary’ Buddha and that if the non-existent Buddha still displays his wonderful physical body, this is only an illusion (§§ 18–19). There, it is the Brahmadeva Maitrisampanna ‘Endowed with Goodwill’ who remarks
that the best way to train in the Heroic Progress is to travel through all the realms of foolish worldlings (§ 46).

The divisions set up here between śrāvakas, devas and bodhisattvas do not stand up to scrutiny. As Matyabhimukha declares, ‘At present in the assembly, there are bodhisattvas in possession of the Heroic Progress who manifest themselves in the body of a devendra Śakra, in the body of a Brahmarāja or in the bodies of devas, nāgas, yakṣas, gandharvas, asuras, garuḍas, kimnaras and mahoragas. There are bodhisattvas in possession of the Heroic Progress who manifest themselves in the bodies of bhikṣus, bhikṣunis, upāsakas and upāsikas. There are bodhisattvas in possession of the Heroic Progress with bodies adorned with the primary and secondary marks [† of a Buddha]. There are bodhisattvas who, in order to ripen beings, manifest the figure, colours and signs of a female body; others manifest the figure, colours and signs of a śrāvaka; and yet others, the figure, colours and signs of a pratyekabuddha’ (§ 62). Also, the Venerable Mahākāśyapa makes the resolve of henceforth considering all beings as the same as the Buddha himself, all individuals whoever they are as being able to belong to the bodhisattva vehicle (§§ 102–3).

This is what later caused certain scholars to say that the personalities who come into the Mahāyāna sūtras are Buddhas and bodhisattvas of the pure lands and that particularly the śrāvakas and devas of the assembly are only supernormal creations of the Buddha or again transformations of the bodhisattvas who have entered the Bhūmis⁹.

III. THE SUBJECT – CONCENTRATION

As its title indicates, the subject of the Sūtra is concentration, or to be more precise the Concentration of Heroic Progress. In order to understand the significance of this, it is indispensable to return to the early sources which already attributed an important role to the purification of thought through concentration of the mind.

1. Samādhi in the Śrāvaka or Small Vehicle

The path of Nirvāṇa, as it has been defined by the Buddha in the canonical sources, consists of three essential elements: morality (śīla), concentration (samādhi) and wisdom (prajñā). These three elements are inseparable and are practised concurrently.

With a wholly scholastic precision, the early texts inform us about the preliminaries, stages and fruit of Samādhi.

The Preliminaries to Samādhi. These are the observance of morality, watching over the senses, mindfulness and awareness, absolute satisfaction, the choice of a secluded residence and the dispelling of the hindrances to meditation.

1. The observance of morality (sīla) consists of avoiding anything that could harm others: the three bad actions of body (destruction of living beings, theft and sexual misconduct), the four bad actions of speech (falsehood, slander, harsh speech and useless speech), and the three bad actions of the mind (animosity, covetousness and wrong views).

2. Watching over the senses (indriyeṣu guptadvāratā). When the ascetic has seen a form with his eyes, heard a sound with his ears, smelled an odour with his nose, tasted a flavour with his tongue, touched a tangible with his body, recognised a notion with his internal sense, he does not cling to outward signs, he does not cling to secondary features. He strives to protect himself from the object due to which wrong and baneful things, covetousness and suffering, assail the being who is not watchful over the senses.

3. Mindfulness and awareness (smṛtisamprajanya). The ascetic acts with awareness when he is going somewhere and returning, when he is looking ahead and to the side, when he is bending and stretching, when he is wearing his tunic, carrying his bowl and wearing his robe, when he is eating, drinking, chewing and tasting, when he is occupied in defecating or urinating, when he is walking, standing, sitting, sleeping.

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Here I follow the canonical sources which reproduce unchanged the old topic concerning the dhyānas and saṃpattis cf. Vin. II, p 4, D I, pp 37, 73, 172; II, p.313; III, pp.78, 131, 222, 265; M I, pp.21, 40, 89, 117, 159; II, pp.15, 204, 226; III, pp.4, 14, 25, 36; S II, pp.210, 216, 221; III, p.235; IV, pp.225, 236, 263; V, pp.10, 198, 213; A I, pp.53, 163, 182, 242; II, pp.126, 151; III, pp.11, 119; IV, pp.111, 176, 229, 410; V, pp.207, 343; Kathavatthu II, p.484; Milinda, p.289 For the Sanskrit recensions, see Lalitavistara, p.129; Pañcavimśati, p.167; Daśasahasrikā, pp.98-9; Kośavyākhya, pp.665, 666, 673; Mahāvṛttapatti, Nos 1478-81, 1492-5. Chinese version, e.g. Ch'ang-a-han, T 1, ch.8, p.50c; Chung-a-han, T 26, ch.47, p.720a; Tsa-a-han, T 99, ch.41, p.302a.

The passage has been translated by L. Renou, Canon bouddhique pāli I, Paris 1949, pp.63-75, and I have made wide use of this translation.

Concerning Samādhi, see the bibliography collated by J. May, Candrakīrti, Paris 1959, p.148, n.436.
awake, speaking or remaining silent.

4. Absolute satisfaction (samtushti). The ascetic is fully satisfied with a robe that protects his body and a begging bowl that protects his belly; wherever he goes, he goes with all his possessions.

5. The choice of a secluded residence (vivikta senasana). The ascetic chooses a secluded residence, a solitary place, the foot of a tree, a mountain, a ravine, a cave, a cemetery, scrubland, an open area, a pile of straw. He sits there after his meal, when he returns from his begging round, crossing his legs under him, his body held straight, keeping his awareness alert.

6. The dispelling of the hindrances (nivarana) to meditation. The ascetic lives with a mind free from covetousness (abhidhya), animosity (vyapada), torpor-languor (styamiddha), frivolity-regret (auddhatyakaukṛtya) and doubt (vicikitsa). He does not covet anything; he is careful to be of benefit to all living beings; he is mindful and aware, his mind is inwardly pacified; he is un perplexed regarding good things. When he has freed himself from the five hindrances, he considers them as the discharge of a debt, as a cure, as the end of a detention, as the return to freedom, as a peaceful territory.

**Stages of Samadhi.** Buddhist cosmology posits a triple world (traiḥṣaṭuka) consisting of:

1. The Kāmadhātu, the world of desire or of the five senses, comprising the destinies of the hell-born, animals, ghosts, human beings and some of the gods: the six classes of the gods of the world of desire.

2. The Rūpadhātu, the world of (subtle) form, containing celestial beings who have been reborn in the Brahmā world and are dispersed throughout the realms of the four absorptions (dhyāna). The first Dhyāna is in two or three stages, the second and third Dhyānas each have three stages and the fourth has eight. Although invisible to the human eye, these worlds are still made of form, being terraces or mansions inhabited by beings of subtle form.

3. The Ārūpyadhātu, the formless world, containing celestial beings who have been reborn in the form of a ‘mental series’ in the stages of the four attainments (samāpatti). These stages are: 1. the sphere of the infinity of space (ākāśānantyāyatana), 2. the sphere of the infinity of consciousness (vijñānānantyāyatana), 3. the sphere of nothingness
(ākimcanyāyatana), and 4. the sphere of neither perception nor non-perception (naivasamjñānāsamjñāyatana), also known as the Summit of Existence (bhavagra).

A man is reborn in a sphere of attainment (one of the four Dhyānas or one of the four Samāpattis) – that is, he obtains an ‘existence of an attained god’ – because here in this world he obtained and practised a certain Samādhi. By Samādhi is meant the concentration of favourable thoughts on a single object (śūbhānām cīttānām aikāgryam): Samādhi properly so called always consists of non-craving (arāga), non-hatred (advesa) and non-delusion (amoha). We therefore need to distinguish between the Dhyānasamāpattis – ‘existences’ – and the Dhyānasamāpattis – ‘concentrations’: the latter are the cause of the former.

The candidate to attainment should free himself from the passions of the Kāmadhātu and eliminate craving, hatred and delusion. To this end, lengthy efforts are necessary and, among the recommended practices, we can quote: 1. the contemplation of the repulsive (aśūbhahāvanā) or meditation on a decomposing corpse: the counteraction of craving; 2. the contemplation of goodwill (maitrībhāvanā) and other brahma practices: the counteraction of hatred; 3. the contemplation of causality (pratītyasamutpādabhāvanā): the counteraction of delusion; 4. mindfulness applied to breathing (ānāpānasmiṃti): the counteraction of ratiocination; 5. the recollection of the Buddha (buddhānusmiṃti): the counteraction of the combination of the above.

The ascetic who is freed from the passions of the Kāmadhātu obtains, by means of the appropriate practices, the mental state called the first Dhyāna. When this first absorption comes to an end, he finds himself once again in a normal psychological state, in the state of a distracted mind with the feelings and ways of thinking of the Kāmadhātu. However, as long as he remains freed from the passions of the Kāmadhātu he stays in possession of the first Dhyāna and can easily return to it by concentrating his mind once more. After his death, he cannot be reborn in the Kāmadhātu, but will take on a new birth in the realm of the first Dhyāna – the ‘existence’-Dhyāna – with a physical and mental organism in keeping with the existence of an ‘attained’ god of the first absorption: the absence of the organs of taste, smell and sex, and the incapacity for physical and mental suffering.

However, it is not necessary that a man die in order to reach the higher stages. As a rule, a being pertaining to one stage can practise the attainments which are higher than that stage: a human can practise all
the attainments; a god born in the first Dhyāna can practise all the attainments of the second Dhyāna, and so on.

In order to get from one Dhyāna to another or from one Samāpatti to another, it is enough to free oneself from the passions which are inherent in the realm where one is. The path of the attainments consists in eliminating, one after the other, all the passions of the triple world which are susceptible to elimination through meditation. The attainments can only be acquired in the right order. Normally, the ascetic detaches himself from the passions of the Kāmadhātu, then from the passions inherent in the four Dhyānas and, finally, from the passions inherent in the four Samāpattis; which makes nine successive abodes (navānupūrvavihāra). The early canonical sources describe the ascetic’s ascent in the following way:

1. When he considers the five hindrances, covetousness, etc., from which he has freed himself, joy (prīti) arises in him; from joy arises gladness; when his mind is glad his body is calm; when his body is calm, he feels happiness (sukha); when he is happy, his mind is absorbed. Detaching himself from desires, detaching himself from bad dharmas, he attains and dwells in the first Dhyāna, consisting of reasoning (vitarka) and deliberation (vīcāra) and which, born of detachment, is joy (prīti) and happiness (sukha). He floods his body with this joy and happiness born of detachment.

2. Then having discarded reasoning and deliberation, he attains and dwells in the second Dhyāna which, being inward peace (ādhyātmasamprāsāda) and one-pointedness of mind (cetasa ekotibhāva), excludes reasoning and deliberation and which, born of concentration, is joy and happiness. He floods his body with this joy and happiness born of concentration.

3. Then, having renounced joy (prīti), he dwells with equanimity (upekṣaka), mindful (smrtimat) and fully aware (samprajānan); in his body he feels happiness (sukha), in such a way that the Noble Ones call him the one with equanimity, the mindful one, the happy man; thus he attains and dwells in the third Dhyāna. He floods his body with this happiness devoid of joy.

4. Then, through destroying happiness (sukha) and through destroying suffering (duḥkha), through the previous discarding of joy (prīti) and sorrow (daurmanasya), he attains and dwells in the fourth Dhyāna, free of suffering and happiness, purified by equanimity and
mindfulness (upekṣāsmrtpariśuddha). He is seated there, permeating his body with an utterly pure, utterly cleansed thought, and there is no part of his body which is not touched by this utterly pure, utterly cleansed thought.

5. Having entirely gone beyond all notions of form (rūpasamjñā), having banished all notions of resistance (pratighasamjñā), having disregarded all notions of plurality (nānātasamjñā), he exclaims: 'Infinite is space', and he attains and dwells in the sphere of the infinity of space (ākāśānantyāyatana).

6. Having entirely gone beyond the sphere of the infinity of space, he exclaims: 'Infinite is consciousness', and he attains and dwells in the sphere of the infinity of consciousness (vijnānānantyāyatana).

7. Having entirely gone beyond the sphere of the infinity of consciousness, he exclaims: 'Nothing exists', and he attains and dwells in the sphere of nothingness (ākāmcanyāyatana).

8. Having entirely gone beyond the sphere of nothingness, he attains and dwells in the sphere of neither perception nor non-perception (naivasamjñānāsambhāvatāntyāyatana).

Having reached this stage the ascetic is freed from desire in relation to the Kāmadhātu, from the four dhyānas and the first three samāpattis, but he is still bound to the nine categories of the passions connected with the fourth samāpatti which, as has been seen, constitutes the Summit of Existence (bhavāgra). In fact, the ascetic discards only one attainment through the desire for a higher attainment. In the mundane path (laukikārga) of the attainments, such as can be travelled by a worldling (prthagjana), there is no attainment higher than the fourth samāpatti.

If, therefore, one wishes to escape all the passions of the triple world and attain Nirvāṇa, then one must practise the transcendent path (lokottaramārga) of Nirvāṇa which consists not only of the path of meditation (bhāvanāmārga) as has just been described, but also the path of vision (darśanamārga) which penetrates the Four Noble Truths expounded by the Buddha. The path of vision eliminates the 'passions to be eliminated by the vision of the Buddhist truths' (satyadarsanahayaklesa), namely, the delusion, the doubt that prevents the Noble Truths from being seen 'purely': 'All the psycho-physical phenomena of existence are transitory (anitya), therefore painful
(duḥkha); they are also impersonal (anātman) in the sense that they do not pertain to a self (anātmya) and are not a self (anātman). All the phenomena of existence spring from desire. The elimination of desire is the elimination of existence: this is peaceful Nirvāṇa. The Buddha discovered and expounded the path to it'.

Continued reflection on these truths suddenly culminates in an insight (vipaśyānā), an understanding (abhisamaya) of the ‘Four Noble Truths’: this is pure wisdom, the Prajñā which definitively dispels all delusion and transforms the candidate from the worldling (prthagjana) that he was into a Noble One (ārya), and places him in the stream of Nirvāṇa (srotāpañña). Without this Prajñā, it is impossible for the ascetic to sever the passions connected with the fourth and last samāpatti.

However, this Prajñā, although it may dispel delusion, does not eliminate the desires related to the various realms of existence; the latter have to be eliminated through meditation (bhāvanāheya), through the four dhyānas and the four samāpattis described above. This is why the path of Nirvāṇa links Prajñā indissolubly with Samādhi.

When Śākyamuni sat on the seat of enlightenment he was still a worldling, but a worldling who had, by means of the way of attainment, eliminated all the passions inherent in the realms of existence with the exception of the last passion. During the night of enlightenment he saw, in sixteen moments, the Noble Truths and, this time, eradicated all delusions; then, in eighteen moments, he eradicated the desires connected to the highest realm of existence and became a holy one (arhat). At the same time, he became a Buddha because of his meritorious deeds.

However, according to the normal order, the candidate to Nirvāṇa travels the path in the following manner:

1. In the course of the stage of vision (darśanamārga) he sees, in sixteen moments, the Noble Truths and eliminates the passions to be eliminated through right view (dṛgheya), namely the perverted views of which the main one is the false view of self. In the first moment he obtains the state of Ārya; in the sixteenth, the state of Srotaāpañña, the first fruit of the spiritual life.

2. In the course of the stage of meditation (bhāvanāmārga) he eliminates, in 162 moments, the 81 categories of the passions to be eliminated through meditation (bhāvanāheya), passions which attach him to the nine realms of existence: the Kāmadhātu, the four Dhyānas
of the Rūpadhātu and the four Samāpattis of the Ārūpyadhātu. In the twelfth moment he obtains the second fruit of the spiritual life and becomes a Sakṛdāgāmin; in the eighteenth moment, he is freed from the last category of the passions of the Kāmadhātu, wins the third fruit of the spiritual life and becomes an Anāgāmin; in the 162nd and last moment he gains possession of the fourth fruit of the spiritual life: he is an Arhat ‘holy one, worthy of respect from all’, or an Āsaikṣa ‘holy one, who has no more to learn with regard to the elimination of the corruptions’. He knows that all his impurities are destroyed and, if he remains unshakable (akopya), they will not recur again. After his death he will reach complete Nirvāṇa without any remainder of psycho-physical conditioning (nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa).

This Nirvāṇa which is the end of suffering and the stopping of the round of rebirth can be reached by a holy one in this life. Having previously gone up to the fourth formless attainment, he enters the last of the nine successive abodes (anupūrvavaihāra), namely the attainment consisting of the cessation of perception and feeling (samjñā-vedayitanirodhasamāpatti). This is the only attainment that does not have an existence as its fruit. The holy one reaches Nirvāṇa there, but in the absence of thought and feeling he reaches it only with his body (kāyasāksin). On leaving this attainment, he thinks: ‘Oh, this attainment of nirodha is as calm as Nirvāṇa!’ We know that the Buddha practised this and that it is reserved for the great holy ones (the Anāgāmins) but that it in no way contributes to holiness

We have only mentioned here the nine successive abodes, but Samādhi is also the basis of many other mental exercises which presuppose or require concentration of the mind. We will limit ourselves to pointing out three other Samādhis called doors to deliverance (vimokṣamukha) where the Small Vehicle borders on the Great Vehicle.

a) Concentration on emptiness (śūnyatāsamādhi). This considers things under the aspects of non-self (anātman) and the empty (śūnya), and thus counteracts the belief in me and mine.

b) Concentration on signlessness (ānimittasamādhi). This considers Nirvāṇa, under the aspect of the calm (śama), as being devoid of all the

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11 On the path of Nirvāṇa sketched in outline here, see É. Lamotte, *History*, pp 611-20
12 Regarding these three Samādhis, see Vīn III, p 93, D III, p 219, S IV, p 360, Milinda, p 337, Atthasālimi, pp 179 sq., 222 sq., 290 sq., Kośa VIII, p 184, Upadesa in *Traité I*, pp 321-3, Sūtrālakāra, p 148; Bodh Bhūmi, p 276.
characteristic signs of conditioned things.

c) Concentration on wishlessness (*apranihitasamādhi*). This relates to all conditioned dharmas while not forming any wish regarding them.

As is explained in the *Kośa* (VII, pp.184–6), these three *Samādhis* exhaust the sixteen aspects of the Noble Truths and thus constitute the doors to deliverance.

In brief, the path of Nirvāṇa which the Buddha defined to his disciples (*śrāvakas*) consists of three elements which are closely linked although of unequal value: 1. the observance of morality (*śīla*) which is an indispensable condition; 2. concentration (*samādhi*) which purifies the mind and without which wisdom cannot blossom; 3. wisdom (*prajñā*) which, pending the arrival of final Nirvāṇa, confers holiness, namely Arhatship free from delusions and defilements. It does not, however, give omniscience (*sarvajñāna*) which is reserved for the Buddhhas alone by reason of their unique meritorious deeds.

As has been so aptly remarked by L. de La Vallée Poussin, ‘Prajñā is not a gnosis, the apperception of a transcendental reality, as is, for the monist-pantheists of the Vedānta or Brahmanism, the knowledge of the Brahman or Absolute, the consciousness of the identity of the "I" and the Brahman. Prajñā is simply the knowledge of the laws which preside over the evolution of this world made of causes and effects (*pratityasamutpāda*) and, at its highest level, the exact appreciation of the value of the world, the distinction of the general characteristics of things [impermanence, suffering and non-substantiality], with, furthermore, the affirmation of an incomprehensible Nirvāṇa’"\(^{13}\).

The close connection between *Samādhi* and Prajñā is clearly visible in the *Abhijñās* or superknowledges which are derived from attainment.

*The Fruits of Samādhi*. Attached to the possession of the attainments are certain great advantages of a worldly kind: the superior powers and knowledges.

When the mind of the ascetic is absorbed, utterly pure, utterly cleansed, unstained, free of impurity, become supple, ready to act, having reached impassibility, he gives an impulse to his mind (*cittam abhinirharati*) and directs it in the following manner:

1. He directs his mind towards the vision of knowledge (*jñāna-dārsana*). He knows this: this body which is mine, having form, made

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of the four great elements, born of father and mother, is a heap of boiled rice and gruel, an impermanent thing, which is subject to its own wear and tear, breakage and dissolution; and yet this consciousness which is mine is attached to it, bound to it.

2. He directs his mind towards the creation of a mind-made form (manomaya abhinirmāṇa). From his body he produces another body having form, but mind-made, with all its limbs and organs, its faculties intact.

3. He directs his mind towards the first Abhijñā: the supernormal powers (rddhi). Being one he becomes many, being many he becomes one; he becomes visible, invisible; goes through walls, ramparts and mountains without being impeded, just as through air; he immerses himself in the earth and emerges from it as if in water; he goes on water without breaking through it, as if on [solid] earth; he travels through the air crosslegged like a winged bird; he takes in his hands and touches the moon and the sun, those two wonderful, mighty beings, and with his body he extends his power as far as the Brahma world.

4. He directs his mind towards the second Abhijñā: the divine ear (divyaśrotra). On this purified plane of the divine ear, which transcends the human, he hears both sounds, divine and human, those that are far and those that are near.

5. He directs his mind towards the third Abhijñā: the knowledge of others’ minds (paracittajñāna). He recognises the impassioned mind as an impassioned mind; he recognises the freed mind as a freed mind, etc.

6. He directs his mind towards the fourth Abhijñā: the recollection of former existences (pūrvanivāsanusmṛti) which he himself has lived. He recalls his various dwellings in his previous life: one existence, two existences and up to an hundred thousand existences... In such a way that he says to himself: at that time I had such-and-such a name, such-and-such a family, such-and-such a caste, such-and-such sustenance, I felt such-and-such a pleasure and such-and-such a suffering, I reached such-and-such an age. When I lost that existence I came to my present existence.

7. He directs his mind to the fifth Abhijñā: the knowledge of the passing away and rebirth of beings (cyutypapattijñāna). With his purified divine eye (divyacaksus), transcending the human, he sees beings leaving existence and being reborn. He realises that beings are
lowly or noble, lovely or ugly, happy or unhappy according to the actions they have carried out. On the breaking up of the body after death, those who are possessed of bad practices will be reborn to downfall, the wrong way, perdition, hell; those who are possessed of good practices will be reborn to good destinies, to the heavenly world.

According to the latest opinion, the first five Abhijnās can be possessed by persons who are not Buddhist holy ones, and therefore by the worldly, as long as they practise the meditational exercises according to the rules. Conversely, the sixth and last Abhijñā, which presupposes the understanding of the Noble Truths and the elimination of all the passions of the world, is the prerogative of the Buddhist holy one, the Arhat.

8. The ascetic directs his mind towards the sixth Abhijñā: the knowledge of the destruction of the defilements (āsravaksayajñāna). He clearly acknowledges suffering (duhkha), the origin of suffering (duḥkhasamudaya), the cessation of suffering (duḥkhanirodha) and the way that leads to the cessation of suffering (duḥkhanirodhagāminī pratīpāda). He clearly acknowledges the defilements (āsrava), their origin, their cessation and the way that leads to their cessation. When he knows that, when he sees that, his mind is liberated from the defilements of desire (kāmāsrava), the defilements of existence (bhavāsrava) and the defilements of ignorance (avidyāsrava). When he is liberated he understands that there is liberation. He acknowledges that rebirth is exhausted for him, that the brahma life has been lived, that the task is completed and that there will be no further returning here [for him].

Thus then, for early scholasticism, the path taught by the Buddha eliminates all delusions, eradicates the passions of the triple world, puts an end to painful existence and culminates in Nirvāṇa. It is a path that requires prolonged effort, is carefully graduated and in which arise morality, concentration and wisdom. Wisdom, or Prajñā, constitutes a decisive element in it, but there is no real wisdom without a minimum of concentration, or Samādhi, from which are derived those distinguished powers and knowledges known as the Abhijnās.

The path is defined in terms of precise philosophical concepts. Things (dharma) and in particular the aggregates (skandha) – form (rupa), feeling (vedāna), perception (samjñā), volition (samskāra) and consciousness (vijñāna) – which constitute the psycho-physical
phenomena of existence are transitory (anitya), painful (duḥkha) and impersonal (anātman) in the sense that they are not a self and do not pertain to a self. However fleeting they may be, things do not arise by chance: they are the result of their causes and the cause of their effects; they are ‘conditioned’ (samskṛta). It must be acknowledged that they have a self-nature (svabhāva) and marks (laksana): an arising (utpāda), a duration and modification (sthity-anyathātva) and a disappearance (vyaya).

The whole philosophy of early Buddhism is summarised in two theses: the thesis of the non-existence in itself of the individual or person (pudgalanairatmyavāda) and the thesis of the existence only of the conditioned aggregates (skandhamatravāda).

2. Samādhi in the Great Vehicle

During the last five hundred years of the ancient era, the śrāvakas were the only spokesmen for Buddhism. They specified the rules of the monastic order, codified the teachings of the Buddha and systematised them in the voluminous Abhidharmas. From the third century B.C.E. onwards, they spread throughout the whole of India and became firmly established in Ceylon. Eighteen schools formed among them, but they were only opposed on points of detail and they all remained faithful to the great theses of early Buddhism: the Pudgalanairatmya and the Skandhamatravāda.

However, towards the beginning of the Common Era, effected by influences that there is no room to go into here, a new form of Buddhism appeared: the Great Vehicle (mahāyāna) or Bodhisattva Vehicle as opposed to the Small Vehicle (hīnayāna) or Śrāvaka Vehicle.

Without supplanting the adherents of early Buddhism who imperturbably continued on their way, the protagonists of the Great Vehicle were inspired by a new ideal and professed more advanced philosophical theories.

By the means that we have already pointed out, the śrāvakas were inclined towards a Prajñā concerned with the general characteristics of things: impermanence, suffering and impersonality. That Prajñā constituted an ‘awakening’ (bodhi), but a limited awakening, only ensuring the personal benefit (svārtha) of the adherent through the acquisition of holiness (arhattva) and accession to Nirvāṇa.

The bodhisattva is also drawn towards a Prajñā, but a Prajñā infinitely higher, a Prajñāparamitā or perfection of wisdom, an omniscience (sarbajñāna), knowing all things in all their aspects
This perfection of wisdom constitutes the awakening above all others, the ‘supreme and right complete awakening’ (anuttarasamyaksambodhi) pertaining specifically to the Buddhas and ensuring not just the personal benefit (svārtha) of the adherent but above all the benefit of others (parārtha), the welfare and happiness of all beings (sarvasattvahitasukha). The most important step taken by the bodhisattva, an adherent of the Great Vehicle, is therefore the ‘arousal of the thought of supreme and right complete Enlightenment’ (anuttarasamyaksambodhicittotpāda). In brief, the Cittotpāda: ‘I, of such-and-such a name, after having confessed my faults and taken the threefold refuge, for the welfare and deliverance of the infinite world of creatures and in order to release them from the sufferings of the round of rebirth and establish them in the supreme omniscient knowledge; just as the bodhisattvas past, future and present, having aroused the thought of Bodhi, have attained, will attain and attain Buddhahood; just as all the Buddhas, through their Buddha knowledge, free of all obstacles, and their Buddha eye, know and see; just as they acknowledge the absence of the self-nature of things (dharmānāṁ nihsvabhāvatā); so I, having such-and-such a name, before my teacher of such-and-such a name and in the presence of all the Buddhas and bodhisattvas, arouse the thought of supreme and right complete Enlightenment’

Between the arousal of the thought of enlightenment (cittotpāda) and the reaching of this enlightenment (abhisambodhi) stretches the whole career of the bodhisattva. The acquisition of omniscience, the knowledge of all things in all their aspects is, without the slightest doubt, an arduous task, but not in the sense that one might think. Omniscience is not concerned with an infinity of things but with the absence of their self-nature or their non-existence pure and simple. Not to see them any more is not within the reach of everyone, it is a privilege of the great bodhisattvas and Buddhas.

The ideal followed by the adherent of the Great Vehicle is on a par with revolutionary philosophical theories. The śrāvaka, as we have seen, professed the non-existence in itself of the individual, the personality (pudgalanairātmya), but accepted a self-nature and

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14 Bodhisattvapratimoksasūtra, ed. N. Dutt, Indian Historical Quarterly VII, 1931, p.274,17.
characteristics in dharmas arising from causes, in the psycho-physical phenomena of existence. Whereas the bodhisattva denies the existence both of the individual and things; in technical terms he professes the *pudgalanairatmya* and the *dharmanairatmya*.

The Dharmanairatmya completely overturned the meaning of the Noble Truths that Śākyamuni had taught in the discourse at Vārānasi: 1. All is suffering; 2. the origin of suffering is craving; 3. there is a cessation of suffering: Nirvāṇa; 4. the path that leads to it has been determined by the Buddha. The adherent of the Great Vehicle understands that all is suffering, but painful things do not exist. Suffering originates in craving, but non-existent things do not arise in any way: dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) is non-origination (*anutpāda*). There is a cessation of suffering, Nirvāṇa, but, being non-existent, things are originally ‘in Nirvāṇa’: Samsāra is no different from Nirvāṇa. There is a path to Nirvāṇa, but Nirvāṇa having already been acquired does not imply there is any path to be travelled along.

From this point of view, the Noble Truths are purely and simply dodged, and the grandiose edifice of the Abhidharma, so patiently and carefully built up by the śrāvakas over the centuries, crumbles.

Since beings and things do not exist and have never existed, the only eloquence of any value is silence, true wisdom is the stopping of thought. Faced with the universal emptiness that is itself not-something, the mind of the bodhisattva ‘does not fear, does not tremble, does not take fright’.

However, the bodhisattva only aspires to this supreme and perfect enlightenment for the benefit of others. Immediately after having formulated the Cittotpāda he defines his intentions, which are exclusively altruistic: ‘I, of such-and-such a name, who have thus aroused the thought of Bodhi, adopt the infinite world of beings as my mother, father, sisters, brothers, sons, daughters, relatives of whatever degree and kinsmen. Having adopted them, with all my power, with all my strength, with all my knowledge, I will implant good roots in them. Henceforth, the gift that I shall give, the morality I observe, the patience I maintain, the vigour I exert, the absorption I practise, the wisdom I develop, all of this will be for the interest, the benefit and the happiness of all beings’.

The Buddhas and bodhisattvas are not only great sages, they are also possessed of great compassion (*mahākāruṇika*). According to the

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Vimalakīrtinirdeśa (Vkn, p.126), ‘their wisdom is acquired through skilful means, and their skilful means are acquired through wisdom’ (upāyasahīta prajniā, prajniāsāhita upāyah). Through their wisdom they do not see anything, neither beings nor things; through skilful means they procure the welfare of beings in every way. The Śgs (§ 35) explains: ‘The bodhisattva does not see the self-nature of beings but, in order to ripen them, he speaks of beings. He does not see either a living being or an individual, but he speaks of a living being and an individual. He does not see the self-nature of actions or the self-nature of fruition, but he teaches action and fruition to beings. He does not see the self-nature of the passions of Samsāra, but he teaches a clear knowledge of the passions of Samsāra. He does not see Nirvāṇa, but he talks of reaching Nirvāṇa. He does not see that dharmas admit of distinctive marks, but he speaks of good and bad dharmas’.

What is more, it is in so far as the bodhisattva no longer sees anything, that he carries out, spontaneously and effortlessly, his beneficial activity.

The bodhisattva career consists of the practice of six perfections: giving (dāna), morality (śīla), patience (kṣānti), vigour (vīrya), absorptive meditation (dhyāna) and wisdom (prajniā). The second, fifth and sixth correspond respectively to the three elements of the path of Nirvāṇa as conceived by the śrāvakas, namely, Śīla, Samādhi and Prajniā.

Nonetheless, from his point of view, there is no perfection for the bodhisattva to practise, or rather, he practises them while taking their futility into account. The Prajnāpāramitā (Pañcavimsatisāhasrikā, p.18; Śatasāhasrikā, p.56) is quite categoric in this respect: ‘The bodhisattva dwells in the perfection of wisdom by not dwelling in it. He should fulfil the perfection of giving by refusing everything, by not seeing either a giver, a beneficiary or a thing given. He should fulfil the perfection of morality by no longer conceiving either a misdeed or a meritorious action. He should fulfil the perfection of patience by not being disturbed (by offences). He should fulfil the perfection of vigour by never relaxing his bodily and mental vigour. He should fulfil the perfection of absorptive meditation by not tasting the flavour (of the attainments). He should fulfil the perfection of wisdom by not making any distinction between true wisdom and false wisdom’.

This is what makes the Śgs say that ‘the bodhisattva activates great vigour, but does not develop any activity of body, speech or mind’
or again that he has no dharma to practise and that he has passed beyond all practices (§ 37). In consequence, the bodhisattva does not act and, if he seems to act, this is only skilful means (upāya) aimed at ripening beings (sattvaparipācanārtham).

The main differences between the Śrāvaka Path and the Bodhisattva Path is that the former leads to the individual perfecting of the ascetic while the latter aims only at the welfare of others. The former is egotistic, the latter altruistic.

It ensues that the Samādhi of the bodhisattvas is not merely an exercise aimed at purifying the mind; it is also and above all a work of edification. The accent is no longer placed on the technique of concentration but on the supernormal power (rddhibala) which derives from it for the greatest good of beings.

The Prajñāpāramitā, in a passage which I shall quote further on (p.31), points out that the bodhisattva quickly reaches sambodhi by entering the concentration on the ‘non-arising of all things’ (sarvadharmānuttupāda), but that in the wake of this there follows an infinity of other concentrations of which the Heroic Progress is only a variation.

When the bodhisattva has penetrated the emptiness of beings and things, no longer sees them, no longer speaks or thinks about them he has attained the summit of wisdom. By this very fact, he is ‘in possession of the concentrations’ (samādhipratilabdha) and he plays at will with the superknowledges which result from this (abhijñāvikriḍīta), for ‘as many as there are functionings in the mind and mentations of beings to be won over are there functionings in this Samādhi’ (Śgs, § 154).

The long lists of Samādhis found in the texts should not impress us. They are only modalities of the single Samādhi where the Buddhas and great bodhisattvas are always concentrated and, whether it is called Heroic Progress or something else, this Samādhi encompasses all the good dharmas (Śgs, § 25), contains all the perfections (§§ 26–38) and exercises them simultaneously (§§ 42–44). It has multiple aspects which coincide particularly with the ten powers of the Tathāgata (§ 21, n.45 and sq.). It is therefore quite correctly that the Mahāyānist Mahaparinirvānasūtra defines it as the self-nature of the Buddha.

Among the great Abhijñās that result from this Samādhi, it is particularly the first, the Abhijñā of supernormal power (rddhi), which is emphasised. In the Śgs and in all Mahāyāna sūtras in general, the Buddha does not stop ‘manifesting’ and then ‘withdrawing’ the bases of his supernormal power. In the Sūtra with which we are concerned here,
wonders follow wonders: multiplication of the Buddhas (§ 15), manifestations of marvellous bodies (§§ 54 and 93), transformation of the assemblies (§ 65), capture and liberation of Māra (§§ 82 and 88), creation of imaginary bodhisattvas (§ 94), changes of location without displacement (§ 115), simultaneous manifestation of a Buddha or a bodhisattva in several places at once (§§ 122–7 and 156), appearance of the Buddhas of the ten regions (§ 165), transformation of an ‘impure land’ into a ‘pure land’ (§ 168), etc.

The Śgs does not have a monopoly on this wonder-working, all Mahāyāna sūtras are filled with it. A philosopher would be required to define correctly this Mahāyānist marvel which does not correspond to any other form of marvel. According to current acceptance, a miracle is a supernatural action contrary to the laws of nature, or again, the insertion of a free divine causality into natural causes. However, this idea of a miracle cannot be applied to the Mahāyānist marvel. Since beings and things do not exist, the supposed laws of nature only originate from erroneous imagination (abhūtaphāra), and no action, as astonishing as it may seem, can run contrary to laws which do not exist. Extraordinary actions are therefore as unreal as ordinary actions. If the Buddhas and bodhisattvas manifest them, this can only be through skilful means (upāya), 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).

The scholars of the Great Vehicle took up all these ideas and explained them systematically in their śāstras.

The Upadesā in Traité II, pp. 1043–57, reveals no less than nineteen differences between the Samādhi of the śrāvakas and that of the bodhisattvas. Its somewhat involved explanation amounts to this:

Sectaries (tīrthika), śrāvakas and bodhisattvas can all practise the absorptions (dhyāna) and attainments (samāpatti), but the Samādhi of the sectaries is tainted by false views, particularly the belief in a self (satkāyadrṣṭi); the śrāvakas, even in a state of concentration, only know the general characteristic marks of things (sāmānyalaksana), impermanence, suffering and impersonality. Only the bodhisattvas know
the true mark of things (bhūtalakṣaṇa), namely, non-arising, non-
cessation, original calm; in a word, emptiness. Thus, when he enters an
absorption his mind enjoys perfect peace (kṣema). It is no longer
disturbed by contingencies – by what could be seen, heard, thought or
known (ḍṛṣṭaśrutamatavijñāta); it is devoid of that reasoning (vitarka)
and discursive thought (vicāra) which, normally, makes language
possible; it no longer makes any distinctions, to the point of not
grasping any difference between distraction and absorption. People
know the thought of entering absorption (dhyānapraveśacitta) and the
thought of leaving absorption (dhyānavyutthānacitta) in a bodhisattva,
but once a bodhisattva is absorbed neither gods nor humans know his
thought any longer, that thought that 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 only
too often leads the meditative to confuse the blisses of the mystical
spheres with true deliverance.

The śrāvaka who has entered the path of Nirvāṇa practises Samādhi
in order to purify his mind, which is a legitimate but egotistical
preoccupation. In contrast, the bodhisattva himself only practises
absorption for the good of others (parārthā). Seeing people giving
themselves unrestrainedly over to the pleasures of the senses, he
experiences great feelings of compassion (mahākarunācitta) and makes
the following aspiration: ‘I shall act so that beings may avoid impure
happinesses, 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’. This is why his absorption is so beneficent. While his mind is no longer
disturbed by any object or concept, the bodhisattva transforms his body
in countless ways, enters the five destinies of the triple world and there
he 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, he enters the anāgamya which is like the entrance-hall of the first
dhyāna, and it is there that he eliminates the coarse passions.
Conversely, the bodhisattva, having cultivated the perfections for a long
time, can enter the dhyāna with a thought of the Kāmadhātu.

The śrāvaka can traverse the nine successive abodes (anupūrva-
vihāra), which were mentioned earlier, in four different ways: by following the ascending order (dhyānānulomatas), the descending order (dhyānapratiłomatās), the ascending then descending order (dhyānānulomapratiłomatas) or by jumping from one abode to another (dhyānotkṛāntitas). This last method is known as the attainment of jumping (vyutkrāntakasamāpatti). However, a bodhisattva who has mastered jumping can, on leaving the first dhyāna, jump to the third – which is normal – but he can also jump directly either to the fourth dhyāna or to one of the four samāpattis of the Ārūpyadhatu; sometimes he jumps over one abode, sometimes two, sometimes even over all nine.

According to the canonical sources, when the ordinary ascetic has purified his mind by means of the dhyānas and samāpattis, ‘he gives an impulse to his mind and directs his mind towards the abhijñās’ (abhiññāya cittam abhinīharata abhinīnāmeti), and by virtue of this effort he practises the six superknowledges, supernormal power, etc. In contrast the great bodhisattva, the bodhisattva of the eighth stage, without making any mental effort (cittraṇaḥbhogena), plays at will with the superknowledges (abhijñāvakṛitāna). He proceeds at will and spontaneously to the Buddha-fields, but without grasping their signs; there, while remaining perfectly absorbed, he pays homage to the Buddhas of the ten regions and he expounds the Dharma to beings. This activity is unconscious; it can be compared to the lutes of the gods which play ceaselessly even though there is no-one to pluck them.

The Mahāyānasamgraha, Chapter VII (tr. É. Lamotte, Vol.II, pp.218–31), contains an even more systematic description. The author contrasts the three elements constituting the path of Nirvāṇa, morality (śīla), concentration (samādhi) and wisdom (prajñā) with the higher morality (adhisīla) of the bodhisattva, his higher thought (adhicitta) and higher wisdom (adhiprajñā).

The Samādhi of the bodhisattva differs from that of the śrāvaka due to six superiorities:

1. Superiority in object (ālambanaviśeṣa). The Samādhi of the bodhisattva is concerned with the teaching of the Great Vehicle; that of the śrāvaka, with the teaching of the Small Vehicle.

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2. Superiority in variety (nānātvaviśeṣa). The dhyānas and samāpattis and some other meditations practised by the śrāvaka can be contrasted to the 108 Samādhīs of the bodhisattva listed in the Prajnāpāramitā; in fact they are infinite in number.

3. Superiority as a counteractive (pratipaksaviśeṣa). The Samādhi of the bodhisattvas eliminates all delusions and all passions.

4. Superiority in aptitude (karmanyataviveṣa). The Samādhi of the śrāvakas purifies the mind of the ascetic; but the bodhisattva, while remaining absorbed, takes on birth everywhere his presence may be of use to beings.

5. Superiority in results (abhinirhraviveṣa). The Abhijñās of the śrāvakas are limited; those of the bodhisattva do not encounter any opposition.

6. Superiority in actions (karmaviśeṣa). The supernormal powers of the śrāvakas described above (pp.20–1) are contrasted with the great supernormal powers (mahārddhi) of the bodhisattva: causing trembling, blazing, illuminating, rendering invisible, transforming, coming and going across obstacles, reducing or enlarging worlds, inserting any matter into one’s own body, assuming the aspects of those one frequents, appearing and disappearing, submitting everyone to one’s will, dominating the supernormal power of others, giving intellectual clarity to those who lack it, giving mindfulness, bestowing happiness, and finally, emitting beneficial rays

Regarding the practical applications of these great powers, the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa, Ch. V (Vkn, pp.141–8), may be consulted.

Apart from the Śgs, there are some references to the Concentration of Heroic Progress in the sūtras and śāstras. I shall point out the main ones here:


18 The same list is found in Bodh bhumi, pp 58-63 On supernormal power in general, see Traité I, pp.329-30

Sanskrit text of the Śatasāhasrikā, p.825,7–20: Sāpi khalu sarvākārajanātā advaya advaidhikārā sarvadharmaūbhāvasvabhāvatām upādāyā, ayām sarvadharmaūnutpādo (var. sarvadharmanasvabhāvā-nutpatītā) nāma samādhīr bodhisattvādhi mahaśaṭṭvānām mahāsattvānāṃ vipulāṃ puraskrto 'pramāṇanīyato 'samhārayah sarvaśrāvaka-pratyekabuddhāhī. anena samādhīnā viharan bodhisattvo mahaśaṭṭvāḥ kṣipram anuttarām samyaksambodhim abhisambudhyate.

[Sāriputra] āha. kim punar, āyusman Subhūte, anenaiva samādhīnā viharan bodhisattvo mahaśaṭṭvāḥ kṣipram anuttarām samyaksambodhim abhisambudhyate athānayair api samādhīhibhiḥ.

Subhūtir āha. anyaiḥ apy, āyusman Śāriputra, samādhīhibhir viharan bodhisattvo mahaśaṭṭvāḥ kṣipram anuttarām samyaksambodhim abhisambudhyate.

[Sāriputra] āha. katamaiḥ punar, āyusman Subhūte, 'nyaiḥ samādhīhibhir viharan bodhisattvo mahaśaṭṭvāḥ kṣipram anuttarām samyaksambodhim abhisambudhyate.

Subhūtir āha. asti śūraṅgamano nāma samādhir yena samādhīnā viharan bodhisattvo mahaśaṭṭvāḥ kṣipram anuttarām samyaksambodhim abhisambudhyate. asti simhavikrīdito nāma samādhir iti vistaro yāvad ākāśaśaṅgavimukti-nirupalepo nāma samādhiḥ.

Author’s translation: This knowledge of things in all their aspects is without duality and without division, by reason of the fact that all things have non-existence as their self-nature. This is the concentration called Non-arising-of-all-things (variation: Non-arousal-of-the-self-nature-of-all-things), a concentration proper to the bodhisattvas; it is vast, placed above everything, fixed in the infinite and not shared by the Listeners and Solitary Buddhas. Dwelling in this concentration, the bodhisattva rapidly reaches supreme and perfect enlightenment.

Śāriputra said: Venerable Subhūti, is it only when he dwells in this concentration that a bodhisattva reaches supreme and perfect enlightenment, or when he dwells in other concentrations as well?

Subhūtī replied: Venerable Śāriputra, it is when he dwells in other concentrations as well.

Śāriputra asked: Venerable Subhūti, in what other concentrations does the bodhisattva [† dwell and] rapidly reach supreme and perfect enlightenment?

Subhūtī said: There is a concentration called Heroic Progress and when he dwells in that concentration, the bodhisattva rapidly reaches
supreme and perfect enlightenment. There is... [There follows the classical list of the 108 or 118 concentrations of the bodhisattva, but which not all the Chinese versions reproduce in full; this list is taken up by the Mahāvyutpatti, Nos 506–623].

Translation by Kumārajīva (T 223, ch.3, p.237c 10–14): The self-nature (svabhāva) of dharmas is non-existence (abhāva) because it does not follow the procedure (hsing = samskāra, caritra, gamana) of dharmas and does not assume the marks (hsiang = laksana) of dharmas. This is what is called the Concentration on the Non-assuming of all dharmas (sarvadharmāsamādāna), a concentration proper to the bodhisattvas; it is vast in its uses and is not shared by the śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas. The bodhisattva who practises this concentration and does not deviate from it rapidly attains supreme and perfect enlightenment. [The rest as above].

Translation by Hsuan-tsang (T V No.220, ch.41, p.229c 10–18): When the bodhisattva practises the Prajñāpāramitā, he is absolutely free of grasping (upādāna) and free of attachment (abhiniveśa) regarding dharmas and the Prajñāpāramitā. This is what is called the Concentration without grasping or attachment regarding dharmas, a concentration proper to the bodhisattvas. This concentration is beautiful (cāru), is above all else (puraskṛta), vast (vipula) and immense (apramāṇa); it reunites infinite (ananta) and unresisting (apratīgha) actions (kārītra); it is not shared by any śrāvaka or pratyekabuddha. O Śāriputra, if the bodhisattva constantly dwells in this concentration and does not abandon it, he rapidly witnesses supreme and perfect enlightenment. [The rest as above].

Commentary in the Upadeśa (T 1509, ch.43, p.373c 4–17): Q. If the Buddha has said that the sole path of Nirvāṇa consists of [the three samādhis] called śūnyatā, ānimitta and apranihita, why does Śāriputra ask here if there are also other samādhis which enable a bodhisattva to attain Buddhahood rapidly?

A. When one is not yet near Nirvāṇa, there are many other paths, but when one is near Nirvāṇa, there is only a single path: śūnyatā, ānimitta and apranihita. The other samādhis all lead to these three doors to deliverance (vimokṣamukha). It is the same as for a great town: there are many gates and all allow entry. Or it is like the numerous rivers and the ten thousand watercourses that all lead to the sea. What are these other samādhis? There is the Śūraṅgamasamādhi, etc. The Buddha will
speak of them himself in the Chapter on the Mahāyāna where he will explain things that are profound and difficult to understand. When the bodhisattva practises these 108 samādhis and dhāraṇimukhas, the Buddhas of the ten regions give him the prediction (vyākaraṇa). And why? Even though the bodhisattva obtains these samādhis, he is really free from reflection (manasikāra) or notion (saṃjñā) concerning the idea of self. He does not say to himself: ‘I am going to enter such-and-such a samādhi, I am entering it, I have entered it; I am going to dwell in this samādhi, it is my own samādhi’. Because of this purity of thought (cittaviśuddhi) and this marvellous detachment, the Buddhas give him the prediction...


Punar aparām, Subhūte, bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya mahāyānaṃ yad uta śūramgamo nāma samādhiḥ [The enumeration follows, more or less complete according to the sources, of the 108 samādhis, each of which is then taken up and briefly defined]: tatra katamah śūramgamo nāma samādhiḥ. yah samādhiḥ sarvasamādhiḥinām gocaram anubhavaty ayam ucyate śūramgamo nāma samādhiḥ.

Author’s translation: Besides, O Subhūti, the Great Vehicle of the bodhisattvas is the Concentration named Heroic Progress, etc... Which is this concentration? The concentration that embraces the domain of all the concentrations is named Concentration of Heroic Progress.

Translation by Hsuan-tsang (T V, No.220, ch.52, p.292c 11–13): When one dwells in this samādhi, one embraces the domain of all the samādhis; one achieves infinite and supreme Heroic Progresses (chien-hsing 健行); one is to the fore of all the samādhis.

Commentary in the Upadeśa (T 1509, ch.47, pp.398c 27–399a 2): Śūramgamasamādhi, in the language of the Ch’in, is called Chien-hsing ‘Heroic Progress’. It knows in detail the domain (gocara) and marks (lakṣana) of all the samādhis, their number and the degree of their depth. It is like a great general who knows the number of his soldiers.
Besides, when the bodhisattva has obtained this *samādhi*, neither the Kleśamāra nor the Māras can harm him. He is like a cakravartin king who possesses the jewel called ‘The General’s’ (*pariṇāyakarata)*; wherever he goes, no-one can vanquish him.


Author’s translation: Besides, O Śāriputra, the bodhisattva who wishes to fulfil the desires of all beings with food, drink, clothing, perfumes, garlands, flowers, incense, perfumed powders, unguents, couches and seats, houses, goods and riches, ornaments, jewels, pearls, necklets of pearls, beryls, shells, crystals, corals, gold, silver, gardens, kingdoms and other useful things, this bodhisattva, say I, should train himself in the Prajñāpāramitā.

Commentary in the Upadesa (T 1509, ch.30, p.278a 8–24 = Traité IV, pp.1939–40): Q. When the Buddha was in the world, beings still suffered from hunger and thirst, the sky did not always shed rain and beings were distressed. If the Buddha himself could not fulfil the desires of all beings, why do you say here that the bodhisattva can fulfil them?

A. The bodhisattva who dwells in the tenth bhūmi and who has entered the Śūraṃgamasamādhi is to be found in the tri-sāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu [† 3,000 great world systems], and there he sometimes arouses the prathama cittotpāda [† first thought of Bodhi] and practises the six pāramitās; he sometimes manifests himself as irreversible; he sometimes manifests himself as an ekajātipratibaddha [† separated from Buddhahood by one life only] and expounds the Dharma to the devas in the Tuṣita heavens; he sometimes descends from the Tuṣita heavens and is born in the palace of King Śuddhodana; he sometimes takes up the *prāvraja*
[† homeless life] and becomes a Buddha; he sometimes appears in the midst of the great assembly, sets turning the Wheel of the Dharma and delivers innumerable beings; he sometimes manifests his entry into Nirvāṇa and seven precious stūpas are erected to him so that, everywhere in all the kingdoms, beings can honour his śāriṅa [† relics]; finally, his Dharma sometimes disappears completely. If the bodhisattva can render such services, what then can be said of the Buddha? The body of the Buddha is of two kinds: the true body (bhūtakāya); and the transformation body (nirmāṇakāya). When beings see the true body of the Buddha, all their desires are fulfilled. The true body of the Buddha fills space (ākāśa); his rays illuminate the ten regions; the sounds of his teaching of the Dharma equally, in the ten regions, fill countless universes as innumerable as the sands of the Ganges; all the members of the great assembly hear the Dharma simultaneously, and he expounds the Dharma without interruption; in the space of a moment each listener comprehends what he hears.


Yaḥ kaścin, mārṣā, imaṃ Lalitavistaram dharmaparyāyaṃ bhāṣyamāṇam avahitaśrotaḥ śroṣyati, so 'ṣṭau cittanirmalatāḥ pratilapsyate. katamā aṣṭau. tadyathā. yad uta maitrīṃ pratilapsyate sarvādosamirghātāya. karunāṃ pratilapsyate sarvāhimsotsargāya, muditāṃ pratilapsyate sarvārūpapakṣanatāyai, upekṣāṃ pratilapsyate anunayarapatighotsargāya, catvāri dhyānāni pratilapsyate sarvā-padhātuvaśavartītāyai, catasra ārūpyasamāppattih pratilapsyate cittavaśavartītāyai, pañcābhiḥjāṅāḥ pratilapsyate anyabuddha-kṣetragamanatāyai, sarvāśanāṃsādhinishamudghātam pratilapsyate śūramgamasyamādhvipratilambhāya. imā aṣṭau cittanirmalatāḥ pratilapsyate.

Friends, whoever, without turning their ear, will listen to this interpretation of the Dharma called Lalitavistara will obtain the eight purities of mind. Which are those eight? He will obtain goodwill so as to destroy all faults, compassion so as to eliminate all violence, joy so as to avoid all woes, equanimity so as to eliminate affection and aversion, the four absorptions so as to hold sway over the world of
[subtle] form, the four formless attainments so as to hold sway over the mind, the five superknowledges so as to go to other Buddha-fields, the destruction of every connection regarding the pervasions [of the passions] so as to obtain the Concentration of Heroic Progress.

\[\text{Chuang-yen } p^\prime u-t^\prime i-hsin ching (T 307, pp.961c 28–962a 6; T 308, p.964a 3–12):\]

To the ten Pāramitās correspond ten Cittotpādas, and each of them is protected by one of the following ten Samādhis: 1. Dharmaratnasamādhi; 2. Sārasamādhi; 3. Āniṅyajasamādhi; 4. Avaivartikasamādhi; 5. Ratnapuspasamādhi; 6. Sūryālokasamādhi; 7. Sarvārthasamādhi; 8. Jñānālokasamādhi; 9. Sarvabuddhasamāmukhāvasthitasamādhi; 10. Śūramgamasamādhi.

\[\text{Kuśalamūlasamparigrahāsūtra (T 657, ch.6, p.166a 16-c 21):}\]

The Buddha sees all the great assemblies gathered together and, remaining on his seat, he enters each of the fifty-seven Samādhis in turn, the first of which is the Śūramgamasamādhi, and the last, the Āniṅyajasamādhi. Then the Śuddhavāsika devas praise him with stanzas.

\[\text{Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (T 374, ch.27, pp.524c 19-525a 11; T 375, ch.25, p.769b 1–24):}\]

Besides, O Kulaputra, the nature of the Buddhas is the Śūramgamasamādhi. This nature, like cream (sāra), is the mother of all the Buddhas. Through the power of the Śūramgamasamādhi, the Buddhas always delight in their own personal purity (ātmaviṣuddhi).

All beings possess the Śūramgamasamādhi but, because they do not cultivate it, they are not able to see it. That is why they do not attain anuttarā samyaksambodhi.

Kulaputra, the Śūramgamasamādhi has five kinds of names: 1. Śūramgamasamādhi, 2. Prajñāpāramitā, 3. Vajrasamādhi, 4. Śimhanādasamādhi, 5. Buddhaśvabhāva. Depending on its activities
it sometimes takes one name and sometimes another, just as a single samādhi takes on various names and dhyāna indicates four dhyānas. Indriya designates the samādhīndriya; bala, the samādhībala; sambodhi, the sambodhīanga; samyak, the samyaksamādhi; and the sambodhi of the eighth-level holy one (aṣṭamaka) is called samādhisambodhi. It is the same for the Śūraṃgamamasamādhi.

Kulaputra, all beings are endowed with this samādhi, but to a higher, middling or lesser degree. The higher degree is the nature of the Buddhās; that is why it is said that all beings possess Buddha-nature. The middling degree is the fact that all beings possess the first dhyāna. When they possess the requisite causes and conditions (hetupratyaya) they can practise it, but if they do not possess those causes and conditions they cannot practise it. Those causes and conditions are of two kinds: the calamity of fire and the destruction of the fetters (samyojana) binding beings to the kāmadhātu. That is why it is said that all beings are endowed with the middling samādhi. The lesser samādhi is the concentration of the mind (citta) and mentations (caitta) in the course of the ten bhūmis; this is why it is said that all beings are endowed with the lesser samādhi.

All beings possess Buddha-nature but, as the passions (klesa) hide this, they are not able to see it. Even though the bodhisattvas of the tenth stage see the single vehicle, they do not know that the Tathāgata is eternally existent.

[In the word Śūraṃgama], śūram means ‘absolutely’ (atyanta), and gama means ‘solid’ (sāra)\(^{19}\). That which acquires absolute solidity is termed Śūraṃgama. That is why it is said that the Śūraṃgamasamādhi is the nature of the Buddhās.

\(^{19}\) This is a purely imaginary etymology.
knows all dharmas is devoid of attachment; having no point of attachment, it is called Heroic Progress. The Tathāgata being endowed with the Śūraṅgamasamādhi, how can you tell him to remain somewhere?’

Mahāyānasamgraha of Asaṅga (tr. É. Lamotte, p.219):

Compared with the Samādhi of the śrāvakas, the Adhicitta of the bodhisattvas proffers six superiorities and particularly a superiority in variety (nānātvaviśesa), for the variety of the concentrations like the Mahāyānaloka ‘Brilliance of the Great Vehicle’, the Sarvapunya-samuccaya ‘Accumulation of Every Merit’, the Samādhirājabhadrāpāla ‘King of Concentration, Auspicious Protector’, the Śūraṅgama ‘Heroic Progress’, etc., is infinite.

The Tibetan Upanibandhana explains: The attainment where the whole teaching of the Great Vehicle shines is the Mahāyānaloka. The one where all the merits are accumulated and appropriated is named Sarvapunya-samuccaya. The Samādhirājabhadrāpāla, like a king on earth, is named the chief of all the Samādhis. When it is there, the Bhagavat Buddhas of the present era and located in the ten regions are seen facing each other (abhimukha). The Śūraṅgama is the best of Samādhis; like a hero, head of an army, in the midst of his soldiers, it is capable of destroying the horde of Māra.

Buddhabhūmisūtraśāstra of Bandhuprabha (T 1530, ch.6, p.316a 7–10):

Samādhi is Adhicitta, is the samādhis, Śūraṅgama, etc. The Samādhi is so named because it takes precedence over all the worldly and transcendental samādhis and because others cannot surpass it. Moreover, it is so named because it is frequented by heroes, Buddhas and bodhisattvas; for only the bodhisattvas of the tenth stage and the Buddhas obtain this Samādhi.

The Dharmasamgraha, § 136 (ed. F.M. Müller, p.32), indicates a tetrad of Samādhis: Śūraṅgama, Gaganagañja, Vimalaprabha and Śimhavikriḍita.
IV. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SŪTRA

It is difficult to place the Šgs in the enormous mass of Mahāyāna sūtras. Indian sources are silent on their dates and places of origin. We know more or less when they were translated into Chinese, but nothing proves that the chronological order in which these Chinese translations followed one another corresponds to the chronological order of the appearance of the Indian originals. Furthermore, there is nothing to enable us to fix the time which elapsed between the appearance of a text in India and the translation of this same text in China; the most diverse of circumstances could have accelerated or delayed the translation of a particular work.

On the basis of Japanese research, H. Nakamura has attempted a classification of the Mahāyāna sūtras. He distinguishes thirteen classes of them and places the Šgs among the ‘Meditation Sūtras’ which are the foundation of Zen Buddhism.

The Mahāyāna sūtras devoted to a Samādhi are fairly numerous; among them we note the Pratyutpannabuddhasamukhāvasthitasamādhi (T 416–419), the Tathāgatājñānamudrāsamādhi (T 632 and 633), the Caturdārakasamādhi (T 378 and 379), the Sarvapuṇyaasamuccayasamādhi (T 381 and 382), the Māyopamasamādhi (T 371 and 372), the Samādhīhirāja (ed. N. Dutt; T 639), the Praśāntaviniścayaprātiḥāryasamādhi (T 648), etc.

From another point of view, the Šgs can be placed among those ten-odd Mahāyāna sūtras which contributed to the implantation of the Great Vehicle in China and which were translated several times during the second and third centuries C.E. Here is a list, with the date of their first Chinese translation:

1. Aksobhyatathāgatasya vyūha (T 313), sūtra in Ratnakūṭa, tr. in 147 by Chih Ch’an.
2. Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā or Small Prajñā (T 224), translated in 179 by Chih Ch’an.
3. Pratyutpannabuddhasamukhāvasthitasamādhi (T 418), tr. in 179 by Chih Ch’ an.
4. Kāsyapaparivarta (T 350), sūtra in Ratnakūṭa, tr. in 179 by Chih Ch’ an.
5. Śūramgamasamādhi, tr. in 186 by Chih Ch’ an (translation lost).

21 Too early a date, see further on, p.64 sq.
6. Vimalakirtinirdeśa (T 474) tr. between 222 and 229 by Chih Ch’ien.

7. Amitābhavvyūha (T 362) or ‘Larger Sukhāvativyūha’, tr. between 222 and 229 by Chih Ch’ien.

8. Tathāgataguhyāyaka (T 312), sūtra in Ratnakūṭa, tr. in 280 by Dharmakṣaṇa.

9. Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā or Large Prajñā, partially translated in 286 by Dharmakṣaṇa and Gitamitra (T 222) and in full by Mokṣala and Chu Shu-lan in 291 (T 221).

10. Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (T 263), tr. in 286 by Dharmakṣaṇa.

11. Daśabhūmika (T 285), sūtra in Avatamsaka, tr. in 297 by Dharmakṣaṇa.

Among these sūtras, the most important and perhaps the oldest are the Prajñāpāramitās (Nos 2 and 9; hereafter Prajñā). They are the main source of inspiration of the Madhyamaka or Śūnyavāda school founded by Nāgārjuna and his disciple Āryadeva. The exact date of these authors is not known but, according to Kumārajīva, the greatest authority on the subject, they would have lived during the third century C.E.23

Undoubtedly connected with their school is the Mahā-prajñāpāramitopadesa (abbrev. to Upadeśa), a voluminous commentary on the Pañcaviṃśatī and most likely to have been compiled during the fourth century.

According to the Chinese catalogues, Kumārajīva translated, in 404, the Śatakāsastra of Āryadeva with the commentary by the bodhisattva Vasu (T 1569); in 404–405 the Upadeśa (T 1509); in 409 the Dvādaśamukhaśāstra of Nāgārjuna (T 1568); in 409 the Madhyamakāsastra of Nāgārjuna with the commentary by Piṅgala (T 1564); even later the Daśabhūmikavibhāṣā of Nāgārjuna (T 1521).

The sources noted here represent the first phase of Madhyamaka Buddhism. Having described its philosophical position elsewhere24, I shall limit myself here to determining the place the Śgs occupies in it.

1. The essential aim of the Śgs is to inculcate into its listeners or readers the Pudgala- and Dharmanairatmya. Not only do beings not exist,
but things are empty of self-nature, unarisen, undestroyed, originally calm
and naturally abiding in Nirvāṇa, free of marks and in consequence
inexpressible and unthinkable, the same and devoid of duality.

Like all the sūtras of the Madhyamaka, the Śgs requires a certain mental
disposition of its adherents: the *anutpattikadharmaksāntī* or certainty of
the non-arising of dharmas (cf. § 48 and n.119); it is in this gradually
acquired and firmly anchored certainty that the ascetic will purify his mind
and attain his own deliverance even while working on that of others.

The Śgs, however, limits itself to affirming the non-arising of things
and does not attempt to demonstrate it. It announces itself as the word of
the Buddha which is and can only be a word of truth. It would rest with
Nāgārjuna and his school to back up the Madhyamaka with a rational
argumentation. This in no way constitutes a dogmatism, but a critique of
the notions and categories of early Buddhism by the method of reduction
to the absurd (*prasanga*) and the principle of the solidarity of opposites

The sūtras only ask to be believed, remembered, repeated, expounded
and put into practice (§ 11, 173, 175). They instigate a bibliolatry
unknown to early Buddhism.

2. The first Mahāyāna sūtras – among them the Śgs – are not
systematic and their literary treatment is inferior to that of the canonical
sūtras which have a more pronounced scholastic character.

In vain would we search the Aṣṭa, the Pratyutpanna, the Śūramgama
and the Vimalakirti for a complete and coherent explanation of the
Mahāyāna which they claim as their authority.

E. Conze, the foremost specialist of the Prajñās, encountered great
difficulties in the analysis of the Prajñās. He states: ‘The contents of
this Sūtra are not easily summarized’26, and again, ‘In any case, such
analytical studies of ancient writings are tedious to compose and
unattractive to read, and when carried too far, they threaten to shatter
and pulverize the very text which they set out to examine, as we have

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It should be noted that the *anutpattikadharmaksānti* to which the Madhyamaka sūtras return obsessively is not even mentioned in the Kārikas by Nāgārjuna or the Vṛtti by Candrakirti. This is because these authors no longer appealed to conviction but to reason.


The early exegetists had already come up against the same difficulties, and a work like the Abhisamayālamkāra has no other aim than to draw up a plan of the Large Prajñā. We can guess that this plan was not considered very satisfying since later more than forty sub-commentaries were needed to explain it.

The numerous notes that I have had to add to the translation of the Śgs show my awkward position well enough; and reference to later sources, far from clarifying the text, hardly does more than produce a list of contradictions. In fact, the Śgs represents a Mahāyāna in the course of formation, in revolt against the early Buddhist concepts but unable to break away from the traditional ways of thinking and formulas.

The doctrinal point that is best established is that of the six Pāramitās which are the essential of the bodhisattva career (§§ 26–38, 44), but this teaching had already been formulated in the Buddhism of the Small Vehicle, and the bas-reliefs of the old school of sculpture of Central India had copiously illustrated it.

In the Śgs we also find explanations and lists which seem systematic, but these are only adjuncts like the four vyākaraṇas (§§ 100–108) or tables without pertinence or link between each other, like the hundred aspects of Heroic Progress (§ 21), the twelve bonds of the dṛṣṭis (§ 84), the four qualities required for having faith (§ 130), the ten qualities needed in order to be a true punyakṣetra (§ 133), the ten bodhisattvabalas (§ 152), the eighteen motives which encourage the hearing of the Sūtra (§ 153), the twenty inconceivable virtues which result from hearing it (§ 174). More often than not we wonder whether the author drew up these lists himself or whether he borrowed them from elsewhere.

A more serious fault is the imprecision of the vocabulary. When is a bodhisattva irreversible (avaivartika): is it before his entry into the bhūmis, at the moment of entry or after? The indications supplied by the Śgs (§ 5, n.5; § 104, n.209) are not conducive to a decision. The same uncertainties come to mind when it is a question of the pre-destination (niyāma, niyatipāta) of the bodhisattva, parallel to the samyaktvanivāma of the śrāvaka (cf. § 7, n.13; § 56, n.140; § 104, n.210 and 211; § 150). The most awkward problem is posed by kṣānti, sometimes ‘perfection of patience’ (§ 28, n.86), and sometimes ‘certainty’ regarding the non-arising of dharmas and susceptible to

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going through several stages (§ 19, n.42; § 48, n.119).

An urgent task fell on the promoters of the Great Vehicle: to fix the stages of the bodhisattva career. They did not succeed without much hesitation and wariness.

a) The Aṣṭasāhasrikā (ed. U. Wogihara, p.831) classes the bodhisattvas in four categories: 1. Those who are committed to the Vehicle (prathamayānasamprasthita); 2. those who are endowed with the practices (caryāpratipanna); 3. irreversible (avinvartaniya) bodhisattvas; 4. bodhisattvas separated from Buddhahood by only one existence (ekajātipratibaddha). This important text seems as yet not to know anything about the ten stages (bhūmi) of the bodhisattvas.

b) There is also no reference to them in the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa (cf. Vkn, p.xcviii), but attention should be drawn to a Khotanese fragment, ‘Book of Vimalakirti’, where they are mentioned29.

c) The Śgs knows of the ten stages (§ 21, n.44) and particularly emphasises the eighth and tenth (§ 48). Moreover, at § 149, it mentions an ‘eighth-level holy one’ (aṣṭamaka), which seems to imply that it was acquainted with the plan concerning the stages common (sādhāranabhūmi) to both vehicles (cf. § 149 and n.299).

d) In the Large Prājñā we find a clear, systematic and complete description of the Bhūmis. The bodhisattva stages form the subject of a whole chapter (Pañcavimśati, ed. Dutt, pp.214–25; Aṣṭādaśa, T 220, ch.490–1, pp.490b-497b; Śatasāh., ed. Ghosa, pp.1454–73). As for the stages common to both vehicles, they are listed in the same sources (Pañcavimśati, pp.225.16–18; 235.18–19; Aṣṭādaśa, ed. E. Conze, pp.183.24–26; 197.4–8; Śatasāh., pp.1473.11–16; 1520.20–22).

e) The merit of having given a name (Pramuditā, etc.) to the ten bodhisattva stages is undoubtedly due to the Daśabhūmi of the Avatamsaka. This nomenclature was to become indispensable to the sūtras and śāstras of the Great Vehicle.

The enormous progress shown by the Large Prājñā over earlier sūtras must be generally emphasised. The Aṣṭasāh., the Pratyutpanna, the Śūraṃgama, the Vimalakīrti and the Sukhāvati do not give a complete or coherent idea of the Great Vehicle; these texts represent a Mahāyāna in the course of formation. It is in the Large Prājñā (Pañcavimśati, etc.) that, for the first time, we find a good definition of the bodhisattva and a systematic explanation of Mahāyānist teachings.

Here, with references given to the N. Dutt edition, is a summary of a

particularly important section of the Pañcaviṃśati:

I. Definition of the bodhisattva, with a classification of dharmas (pp.160–9).

II. Definition of the bodhisattva as a Mahāsattva (pp.169-94):
1. He leads a great number of beings to the summit (pp.169-72).
2. He eliminates all false views (pp.172–3).
3. He is detached even from the Bodhicitta (pp.173–5).
4. He puts on the great armour of the perfections (pp.175–9).
5. He commits himself to the Great Vehicle (pp.180–3).
6. He has mounted the Great Vehicle (pp.183–5).
7. He is neither bound nor liberated (pp.185–94).

III. Definition of the Mahāyāna (pp.194–242).
1. Its constituent elements.
   a. The six pāramitās (pp.194–5).
   b. The twenty kinds of śūnyatā (pp.195–8).
   c. The one hundred and twelve samādhis (pp.198–203).
   e. The forty-three dhāranīmukhas (pp.212–14).
   f. The ten bhūmis (pp.214–25).
2. The Mahāyāna counteracts notions of subject and object (pp.225–31).
3. The greatness of the Mahāyāna (pp.231–42).

3. Whether they originate in the Small or Great Vehicle, Buddhist sutras are not exempt from a certain ambiguity, and their correct interpretation requires a large amount of dexterity. It is therefore not without reason that, in the Catuspratisarana-sūtra, recognised by both vehicles, the Buddha fixes exegetical rules and recommends in

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31 See the references in the Vkn, pp 262-3 in the notes, and add the Vikurvanārājaripārīprccā, T 420, ch.1, p.927a-b.
particular that one should rely on the meaning (artha) and not on the letter (vyāñjana), on sūtras of explicit meaning (nītārtha) and not on sūtras whose meaning needs interpreting (neyārtha).

Ambiguity is most obvious in the oldest Mahāyāna sūtras and, among others, in the Śgs. Thus one of the hundred aspects of the Heroic Progress consists of the second power of the Tathāgata: karma-vipākañjānānabala ‘the power consisting in knowing the fruition of actions’ (§ 21, No.5), but it is said that ‘the bodhisattva does not see either the self-nature of actions or the self-nature of fruition’ (§ 35).

In a comparison which has become famous, the Buddha explains to Drḍhamati that a bodhisattva should train himself gradually in the practice of Heroic Progress, in the manner of an archer who practises drawing on ever smaller targets (§§ 47–8), but elsewhere it is said that, in the cultivation of good dharmas, there is nothing which the bodhisattva cultivates and nothing that he does not cultivate (§28, at the end); if he activates great vigour in the search for good dharmas, he nevertheless does not develop any activity of body, speech or mind (§ 30). In fact, all the activities of the bodhisattvas are equivocal and contradictory (§§ 30, 31 and 35).

The Śgs devotes several paragraphs to the vyākaranas and describes the circumstances under which the Buddha predicts to such-and-such a person his future accession to supreme Bodhi (§§ 100–109). Conversely, in the Vimalakirtinirdeśa (Vkn, pp.86–90), Vimalakirti explains to Maitreya, the Buddha of the future, that supreme Bodhi, free from the beginning and by right, is possessed by everyone and that in consequence any prediction concerning it is null and void.

We hasten to add that all these contradictions are desired and intentional; they are aimed at purifying the mind of all prejudice. Also, in looking through Mahāyāna sūtras, the reader should always ask him/herself on what level the author is placed: is it on that of convention (samvr̥ti) or on that of absolute truth (paramārtha)? Samvr̥ti hides the true nature of things (svabhāvārana); it causes the appearance of the false (anṛtaprkāśana) because it presupposes a self-nature for things which does not belong to them (asatpadārtha-svarūpāropikā) and veils the view of the true nature (svabhāvadarśanāvaraṇātmikā). Reality itself is asamskr̥ta, immutable and beyond all expression and all instruction. But how can it be approached without having recourse to Samvr̥ti?

32 See also Vkn, pp. LVII-LX, 29-30, 55-8, 128-33, 173-6, 234-6, Avatamsaka, T 279, ch.56, pp.296c 22-297a 3.
The theory of the two truths has been widely exploited by Buddhists of both vehicles.\(^{11}\)

_Sammuti, mahārāja, esā: ahan-ti mamāti, na paramattho eso_ [† It is, great king, conventional opinion that ‘this is I, this is mine’; it is not absolute truth], Nāgāsena had already said to the Indo-Greek king Menander!

However, if the oldest Mahāyāna sūtras apply it tacitly, they do not give it full or formal status. I can find no trace of it in the Aṣṭasāh., the Śgs or the Vimalakirti. One of the first to mention it, it seems, is the Pañcavimśati (T 223, ch.22, p.378c 8–23; ch.24, p.397b 16-c 2; ch.25, p.405a 15–18). However, the most remarkable formulation is in the Pitāputrasamāgama of the Ratnakūṭa (T 310, ch.66, p.378b 17 sq.) and is a famous passage often reproduced by scholars (Śāntideva in Śiksāsamuccaya, p.256,4; Prajñākaramati in Pañjikā, pp.367,3; 593,2; Candrakirti in Madhyamakāvatāra, pp.175–8, and _Le Muséon_, 1910, pp.356–7). Unfortunately the Pitāputrasamāgama, unlike other sūtras involved in the compilation of the Ratnakūṭa, seems to be of quite late a date; it was translated for the first time into Chinese by Narendrayaśas, in the fourth _t‘ien-t‘ung_ year or 568 C.E.\(^{34}\)

Nāgārjuna, in his Kārikās (XXIV, 8–10), condensed into a few words the exact implication of the two truths: ‘The Buddhas teach the Dharma on the basis of two truths: conventional worldly truth and absolute truth. Those who do not discern the distinction between these two truths do not discern the profound reality in the Buddha’s teaching. Without relying on experience, reality cannot be taught; without having understood absolute truth, Nirvāṇa cannot be reached’. That is why, comments Candrakirti, conventional truth must necessarily be admitted, at least to start with, since it is the method of attaining Nirvāṇa in the same way that he who wants to draw water makes use of a receptacle.

As might be expected, the theory was the object of subsequent elaborations, e.g. in the Upadeśa (_Traité_ I, p.27 sq.), and in the Siddhi (pp.549-53).

4. Unlike the Lokottaravādins, the Sarvāstivādins and above all the Yogācārins, the Madhyamaka does not dwell in long considerations on the nature and bodies of the Buddha. Its Tathāgata does not escape the verdict of the Pudgalanairatmya, does not exist in any way and ultimately


\(^{34}\) Cf _Li_, T 2049, ch 9, p 87b 24, _K’ai_, T 2154, ch 6, p 543c 10
amounts to a body of teaching (dharmakāya).

For the Aṣṭasāh. (p.160), ‘the supreme Buddha himself is only an illusion, is only a dream; and supreme Buddhahood itself is also only an illusion, is only a dream’. According to the Pañcavimsati (p.146), ‘the bodhisattva does not grasp the ātman, does not grasp dharmas and does not grasp the categories of holy ones or pratyekabuddhas, or bodhisattvas, or Buddhas. If he does not grasp them, it is because of their absolute purity (atyantavisuddhitā). What is this purity? Non-arising (anutpāda), non-manifestation (aprādurbhāva), imperceptibility (anupalambha) and inactivity (anabhisamskāra)’.

In the sūtra that bears his name (Vkn, pp.238–42), Vimalakirti goes to the Āmrapālīvana in Vaṭsālī to see the Buddha. ‘How do you see the Tathāgata?’ the latter asks him. Vimalakirti replies: ‘O Blessed One, now that I see the Tathāgata, I see him as if there was nothing to see… The Tathāgata is neither seen, nor heard, nor thought, nor known… He has achieved the non-distinction of all things (sarvadharmanirviṣeṣa)’.

This point of view, or rather absence of view, is shared by the Śgs. Śākyamuni and the imaginary Buddhas created by him with salutary intent are the same and without difference: equally real or equally unreal (§ 18). The feats of the Buddhas which unfold before our eyes – conception, birth, teaching, Nirvāṇa – are only a phantasmagoria (§ 21, Nos 96–100; §§ 123 and 163): ‘There is for the Tathāgata no real arising, no real cessation’ (§ 71). Between the world of the Buddhas and the world of the Māras, there is neither duality nor difference (§ 114).

The narrow-minded will cry shame and accuse the Mādhayamikas of nihilism. However, it would be the former who would be in the wrong for, as Nāgārjuna explains (Kārikās XXII, 13), whoever believes that the Tathāgata exists must also believe that once having entered Nirvāṇa he no longer exists. It is because his self-nature is non-arising (anutpādasvabhāvāti) that the Buddha is imperishable (avyaya) and transcends all definition (prapancātīta). A sūtra35 puts it very well:

‘The Tathāgata always constitutes non-arising, and all dharmas are like the Sugata. By grasping marks in non-existent dharmas, puerile minds drift in this world.

‘For the Tathāgata is only the reflection of the good and pure teaching. Therein there is truly no suchness (tathatā) nor Tathāgata: this is a reflection that appears to all persons’.

Looking more deeply into this problem, the Madhyamaka is still very

close to early Buddhism, but it introduces onto the ontological level that which the early Buddhists had founded on an historical level.

Referring to Śākyamuni or his rare predecessors, the early exponents had predicted: ‘However long his body lasts, so long shall gods and mankind see him; but, on the dissolution of his body, when his life departs, gods and mankind shall no longer see him’ (Dīgha I, p.46).

‘Just as a flame blown out by a puff of wind, goes from sight, disappears, so the wise man, discarding the nāma-rūpa (physical and mental aggregates of existence) disappears, goes from the sight of all. None can measure him; to speak of him, there are no words; what the mind could conceive vanishes and every path is closed to discussion’ (Suttanipāta, v.1074 sq.).

Agreed, the Mādhyamikas might say, save, however, with the nuance that disappearance, instead of being acquired with time, is acquired at all times and by all things.

Hence the dialogue between Dṛḍhamati and Matyabhimukha in the Śgs (§ 71):

Dṛḍhamati: ‘The Buddhas, where do they go?’

Matyabhimukha: ‘The Buddhas, because of the suchness of things (tathatā), do not go anywhere’.

Dṛḍhamati: ‘Do not the Buddhas go to Nirvāṇa?’

Matyabhimukha: ‘All dharmas are [already] absolutely in Nirvāṇa; that is why the Tathāgatas do not go to Nirvāṇa. Because of the very nature of Nirvāṇa, one does not go to Nirvāṇa’.

If the śrāvakas and bodhisattvas differ over the meaning, they agree over the letter. This explains how the old canonical formulas could be adapted and reproduced practically without change by the Mādhyamikas. Here, for example, is a stanza from the Udānavarga XXII, 12 (ed. F. Bernhard, p.288) taken up with some variation by the Aṅguttara II, p.71, 15–16, and the Theragāthā, v.469:

Ye me rūpeṇa minvanti, ye me ghoṣeṇa cānvagāḥ, chanda-rāgaśaṃpetā, na mām jānantī te janāḥ.

‘Those who measure me as a material form and who are guided by my voice, being subjected to the dominion of desire and passion, do not know me’.

We can also add another canonical formula, taken from the Saṃyutta III, p.120,27–31:

Alam, Vakkali, kim te iminā pūtikāyena diṭṭhena. Yo kho, Vakkali, dhammam passati so mām passati, yo mām passati so dhammam
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

passati. Dhammam hi, Vakkali, passanto mam passati, mam passanto
dhammam passati.

‘Enough, Vakkali, what good is there in seeing this body of filth? Whoever sees the Dhamma sees me, whoever sees me sees the Dhamma. Seeing the Dhamma he sees me, seeing me he sees the Dhamma’.

This is how these two texts are exploited in the sūtras and śāstras of the Madhyamaka (Vajracchedikā, pp.56–7; Madh. vṛtti, p.448,11–15; Pañjikā, p.421,10–11):

Ye mām rūpeṇa adrākṣur, ye mām ghoṣena anvayuḥ,
mithyāprahāṇaprasṛtā na mām drakṣyanti te janāḥ,
dharmato buddhā draṣṭavyā dharmakāyā hi nāyakāḥ,
dharmatā cāpy avijñeyā na sā śakyā vijāñitum.

‘Those who have seen me as a material form and who have been guided by my voice, those persons, involved in false and ruinous views, will not see me. It is through the Dharma that the Buddhas should be seen, for the Leaders are Dharma-Bodies. The nature of things itself being unknowable cannot be discerned’.

5. The least one can say is that Madhyamika radicalism is hardly conducive to devotion (bhakti). Although justified from the viewpoint of Samvṛti, an offering (pūjā) makes no sense on the Paramārtha level. In the Śgs there is indeed a matter of offerings of thrones (§ 12), of meals and vihāras (§§ 116–120) of parasols (§ 138): all these gifts are of equal value. Rather than practise the six pāramitās for an hundred thousand kalpas it is better to hear the Sūtra, take it, remember it, repeat it and expound it to others: this is making an offering of the truth (§ 175).

As it appears in the most characteristic of its sūtras, the Madhyamaka represents a Mahāyāna which is rather in defiance of devotion. The fact is all the more astonishing in that there existed at the time a strong current of devotion; turning away from Nirvāṇa, some followers of both the Small and Great Vehicles aspired to rebirth in impure lands, in the Tuṣita heavens, in the paradise of Maitreya, from whence they would descend to become Buddhas; others, being exclusively Mahāyānist, vowed to be reborn in a pure land, in the Sukhāvatī heaven of Amitābha. This devotional movement has been examined in detail by P. Demiéville in his learned study on the ‘Yogācārabhūmi de Saṅgharakṣa’ (Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient XLIV, 1954, pp.339–436). It is impossible that the authors of the Aṣṭasāh., the Pañcaviṃśati, the Śūramgamasamādhi and the Vimalakīrti could not have known about it.

In § 48, No.4, the Śgs mentions the pratyutpanna-buddha-
sammukhāvasthitasamādhi ‘concentration during which the Buddhas appear face to face in (one’s) immediate presence’. In fact a sūtra bearing this title (T 418) was translated into Chinese by Chih Ch’an on 24 November 179, the same day as the Aṣṭāsāh. (T 224), and eight years before the Śgs. It is an Amidist sūtra singing the praises of the recollection – that is, the mental vision of the Buddhas (buddhānusmṛti); it is the basis of the contemplative mystique linked to the cult of Amitābha which, activated by Hui-yüan, developed in the fourth century at the Lu-shan into the Association of the White Lotus.

As for the Amitābhavyūha (or Amitāyuhsūtra, or Sukhāvativyūha), which is like a breviary of Amidism, it was translated twelve times into Chinese on dates that are still being discussed, but there is no doubt that the Indian original was already in circulation by the end of the first century C.E., and by the second at the latest.

If the authors of the Aṣṭāsāh., etc., certainly knew of the Maitreya and Amidist movement, they do not seem to have been influenced by it except perhaps with regard to those particular aspirations (viśeṣapranidhāna) by means of which the bodhisattva prepares his future Buddha-field. Some solemn aspirations are clearly formulated in the Aṣṭāsāh. (748,2) and especially in the Pañcaviṃśati (ed. Dutt, p.34,16–17, corresponding to T 223, ch.1, p.221a 18; ibid., T 223, ch.17, pp.347b-349b); in the Śgs (§ 110), the devakanyās wish to obtain the prediction; however, according to the Vimalakirti (Vkn, pp.21–2), the bodhisattva ‘purifies’ his Buddha-field by purifying his own mind, and this is fully in line with the Madhyamaka.

In the sūtras with which we are concerned, Maitreya appears as the acknowledged guardian of the Mahāyāna sūtras, but nowhere is there mention of his paradise. As for Amitābha and the two great bodhisattvas – Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthamaprabhā – who are associated with him36, there is hardly any mention of them, and they are not singled out in any way from the mass of other Buddhas and bodhisattvas. So therefore, it is clear that, to begin with, the Madhyamaka did not nourish hopes of paradise in pure or impure lands. We hasten to add that it would not always be so and that the great Mahāyānist dharmācāryas would succumb to the temptation of the realms of light and infinite longevity. Nāgārjuna, the author of the Madhyamakāsastra, also wrote a Daśabhūmikavibhāṣā (T 1521) in which he proposes an ‘easy way’ to reach the Sukhāvati. Vasubandhu,

36 Cf. Sukhāvativyūha, § 34, p.114
the author of the Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, is also responsible for a Sukhāvatīvyūhopadeśa (T 1524) where, with all his heart, he takes refuge in the Tathāgata of Infinite Light and hopes to be reborn in the land of the Sukhāvati37. For the authors of the Upadeśa, the ‘Sūtra of the Buddha Amitābha’ was an authoritative work (cf. T 1509, ch.9, p.127a 11 = Traité I, p.556; ch.92, p.708c 10).

6. If the Śgs displays no devotion concerning Amitābha, it nevertheless invokes, according to accepted usage, great contingents of bodhisattvas. The majority are only names, albeit very often names of inordinate length. However, certain of them, through having been mentioned in the texts, ended by acquiring a semblance of personality.

So, what do these bodhisattvas represent in the eyes of those Mahāyānists and why do the latter show a preference for one or another bodhisattva?

Bodhisattvas are creatures of great wisdom who, filled with compassion, multiply skilful means in order to win over beings. According to the formula in the Vimalakīrti (Vkn, pp.126–8), their wisdom is acquired through skilful means (upāyopāttraprajakñā) and their skilful means are acquired through wisdom (prajñopāttopāya). Their wisdom penetrates in depth the twofold nairātmya, the non-existence of beings and things: they no longer see anything, say anything or think anything. Nevertheless, through compassion for non-existent beings, they evolve a whole range of skilful means, according to the circumstances and needs of beings to be won over. Sometimes they reproduce the twelve actions of the Buddhas’ historical feats (Śgs, § 21, Nos 96–99, §§ 123 and 163); sometimes they indulge in unbridled wonder-making: they insert Mount Sumeru into a mustard-seed, they pour the waters of the four oceans into a pore of their skin, they cast the great cosmos beyond universes as manifold as the sands of the Ganges and then return them to their place, they deposit all the beings in the palm of their hands and travel through all the universes but without moving, they insert the cosmic fires into their bellies, they shrink or stretch time at will, etc. (Vkn, pp.141–8). Occasionally and always for the benefit of beings, they do not hesitate to make use of means of doubtful taste; in order to demonstrate to Śāriputra the perfect equality of the sexes, a bodhisattva-goddess changes him into a woman while she herself is transformed into a man (Vkn, pp.170–1); in order to win over two hundred lustful devakanyās, the bodhisattva Māragocarānapalipita creates two hundred

37 Cf. S. Yamaguchi, Muryōjukyō Upadaisha ganshōge no shikai, Kyoto 1962.
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doubles of himself and unites with them (Śgs, § 94). The goodwill and compassion of the bodhisattvas place them above the rules of morality: the latter are only of provisional and relative value and, from a certain point of view, the offender is superior to the holy one (Śgs, § 150; Vkn, pp.55, 180). We cannot doubt that the bodhisattvas are highly virtuous, even if all their behaviour occurs under the sign of fiction, contradiction and ambiguity (Śgs, §§ 30, 31, 35; Vkn, pp.29–30, 44–8, 55–8, 128–33, 171–6, 234–7; Avatamsaka, T 279, ch.56, pp.296c 22–297a 3).

Among the crowd of holy ones that the Śgs presents, it seems to display what I would call, if not a predilection, a particular interest in certain Buddhas and bodhisattvas.

Among these, the foremost is the Buddha Aksobhya who rules over the Abhirati universe in the eastern region. He appears in practically all the Mahāyāna sūtras: Aksobhyatathāgatasya vyūha, supposedly translated in 147 C.E. by Chih Ch’ān (T 313), Aṣṭasāh. (pp.745, 853, 874–5), Śgs (§ 77), Vimalakirtinirdeśa (Vkn, pp.168, 243–9), Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha (p.204), Pañcavimsati (pp.91–2), Saddharmapūndarika (pp.160–85), Karuṇāpūndarika (T 157, p.194b), Suvarnabhāsa (p.152), etc.

The Aksobhyavyūha and Vimalakirtinirdeśa describe at length the splendours of the Abhirati universe where Aksobhya reigns. According to the Vimalakirtinirdeśa (Vkn, pp.243–5), the bodhisattva Vimalakīrti comes from this universe; according to the Śgs (§§ 77–79), the devaputra Matyābhīmukha has the same origin and he is destined one day to become the Buddha Vimala[prabhā]kirtirāja in the Sahāloka. The Mahāsamnipāta (T 397, ch.31, pp.216–17; ch.35, p.239) also places Vimalakīrti in the universes of the eastern region: in the Apramāṇa, he will be the bodhisattva Śūryaguhyā, and in the Niṣparidāha, the bodhisattva Śūryakośagarbha. The perfect identity of beings and things allows all these identifications.

Manjusri is passed over in silence in the Aṣṭasāh.; the Large Prajñā (Pañcavimsati, pp.5,10; 17,18; Śatasāh., pp.7,3; 55,13), as well as the Sukhāvatī (p.194,9), only mention him in passing. It is strange that these texts remained outside the strong Manjusriän current which swept through Mahāyāna literature. Manjusri plays a leading role in the Vimalakīrti38 and his part in the Śgs (§§ 140–148) is not negligible. He was also the inspiration for quite a few other sūtras, some of which had already been translated into Chinese under the Late Han in the second century: Lokānuvartana (T 807), Ajātaśatrukaukṛtvavivodana (T 626)

38 See the Index to the Vkn, s v Mañjuśrī
and Mañjuśrīpariprcchā (T 458).

To conclude, we can note a curious point of contact between the Śgs and the Lotus. The former (§ 170–172) mentions, in the Pratimandita universe in the eastern region, a Buddha Vairocanaraśmi-pratimanditavikurvanarāja whom the latter, in Ch.25, brings into a long jātaka. Both discover affinities veering on identity between this Vairocana of the east and the Śākyamuni of the Sahāloka. This is the skeleton of esoteric Buddhism for which Mahāvairocana is the historical Śākyamuni idealised in the dharmakāya ‘which is not born and does not die’.

V. THE SOURCES OF THE SŪTRA

The author of the Śgs was fully acquainted with the early canonical texts and he makes wide use of their formulas and stock phrases. However, considering himself also as a spokesman of the Buddha, he felt no need to invoke the authority of other sūtras. I have therefore not been able to make out more than a few precise references to canonical sources:


Furthermore, the author was not unaware of the additions made by the paracanonical texts to the golden legend of Buddhism. So, as against the Nikāyas-Āgamas, but in conformity with the separate biographies of the Buddha and the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, he makes Gopa a wife of the bodhisattva Śākyamuni (cf. § 56, n.138; § 58, n.143). He mentions the samcodana [† exhortation] of the devas inviting the bodhisattva Śākyamuni to leave his father’s palace – an episode which, to my knowledge, is only related in the paracanonical sources (cf. § 59, n.147).

Nowhere in the Śgs can I find a reference to any Abhidharma [† however, is there not a hint of it when Māra quotes the Buddha in
§ 99?]. It is true that in § 149, it distinguishes in the manner of the Abhidharmas a whole category of holy ones, but it could have borrowed them from ‘scholastic’ sūtras such as those we find in the Canon (cf. § 149, n.299).

The same statement can be made regarding the Aṣṭasāh., the Vimalakirti and the Pañcavimśati, etc.: it is impossible to say whether they were inspired by one or other of the Abhidharmas. In contrast, the Upadesa frequently uses and discusses the Abhidharma, but only that of the Sarvāstivādins: Jñānaprasthāna, Śatpādābhidharma and Vibhāṣā39. This is one of the many indications of its northern origins.

The Šgs was considered authoritative among the Mādhyamika scholars who quite often quote it:

1. Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa (T 1509), translated by Kumārajīva between 402 and 404 C.E.:
   - ch.4, p.92b 3–6 [† tr. in Traité I, p.293] = § 100 of the Šgs.
   - ch.75, p.586b 1–2 [† not translated in Traité] = § 147.


3. Śīkṣāsamuccaya of Śāntideva (seventh century C.E.). A Chinese translation (T 1636) was made in Pien-liang, in the first half of the eleventh century, by Dharmarakṣa of the Sung.
   a. Ed. C. Bendall, p.8,19–20 (T 1636, ch.1, p.77a 14–16): Śūraṅgamasūtre 'pi sāthyoṭpāditasyāpi bodhicittasya buddhatvahetutvābhidānāt, kah punar vādah kimcid eva kusalaṃ kṛtvā [† tr. in C. Bendall and W.H.D. Rouse, Śikṣhā-Samuccaya, Delhi, repr. 1971, 1990, p.9]. This quotation, also reproduced in the Bodhicaryāvatārapaṇjikā of Prajñākaramati (ed. L. de La Vallée Poussin,

p.24,12–13), seems to be a free reference to § 97 of the Śgs.

b. Ed. C. Bendall, pp.91,8–92,6 (T 1636, ch.6, pp.93c 23–94a 9) [† tr. Bendall and Rouse, p.93] = § 101 and 102 of the Śgs.

4. In the Chinese records of the Council of Lhasa (*Le Concile de Lhasa*, tr. P. Demiéville), the Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra is quoted twice: on page 73 (reference to § 47) and on pages 141–2 (reference to § 100), and the apocryphal Śūramgamasūtra is quoted once, on page 43 (reference to T 945, ch.6, p.131a). If I am not mistaken, the Śgs is not invoked in the three Bhāvanākramas published, about 795 C.E., by Kamalaśīla at the close of the Council.
CHAPTER TWO

THE CHINESE AND TIBETAN VERSIONS

The information we have at our disposal is taken from Chinese catalogues and biographies:

\[ \text{Ch’u = Ch’u san-tsang chi chi (T 2145)} \] ‘Selection of notes taken from the Three Baskets’, in fifteen chüan, compiled in Chien-yeh (Nanking) by Sêng-yu (435–518), published for the first time in 515 and revised by the author shortly before his death. He gleaned his information from various earlier biographies, particularly from the Tsung-li chung-ching mu-lu compiled in 374 in Hsiang-yang, in northern Hu-pei, by Tao-an (312–385) and subsequently completed by the author. Conversely, the Ch’u, written in the south, does not mention the catalogues drawn up in the north, such as the Han lu by Chu Shih-hsing (about 260), the Chung-ching lu by Nieh Tao-chên (about 300), and the Ching-lun tu-lu by Chih Min-tu (between 325 and 342).

\[ \text{Kao = Kao-sêng chuan (T 2059)} \] ‘Biographies of eminent monks’, in fourteen chüan, published around 530 by Hui-chiao (497–554), in the Chi-hsiang ssû of Hui-chi (in the Chê-chiang). The Ch’u san-tsang chi chi is one of his main sources.

\[ \text{Chung A = Chung-ching mu-lu (T 2146)} \] ‘Catalogue of sûtras’, in seven chüan, compiled in Ch’ang-an in 594 by Fa-ching and other ārāmas of the Ta Hsing-shan ssû.

\[ \text{Li = Li-tai san-pao chi (T 2034)} \] ‘Chronicle of the Three Jewels’, in fifteen chüan, composed in Ch’ang-an in 597 by the lay scholar Fei Chang-fang, a native of the Ssû-chuan. This compilation often refers to the Ch’u san-tsang chi chi, but also quotes several ancient catalogues which it lists (T 2034, ch.15, p.127b-c). These catalogues had already been lost in Fei Chang-fang’s time, but he was able to quote them secondhand, probably from the Li-tai chung-ching mu-lu finished in 518 by Pao-ch’ang (cf. T 2034, ch.11, p.94b 16).

\[ \text{Chung B = Chung-ching mu-lu (T 2147), in five chüan: Ch’ang-an edition compiled in 602, on the order of Wei-ti of the Sui, by the bhadanta Yen-ts’ung and other monks from the Ta Hsing-shan ssû in Ch’ang-an, who were joined by lay scholars.} \]

\[ \text{Chung C = Chung-ching mu-lu (T 2148), in five chüan: Lo-yang edition compiled in 666 by Shih Ching-t’ai and the monks of the Ta} \]
Ching-ai ssū in Lo-yang.

\textit{Nei} = \textit{Ta T'ang nei tien lu} (T 2149), in ten chüan, compiled in 664 by Tao-hsüan (596–667), then Superior of the Hsi-ming ssū in Ch'ang-an. This catalogue borrows widely from the \textit{Li-tai san-pao chi}.

\textit{T'u} = \textit{Ku chin i ching t'u chi} (T 2151), ‘Descriptive memoirs concerning ancient and modern translations’, in four chüan, compiled in 664–5, in Ch’ang-an, by the śramaṇa Ching-mai, a collaborator of Hsüan-tsang since 645.

\textit{Wu} = \textit{Wu (or Ta) Chou k'an ting chung-ching mu-lu} (T 2153) ‘Catalogue of sūtras drawn up under the Chou dynasty of the Wu family’, in fifteen chüan, compiled in Ch’ang-an in 695, on the order of the empress Wu, by Ming-ch’üan and others.

\textit{K'ai} = \textit{K'ai-yüan shih-chiao mu-lu} (T 2154) ‘Buddhist catalogue of the \textit{k'ai-yüan} period’, in twenty chüan, compiled in 730 by the śramaṇa Chih-shêng of the Hsi Ch’ung-fu ssū in Ch’ang-an.

\textit{Hsü-k'ai} = \textit{Ta T'ang chêng-yüan hsü k'ai-yüan shih chiao lu} (T 2156) ‘Buddhist catalogue of the \textit{chêng-yüan} period of the T'ang’, in three chüan, compiled in 795 by Yüan-chao of the Hsi-ming ssū in Ch’ang-an.


These catalogues contain lists of the Chinese translations of the Sūtras made in the course of time with the titles of \textit{Shou-lêng-yen ching} or \textit{Yung-fu-ting ching}:

1. \textit{Ch’u}, T 2145, p.14a 15–18: \textit{Shou-lêng-yen ching}: 1. \textit{Shou-lêng-yen} by Chih Ch’an, two chüan; 2. \textit{Shou-lêng-yen} by Chih Ch’ien, two chüan; 3. \textit{Shou-lêng-yen} by Po Yen, two chüan; 4. Chu Fa-hu also translated the \textit{Yung-fu-ting} in two chüan: this is a new translation of the \textit{Shou-lêng-yen}; 5. \textit{Shou-lêng-yen} by Chu Shu-lan, two chüan; 6. New translation of the \textit{Shou-lêng-yen} by Kumārajīva, two chüan; 7. The \textit{Chiu lu} (or an ancient catalogue) mentions a Shu 蜀 \textit{Shou-lêng-yen} in two chüan, but does not say who translated it. Seven men translated this one and only sūtra, but the name of one of the translators is lost.

2. \textit{Li}, T 2034, p.78a 12–13: The \textit{Shou-lêng-yen ching} [by Kumārajīva], in two chüan, is the seventh translation. With the \textit{Shou-}
by 1. Chih Ch’ān, 2. Chih Ch’ien, 3. Po Yen, 4. Fa-hu, 5. Shu-lan, and 6. the Yung-fu-ting [by Fa-hu], these are different versions of the same original. There are also [after the translation by Kumārajīva which is the seventh] two works: 8. the Shu [Shou-lêng-yen] and 9. the Hou-ch’u [Shou-lêng-yen]: altogether nine translations constituting different versions.

3. K’ai, T 2154, pp.631c 29-632a 18: 1. Shou-lêng-yen ching, in two or three chüan, translated by the Yüeh-chean trepiṭa Chih Lou-chia-ch’ān of the Hou Han: this is the first translation; 2. Fang-teng Shou-lêng-yen ching, in two chüan, translated by the Yüeh-chean upāsaka Chih Ch’ien of the Wu: this is the second translation; 3. Shu Shou-lêng-yen ching, in two chüan, seemingly from the Shu territory; translation lost under the Ts’ao Wei: this is the third translation; 4. Hou-ch’u Shou-lêng-yen ching, in two chüan; translation lost under the Ts’ao Wei: this is the fourth translation; 5. Shou-lêng-yen ching, in two chüan, translated by the trepiṭa from the Western Countries, Po Yen of the Ts’ao Wei: this is the fifth translation; 6. Yung-fu-ting ching, in two chüan. [Tao]-an says that this is yet another translation of the Shou-lêng-yen ching. It is ascribed to the trepiṭa Chu Fa-hu of the Hsi Chin: this is the sixth translation. According to the catalogues by Sêng-yu (T 2145), Chang-fang (T 2034), etc., Chu Fa-hu should be credited with a Shou-lêng-yen ching in two chüan. However, between Shou-lêng-yen and Yung-fu-ting, the titles [respectively] in Sanskrit and Chin Chinese are the only things to differ; the two sūtras do not differ. The colophon of the Yung-fu-ting ching says: ‘On the ninth day of the fourth month of the first yüan-k’ang year (23 May 291), the bodhisattva from Tun-huang, Chih Fa-hu, holding the Indian sūtra in his hands, orally translated the Shou-lêng-yen ching; the upāsaka Nieh Ch’eng-yüan took it down with his brush’. Hence we know for a fact that the Shou-lêng-yen ching and the Yung-fu-ting are not two different things. 7. Shou-lêng-yen ching, in two chüan, translated by the upāsaka from the Western Countries, Chu Shu-lan of the Hsi Chin: this is the seventh translation. 8. Shou-lêng-yen ching, in two chüan, translated by the Yüeh-chean upāsaka Chih Shih-lun of the Ch’ien Liang: this is taken from the colophon of this Shou-lêng-yen ching. It is the eighth translation and has recently been inserted in the catalogue. These eight sūtras represent a single original. There was later a ninth translation: [that by Kumārajīva]; this ninth translation is extant (T 642), the eight previous ones are all lost. According to the catalogues by [Sêng]-yu
TRANSLATION BY CHIH CH’AN

(T 2145), [Chang]-fang (T 2034), etc., under the Hui-ti of the Chi Chin the śramaṇa Chih Min-tu assembled the four earlier translations by the two Chih [Chih Ch’an and Chih Ch’ien] and the two Chu [Chu Fa-hu and Chu Shu-lan] and combined them into a single edition of eight chūan. This is not a separate translation of a Sanskrit original and it does not appear in the correct enumeration of the authentic translations.

These lists agree in the main. The K’ai has noted that only one translation of the Śgs with the title of Yung-fu-ting can be attributed to Chu Fa-hu. According to the extract we have just given, it seems that the Ch’u was equally aware of this; however, as will be seen further on in its summary of the works of Chu Fa-hu, it attributes to the latter two distinct translations of the Śgs with the titles of Shou-lêng-yen and Yung-fu-ting. The Li makes the same mistake.

The K’ai is the only catalogue to have taken account of the translation by Chih Shih-lun, but the Ch’u, which reproduces its colophon, had already encountered it.

I shall examine each of the translations concerned.

I

Shou-lêng-yen ching 首楞楞經, 2 chūan, translated in Lo-yang on 16 January 186 C.E. by Chih Ch’an 支識 of the Late Han.

Chih Ch’an or Chih Lou-chia ch’an (Lokakṣema[?] of the Yüeh-chih) is credited with twelve translations by Tao-an (Ch’u, T 2145 p.6b 29), fourteen by the Ch’u, (T 2145, p.6b 27), twenty-one by the Li, the Nei and the T’u (T 2034, p.53a 18; T 2149, p.224a 4; T 2151, p.348c 17), and twenty-three by the K’ai (T 2154, p.479a 7).

His translation of the Śgs is part of a small number of translations by Chih Ch’an which are authenticated by old colophons and records dating back to the third century and the beginning of the fourth century C.E. These are translations of the following works: Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, Pratyutpannabuddhasammukhāvasthasamādhi, Śūraṃgamasamādhi, Ajātaśatrukauśyayinodana and Drumakīṃnararājaparipṛcchā.

Chih Ch’an made the first two in collaboration with the Indian Chu Fo-shuo (or Chu Shuo-fo); for all five he seems to have been assisted by the Chinese laymen Mēng Fu 孟福, cognomen Yūan-shih 元士, from Lo-yang; Chang Lien 張連, cognomen Shao-an 少安, from Nan-yang (Ho-nan), and Tzū-pi 子碧 from Nan-hai (Canton). The names of two of these collaborators were discovered by T’ang Yung-
t’ung on two inscriptions from the Han period dating from 181 and 183 C.E., where they are mentioned as followers of a local Taoist cult in Yüan-shih hsien (in Hu-pei)\(^1\).

Here, in chronological order, are the colophons and records concerning these translations:


On the eighth day of the tenth month of the second *kuang-ho* year (24 November 179), Mêng [Fu], cognomen Yüan-shih, from Lo-yang in Ho-nan, gave it orally\(^2\). The bodhisattva from India, Chu Shuo-fo (竺佛), at that very moment, transmitted the word. The translator was the bodhisattva of the Yüeh-chih, Chih Ch’an. At that time the assistants were Chang [Lien], cognomen Shao-an, from Nan-yang (in Ho-nan) and Tzû-pi from Nan-hai (Canton). The helpers were Sun-ho (孙和) and Chou T’i-li (周提立). On the fifteenth day of the ninth month of the second *cheng-kuang* year (correct to *cheng-yüan*: 1 November 255), in the town of Lo-yang, at the Hsi p’u-sa ssu, the śramaṇa Fo-ta (佛大) copied it down.


*Pan-chou san-mei ching*. On the eighth day of the tenth month of the second *kuang-ho* year (24 November 179), the Indian bodhisattva Chu Shuo-fo recited it in Lo-yang. [The bodhisattva Fa-hu.] He who at that time transmitted the word was the Yüeh-chean bodhisattva Chih Ch’an; he gave it to Mêng Fu, cognomen Yüan-shih from [the commandery in] Lo-yang in the prefecture of Ho-nan, who was then assistant to the bodhisattva. Chang Lien, cognomen Shao-an, took (it) down with his brush, so that afterwards (this book) became universally disseminated.

In the thirteenth *chien-an* year (208), collated and accepted as

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\(^2\) This information is incorrect: it is probable that Chu Shuo-fo ‘recited’ or ‘orally transmitted’ the sūtra, either by reciting the Indian text from memory or by reading the manuscript out loud. Then Chih Ch’an ‘transmitted the word’, i.e. explained orally in Chinese, and ‘gave the sūtra’ to Mêng Fu. The latter, being pure Chinese, was quite incapable of ‘giving’ it. See the next colophon.
complete at the temple of the Buddha. May all those who recopy it in the future succeed in paying homage to the Buddha.

It is also said: in the third (read thirteenth) chien-an year, on the eighth day of the eighth month (5 November 208), collated at the temple of Hsü-ch’ang.

3. Ch’u (T 2145, p.49a 16–21). Record of the combined Śūramgamasūtras. Author Chih Min-tu. [Date of edition: 301 C.E.]

This [Śūramgamasamādhi-]sūtra originally had a notice saying that it had been translated by Chih Ch’an. [Chih] Ch’an was a Yüeh-chih. In the reigns of Huan (146–168) and Ling (168–189), he came to settle in China. His wide knowledge was profound and wonderful; his talents and mind probed the subtle. All the sūtras that he translated are of a profound and mysterious kind. He aimed at precision above all, but was not preoccupied with embellishments of style. The Hsiao p’in (T 224: Tao hsing pan-jo ching = Aṣṭasāhasrikā p.p.), the A-ché-shih (T 626: A-ché-shih wang ching = Ajātaśatrukaṃkyavatāvadana), the Tun-chên (T 624: Tun-chên t’o lo so wen ju-lai san-mei ching = Drumakīṃnarājāparipraccchā) and the Pan-chou (T 417 and 418: Pan-chou san-mei ching = Pratyutpanna-buddhāsammukhāvasthitasamādhi) existing at present were all translated by [Chih] Ch’an.

4. Ch’u (T 2145, p.49a 14–15), quoting a passage from the catalogue by Tao-an composed in Hsiang-yang (in Hu-pei) in 374:

[Tao]-an kung in his catalogue of sūtras says: The sūtra translated by Chih Ch’an on the eighth day of the twelfth month of the second chung p’ing year (16 January 186) begins by saying: ‘Thus have I heard: the Buddha was residing in Rājakīrti, on the Grdhra-kūṭaparvata’.

The date of 16 January 186 established by Tao-an is adopted by the Ch’u (T 2145, p.6b 11) in its list of works by Chih Ch’an.

Also to be found in the Ch’u (T 2145, pp.95c 22–97a 7) is an account of Chih Ch’an and his collaborator Chu Shuo-fo who took part in the translation of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā p.p. and the Pratyutpannasamādhi:

Chih Ch’an was a native of the kingdom of the Yüeh-chih. His

3 The translation here is based on that by H. Maspero, ‘Les origines de la Communauté bouddhiste de Lo-yang’, Journal Asiatique, 1934, p.94. As the author has rightly noted, the mention of the bodhisattva Fa-hu is a gloss mistakenly inserted in the text. Chu Fa-hu, who worked from 284 to 297, could not have played any part in a translation undertaken in 179.
conduct was pure and profound, his character open and lively. He was renowned for his faithfulness to the religious precepts (dharmāsīla) and for his energy (vīrya). He recited the sūtras and was resolved to protect and expound the Dharma. At the end of the reign of Huan-ti (circa 168) of the Han, he went to Lo-yang and, under Ling-tī, during the kuang-ho (179–184) and chung-p’īng (184–189) periods, he transmitted and translated the Indian texts. He published three sūtras: the Pan-jo tao hsing p’in (T 224: Aṣṭasāhasrikā p.p.), the Shou-lėng-yen (Śūramgama) and the Pan-chou san-mei (T 417 and 418: Pratyutpannasamādhi).

There are also ten sūtras: the A-che-shih wang (T 626: Ajātaśatrūrājasūtra), the Pao-chi (T 350: Kāśyapaparivarta), etc. For a long time they were not catalogued, but [Tao]-an kung who has collated and reviewed the old and modern (translations) and carefully examined the styles says that these translations resemble those by [Chih] Ch’ān. All these translations discerningly render the tenor of the (Indian) original, but without adding any embellishment. It can be said that the translator skilfully expounded the message of the Dharma and propagated the Path. Afterwards it is not known when he died.

As for the śramaṇa Chu Shuo-fo, he was an Indian. Under Huan-ti (146–168) of the Han, also bringing4 with him the Tao hsing ching (Aṣṭasāhasrikā p.p.), he arrived in Lo-yang and immediately translated it from Indian into Chinese. The interpreter hesitating often, there was a loss of literal import but, with the exception of the style, the essential was preserved and the spirit of the sūtra was deeply penetrated.

Furthermore, in the second kuang-ho year (179) under Ling-tī, [Chu] Shuo-[fo], in Lo-yang, translated the Pan-chou san-mei ching (T 417 and 418: Pratyutpannasamādhi). At that time [Chih] Ch’ān transmitted the word. Mēng Fu, from Lo-yang in the prefecture of Ho-nan, and Chang Lien took (it) down with the brush.

The Kao sēng chuan (T 2059, p.324b 13–25) textually reproduces this notice with the difference that it places the arrival in Lo-yang of Chih Ch’ān and Chu Shuo-fo, not in the reign of Huan-ti (146–168), but in that of Ling-tī (168–189).

Later, Chih-shēng 智昇 (668–740), in his ‘History of old and modern

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4 The character chi 見 ‘to bring’ lacks precision; it could be a matter of material manuscripts or memorised texts.
controversies between Buddhists and Taoists’ (T 2105, pp.401c 27–402a 4) places Chih Ch’an’s arrival in Lo-yang in the year five of the hsing-p’ing period (176–177), and Chu Fo-shuo’s in the year two of the kuang-ho period (179–180) of the emperor Ling.

All the sources examined up to now represent the old tradition concerning the activity of Chih Ch’an and Chu Shuo-fo, the Yüeh-chean and Indian bodhisattvas, who purportedly introduced the Mahāyāna into China. The tradition amounts to this:

1. Towards the end of the reign of Huan-ti in 168, or at the beginning of the reign of Ling-ti in 176, the bodhisattva of the Yüeh-chih named Chih Ch’an (Lokakṣema) arrives in Lo-yang.

2. In 179 he is joined by the bodhisattva from India, Chu Shuo-fo. The two bodhisattvas together translate, on 24 November 179, the Aṣṭasāhasrikā p.p. (T 224) and the Pratyutpanna... samādhi (T 417 and 418). Chu Shuo-fo ‘recites’ or ‘orally transmits’ the Sanskrit text which he delivers from memory or the manuscript of which he reads. Chih Ch’an ‘transmits the word’, that is, he explains it orally in Chinese. Mēng Fu, Chang Lien and Tzū-pi ‘take down with the brush’ (colophons of the Tao hsing ching and the Pan-chou san-mei ching).

3. On 16 January 186, Chih Ch’an on his own translates the Śūramgamasamādhi (according to the catalogue by Tao-an).

4. Chih Ch’an’s activity takes place between 179 and 189, in the reign of the emperor Ling of the Han. He also translated the Ajātāsatru-kaukṛtyavinodana (T 626) and the Drumakīṃnararājaparipṛcchā (T 624) (according to the account by Chih Min-tu). Basing himself no longer on the old colophons but on the study of style, Tao-an attributes to him ten further old translations (according to the Ch’u).

A more recent literary tradition, codified by the Li, modifies the dates proposed up to now:

1. Li, T 2034, pp.33a 23; 52c 23: The first chien-ho year (147), Chih Ch’an translated the A-ch’u fo kuo ching (T 313: Ākṣobhyatathāgatasya vyūha). See Chu Shih-hsing, Han-lu.

2. Li, T 2034, pp.34a 5; 53c 8: The first hsi-p’ing year (172), Chu Fo-cho, having arrived in Lo-yang, translated the Tao hsing ching (Aṣṭasāhasrikā p.p.). See Chu Shih-hsing, Han lu.
3. Li, T 2034, pp.34d 6; 52c 16: On the eighth day of the tenth (variant: seventh) month of the second Kuang-ho year (24 November 179), Chih Ch’an translated the Pan-jo tao-hsing p’in (T 224: Aṣṭasāhasriśākā p.p.). This is the first translation. See the Chih Min-tu lu.

4. Li, T 2034, pp.34a 7; 52c 27: On the eighth day of the tenth month of the second Kuang-ho year (24 November 179), Chih Ch’an translated the Pan-chou san-mei ching (T 417 and 418: Pratyutpannasamādhisūtra). This is the first translation. See the Nieh Tao-[chên] lu, etc.

5. Li, T 2034, p.53c 7: On an undetermined date, Chu Fo-shuo translated the Pan-chou san-mei ching (Pratyutpannasamādhisūtra). This is the second translation.

6. Li, T 2034, pp.34e 8; 52c 18: On the eighth day of the second month of the third Chung-p’ing year (16 March 186), Chih Ch’an translated the Shou-léng-yen ching (Śūraṅgamasūtra). This is the first translation. See Chu Shih-hsing, Han lu.

These dates will be taken up again by catalogues postdating the Li. See, for that of the Śgs, Nei (T 2149, p.223c 10), T’u (T 2151, p.348c 10), Wu (T 2153, p.397c 18–19), K’ai (T 2154, p.479a 1).

These calculations led to modifications in the record devoted to Chih Ch’an. According to the Li (T 2034, p.53a 19 sq.) and the K’ai (T 2154, p.479a 11–12), Chih Ch’an worked in Lo-yang from the first Chien-ho year (147) under Huan-ti until the third Chung-p’ing year (186) under Ling-ti.

It appears that the whole of this new tradition regarding Chih Ch’an should be rejected.

Firstly, it makes use of suspect documents. It is known that Fei Chang-fang, the author of the Li, refers to some fifteen catalogues already lost by his time but which he could quote at secondhand, probably from the catalogue by Pao-ch’ang. Here he bases himself on an indication in the Han lu by Chu Shih-hsing (220–264) in order to date the translation of the A-ch’u fo kuo ching in 147 and, hence, Chih Ch’an’s arrival in Lo-yang. But this Han lu is a late and none too trustworthy work, compiled to replace a lost original from the third century; it is never mentioned in the catalogues prior to the Li and the author himself of the latter work declares that he has never seen it. It probably never existed as an independent work.

5 Cf. Zürcher, Buddhist Conquest, p.324, n.2.
Secondly, the new tradition claims that the Aṣṭasāhasrikā p.p. and the Pratyutpannasamādhi were each the object of a dual translation, one by Chu Fo-shuo, the other by Chih Ch'ān. It therefore goes directly against the old colophons of the third century, by the terms of which the two texts were translated simultaneously and conjointly by the two masters.

Finally, the new tradition contains some improbabilities. It is unlikely that Chih Ch'ān, after having translated the Aksobhya-tathāgatasya vyūha in 147, should then have waited thirty-two years before resuming his activity and translating, in 179, the Aṣṭasāhasrikā p.p. and the Pratyutpannasamādhi.

In conclusion, the old tradition represented by the Ch'ū and followed by the Kao is to be preferred to the new one. It has the merit of relying on the colophons of the third century and the authority of two great masters of the fourth: Chih Min-tu and Tao-an.

II and III

Shu Shou-lêng-yen ching 蜀首楞嚴經 and Hou-ch’u Shou-lêng-yen ching 後出首楞嚴經, translated in Ssū-chuan, under the Ts’ao Wei (220–265 C.E.), by one or several persons unknown.

These two translations are mentioned for the first time in the Ch’ū and later catalogues:

1. Ch’ū, T 2145, p.32b 2–3: Shu Shou-lêng-yen ching, two chūan. Mentioned in the Chiu lu. Seems to come from Shu (Ssū-chuan) territory. Hou-ch’u Shou-lêng-yen ching, two chūan. Mentioned in the Chiu lu: it is said that it contains ten gāthās.


3. Li, T 2034, p.78a 12–13: [After having listed the seven translations of the Śgs, including that by Kumarajiva, the Li adds]: There are two further works, the Shou and the Hou-ch’u.

4. Nei, T 2149, p.231a 14–15 (see also p.252c 22): Shu Shou-lêng-yen ching, two chūan. See the Chiu lu. Seems to come from Shu (Ssū-chuan) territory. Hou-ch’u Shou-lêng-yen ching, two chūan. See the Chiu lu; it is said that it contains ten gāthās.


7. *K’ai*, T 2154, p.491c 11–12: *Shu Shou-lêng-yen ching*, two chuân. See the *Chiu lu*. Seems to come from Shu (Ssu-chuan) territory. It is the third translation. *Hou-ch’u Shou-lêng-yen ching*, two chuân. See the *Chiu lu*; it is said that it contains ten gâthâs. It is the fourth translation.

8. *Ch’êng*, T 2157, p.789a 7–8: repeats the above. *Ibid.*, p.965c 18–19: *Shu Shou-lêng-yen ching*, two chuân. Seems to come from Shu (Ssu-chuan) territory. Under the Ts’ao Wei (220–265), the translation was lost. It is the second translation. *Hou-ch’u Shou-lêng-yen ching*, two chuân. Under the Ts’ao Wei the translation was lost. It is the second translation.

Obviously, the authors of these catalogues never had access to these two translations. They got their information from the *Chiu lu* 舊錄, this is undoubtedly a matter of an ‘old catalogue’, not otherwise defined, and not that *Chiu lu* which would have been the catalogue of Buddhist books prior to Ch’in Shih-huang-ti, seen by Liu Hsiang in the first century C.E. In reality this *Chiu lu* was drawn up in its final form in the fifth century, after 435, and was lost by the end of the sixth century (cf. *Li*, T 2034, p.127c 1; *Nei*, T 2149, p.336b 14–17; *K’ai*, T 2154, p.572c 8–11).

According to the old catalogue mentioned here, these two translations contained ten gâthâs. However, no stanzas appeared in the Sanskrit original of the Śgs translated in the fifth century by Kumârajîva. Notwithstanding, the Tibetan version executed in the ninth century by Śâkyaprabha and Ratnarâksita contains two long series of stanzas (see below, § 21, n.43, and § 178, n.356).

IV

*Shou-lêng-yen ching* or *Fang-têng 方等 Shou-lêng-yen ching* ‘Śūramgamasamādhīsūtra of the Vaipulya class’, re-issue of the version by Chih Ch’an revised in Wu-ch’ang between 222 and 229 C.E. by Chih Ch’ien 支謨 (alias Kung-ming 恭明, or Chih Yüeh 支越) of the Eastern Wu.

This is not a new translation but merely a revision of the translation by Chih Ch’an. Chih Min-tu is categorical on this point. I have already
mentioned above (p.61) his ‘Record of the combined Śūramgamasūtras’ dating from 301 C.E. and reproduced in the Ch’u. After having pointed out the old translation of the Śgs by Chih Ch’an, it continues (Ch’u, T 2145, ch.7, p.49a 22-88):

[After Chih Ch’an], there was also [Chih Ch’ien] or Chih Yüeh, cognomen Kung-ming. He was a Yüeh-chih as well. His father had also, in the reign of Ling-ti (168–189) of the Han, come to China to pay tribute, and Yüeh was born in China. It appears he did not see [Chih] Ch’an. But there was still Chih Liang 支亮, known as Chi-ming 紀明, who had studied under [Chih] Ch’an; it is thus that Yüeh could receive his instruction from [Chih] Liang.

The talent and knowledge of Yüeh were profound and perspicacious; he completely penetrated Buddhist and non-Buddhist texts. At that time, style was esteemed and, sometimes, conciseness was appreciated. This is why in the sūtras he translated he follows the elegance of style quite well. Nevertheless, in the composition and analysis of ideas, although elegant, he does not go beyond the original and, although concise, he renders the ideas with truth. It can be said that he penetrates the text deeply.

On the fall of the Han, troubles broke out and he fled to the Wu in the south. From the huang-wu period (222–229) until the chien-hsing period (252–254), the sūtras he translated together make up several tens of chüan. There is a catalogue with a separate biography which also says that [Yüeh] translated this [Shou-lêng-yen] ching, but at present we do not see that this could have been a different text [from the old translation by Chih Ch’an]. The Shou-lêng-yen [by Yüeh] does indeed present some small peculiarities with regard to the prolixity or concision of sentences, the Chinese or barbaric character of expression. I have compared and examined [the two translations]: one cannot say that these are two distinct translations ascribed to different men. I think that Yüeh condemned a mode of expression full of barbaric terms in the translation by [Chih] Ch’an. The divergencies [between the two translations] are deletions or corrections [due to Yüeh]; the points they have in common are a reproduction without change [of the version by Chih Ch’an]. The two texts each have a preface. The version which, among all the others, has the simplest and easiest terminology, uses the least barbaric terms and is widespread throughout the world, is the revised version by Yüeh.
So for Chih Min-tu, Yüeh, otherwise known as Chih Ch’ien, limited himself to revising the old translation of the Šgs by Chih Ch’an. However, later catalogues classified this revision as if it were a new translation:

1. Ch’u, T 2145, p.7a 17: Shou-lēng-yen ching, two chūan. Mentioned in the Pieh lu. The catalogue by [Tao]-an does not have it. Lost at present.

2. Ch’ung A, T 2146, p.119c 2: Shou-lēng-yen ching, two chūan. Translated by Chih Ch’ien of the Wu dynasty.

3. and 4. Li, T 2034, p.57b 7; Nei, T 2149, p.228a 9: Fang-tēng Shou-lēng-yen ching. This is the second translation dating from the huang-wu years (222–229). Differs a little from the translation by Chih Ch’an of the Late Han. See the Wu lu by Chu Tao-tsu. The catalogue by [Tao]-an does not have it. [Sêng]-yu (T 2145) refers to the Pieh lu.


6. K’ai, T 2154, p.488c 23: Fang-tēng Shou-lēng-yen ching, two chūan. Translated during the huang-wu years (222–229) It is the second translation. The original was identical to that already translated by Chih Ch’an of the Late Han. See the Wu lu by Chu Tao-tsu. It does not appear in the catalogue by [Tao]-an. [Sêng]-yu (T2145) does not have the characters Fang-tēng [in the title]; he refers to the Pieh lu.

This translation cites two old catalogues, already lost by the time of the Li-tai san-pao chi:

1. The Pieh lu. The Pieh lu in question could be an abbreviation of Chung ching pieh lu, a catalogue which was considered to date from the Sung between 420 and 478 (cf. Li, T 2034, p.125b 28), but the title more probably refers to the second of two catalogues compiled by Chih Min-tu at the monastery of Yü-chang shan (in Chiang-hsi) in the reign of Ch’êng-ti (326–342), namely the Ching lun tu lu in one chūan, and the Pieh lu, equally in one chūan (cf. Li, T 2034, p.74a 8–9; Nei, T 2149, p.336c 23–25; K’ai, T 2154, p.573a 14–17).

2. The Chung ching mu lu, a catalogue, or rather series of catalogues, classed according to various periods or regions (Wei,
Wu, Chin and Ho-hsi), begun on Mount Lu by a disciple of Hui-yüan, Tao-liu, and after the premature death of the latter, completed in 419 by the disciple Tao-tsu (cf. Kao, T 2059, p.363a 11–12; Li, T 2034, p.127c 4; Nei, T 2149, p.336c 16–22; K'ai, T 2154, p.573a 11–13).

It is quite believable that the version of the Śgs revised by Chih Ch’ien appeared in the bibliographical lists by Chih Min-tu. Tao-an, who was still living in the north when these were compiled, does not seem to have known of them. This is why Chih Ch’ien’s version is not mentioned in his Tsung-li chung-ching mu lu, compiled, in 374, in Hsiang-yang in northern Hu-pei.

Chih Ch’ien, grandson of the Yüeh-chean Fa-tu, was born in China. A Buddhist layman (upāsaka), he received his religious instruction in Lo-yang from Chih Liang, himself a disciple of Chih Ch’ an (Lokakṣema). In 220 C.E., the collapse of the Old Empire of the Han led to the formation of the Three Kingdoms (220–280): the Empire of the Wei (220–264) in the Yellow River basin, the Empire of the Shu (221–263) in Ssū-chuan and the Empire of the Wu (222–280) in the Blue River basin. The troubles which broke out in Lo-yang about 219 led Chih Ch’ien to seek refuge in the south; he crossed the Yang-tze and went to the court of the Marquis of Wu, Sun Ch’üan, then in conflict with the Wei. During the huang-wu period (222–229), he stayed in Wu-ch’ang. There he met the Sogdian monk K’ang Seng-hui and, in 224, the two Indian masters Wei-ch’i-nan (Vighna) and Chu Chiang-yen (variant, Lü-yen). During this period, Chih Ch’ien translated the Vimalakirtinirdesa and the Suramgamasamādhi. In 229 the Marquis of Wu, Sun Ch’üan, took the title of emperor and moved his capital to Chien-yeh (Nanking). Chih Ch’ien followed him there and, in his capacity as po-shih ‘master of immense knowledge’, was charged with the instruction of the imperial heir Sun Têng, in collaboration with the head preceptor Wei Yao (or Wei Shao). On the death of his pupil in 241, Chih Ch’ien retired to Mount Ch’iung-lu, in Chiang-su, where he met the monk Chu Fa-lan. Begun in 222, his literary activity continued until 253 and was prolific. The Ch’u attributes to him 27 or 36 translations (T 2145, pp.97c 11, and 23); the Kao, 49 (T 2059, p.325b 2); the Li and the Nei, 129 (T 2034, p.58c
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14; T 2149, p.229b 27); the K’ai, 88 (T 2154, p.489b 1); only the rich obtain credit! Chih Ch’ien also composed three books of Sanskrit hymns in praise of the Bodhisattva, as well as a commentary upon the Śālistambasūtra. He died on Mount Ch’iung-lu, aged sixty. When this occurred the Wu emperor, Sun Liang, sent a letter of condolence to the monks.

The details given here are taken from the notice on Chih Ch’ien included in the Ch’u (T 2145, ch.13, p.97b 13-c 18). Here is its translation, completed here and there by the Kao-sêng chuan (T 2059, pp.325a 18–326b 4):

Chih Ch’ien 支謙, cognomen Kung-ming 恭明 and also called Yüeh 越, was a great Yüeh-chih. His paternal grandfather Fa-tu 法度, in the reign of Ling-ti (168–189) of the Han, had brought several hundreds of his compatriots to embrace the Chinese civilisation, and the emperor had named him Shuai-shan chung-lang-chiang 率善中郎將 ‘Colonel leading the good’.

When he was seven years old, Yüeh was playing astride a bamboo horse at a neighbours. He was bitten by the dog and a bone in his leg was broken. The neighbour wanted to kill the dog and take its liver to dress the wound. Yüeh said: ‘Heaven produced this being for men, so as to guard them and bark. If I had not come to your house, the dog would not have bitten me. In all this, the fault devolves on me and does not concern the dog. To kill it would be a mistake. Not only is it forbidden, but it would be futile and you would be uselessly committing a grave offence. Furthermore, animals are deprived of reasoning, so how could one reprimand them through arguments?’ As a result of that, several tens of villagers, moved by his words, stopped killing living beings.

At the age of ten he learned to write, and his co-disciples deferred to the liveliness of his intelligence. At the age of thirteen, he learned the barbarian writings and completely mastered the tongues of the Six Countries.

To begin with, in the reigns of Huan (146–168) and Ling (168–189), Chih Ch’ien translated religious texts. Then Chih Liang 支亮, cognomen Chi-ming 纪明, studied under [Chih] Ch’an. Finally, [Chih] Ch’ien received his instruction from [Chih] Liang and read the classical texts widely. There was nothing he had not examined in depth. He was practised in the secular professions and arts.

He was a slender, tall, dark and slight man. His eyes were very
white and his pupils yellow. His contemporaries said of him: ‘Mister Chih has yellow pupils; although he is slight in build, he is a bagful of knowledge’. From the very beginning, he revered the Great Dharma and skilfully mastered the import of the texts.

At the end of the reign of Hsien-ti (190–219), the Han family underwent great confusion. Along with several tens of villagers, Yüeh fled to the Wu. On the day of his departure he had only one coverlet. A guest who was very cold and had no coverlet followed him. Yüeh invited the guest to sleep with him. On the dot of midnight, the guest took the coverlet and went off. Next day Yüeh’s companions asked where the coverlet was. Yüeh replied: ‘Last night it was taken from me by the guest’. His companions said to him: ‘Why not denounce him?’ Yüeh replied: ‘If I denounce him, the villagers will certainly accuse him of theft. Would it be just to kill a man for a single coverlet?’ From far and near, those who heard him all admired him.

Later, the sovereign of the Wu, Sun Ch’üan (229–252), heard of his immense knowledge, capabilities and wisdom; immediately, he summoned him to his court. He questioned him on the profound and hidden meaning (in certain passages) of the sūtras. Answering on each occasion, Yüeh explained the difficult points and there was no doubt that he was unhesitating. Most satisfied, [Sun] Ch’üan named him po-shih 博士 ‘master of immense knowledge’, charged him with the instruction of the imperial heir and covered him with favours and high position. [With Wei Yao 魏昭 (alias Wei Chao 魏昭 (200–273), the head preceptor) and others, Yüeh thus rendered services to the kingdom of the Wu. However, because of his foreign origin, he was not registered in the Wu Annals.]

Yüeh knew that, despite the progress of the Great Teaching, the sūtras were mostly in a foreign language and that nobody understood them. Since he knew Chinese and Sanskrit, he assembled some works and translated them into the language of the Han. From the first huang-wu (222–229) year until the middle of the chieng-hsing period (252–254), the texts translated by him – Wei-mo-chieh (T 474: Vimalakirtinirdeśa), Ta pan-ni-yüan (Mahāparinirvāṇa), Fa-chü (T 210: Dharmapada), Jui-ying-pên-ch’i (T 185: *Kumārabhujapūrvanimmittāvadāna), etc. – number twenty-seven (forty-nine, according to the Kao-sêng chuan). He renders the sacred meaning deftly; the terms and tenor are elegant.
Furthermore, on the basis of the *Wu-liang-shou* (T 362: Sukhāvatīvyūha) and the *Chung-pên-ch'i ch'ing* (T 196), he composed three books of Sanskrit hymns in rhythmic phrases in praise of the Bodhisattva. He commented upon the *Liao pên shêng ssû ching* (T 708: Śālistambasūtra). All these books are in circulation at present.

Later, the imperial heir [Sun] Têng 孫登 died (241), and Yüeh retired to Mount Ch'üng-lung 穴隆 (to the south-west of Wu-hsien 呉縣 in Chiang-su) where he joined the monk Chu Fa-lan 笟法蘭 and continued to practise the five precepts (of laymen). All those he frequented were śramaṇas. Then, he died on the mountain, aged sixty years.

The sovereign of the Wu, Sun Liang 孫亮 (252–258), in a letter addressed to the monks, wrote: 'Chih Kung-ming did not cure diseases, but his actions were of undiluted purity; from the beginning until the end, he was great. The regret we have for him is unbearable'. Such was the sadness that was felt at the time.

V

*Shou-lêng-yên ching,* two chüan, translated in Lo-yang, at the Po-ma ssû, in 258 C.E. by Po Yen 白 [variant 延] of the Wei.

The information is fragmentary and contradictory.

1. *Ch'u,* T 2145, p.7b 2–6: *Shou-lêng-yen ching,* in two chüan: lost; *Hsû-lai ching* (T 328: Surataparipṛcchā), in one chüan: lost; *Ch'u-tsai-huan ching* ‘Sūtra averting calamities’, in one chüan: lost. These three works together forming four chüan were translated by Po Yen at the time of Kao Kuei-[hsiang] kung (254–260) of the Wei. They are mentioned in the *Pieh lu.* The catalogue by [Tao]-an kung, previously, did not have this name.

*Ibid.,* p.96a 27–28 (notice on An Hsüan): As for Po Yen, it is not known who he was. At the end of the *chêng-shih* period (240–249) of the Wei, he again translated the *Shou-lêng-yen* and, furthermore, the *Hsû-lai* and the *Ch'u-tsai-huan ching:* in all, three works.

2. *Kao,* T 2059, p.325a 10–12 (notice on Dharmakāla): There was also the śramaṇa Po Yen. It is not known who he was. He too possessed talent and profound and penetrating intelligence. In the middle of the *kan-lu* period (256–260) of the Wei, he translated the *Wu liang ching ch'ing p'ing têng chüeh ching,* etc.: in all, six works.
Nothing is known of his death.


4 and 5. Li, T 2034, p.56c 8; Nei, T 2149, p.227a 12, noting six translations: Shou-lêng-yen ching, in two chûan. This is the second (variant: third) translation. Compared with the translation by Chih Ch’an of the Han dynasty, the [Sanskrit] original was the same, but the translation differs slightly. See the Chin shih tsa lu by Chu Tao-tsu and the Chu san tsang chi (T 2145)... The six translated works make up eight chûan. In the reign of Kao Kuei-hsiang kung (254–260), the śramaṇa Po Yen of the Western Countries embraced the Path and departed on a tour of conversion. During the kan-lu years (256–260), he reached Lo-yang and stayed at the Po-ma ssû where the Samgha invited him to translate.

6. T’u, T 2151, p.351b 8–10: The śramaṇa Po Yen, a native of the Western Countries, in the reign of Kao Kuei-hsiang kung (254–260) in the year three of the kan-lu period, ting-sh’ou (error for wu-yin: 258) cycle, in Lo-yang, at the Po-ma ssû, translated the Shou-lêng-yen ching in two chûan... : in all, six works in eight chûan.

7. Wu, T 2153, p.397c 21–23: Shou-lêng-yen ching, a work in two chûan. This is the second translation. Translated during the kan-lu years (256–260) of the Ts’ao Wei by Po Yen, in Lo-yang, at the Po-ma ssû. Extract from the catalogue by [Fei] Chang-fang (T 2034).

8. K’ai, T 2154, pp.487a 20, 632a 6: Notes five translations among which is the Shou-lêng-yen ching, in two chûan. This is the fifth translation. Compared with the translation by Chih Ch’an of the Han, etc., the Sanskrit original was the same but the translation is different. See the Chih shih tsa lu by Chu Tao-tsu and the catalogue by Sêng-yu (T 2145). These five works in seven chûan are lost. The śramaṇa Po Yen, a native of the Western Countries, during the reign of Kai Kuei-hsiang kung (254–260) in the year three of the kan-lu period, wu-yin cycle (258), departed on a tour of conversion, reached Lo-yang and settled at the Po-ma ssû.

As his name indicates, Po Yen must have been a Kuchean and have belonged to the royal family. We know in fact that the royal dynasty of Kucha was called Po from the beginning of the Common Era. The sources, as we have just seen, hesitate over the exact date of his literary
activity: the chêng-shih period (240–249) or the kan-lu period (256–260) of the Wei.

His translation of the Śgs, if it ever existed, had no influence, as will be seen later (p86) and in contradiction to the assertion by certain catalogues, Chih Min-tu did not use it in his combined edition of the Śgs in 301, and Tao-an does not mention it at all in his catalogue from 374. The catalogues from the sixth and seventh centuries which have come down to us learned of his existence from two catalogues from the fifth century: the Chin shih by Chu Tao-tsu from 419, and the Pieh lu of the Sung (420–478), already lost by their time. Obviously, all these bibliographers never had access to the three, six or seven translations which they attribute to Po Yen and which they all declare to be lost. However, in T 328 we find a translation of the Suratapariprcchā attributed to Po Yen. There is perhaps a confusion between the Po Yen of the Wei of the third century and the Po Yen of the Ch’ien Liang of the fourth who will be mentioned below (p.90).

VI

Yung-fu-ting ching 勇伏定經 ‘Śūtra of the Concentration (samādhi) of Heroic Victory (śūramgama)’, two chüan, translated, probably in Ch’ang-an, on 23 May 291 C.E. by Chu Fa-hu 迪法護 (Dharmarakṣa) of the Hsi Chin.

In this work, the title of the sūtra, Śūramgamasamādhi, instead of being transcribed as Shou-lêng-yen as previously, is translated by Yung-fu-ting ‘Concentration of Heroic Victory’.

The translation by Dharmarakṣa is accompanied by a notice (chi) or a colophon (hou chi) which Chih Min-tu reproduces in the preface to his combined edition of the Śgs dating from 301 (cf. Ch’u, T 2145, p.49b 15–17) and which the K’ai (T 2154, p.632a 11–12) also quotes:

The notice on the Yung-fu-ting says: On the ninth day of the fourth month of the first yün-k’ang year (23 May 291), the bodhisattva from Tun-huang, Chih Fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa) held the foreign text in his hands and orally translated the Śūraṃgamasamādhi. Nieh Ch’êng-yüan took it down with his brush.

In the same preface (Ch’u, T 2145, p.49b 7–9), Chih Min-tu also says:

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At the beginning of the Great Chin dynasty (265–316), the śramaṇa Chih Fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa) and the upāsaka Chu Shu-lan again translated this [Śūramgamasmādhi]-sūtra. For whoever seeks the meaning, the two translations clarify each other.

Here now is the information supplied on this Yung-fu-ting by the catalogues of the sixth and seventh centuries:

1. Ch’u, T 2145, p.9a 1: Yung-fu-ting ching, two chūan. [Tao]-an kung says that it is another translation of the Shou-lêng-yen, made on the ninth day of the fourth month of the first yün-k’āng year (23 May 291).

_Ibid._, p.14a 15: Chu Fa-hu once again translated the Yung-fu-ting in two chūan which is a new translation of the Shou-lêng-yen.


3 and 4. Li, T 2034, p.62c 11; Nei, T 2149, pp.233b 16 and 240c 24: Yung-fu-ting, two chūan. Translated on the ninth day of the fourth month of the first yün-k’āng year (23 May 291). This is the fourth translation. Compared with the Shou-lêng-yen ching translated by Chih Ch’an, Chih Ch’ien and Po Yen, the original was the same, but the title is altered and the translation slightly different. See the catalogue by Nieh Tao-chên.


7. K’ai, T 2154, p.495c 2: Yung-fu-ting ching, two chūan. [Tao]-an kung says that it is another translation of the Shou-lêng-yen made on the ninth day of the fourth month of the first yün-k’āng year (23 May 291). Nieh Ch’êng-yüan received it with his brush. It is the sixth translation. See the two catalogues by [Nieh] Tao-chên and Sêng-yu (T 2145). The two catalogues by [Sêng]-yu (T 2145) and [Chang]-fang (T 2034) also mention a Shou-lêng-yen [which would have been translated by Chu Fa-hu], but it is a mistake.

The Yung-fu-ting by Dharmarakṣa is therefore fully authenticated: it is mentioned in the notice dated 291 which was added to it, in the preface by Chih Min-tu to the combined edition of the Śūramgamasmādhi dating from 301, in the catalogue by Nieh Tao-
Chên compiled between 307 and 312 and in the catalogue by Tao-an completed in 374.

Dharmarakṣa published it on 23 May 291 in Ch’ang-an, a few years before his translation of the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa which dates from the first day of the fourth month of the second t’ai-an year, i.e. 3 May 303 (cf. Li, T 2034, p.63c 9; K’ai, T 2154, p.495b 16–17).

The life of Chu Fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa) is known through two biographical notices contained in the Ch’u (T 2145, ch.13, pp.97c 19-98a 20) and the Kao-sêng chuan (T 2059, ch.1, p.326c 2–27). Here is the translation:

Chu Fa-hu. His ancestors were Yüeh-chih and, for generations, had inhabited the cantonment of Tun-huang.

At the age of eight, he left home and took as his master a foreign śramaṇa, an Indian of high class (chu kao-tsu). He recited the sūtras at the rate of ten thousand words a day and understood them at first sight. His character was good and his conduct ascetic. He sincerely and resolutely liked studying and sought his teachers within a radius of ten thousand li. He widely read the (Confucian) Six Classics and was fully conversant with the words of the Hundred Schools (of Chinese philosophy). [Kao: he widely read the Six Classics and mastered the Seven Books]. Even if people criticised him, he attached no importance to it.

This was then during the reign of Wu-ti (265–290) of the Chin. Monasteries, temples, stūpas and images were in fashion in the capital (Lo-yang), but the profound Vaipulya sūtras were confined to the Western Countries [Kao: beyond the Mount of Onions]. Fa-hu deplored this and was much grieved by it. He resolved to propagate the Great Dharma. [Kao: he followed his masters to the Western Countries], and travelled through all the kingdoms one by one. Altogether, he studied the thirty-six tongues of the foreign Countries as well as their books; he understood and penetrated them. Phonetics, semantics, forms of characters, there was nothing he did not know fully. Bringing foreign texts in great numbers, he returned to China.

From Tun-huang to Ch’ang-an, all along the way, he transmitted, translated and wrote in the language of the Chin.

The sūtras of the Great and Small Vehicles which he had procured – Hsien-chieh (T 425: Bhadrakalpika), Ta-ai (T 398: Tathāgata-mahākaruṇānirdēsa), Fa-hua (T 263: Saddharmapuṇḍarīka), P’u-yao (T 186: Lalitavistara), etc. – in all numbered 149 works. [Kao: the
texts which he obtained and read – *Chêng-fa hua* (T 263: Saddharma-puṇḍarīka), *Kuang tsan* (T 222: Pañcavimśatisahasrikā p.p.), etc., – numbered 165 works.] He devoted himself assiduously to this task in order to know them in depth. All his life he translated and wrote, without sparing any effort. If the teaching of the sūtras was widespread throughout China, this is due to [Fa]-hu.

At the end of the reign of Wu (265–290) of the Chin, he retired to a high mountain. On this mountain there was a limpid stream. He regularly took water from it in order to wash. One day someone who was collecting fuel impolitely fouled the bank, and the water immediately dried up. [Fa]-hu, walking up and down, sighed and said: ‘*[Kao: If man is without virtue, the limpid spring stops flowing.] The water has definitely dried up and I will find no more of it. I shall have to go elsewhere*. He had just finished speaking when the spring again began to run to overflowing. Such were the consequences of his deep sincerity.

*[Kao: This is why Chih Tun 支遁, on drawing his portrait, addressed him with the following eulogy:]*

The noble [Fa]-hu is serene and tranquil;
His teaching and virtues are of profound beauty.
A gentle sigh from the lofty vale,
And the dried-up spring gushes with water.

Oh! Admirable [Fa]-hu;
His bearing is as exalted as Heaven:
He bathes his feet in the Shifting Sands,
But his head has pierced the sublimities of the Mysterious.]

Later, he founded a monastery in Ch’ang-an, outside the Ch’ing Gate, and there he practised the Way assiduously. Thence his virtues and wonders spread in the four directions and his reputation covered the distances. Several thousands of disciples came to revere him.

At that time, there was the śrāmana Chu Fa-ch’êng 竺法乘. Aged eight, he was intelligent and wise. He took [Fa]-hu as his master. Now there was in Kuan-chung a noble family who, on the point of embracing the Great Dharma, wanted to test [Fa]-hu’s teaching and virtues. The head of the family went to him with the purpose of

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7 After having lived in Ch’ang-an with his master, Fa-ch’êng went to Tun-huang, Dharmarakṣa’s native land, and founded a monastery there. It is thanks to him that Buddhist civilisation reached the west of China: ‘He changed the hearts of wolves and taught the rites to the Barbarians’ (cf. Ch’u, T 2145, p.98a; Kao, T 2059, p.347b-c).
asking him urgently for 200,000 sapeks. [Fa]-hu had not yet answered when [Fa]-ch’êng, then aged thirteen, and who was at his master’s side, immediately said to the visitor: ‘My upâdhyâya has already consented mentally’. The visitor having withdrawn, [Fa]-ch’êng said: ‘Considering the expression of that man, he did not really come to look for money but to examine the degree of the teaching and virtues of the upâdhyâya’. [Fa]-hu said: ‘I think so too’. The next day the visitor, bringing all his family of more than one hundred persons with him, came in search of [Fa]-hu and asked to be given the Five Precepts. He thanked him for being open to the request for money. Then the literati and the people of the four corners of the world, learning the news, came and assembled. He taught the Buddha’s new teaching for more than twenty years.

When Hui-[tî] (290–307) of the Chin fled to the west, disorder reigned in Kuan-chung and the whole population moved away. Then [Fa]-hu and his disciples withdrew and went down to the east as far as Min-ch’îh 濃池 (near Lo-yang). He fell ill and died at the age of seventy-eight years.

Dharmarakṣa left behind him a considerable number of works: 154 translations according to Tao-an (Ch’u, T 2145, p.9b 28), 149 according to the notice in the Ch’u (T 2145, p.98a 2), 165 according to the Kao (T 2059, p.326c 13), 210 according to the Li (T 2034, p.64c 14), and 175 according to the K’ai (T 2154, p.496c 7).

Some colophons added to these translations have been reproduced by the Ch’u (T 2145) in chüan eight and nine. E. Zürcher (Buddhist Conquest, p.343, n.221) has analysed them in detail and shown that the periods of Dharmarakṣa’s greatest activity were from 284 to 288 and from 291 to 297 C.E. Of the sixteen translations that the colophons enable us to locate and date, nine were made in Ch’ang-an during the years 266, 286, 291, 297, 300 and 308; two in Tun-huang in 284; three in Lo-yang in 289 and 290; and finally, two in Chiu-ch’uan 酒泉 (in central Kan-su) in 294.

The passage from the Ch’u (T 2145, p.14a 15–18) translated above (p.57) clearly shows that its author Sêng-yu only attributed to Dharmarakṣa a single translation of the Śūraṇgamasamādhi, a translation entitled Yung-fu-ting and not Shou-lêng-yen like those of his
predecessors. However, in his list of the works of Dharmarakṣa, Sēng-yu attributes to the latter two translations of the Śūraṃgamasamādhi, one entitled *Shou-lēng-yen* (T 2145, p.7c 5) and the other *Yung-fu-ting* (p.9a 1). This is only an inadvertent mistake and quite excusable if one thinks of the many documents that Sēng-yu had to check. Unfortunately, this mistake was reproduced in subsequent catalogues which, with one exception, credit Dharmarakṣa with a *Shou-lēng-yen* along with a *Yung-fu-ting*. Here are the references:


It was only in 795 that the error was corrected by Chih-shēng in his particularly carefully compiled catalogue from the *k’ai-yūan* era:

*K’ai*, T 2154, p.632a 10–14: Between *Shou-lēng-yen* ‘Śūraṃgama’ and *Yung-fu-ting* ‘Concentration of Heroic Victory’, the titles, respectively in Sanskrit and the Chinese of the Chin, alone differ; there are not two different sūtras. The colophon of the *Yung-fu-ting* says: ‘On the ninth day of the fourth month of the first yūan-k’ang year (23 May 291), the bodhisattva from Tun-huang, Chu Fa-hu, held the Sanskrit text in his hands and orally translated the *Shou-lēng-yen ching*. The upāsaka Nieh Ch’ēng-yūan took it down with his brush’. Hence it is proved that the *Shou-lēng-yen* and the *Yung-fu-ting* are not two separate things.

I think we must side with this verdict, but another explanation is possible. Dharmarakṣa himself could have drafted a translation of the Śūraṃgamasamādhi with the title of *Shou-lēng-yen* and then have submitted it to his many Chinese friends, particularly his devoted collaborator Nieh Ch’ēng-yūan. The latter, a fine scholar, could not
only have taken it down with his brush but could also have reviewed and corrected it and given it a new title, no longer transcribed from the Indian but translated into Chinese: Yung-fu-ting.

This is more or less what happened with the Sūryaprabhāsamatikrāntasamādhi which, with the title of Ch’ao jih-ming ching, was translated by Dharmarakṣa (Ch’u, T 2145, p.8c 15) then revised by Nieh Ch’ēng-yūan (ibid., p.9c 5–7). Only the revised translation has come down to us (T 638). The notices concerning Dharmarakṣa in the Ch’u (T 2145, p.98a 23) and the Kao (T 2059, p.327a 1) explain:

There lived at the time of [Fa-hu], the upāsaka Nieh Ch’ēng-yūan 聶承遠, an intelligent and gifted man who was resolved to serve the Dharma. When the venerable [Fa-]hu translated sūtras, Ch’ēng-yūan suggested many phrases in correct style to him. Thus, in the first translation of the Ch’ao jih-ming there was a certain amount of repetition and clumsiness. Ch’ēng-yūan clarified and corrected the style and the gāthās and condensed the translation into two chüan; this is the two-chüan edition which is circulating at present. The other revisions carried out by him are all of the same type.

Commentary on the Yung-fu-ting, compiled in Ch’ang-an between 291 and 306 C.E. by Po Yūan 傅遠, cognomen Po Fa-tsu 傅法祖, of the Western Chin.

Whether revised or not by Nieh Ch’ēng-yūan, the Yung-fu-ting by Dharmarakṣa was highly successful and was soon commented upon by the scholar-monk Po Yūan (cf. Ch’u, T 2145, p.107, note 37; Kao, T 2059, p.327b 28).

Po Yūan was the son of a Confucian scholar Wan Wei-ta 萬威達, a native of Ho-nei 河內, in northern Ho-nan. Having entered the Buddhist Order, Po Yūan founded a monastery and a school in Ch’ang-an to which flocked nearly a thousand disciples, both monks and laymen. His literary activity took place during the reign of the emperor Hui-ti (290–307): he published a commentary upon the Yung-fu-ting by Dharmarakṣa, with whom he was undoubtedly acquainted, and he made about twenty translations of which five have come down to us (T 5, 144, 330, 528 and 777).

In 304, the prince of Ho-chien 河間 and prime minister, Ssū-ma Yung 司馬顒, expelled the puppet emperor Hui-ti and entrenched himself in Ch’ang-an with members of the high aristocracy. Po Yūan

8 Regarding Po Yūan, cognomen Fa-tsu 法祖, see E. Zürcher, Buddhist Conquest, pp.76-7.
became a friend of his and, in the quiet of the evenings, the two men discussed ‘the Way and Virtue’ together.

As the political situation continued to worsen, Po-Yüan, like so many others, particularly Dharmarakṣa, was forced to leave the capital. He fled to the west in the company of Chang Fu 張輔 who was appointed governor of Ch’in-chou 秦州, a town located to the east of Tun-huang. The governor, who very much admired him, requested him to leave the robe and enter his service. Po Yüan refused absolutely. The quarrel became aggravated and, once they had reached the sub-prefecture of Ch’ien 沣, Po Yüan was thrown into prison and died under the lash.

A legend set down in the Kao (T 2059, p.327b 16–18) throws light on Po Yüan’s devotion to the Śūraṅgamasamādhi:

A short while after [Po Yüan’s death], there was a man whose family name was Li 李 and first name T’ung 通 who died and came back to life. He said he had seen the dharmācārya [Fa]-tsu (alias Po Yüan) in the dwelling of Yama, king [of the hells], expounding the Śūraṅgama-sūtra to the king. Po Yüan declared that after giving this teaching he had to go to the Trayastrimśa gods.

VII

*Shou-lêng-yen ching*, two chüan, translated in Lo-yang in 291 C.E. by the upāsaka Chu Shu-lan 竹叔蘭 of the Western Chin.

This is again a matter of a translation made in the north, not by Serindians like Chih Ch’an, Chih Ch’ien, Po-yen and Fa-hu, but by a highly sinicised layman of Indian origin.

This translation is mentioned, in 301, by Chih Min-tu in the preface to his combined edition of the Śūraṅgama-sūtra (cf. *Ch’u*, T 2145, p.49b 8) and it is listed in all the catalogues that have come down to us:

1. *Ch’u*, T 2145, p.9c 13–15: *Shou-lêng-yen ching*, two chüan. It is recorded in the *Pieh lu*, but was previously missing in the catalogue by [Tao]-an. The *Chiu lu* mentions the *Shou-lêng-yen* by Chu Shulan in two chüan. [With the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa], this sūtra was translated under Hui-ti (290–307) of the Chin in the first yüan-k’ang year (291).


3 and 4. *Li*, T 2034, p.65b 28; *Nei*, T 2149, p.236b 29: *Shou-lêng-
yen ching, two chüan, translated in the first yüan-k’ang year (291). It is the fifth translation. In relation to the translations by the two Chih [Chih Ch’an and Chih Ch’ien], Po-[yen] and Chu [Fa-hu], the translation is different but the original was the same. See the catalogue by Nieh Tao-chên. [With the Vimalakirtinirdesa], this sūtra was translated under Hui-ti (290–307) by the śramaṇa’ from the Western Countries, Chu Shu-lan, in Lo-yang.


7. K’ai, T 2154, p.498a 11: Shou-lêng-yen ching, two chüan. Translated in the first yüan-k’ang year (291). It is the seventh translation. In relation to the translations by Chih Ch’an, Chih Ch’ien, Po-yen and Fa-hu the original was the same but the translation differs. See the catalogue by Nieh Tao-chên and the catalogue by Sêng-yu (T 2145).

Ka’i (T 2154, p.632a 13) and the Chêng (T 2157, pp.795b 3–4, 965c 29) insist on the fact that Chu Shu-lan was indeed an upâsaka and not a śramaṇa.

We can consider the reference to the Chiu lu as worthless, but Chu Shu-lan’s translation is well enough guaranteed by Chih Min-tu’s testimony that he used it in his combined edition of 301, and by the mention of Nieh Tao-chên who lists it in his catalogue, the Chung Ching lu, compiled between 307 and 31210. And if it is true that Tao-an passed over it in silence in his catalogue of 374, it appeared in the Pieh lu of the Sung.

The Ch’u (T 2145, p.98b 3–c 15) contains a notice on Chu Shu-lan which the Kao-sêng chuan (T 2059, p.346c 1–6) summarises in a few lines. This biography is strongly tinted with legend and partially apocryphal, but it describes the mentality and manners of the golden youth of the period so vividly that I think it worthwhile to give a translation of it:

Chu Shu-lan was of Indian origin. His grandfather Lou-t’o

9 ‘Śramaṇa’ is a mistake, Chu Shu-lan was an upâsaka.

10 Nieh Tao-chên was the son of Nieh Ch’êng-yüan, friend and collaborator of Dharmarakṣa. On his catalogue, the Chung Ching lu, see Li, T 2034, p.127c 2; Nei, T 2149, p.336b 27-29; K’ai, T 2154, p.572c 22-24.
Rudra sincerely and resolutely loved to study. He was of proven honesty and chaste conduct.

At that time the king of the country had no principles, and the whole population was disposed to rebel. A treacherous minister, at the head of the army, committed an offence. Afraid of being killed, he called on the nobles of the country to revolt with him. Rudra, displeased, said to him: ‘You were born in a humble and lowly family but you are fulfilling an important duty. You seem unable to respond to this favour with valour. Are you planning to revolt and rebel? As for me, I prefer to die while remaining faithful than live in revolt’. The rebel, fearing that his plan would be given away, killed Rudra and started the revolution.

Rudra’s son Ta-mo-shih-lo (Dharmasīra) – in Chinese ‘Head of the Dharma’ – was at first in another country. The two older brothers of his wife were śramaṇas. Learning that his father had just been killed and that great disorder reigned in the country, he fled to China with the two śramaṇas and took up residence in Ho-nan (Lo-yang). There it was that he fathered Shu-Ian.

From childhood Shu-Ian was intelligent and eloquent. He accompanied his two maternal uncles and, by consulting them, received the teaching of the sūtras. As soon as he heard, he understood. He knew foreign tongues and Chinese, and he was well read in literature and history. However, he was fickle and violent by nature, and he hunted in an unrestrained way.

One day, when out riding alone, he was chasing a stag when he encountered a tiger and fell off his horse. He broke his right arm and took a long time to recover. Later he again took up his incessant galloping, for which his mother reproached him often, but he would not mend his ways. She subjected him to a vegetarian diet and then he stopped.

He, of course, loved wine, and had to drink up to five or six shēng to be happy. One day, when he was completely drunk, he lay down at the side of the road; he then went into the palace of the cantonment in Ho-nan and shouted. The police sent him to the Ho-nan prison. At that time the Prefect of Ho-nan, Lo Kuang 樂廣, was getting drunk with his guests. Already tipsy, he said to [Shu]-lan: ‘You are a foreigner who is staying with us. Why do you imitate those of us here who drink wine?’ Shu-Ian said: ‘Tu K’ang made the wine, and the whole Chinese empire drinks it. Why put this question to someone who has been living here so long?’ Lo Kuang said: ‘To drink wine is
permissible. But why get into a rage and cause disorder?’ Shu-lan
answered: ‘The people, even in a rage, do not cause disorder, and
you, esteemed Prefect, even when wined, do not get into a rage’. At
which Lo Kuang burst into laughter.

Then a fellow guest said: ‘You are a foreigner, why are you so
white-faced?’ Shu-lan answered: ‘In Ho-nan certain people are
black-faced, but you do not doubt them. If I, your servant, have a
white face, why resent me?’ Then the guests and the host, admiring
his skill and eloquence, released him.

Shortly afterwards Shu-lan, without being ill, died suddenly. Three
days later he came back to life. He told how he had entered a
dwelling whose doors were painted red and whose rooms were in
gold and silver. There he saw a man who told him: ‘I am your
grandfather’, and continued: ‘I did good for years and now I am
enjoying this reward. You, wrong-doer, how did you get here?’
Upon which, the door-keeper ejected him with blows from a stick.
Shu-lan entered a bamboo wood and there he saw his hunting
companions; bitten by eagles and dogs, they dripped with blood and
called on Shu-lan to help them. Shu-lan continued on his way,
covering several tens of steps. He met a man with an ox’s head who
tried to gore him. Shu-lan said: ‘For several generations we have
been disciples of the Buddha and I have continually supported two
śramaṇas. For what fault do you want to punish me?’ The ox-headed
man replied: ‘For that you have deserved happiness, but this in no
way affects your hunting crimes’. Suddenly he saw his two maternal
uncles and the latter said to the ox-headed man: ‘As for us, we have
always enjoyed his support. His faults are few but his good works are
numerous. You can let him go’. Shu-lan returned in the wake of the
two monks and, finally, came back to life.

From then on he mended his ways and cultivated goodwill
(maitrī). He devoted himself especially to the teaching of the sūtras.
In the first yüan-k’ang year (291) of the Chin he translated the Fang
kuang ching (Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā p.p.) and a new Wei-mo-chieh
(Vimalakīrtinirdeśa): more than ten myriad words. Since he knew
both the foreign tongue and Chinese, the sense of his translations is
perfectly correct.

Later he lost his mother and, after three months, wished to bury
her. A neighbour said to him: ‘The present year and month are not
appropriate. You should wait until next year’. Shu-lan answered:
‘Whoever is born must necessarily die, and whoever is dead-cannot
again be born. Man and spirit follow two different ways, that is quite normal. If I act so that my dead mother has a place to rest her spirit, the greed of the crows and birds will be brought to an end. If I wait until next year, I am afraid of having to flee and of no longer finding anywhere [to bury her]. How would I have time to look for a tomb?' Upon which he immediately buried her.

The next year, in fact, Shih Lê 石勒 rebelled, and brigands abounded everywhere. Shu-lan left [Ho-nan] and fled to Chin-chou 荊州 [in present-day Hu-pei].

Later, without being ill, he said to a friend: 'I am going to die', and a few days later he died. Those who knew him held him to be a man 'knowing the decrees of Heaven'.

VIII

Ho 合 Shou-lêng-yen ching ‘The combined Śūramgamasūtras’, eight chüan, probably undertaken in Ch’ang-an in 301 C.E. by Chih Min-tu 支慧度 of the Western Chin.

This is not a question of a new Chinese translation but of a combined or synoptic edition of three Chinese translations made earlier.

This edition, which is lost today, was accompanied by a notice compiled by Chih Min-tu himself and which has come down to us (cf. Ch’u, T 2145, p.49a 16). Its title is:

Record of the combined Śūramgamasūtras. This strange term signifies, in the tongue of the Chin, Yung-fu-ting ‘Concentration of Heroic Victory’. [The author] is Chih Min-tu. These three [combined] sūtras were commented upon by Hsieh Fu 謝敷 in four chüan.

Chih Min-tu first supplies some interesting information on the Chinese translations by Chih Ch’an, Chih Ch’ien, Chu Fa-hu and Chu Shu-lan (see above, pp.61, 67–8, 74–5); he then speaks of his own work (cf. Ch’u, T 2145, p.49b 9–17):

To make a choice between the three works [namely, the revised translation by Chih Ch’an, alias Yüeh, the translation by Chu Fa-hu and that by Chu Shu-lan] was both laborious and difficult. Wishing that students should have a concordance of these versions at their disposal, I have taken here the revised translation by Yüeh as the basic text, the translation by [Chu Fa]-hu as the secondary text and that by [Chu Shu]-lan as a supplement. I have immediately noted and distinguished what was not to be found in one or other of these
versions. Sometimes the style and meaning were the same; sometimes the meaning was similar but the style varied very slightly. It was not worthwhile recopying them and I have blended the texts in considering them as alike. Although this may not add to the interest, I have divided the work into chapters and sentences so that they can be clearly seen.

[After having reproduced the notice on the Yung-fu-ting by Fa-hu (see p.74 above), Chih Min-tu concludes]: I would like the Four Communities to examine [these translations] and propagate them, while distinguishing the different and similar meanings.

It appears clear from this notice that Chih Min-tu took only three earlier translations into consideration: the translation by Chih Ch’an revised by Chih Ch’ien, the Yung-fu-ting by Fa-hu and the translation by Shu-Ian. However, certain catalogues from the sixth and seventh centuries claim that he also collated the translation, much lacking in authentication, by Po Yen. This is a mistake that the Ch’u does not make and which the K’ai contested:

1. Ch’u, T 2145, p.10a 12: Ho Shou-lêng-yen ching, eight chüan. Combines into a single work the four Shou-lêng-yen translated by Chih Ch’an, Chih Ch’ien, Chu Fa-hu and Chu Shu-lan. Sometimes in five chüan. Compiled by the sramana Chih Min-tu under Hui-ti (290–307) of the Chin.


3 and 4. Li, T 2034, p.66c 6; Nei, T 2149, p.237c 17: Ho Shou-lêng-yen ching, five works in eight chüan. It is the sixth translation. It combines into a single work the five works by the two Chih [Chih Ch’an and Chih Ch’ien], the two Chu [Fa-hu and Shu-lan] and Po Yen. See the catalogue by Chih Min-tu.

5. Wu, T 2153, p.398a 5–6: Shou-lêng-yen ching, a work in eight chüan. It is the sixth translation. During the yung-ning year (301–302) of the Western Chin, Chih Min-tu combined into a single work the five works by the two Chih, the two Chu and Po Yen. See the catalogue by Chih Min-tu.

6. K’ai, T 2154, p.501b 13–16: In the reign of Hui-ti (290–307), the sramana Chih Min-tu combined the four works by the two Chih and the two Chu. The catalogue by [Fei Chang]-fang (T 2034) also
adds the work by Po [Yen], which would make five works. However, according to the catalogue by [Sêng]-yu (T 2145) and the colophon of the combined edition [by Chih Min-tu], four works only were combined; they do not mention Po Yen.

The sources are mostly silent on Chih Min-tu, but his social background is well known and has been admirably described by E. Zürcher (*Buddhist Conquest* I, pp.81–110).

Chih Min-tu was a scholar-monk who came from a cultured background. At first he lived in the north, most probably in Ch’ang-an, in the reign of Hui-ti (290–307) and he was in personal contact with the civil and military aristocracy as well as the great Dharma masters such as Dharmarakṣa, Po Yüan, Chu Shu-lan, etc.

For the use of the Chinese who did not know Sanskrit he published combined editions of the Śūramgamasamādhi and the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa, in which the Chinese versions of these works were assembled and collated.

According to the *Wu* (T 2153, p.398a 5–6), his ‘Combined Śūramgamas’ appeared in the 301. They encompass the translation by Chih Ch’an revised by Chih Ch’ien between 222 and 229, and the very recent translations by Dharmarakṣa and Chu Shu-lan, both of which appeared in 291. The same year Po Yüan had already commented upon the one by Dharmarakṣa.

Later Chih Min-tu published his ‘Combined Vimalakīrtis’, of which only the preface has come down to us (cf. *Ch’u*, T 2145, p.58b 21). This edition encompassed the versions by Chih Ch’ien, Dharmarakṣa and Chu Shu-lan. Since the one by Dharmarakṣa was completed on 3 May 303 (cf. *Li*, T 2034, p.63c 9), Chih Min-tu could not have undertaken his work until after that date.

The explanations supplied by the prefaces on this kind of editing are lacking in clarity. Properly speaking, it is neither a matter of synopses nor of ‘translations blended into a single one’ but more of what the Chinese at present call a *Fo-t’u ho-pên tsu-chu* 佛徒合本子注, namely a ‘commentary upon a synthetic edition of the Buddhists’11. In the particular case of the Śgs, Chih Min-tu took Chih Ch’an’s version as the ‘basic text’ (*mu* 母); he divided it into chapters and paragraphs and, after each paragraph, he reproduced, in the guise of a commentary, the corresponding passages from the versions by Dharmarakṣa and Chu Shu-lan qualified respectively as ‘secondary text’ (*tzū* 子) and

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'supplementary text' (hsi 繫). Nonetheless, the minimal differences between the versions were not noted.

Such a method has its inconveniences. A synthetic edition in fact consisted of an indigestible mass abounding in repetitions. That of the Śgs took up six chüan, as many as three separate versions together. Even more, the quotations taken from the 'secondary text' and the 'supplementary text' were still not noted in small characters; hence the difficulty of distinguishing between the 'basic text' and the 'secondary texts' which were meant to clarify the former.

Chih Min-tu was not, however, the inventor of this method. During the second half of the third century Chih Ch’ien, the translator of the Wei-mi ch’ih 微密特, ‘Dhāraṇī of the Subtle Secret’ (T 1011), had also produced a synthetic edition of it based upon the comparison of three distinct versions (Ch ‘u, T 2145, p.51c 17–19).

After Chih Min-tu, but still in the fourth century, Tao-an (312–385) and Chih Tun 支遁 (314–366) applied the same method to the Prajñāpāramitā.

In his Ho Fang-kuang Kuang-tsăn lüeh chieh ‘Brief explanation of the combined Fang-kuang and Kuang-tsang’, of which the preface has been preserved (Ch ‘u, T 2145, p.47c 29), Tao-an instituted the synthesis of two Chinese versions of the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā p.p., namely:

a. The Fang-kuang ching 放光經 (T 221). The Sanskrit original, discovered in 260 in Khotan by Chu Shih-hsing 朱士行, had reached China through the good offices of his Khotanese pupil Puṇyadhana(?) and had been translated in Ts’ang-Yüan (Ho-nan) between 28 June and 31 December 291 by the Khotanese Moksala and the sinicised Indian Chu Shu-Ian, and this translation had been revised, on the basis of a Sanskrit original and five Chinese copies, by Chu Shu-Ian between 10 December 303 and 22 May 304.

b. The Kuang-tsăn ching 光譚經 (T 222). The Sanskrit manuscript had been brought from Khotan by a certain Gitamitra and translated, by Dharmarakṣa and Gītāmītra, in Ch’ang-an on 27 December 286. Tao-an obtained a copy of this version in Liang-chou (Kan-su) in 376.

With regard to Chih Tun (314–366), also called Chih Tao-lin, he published some Ta-Hsiao p’in tui-pi yao-ch’ao ‘Synoptic extracts from the Large and Small Prajñās’, the preface of which has been preserved (Ch ‘u, T 2145, p.55a 13). In this he compared the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā and the Aṣṭasāhasrikā.
The Prajñāpāramitās, the Vimalakirti and the Śūramgamāsamādhi are closely related; objectively they posit a universal emptiness (*śūnyatā*) while avoiding hypostatising it; subjectively they extol mental adherence to the non-existence and non-arising of all things (*anuttapati-kadharma-saṃti*). Of all the Mahāyāna sūtras that were studied in Ho-nan and Kan-su under the Western Chin, these were the ones that aroused the most interest; not content with translating and re-translating them, combined editions were made of them. Even more, these sūtras directly inspired the first Buddhist school of philosophy to arise in China, the *Hsin-wu-i* 心無　‘Theory of the non-existence of the mind’, the founder of which was precisely Chih Min-tu. It is not certain that he interpreted his Indian sources correctly, since his *śūnyatā* is less an ontological idea than a subjective state, the void of the mind of the sage. However, the Chinese were fully aware that the three sūtras exploited the same philosophical vein and that this was not without its similarities to Confucian and Taoist speculations concerning the connections between name (*ming* 名) and reality (*shīh* 實), between substance (*t’i* 體) and function (*yung* 用), speculations known as the Doctrine of Names (*ming-chiao* 名教) and Dark Learning (*hsüan-hsüeh* 玄學).

Another text which, at the same time and in the same situation, held the attention of the Chinese was the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka. Among specialists on the *Lotus* can be cited Chu Tao-ch’ien 竹道深 (286–374), and his disciple Chu Fa-i 竹法義 (307–380). Contrary to what his name might seem to indicate, the former was a pure Chinese and related to the Wang family who were very powerful at the Chin court. The two masters were in contact with two monks, who were either of distant Sogdian origin or followed a Sogdian master, K’ang Fa-ch’ang 康法暢 and K’ang Sêng-yüan 康僧淵, specialists in Pure Conversation (*ch’ing-t’an* 清談) and Characterisation of Persons (*mu* 目).

During the first quarter of the fourth century revolutions at the palace, swiftly followed by invasions by the Hsiung-nu who ravaged Ch’ang-an in 311 and 316, led to a mass exodus of the population. K’ang Fa-ch’ang, Chih Min-tu and K’ang Sêng-yüan crossed the Yang-tsê river and reached the capital of the Eastern Chin, Chien-k’ang, present-day Nanking. This was in the reign of the emperor Ch’êng, between 325 and 342 (cf. *Kao*, T 2059, pp.346c 28–347a 2). In Ch’ien-k’ang the fugitives enjoyed the protection of the powerful Wang family, particularly Wang Tao 王導 (276–339). However, the situation changed
when the Yü 庾, rivals of the Tao, seized effective power. Faced with the anti-Buddhist attitude taken by Yü Ping 庾冰 in 340, several scholar-monks deserted the capital and reached the coastal regions of Chiang-su or Chê-chiang in the south-east. Chu Tao-ch’ien and his disciples established their vihāra in the Shan 剎 massif (Kao, T 2059, p.348a 29); Chih Tun and his followers settled provisionally in Wu-hsien 吳縣 before reaching Shan themselves (Kuang hung ming chi, T 2103, p.350a 18); as for K’ang Sêng-yüan, he retired to the Yü-chang 豫章 mountains and founded a monastery there (Kao, T 2059, p.347a 13). It is probable that Chih Min-tu followed the last. In any case, it is in the Yü-chang mountains that, in the reign of Ch’êng-ti (325–342), he compiled his two catalogues entitled Ching-lun tu-lu and Pieh-lu, each in one chüan (Nei, T 2149, p.336c 23–25; K’ai, T 2154, p.573a 14–17). We have just seen that his combined editions of the Śūraṅgama and the Vimalakīrti were mentioned in them.

Commentary in four chüan, composed by Hsieh Fu 謝敷 of the Eastern Chin, upon the ‘Combined Śūraṅgamas’ by Chih Min-tu.

We know of the existence of this commentary through a note by Sêng-yu added to the preface by Chih Min-tu (cf. Ch’u, T 2145, p.49a 17).

Hsieh Fu was a native of K’uai-chi, in present-day Chê-chiang, and belonged to those families of literati who sought in both Buddhism and Taoism the secret of the Supreme Truth (chih-li), a truth which cannot be illustrated by words or symbols. For more than ten years he withdrew to the T’ai-p’ing mountains and underwent prolonged fasting. He was in contact with Chih Tun and his powerful protector Hsi Ch’ao 胤超 (336–377). He also composed a commentary upon the Mahānāpānasmrītisūtra, a sūtra of the Small Vehicle translated into Chinese by An Shih-kao (T 602). This text was of particular interest to the Chinese because it dealt with breathing exercises which were also cultivated in Taoism. Of the commentary by Hsieh Fu, only the preface has come down to us (Ch’u, T 2145, p.43c 25 sq.).

IX

Shou-lêng-yen ching, two chüan, translated in Liang-chou (in Kan-su) in 373 C.E. by the prefect Chang T’ien-hsi 張天錫, the upāsaka Chih Shih-lun 支施倫 and Po Yen 帛延 of the Ch’ien Liang.

This translation is furnished with a colophon by an unknown hand, and is preserved in the Ch’u (T 2145, ch.7, p.49b 18–19):
During the third hsien-ho (correct to hsien-an) year, kuei-yu cycle (373), the prefect of Liang-chou 潞州 (in Kan-su), Chang T’ien-hsi translated this Shou-lêng-yen ching in the prefecture. At that time there was a Yüeh-chih upasaka, Chih Shih-lun, who held the foreign original in his hands. Chih [Shih-lun] had read the sūtras widely; he was particularly versed in the developed (vaipulya) sūtras and the concentrations (samādhi), and gave himself over resolutely to the study of the Mahāyāna. He translated the Shou-lêng-yen (Śūramgamasamādhi), the Hsü-lai (T 329: Surataparipṛcchā), the Chang-chin-kuang-shou (Mañjuśrīvikrīḍita) and the Ju-huan san-mei (Māyopamasamādhi or Susthitamatiparipṛcchā).

At that time, they were assembled at the local seat of the prefecture in Liang-chou, on the porch of the pavilion. The translator then was the son of the king of Kucha, Po Yen, who knew Chinese and the barbarian tongue. [Po] Yen thoroughly penetrated the texts and understood both Buddhist and non-Buddhist works.

Those who took it down [by brush] were: 1. the ‘functionary constantly at the disposition of the prince’, Chao Hsiao 趙漸, from Hsi-hai 西海; 2. the sub-prefect from Hui-shui 會水, Ma I 馬亦; 3. the ‘head of the intendancy of the Inner Palace’, Lai Kung-chêng 來恭政. These three men were all of noble virtue and possessed a sense of justice.

At the time, there were present the śramaṇas Shih Hui-ch’ang 釋慧常, and Shih Chin-hsing 釋行.

The prefect of Liang-chou himself chose the terms [for the translation]. Their tenor conformed to the original and did not add stylistic ornaments. Stylistic ornament verges on the naïve; accuracy attains the truth. Only saints can achieve this linking of style and accuracy.

The śramaṇas Shih Hui-ch’ang and Shih Chin-hsing who assisted in this translation were probably disciples of Tao-an (312–385). Wishing to go to India, they had stopped on the way in Liang-chou and from there, in 373, sent five texts to Tao-an who was then in Hsiang-yang 襄陽 (on the river Han in northern Hu-pai). These five texts were:

1. Kuang-tsan ching (T 222), a translation of the Pañca-vimśatisāhasrikā p.p. made by Dharmarakṣa and Gitamitra on the twenty-fifth day of the eleventh month of the seventh t’ai-kang year (27 December 286); cf. Ch’u, T 2145, p.48a 3.
2. **Chien-pei ching** (T 285), a translation of the Daśabhūmika made by Dharmarakṣa on the twenty-first day of the eleventh month of the seventh yūan-k’ang year (21 December 297); cf. Ch’u, T 2145, p.7b 22.


4. **Hsu-lai ching** (T 329), a translation of the Surataparipṛcchā made in Liang-chou in 373 by Chih Shih-lun.

5. **Wu-po chieh** ‘The Five Hundred Precepts’.

The texts, which were sent from Liang-chou in 373, arrived in Hsiang-yang in a different order in 376. The fifth did not reach its destination.

The above information is culled from two contemporary documents by Tao-an himself:

1. Preface by Tao-an to his **Ho Fang-kuang Kuang-tsan lüeh chieh** (Ch’u, T 2145, p.48a 20–23):

   Then Hui-ch’ang, Chin-hsing, Hui-pien 毙辯, etc., wishing to go to India, passed through Liang-chou on their route. They copied and forwarded [the Kuang-tsan ching] and, crossing the Ch’in and the Yung, the text reached Hsiang-yang on the twenty-fourth day of the fifth month of the first t’ai-yūan year (27 June 376). I have examined and checked it and I have had the joy of profiting from it. I immediately took note of it and have used it widely in the present ‘Brief Explanation’ [of the combined Fang-kuang and Kuang-tsan].

2. Letter by an unknown writer (probably Tao-an) concerning the **Chien-pei** or Daśabhūmika (Ch’u, T 2145, p.62c 4–17):

   On the twenty-fourth day of the fifth month of the first t’ai-yūan year, ping-tzū cycle (27 June 376), this [Kuang-tsan] ching reached Hsiang-yang. Shih Hui-ch’ang, in the year kuei-yu (373), had sent this sūtra and charged a man in the Exchange Market, K’ang-érh 康兒, to have it conveyed to Ch’ang-an. In Ch’ang-an the messenger An Fa-hua 安法華 had sent it to the Exchange Market and the Exchange Market man had transported it to Hsiang-yang and handed it to the śramaṇa Shih Tao-an. At that time the assembled community in Hsiang-yang numbered three hundred members. Shih Sêng-hsien
The Chien-pei (Dasabhūmika) reached Hsiang-yang on the third day of the tenth month of the first t’ai-yüan year (31 October 376). It had also been sent by Hui-ch’ang, etc., and it had left with the Kuang-tsan, but the inhabitants of Nan-hsiang had retained it briefly to copy it. That is why it did not arrive with the Kuang-tsan.

The Shou-lêng-yen (Śūramgama translated by Chang T’ien-hsi, Chih Shih-lun and Po Yen) and the Hsü-lai (Surata translated by Chih Shih-lun) arrived together with the Chien-pei (Daśabhūmika). Shih Hui-ch’ang, the monk from Liang-chou, in the year jên-shên (372–373) had copied these sūtras at the Nei-Yüan ssū. He forwarded them in the year [kuei]-yu (373–374) and it was on the twenty-third day of the fourth month of the [ping]-tzu year (27 May 376) that they reached Hsiang-yang. This Shou-lêng-yen ching is, in all respects, richer than previous [translations]; this is not the case for the first, second and ninth. Its chapters are very numerous and approach three or four hundred words. As for the style and sentences, it is very useful.

The Hsü-lai ching (Surata) is also a little longer and can contain some lovely passages.

It is said that there was also a Wu-po chieh ‘The Five Hundred Precepts’. It is not known why it did not arrive [in Hsiang-yang]. Nevertheless it is urgently needed; the fourfold Community is imperfect and for the great Dharma it is a deficiency.

The translation of the Shou-lêng-yen by Chang T’ien-hsi, Chih Shih-lun and Po Yen was only entered in the large catalogues much later. The K’ai (T 2154, pp.519a 24-b3; 632a 15) was the first to index it. It attributes it to the Yüeh-chean upāsaka Chih Shih-lun along with the translations of three other works: the Surataparipṛcchā which has come down to us (T 329), the Māyopamasamādhī and the Maṇjuśrīvikṛḍita. However, the K’ai reproduces in full the colophon to the Shou-lêng-yen translated above, while correcting the date: third hsien-an year, kuei-yu cycle (373). According to it, this translation of the Śgs is the eighth, and it is newly included in the catalogue.

The information supplied by the K’ai is repeated by the Chêng, T 2157, p.816a 3–4.
With regard to this ‘new’ translation, the oldest attestation is supplied by a preface (hsü) to the *Hsin-ch’u Shou-lêng-yen ching* compiled in 458 by Shih Hung-ch’ung. It is preserved in the *Ch’u*, T 2145, ch.7, p.49c. We read (lines 12–14):

> From his childhood, the Dharma master Lo-shih (Kumārajiva) expounded the Way, meditated and penetrated the teachings of the Dharma. Formerly, finding himself in Kuan-yu (a region located to the west of Han-ku-kuan), he translated this [Śūraṃgama-samādhi]-sūtra. From the moment of its publication, this work was distributed in the course of time, causing joy and good fortune; the joys of the world prospered. While its dissemination was at its greatest, the sun and the moon were even more active.

Captured in Kucha in 384 by Lü Kuang 呂光, general of the emperor Fu Chien 荀堅 (357–385) of the Early Ch’in, Kumārajīva was taken to Liang-chou 涼州 (in Kan-su) in 385. The following year Lü Kuang, breaking away from the Early Ch’in, announced his independence and in Ku-tsang 姑臧 (in Kan-su) inaugurated the dynasty of the Late Liang, which lasted from 386 to 404. A plaything for the fantasies of these Turko-Mongols, Kumārajiva remained in Liang-chou for seventeen years, from 385 to 402. He does not seem to have worked much there: ‘He kept his profound teaching to himself and did not expound it’.

In the meantime, one of the old lieutenants of Fu Chien, Yao Ch’ang 姚萇, undoubtedly of Tibetan race, had founded in Ch’ang-an the dynasty of the Late Ch’in, destined to last from 384 to 417. His son Yao Hsing 姚興 (394–416) engaged in hostilities against Kan-su and, in 401, obtained the capitulation of Lü Lung 呂隆, the nephew and third successor of Lü Kuang. Yao Hsing invited Kumārajiva to come and live in his capital. According to the information supplied by the oldest records, Kumārajiva reached Ch’ang-an on the twelfth day of the twelfth month of the third hung-shih year, i.e. 8 February 402 (cf. *Ch’u*, T 2145, p.101b 12–13; *Kao*, T 2059, p.332a 24–25); he worked there until his death which occurred on the twentieth day of the eighth month.
of the eleventh hung-shih year, i.e. 15 September 409 (cf. Kao, T 2059, p.333a 4)\(^1\).

If we can believe the preface by Shih Hung-ch’ung quoted above, Kumārajīva would have translated the Śgs between 385 and 402, during his enforced stay in Kuan-yu, that is, Liang-chou. But such is not the opinion of the large catalogues from the sixth and seventh centuries which allege that all Kumārajīva’s activity as a translator evolved in Ch’ang-an from 402 on. Hence, after having listed thirty-five translations, the Ch’ü (T 2145, p.11a 25–27) observes:

These 35 works forming 294 chüan were translated by Kumārajīva, the śramaṇa from India. During the time of An-ti (396–419) of the [Eastern] Ch’in, Kumārajīva, in the year three of the hung-shih period (402) of Yao Hsing of the usurping Ch’in, arrived in Ch’ang-an, and it was in the Ta ssū and the garden of Hsiao-yao that he translated.

The catalogues, however, do not give the exact date of the translation of the Śgs by Kumārajīva, but limit themselves to a vague suggestion: the hung-shih period, which ran from 399 to 415. Kumārajīva’s version was chronologically the sixth translation of the Śgs (Ch’ü, T 2145, pp.10c 23, 14a 15), the seventh (Li, T 2034, p.78a 12; Wu, T 2153, p.398a 11–12) or the ninth (K’ai, T 2154, p.512c 18).

More precise dates are supplied concerning other works closely connected to the Śgs by their ideas and which Kumārajīva also translated:

1. The Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā p.p. translated with the title of Mo-ho pan-jo po-lo-mi ching, in twenty-seven chüan (T 223). The same translation is mentioned in the Ch’ü (T 2145, p.10c 16) with the title of Hsin Ta-p’in ching, in twenty-four chüan. Begun in the garden of Hsiao-yao on the twenty-second day of the fourth month of the fifth hung-shih year (28 May 403), it was finished on the twenty-third day of the fourth month of the sixth year (18 May 404).

2. The Vimalakirtinirdesa, translated in the eighth hung-shih year (406) with the title of Hsin Wei-mo-chieh ching, in three chüan (T 475); cf. Ch’ü, T 2145, p.10c 22.

3. The Aṣṭasāhasrikā p.p., translated with the title of Mo-ho-pan-jo

\(^1\) The notice in the Kao-seng chuan on Kumārajīva has been translated by J. Nobel, ‘Kumārajīva’ in Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft XX, 1927, pp.206-33.
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*po-lo-mi ching*, in ten chüan (T 227). The same translation is mentioned in the *Ch‘u* (T 2145, p.10c 18) with the title of *Hsin Hsiao-p‘in ching*, in seven chüan. Begun on the sixth day of the second month of the tenth *hung-shih* year (18 March 408), it was completed on the twentieth day of the fourth month of the same year (30 May 408).

However it may be, Kumārajīva’s translation of the Śgs was so superior to its predecessors that it was enough to eliminate them all. The seven earlier versions made respectively by Chih Ch‘an, the anonymous translator(s) from Ssū-chuan, Chih Ch‘ien, Po Yen, Dharmarakṣa, Chu Shu-lan and Chih Shih-lun had already disappeared by the beginning of the sixth century and Sēng-yu, in his *Ch‘u san-tsang chi chi* published in 515, already records them as lost.

Kumārajīva’s translation of the Śgs is therefore the only one to have come down to us. The translation which follows is based wholly on it.

Kumārajīva’s methods are known to us. He aimed above all at making himself understood by the Chinese, but he was not preoccupied with details. His translations are rigorously accurate, with the slight nuance that he was not always consistent in his way of rendering technical terms and that the numerous stock phrases with which the Sanskrit originals were studded obviously irritated him. He therefore usually only translated their opening words, except where he gave only a brief summary of them.

Even for the fastidious this is not a serious inconvenience, especially since we have the Tibetan version at our disposal as is the case with the Śgs. Thanks to this, we are free to restore the technical terms which Kumārajīva somewhat decimated, the stock phrases which he reduced or summarised and also some sentences which he left out. These omissions can, moreover, be blamed as much on the copyists as the translator.

Assisted, if not hampered, by a large number of collaborators (hundreds, even thousands), Kumārajīva commented upon the texts as he translated them. Often explanations of his own invention slipped into his translations as, for example, in that of the *Ta-chih-tu lun* (T 1509: Upadesa). This, however, is not the case here since a comparison with the Tibetan version shows that, in relation to the Indian original, Kumārajīva’s translation sins more through omission.
Commentary composed in 458 C.E., in Chien-k’ang (Nanking), by Shih Hung-ch’ung 義弘充 of the Sung, upon the Hsin Shou-lêng-yen ching by Kumārajiva.

We have just seen that Hung ch’ung was the author of a preface to the new translation of the Shou-lêng-yen by Kumārajiva. It also appears from this preface (Ch’u, T 2145, p.49c 14–19) that Hung-Ch’ung composed a commentary upon this translation as well:

The prime minister, prince of Chiang-hsia 江夏 (in Hu-pei), knows the texts well and examines them with depth and perspicacity. Each time he reads the scrolls (of this Hsin Shou-lêng-yen) he is particularly and profoundly moved.

I, [Hung]-ch’ung, a foolish and obscure person, have attempted to approach the Mysterious, and already I have met old craftsmen who have opened and explained the ‘core’ of the text for me. Consulting with and listening to these sages, I have worked hard at the style and meaning. In the second ta-ming year, yen-mou cycle (458), under the Imperial Sung, at the monastery of Fa-yen 法言, I made a commentary in brief so that the text can be easily propagated. I have dared to recopy what I have heard. As there are certainly some mistakes, I await the sages (to correct me).

The Kao-sêng chuan (T 2059, p.376a 10–19) devotes a short notice to Hung-ch’ung of which this is a translation:

Shih Hung-ch’ung was a native of Liang-chou (in Kan-su). In his youth, he possessed strength of will. He comprehended Chuang-[tzû] and Lao-[tzû], and understood Sūtra and Vinaya. At the end of the ta-ming period (457–464), he crossed the [Yang-tzê] river and at first stayed at the To-pao ssū. He excelled in posing objections, and the sages were put to confusion for the most part. Later, he inaugurated a ‘Festival of the Dharma’, and debate raged furiously. Since [Hung]-ch’ung penetrated the subtleties of the Mysterious in meditation and since his eloquence was supernormal, he comprehended doubtful things and explained difficulties. Each time he expounded the Saddharmapuṇḍarika and the Daśabhūmiṇika, the listeners filled the auditorium. The prime minister of the Sung, [Liu] I-kung 劉羲恭, prince of the literati, from Chiang-hsia (in Hu-pei), esteemed him greatly.

When Ming-ti (466–472) mounted the throne, he built the Hsiang-kung ssū and begged [Hung]-ch’ung to become its Superior. [Hung]-
ch’ung changed his residence forthwith.

At that time in the Hsiang-kung, there was the bhikṣu Fa-hsien. Intelligent and wise, he also possessed the power of reflection and equalled [Hung]-ch’ung in renown.

[Hung]-ch’ung died in the middle of the yung-ming period (483–494) of the [Nan] Ch’i, aged seventy-two years. He made a commentary upon the Wên-shu wên pu’i ching (T 464: Gayaśīrṣa) and upon the Śūraṃgamasūtra (T 642).

The catalogues from the sixth and seventh centuries record a Catalogue by Shih Hung-ch’ung, in one chūan, already lost by their time (cf. Li, T 2034, p.127c 7; Nei, T 2149, p.337a 8; Kai, T 2154, p.573a 21).

XI

[Additional Note]

The Śūraṃgamasamādhīsūtra, often referred to in the abridged form of Śūraṃgamasūtra, is a text of certain authenticity undoubtedly based upon an Indian prototype.

It should not be confused with another Śūraṃgamasūtra composed in Chinese with the title of Ta-fo-ting-ju-lai mi-yin hsiu-chêng liao-i chu p’u-sa wan hsing shou-lêng-yen ching, abbreviated to Shou-lêng-yen ching (T 945). This is a Chinese apocryphal work composed at the beginning of the eighth century, probably by Fang Jung, a minister of the empress Wu of the T’ang. Although its Indian origin was quickly contested, it is at present still one of the most widespread of Buddhist works in China. P. Demiéville (Le Concile de Lhasa, Paris 1952, pp.43–52, in the notes) devoted to this counterfeit a substantial study in which all the desired information can be found; the first four chūan were adapted and summarised in English by S. Beal (Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese, London 1871, repr. Taipei 1971, pp.286–369), [† Chapter I was translated by Joseph Edkins in Chinese Buddhism (London 1893, repr. San Francisco 1976)], and the complete work has now been translated into English by Charles Luk (Lu K’uan Yü) with the title of The Śūraṅgama Sūtra, London 1966, repr. New Delhi 1985.

Because of the similarity of titles, modern authors often confuse the authentic Śūraṃgamasamādhi with the apocryphal Śūraṃgama. Among others, see C. Bendall, ed. of the Śikṣāsamuccaya, p.8, n.2; L. de La Vallée Poussin, Siddhi, p.633.
\( \text{hPhags-pa dPa\-bar hgro-bahi ti\-n-ne-\-hdzin ces-by-a-ba theg-pa-chen-pohi mdo:} \) Āryaśūramgamasamādhīra nāma Mahāyānasūtram, in five bamp-po, translated at the beginning of the ninth century C.E. by the Indian pandit Śākyaprabha and the (Tibetan) corrector-interpreter Ratnarākṣita.

This translation is included in the Narthang Kanjur (vol. Ta 6°, fol. 407b 5–510a) and the Peking Kanjur (Tibetan Tripitaka, ed. D.T. Suzuki, Tokyo-Kyoto 1958, vol.32, No.800, pp.71–98, fol.276a 4–344a 5). It is this latter edition which I have used for the present work.

The Inventaire des Manuscrits Tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale published by M. Lalou (3 vols, Paris 1939, 1940, 1961) and the Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library compiled by L. de La Vallée Poussin (Oxford 1962) do not note any manuscript or fragment of such of the Śūramgamasamādhi in Tun-huang. This fact is all the more surprising in that Tun-huang has yielded several Tibetan translations of the Prajñāpāramitās and the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa (cf. M. Lalou, ‘Les manuscrits tibétains des grandes Prajñāpāramitā trouvés à Touen-houang’, Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun-Kagaku-Kenkyusyo, Kyoto 1954, pp.257–61; ‘Les plus anciens rouleaux tibétains trouvés à Touen-houang’, Rocznik Orientalistyczny XXI, 1957, pp.149-52; É. Lamotte, Vkn (English version), pp.xxxviii-xl.iii). With the reservation that further discoveries are always possible, we can conclude that the only Tibetan version of the Śgs which was ever made is that by Śākyaprabha and Ratnarākṣita as it appears in the Kanjur. Selections from this version have been translated into English by Thubten Kalsang Rimpoche and Bhikkhu Pāsādika in Excerpts from the Śūraṅgama Samādhi Sūtra, Dharamsala 1975.

It differs from Kumārajīva’s version on the following two points:

1. It contains two long, partially versified, passages which are not found in the Chinese version: fol.286b 5–289a 3 following § 21 of my translation; fol.338b 8–344a 1 following § 177 of my translation.

2. It is, according to Tibetan usage, divided into five bamp-po (a roll or scroll):

bamp-po I, fol.276a 5 (§ 1 of my translation).
bam-po II, fol.289b 5 (§ 26).
bam-po III, fol.304b 5 (§ 67).
bam-po IV, fol.317a 8 (§ 109).
bam-po V, fol.329b 5 (§ 150).

There is no doubt that the Indian original of the Śgs underwent successive enlargements in the course of time, as is confirmed by the Chinese and Tibetan versions. The two Chinese translations made in Ssū-chuan between 220 and 265 contained ten stanzas (cf. above, p.66); the one by Chih Shih-lun, dating from 373, was longer than its predecessors according to Tao-an’s certification (cf. above, p.93). The Tibetan version, which is the most recent, marks the final point of this evolution by including in the text some long series of stanzas.

The oldest Mahāyāna sūtras, such as the Aṣṭasāhasrikā, Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā, Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā and Śatasāhasrikā p.p., were entirely in prose. Later, when literary taste had evolved, sūtras appeared in prose interpolated with verse. It also happened that earlier productions had stanzas added to them at a later date. We have already noted (Vkn, p.11) a certain fluctuation in the number of stanzas put into the mouth of Ratnakara in Chapter One of the Vimalakirtinirdesa.

The authors of the Tibetan version, Śākyaprabha and Ratnarakṣita, are not unknown to us. They worked as a team and have also left us versions of the Ratnakarāṇḍa (Otani Kanjur Cat., No.785), Pratyutpannasamādhī (No.801), Brahmaviśeṣacintīparipṛcchā (No.827), Saṃvṛtiparamārthasaṃtyanirdesa (No.846), Ān̄gulimālīya (No.879), Tathāgatagarbha (No.924) and Akāśagarbha (No.926).

They witnessed, to some degree at least, the great events that marked the glorious reign of Khri-srōṅ-ide-btsan (755–797):13 the fortunes of the Tibetan campaigns in Bengal (755) and in China marked by the fleeting occupation of Ch’ang-an (763) and the expulsion of the Chinese from Beshbalik in Turkestan (788–790); the declared sympathy of the king towards Buddhism despite the opposition of the clans who remained attached to Bon (755); the mission of two Nepalese monks to Tibet; the Dharma master Santaraksita and the wonder-worker Padmasambhava;

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the erection at Bsam-yas [† Lhasa] of a large collection of Buddhist temples and monasteries (erection begun in 775?), modelled on the Indian temple at Odantapurī or Nālandā; the ordination of the first Tibetan monks, the Seven Elect (sad-mi), chosen from among the nobility (779?); the thirteen years’ abbacy of Śāntarakṣīta in Bsam-yas (775–788); the arrival in Tibet, on the king’s invitation, of two Chinese Buddhist monks destined to be replaced every two years (781); the royal edict elevating Buddhism to a state religion (791); the doctrinal controversy which, in Tibet, opposed the ‘sudden way’ of the Chinese Buddhists (represented by the hva-śaṅ Mahāyāna) to the ‘gradual way’ of the Indian Buddhists (led by Kamalaśīla, a disciple of Śāntarakṣīta); the triumph of the latter at the Council of Bsam-yas (792–794); the publication by Kamalaśīla of the three Bhāvanākramas in which he defined the Indian position; and finally, the assassination of Kamalaśīla (795), soon followed by the death of the king (797).

Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan’s death was followed by a period of troubles; one or two of his sons, Mu-ne-btsan-po and Mu-tig-btsan-po, perished in the palace revolutions. Finally (in 804?), his youngest son Khri-lde-sroṅ-btsan, alias Sad-na-legs, ascended the throne which he occupied until 817.14

It was indeed he, and not his son Khri-tsug-lde-btsan, alias Ral-pa-can (817–841), as Bu-ston15 claims, who initiated several important ventures from the Buddhist point of view: he sanctioned a new method in the translation of Buddhist texts; he had an inventory of Tibetan translations extant in Tibet drawn up; and finally, he ordered the compilation of a Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon, the Mahāvyutpatti.

We read in Bu-ston (fol.130; tr. E. Obermiller, Buston, History of Buddhism II, Heidelberg 1932, repr. Delhi 1986, pp.196–7)16:

In the past, at the time of [Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan], the bodhisattva master Jñānendra, Žan-rgyal-ṇen-ṇa-bzaṅ, Blon-khri-bžir-saṅ-si, the translators Jñjinādevakosa, Khyi-hbrug from Lce, the brahmin Ananta and others created a religious language (dharmaḥbhasā) with some words not in common use in Tibet. Since they were translating out of various tongues, Chinese, languages of Li [† Khotan] and Lahore, etc., it was difficult to study the Dharma because of the great number of dissimilar words (viṣāmanāman).

Seeing this, the king [Khri-lde-sroṅ-btsan, and not Ral-pa-can]

14 See G. Tucci, ‘The Validity...’, p.321; Tombs..., p.20 (see previous note).
15 Id., Tombs..., p.18.
issued a threefold decree: 1. [† For the sake of] the masters from the Aparāntaka ‘Western Continent’ Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, Śilendrabodhi and Bodhimitra the Tibetan masters Ratnaraksitā and Dharmatāśīla, the able translators Jñānasena [the famous Ye-ses-sde], Jayarakṣīta, Maṇjuśrīvarman, Ratnendraśīla, etc., translating the works of the Great and Small Vehicles [directly] from Sanskrit into Tibetan, let there be written in an index (dkar-chag = sūcipattra) [namely, the Mahāvyutpatti] the [Tibetan equivalents] attached to the [Sanskrit] terms; 2. while never deviating from the holy text (gzūn-lugs = samaya), let this be made suitable for study by all, 3. finally, let the texts translated earlier (purvaparinata) be re-edited (punar upadiṣṭa) in the new language.

By means of these measures, Khri-lde-sron-btsan was not only setting up a programme for the future; he wanted above all to sanction the remarkable activity undertaken by the Indian masters and Tibetan lotsabas of his generation, among whom figured Śākyaprabha and Ratnaraksīta, the translators of the Sgs.

The work accomplished was already considerable. In the year of the Dragon (812, according to G. Tucci17), Dpal-brtsegs and Nan-mkhahi-snī-po had compiled an inventory of the translations of the āgamas and śāstras in the palace of Ldan kar ma, in Stoṅ-than. In doing this they were responding to a royal order, doubtless emanating from Khri-lde-sron-btsan: ‘Let there be written an index of titles (byan) and names of sections (ḥtsal) of the Saddharma, ‘Prajñāpāramitā in a hundred thousand’, etc., translated in the kingdom of Tibet’. This inventory, which appears in the Tanjur, Mdo ḥgrel, vol.CXXVII, fol.352a-373a of the Peking edition, has been published by S. Yoshimura, The Denkar-ma, an oldest Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, Ryukoku University, Kyoto 1950, and by M. Lalou, ‘Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroṅ-lde-bcan’, Journal Asiatique, 1953, pp.313–53.

The inventory, which is divided into thirty sections, lists 736 translations indicating for each of them the total number of ślokas which make up the work, then the number of bam-po and also that of the ślokas. Mention is made therein of works by authors as late as Śubhaguṭa (c.720–780), Arcata (c.730–790), Kamalaśīla (c.740–795)

17 Minor Buddhist Texts II, pp.47-8 in the notes: the inventory postdates the Council and was compiled in the time of Khri-lde-sron-btsan, probably in 812. In an article published earlier, E. Frauwallner, ‘Zu den buddhistischen Texten in der Zeit Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsans’s, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ost-asiens I, 1957, p.11, dates the inventory in the year 800.
and Dharmottara (c.750–810)\textsuperscript{18}. It therefore ensues that the inventory was compiled in the reign of Khri-lde-sron-btsan (804–817) and not in that of Khri-sron-lde-btsan (755–797) as Bu-ston claims (E. Obermiller, II, p.191).

As M. Lalou\textsuperscript{19} has remarked, the number of bam-po attributed by the inventory to a given work does not always correspond to the number of bam-po appearing in the classical editions of the Kanjur and Tanjur. Between the inventory and the classical editions there were modifications which sometimes led to the enlarging, sometimes to the diminution of the text.

This was not the case for the Šgs, which appears in the inventory under the number 111 with the mention: \textit{dpah bar ḥgro bahi tin ne ḥdzin}, 1,500 šlokas, 5 bam-po; these are exactly the same measurements as those of the Šgs which appears in the Kanjur \textit{(Otani Cat., No.800)} with Śākyaprabha and Ratnarakṣita as translators.

To return to the Mahāvyutpatti, its colophon, reproduced with some variations by Padma dkar po (1562–1592) in his Chos-ḥbyun (fol.101b) and summarised by the fifth Dalai Lama (fol.42a)\textsuperscript{20}, clearly shows that it was initiated in the year of the Horse (814, according to G. Tucci\textsuperscript{21}) by the king Khri-lde-sroṅ-btsan in his palace at ḤOn caṅ do. Begun in 814, this protracted work could not have been finished for several years, namely in the reign of Khri-tsug-lde-btsanRal-pa-can (817–841). The sixty-fifth section of the Mahāvyutpatti lists the titles of one hundred and five holy texts \textit{(saddharmanāmāni)}: the thirty-first is precisely the Śūramgamasamādhinirdeśa, in Tibetan \textit{dpah-bar ḥgro-bahi tin-ne-ḥdzin btsan pa}\textsuperscript{22}.

\textsuperscript{18} I have taken these dates from E. Frauwallner, ‘Landmarks in the History of Indian Logic’, \textit{Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd-und Ost-asiens} V, 1961, pp.146-8.


\textsuperscript{21} \textit{Minor Buddhist Texts} II, p.48, in the notes.

# Concordance of the Translations of the Śūramgamasamādhisūtra


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ŚŪRAṂGAMASAMĀDHISŪTRA
translated by the
TRIPIṬĀ KUMĀRAJĪVA
from the Land of Kucha under the Late Ch’īn

[Introduction]

1. Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was in Rājagṛha on the Grḥdrakūṭaparvata, with a great assembly of bhikṣus, thirty-two thousand bhikṣus, and Mahāsattva-bodhisattvas numbering seventy-two thousand.

2. These last were universally known (abhijñānabhijñāta); they possessed the dhāranis; they were gifted with eloquence (pratibhāna) and delighted in expounding ceaselessly; well established in concentration (samādhisupraṭiṣṭhita), they never strayed from it; they were skilled in knowledge (jñānakusala) and of inexhaustible wisdom (aṃśayaprajñā); they possessed the certainty concerning the profound teachings (gambhiradharmaksānti) and had penetrated the profound expositions of the Dharma (gambhiradharmamukha); for innumerable incalculable periods (asamkhyeyakalpa) they had cultivated good dhammas (kusalaḥamma) and still recalled them all; they had overcome Māra and adversaries (niḥatamārapratyarthika)¹; they had secured perfectly adorned Buddha-fields (buddhaksetra); they possessed great goodwill (mahāmaitrī) and great compassion (mahākaraṇa), and their bodies were adorned with all the marks (laksana); they had reached the other shore of great vigour (mahāvīryapurānīṃgata); they were acquainted with all languages (nirukti) and other skilful means (upāya); their practices (caryā) and bodily attitudes (īryāpatha) were perfectly consummate (samparṇa); they were all determined as to the three doors to deliverance (vimokṣamukha); through unobstructed knowledge (apratiḥatajñāna), they had penetrated the triple world (trai-dhātukanirvāṇa); they had formed the resolve (niścaya) never to abandon anyone; they were gifted with mindfulness (smṛti), intelligence (mati) and understanding (samkalpa), as well as patience (ksānti) and knowledge (jñāna).

3. The bodhisattvas endowed with such virtues (guaṇa) were:
the bodhisattva Avaivartikadharmacakrapravartaka ‘Setting turning the irreversible Wheel of the Dharma’

¹ A traditional expression; cf. Saddharmapuṇḍ., p.430, 1; below, § 8, 129.
the bodhisattva Utpāditacittadharmacakrapravartaka ‘Setting turning the Wheel of the Dharma after having aroused the thought of Bodhi’,
the bodhisattva Anāvaranadharmacakrapravartaka ‘Unobstructedly setting turning the Wheel of the Dharma’,
the bodhisattva Vimalaśuddhi ‘Unstained Purity’,
the bodhisattva Sarvaparyutthānaviśkambhin ‘Eliminating all the veils of passion’,
the bodhisattva Viśudderyāpathaśaṃdarśanananandin2 ‘Delighting in adopting pure bodily attitudes’,
the bodhisattva Varalakṣaṇavyūharājamatī ‘Royal intelligence adorned with marvellous marks’,
the bodhisattva Sarvasattvāvīsamvādin, ‘Not wrongdoing any being’,
the bodhisattva Anantagunasamudramati ‘Intelligence like the sea of infinite virtues’,
the bodhisattva Sadāsamāhitāvīkṣiptendriya ‘Of senses ever concentrated and undistracted’,
the bodhisattva Bhūtāsva ‘Of truthful sounds’,
the bodhisattva Sarvadevastuti ‘Praise of all the gods’ [629c],
the bodhisattva Dhāraṇīśvararājā ‘Sovereign king of dhāranīs’,
the bodhisattva Pratibhānālāmkāra ‘Adornment of eloquence’,
the bodhisattva Mahāvyuha ‘Of great adornments’,
the bodhisattva Mahālakṣaṇa ‘Of great marks’,
the bodhisattva Prabhālakṣaṇa ‘Mark of light’,
the bodhisattva Prabhāśri ‘Majesty of light’,
the bodhisattva Viśuddhāmitra ‘Pure intelligence’,
the bodhisattva Pramodyarājā ‘King of joy’,
the bodhisattva Drdhasthāma ‘Firm might’,
the bodhisattva Drdhhamati4 ‘Firm intelligence’.

2 A doubtful reconstruction; in Tib. we find Dgaḥ ba dan daḥ pahi spyod lam ston pa = Nandaprasāderyāpathaśamdarśaka.
3 In Tib. Yon tan rin po che bkod pa rgya mtsho blo gros.
4 Chien-i 視覓, in Tib. Blo gros brtan pa, which gives the Skt Drdhhamati. This name is confirmed in a fragment of the Śgs from Central Asia published by A.F. Hoernle, Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan I, Oxford 1916, p.126,2, and in an extract from the Śgs quoted in the Śikṣāsamuccaya, p.91,9 sq. Here Drdhhamati is the main
These and other Mahāsattva-bodhisattvas numbering seventy-two thousand.

4. In addition, all those who existed in the trichiliomegachiliocosm (trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu) by way of Śakras, Brahmās, Lokapāla Kings of the gods, devas, nāgas, yaksas, gandharvas, asuras, garuḍas, kimnaras, mahoragas, manuṣyas, amanuṣyas, universally known (abhijñānābhijnāta), having planted good roots (avaropitakuśalamūla) and resolutely intent on the sublime teaching (udārādhimuktiḥ), were present in that assembly (tasminn eva parisatsaṁnipāte saṁnipatī abhūvan saṁniṣaññāḥ).

[The Most Excellent Concentration]

5. Then the bodhisattva Drdhamati, present in that great assembly, had this thought: I would now like to ask the Tathāgata a question which would be such as to protect (parirakṣana) the lineage of the Buddha (buddhavamsa), the lineage of the Dharma (dharmavamsa) and the lineage of the Community (samghavamsa), obscure and eclipse (dhyāmikarāṇa) the dwellings of Mara (mārubhavana) and confound (nigrāhana) proud people (abhimāṇika). Thus, those who have not yet planted good roots (anavaropitakuśalamūla) will plant them immediately. Those who have already planted good roots will add to (vardhana) them. Those who have not yet aroused the thought of supreme and perfect enlightenment (anutpāditānuttarasaṁyaksambodhicitta) will arouse that thought (cittotpāda). Those who have already aroused that thought will become irreversible (avaivartika) [bodhisattvas]5. Irreversible bodhisattvas will rapidly (ksipram) attain anuttarasamyaksambodhi. Beings speculating on objects (sālambana) and attached to false views (drṣṭyabhiniviṣṭa) will arouse the thought of eliminating them. Beings attached to inferior teachings (hinādhimuktiḥ) will become resolutely attached to the sublime teaching (udārādhimuktiḥ). Those who are resolutely intent on the sublime teaching will experience great joy (pramudita).

interlocutor of the Buddha; he will obtain the Concentration of Heroic Progress at the end of the sūtra (§ 167). [† see the Foreword, p.xv for the list of these bodhisattvas as it appears in the Khotanese version of the Śū.]

5 This concerns absolutely irreversible bodhisattvas (bss) in possession of an irreversible certainty (avaivartikaksāntipratilabdha: cf. Saddharmapund., p.259,13). They obtain this virtue in the eighth stage, the Acalā, also called ‘Irreversible Stage’ (avivartabhūmi) in the Daśabhūmika, p.71,12; avaivartikabhūmi in Bodh. bhūmi, p.235,18). It is generally in this full sense that the texts use this expression (cf. Vkn, pp.61, 141, 222, 265, 291). However, as we shall see further on, § 104, n.209, two or even three kinds of avaivartika can be distinguished.
6 Homing this thought, Drdhamati rose from his seat and, having
arranged his upper robe on one shoulder, having placed his right knee on
the ground and having extended his joined hands towards the Bhagavat,
he said to him (atha khalu Drdhamatir bodhisattva utthāyāsanād
ekāmsam uttarāsangam krtvā daksinām jānumandalam prthivyām
pratisthāpya yena bhagavāms tenāñjālim pranamyā bhagavantam idam
avocat) Bhagavat, I would like to question the Bhagavat Tathāgata on a
small point if the Bhagavat gives me leave to ask a question (prccheyam
aham bhagavantam arhantam samyaksambuddham kamcid eva
pradesam sa cen me bhagavān avakāsām kuryāt prstapraśna-
vākaranāya)⁶

The Buddha said to Drdhamati Question the Tathāgata on whatever
you wish, and I, in answering all these questions, will delight your mind
(evam ukte bhagavān Drdhamatim bodhisattvam āmantrayate sma
prccha tvam tathāgatam arhantam samyaksambuddham yad yad
evākānsasi aham te tasya tasya praśnasya vyākaranena cittam
ārādhyasye)⁷

7 The bodhisattva Drdhamati said to the Buddha Bhagavat, what is
the samādhi through which a bodhisattva
rapidly attains anuttarasamyaksambodhi,
is never apart from frequentation by the Buddhas,
illuminates with his own light (avabhāsa) all the ten regions,
acquires a wondrous wisdom (vikurvita-prajñā) so as to destroy
Māras (mārānām nigrahāya),
obtains mastery in knowledge (jñānavaśitā) and wins spontaneous
knowledge (svayambhūjñāna)⁸,
obtains the untaught knowledge (anupadistajñāna)⁹ and does not
depend on others (aparapraneya)¹⁰,
possesses indestructible eloquence (anācchedyapratibhāna) up to the

⁶ Stock phrase cf Digha I, p 51, 3-5, Majjhima I, p 229, 35-37, III, p 15, 23-25,
Anguttara V, p 196, 12-14, Samādhīraja I, p 10, 15-17, II, p 217, 10 12, III, p 487, 3 5,
Karmavibhanga, p 29, 22 23
⁷ Stock phrase liable to variations, cf Samādhīraja, I, pp 10, 18 - 11, 2, II, p 217, 13-15,
III, p 487, 7-9
⁸ In Tib ran byun gi chos thob pahi phyir ye ses la dban du hgyur ba
⁹ Read te wu chiao chih 得無教習, with the Tib ma bston pahi ye ses dan ldan pahi
phyir The 'untaught' (anupadista) virtues form part of the āveninikadharmas of the bodhisattva
(bs), cf Mahāvyutpattī, Nos 787-92
¹⁰ In Tib gzan gyi drin la hyog par mi hgyur ba, giving the Sanskrit aparapratyaya or
aparapraneya (cf Mahāvyutpattī, Nos 2396 and 2398)
final limit (aparāntakoti)\textsuperscript{11},

obtains the bases of supernormal power (rddhipāda) and thus ensures himself of an incalculable life-span (aprameyāyus)\textsuperscript{12},

expounds the Šrāvakayāna to adherents of the Šrāvakas (srāvakādhimukta),

expounds the Pratyekabuddhayāna to adherents of the Pratyekabuddhas,

expounds the Mahāyāna to adherents of the Mahāyāna,

penetrates the teaching (dharma) of the Śrāvakas, but without entering into the predestination of the Šrāvakas (srāvakaniyāma)\textsuperscript{13},

penetrates the teaching of the Pratyekabuddhas, but without entering into the pratyekabuddhaniyāma [630a],

penetrates the teaching of the Buddhas, but without entering into complete cessation (atyantanirodha)\textsuperscript{14},

manifests (samdarśayati) the figure (samsthāna), colours (varna) and bodily attitudes (iryāpatha) of a Śrāvaka, but without ever straying inwardly from the thought of enlightenment (bodhicitta)\textsuperscript{15},

manifests the figure, colours and bodily attitudes of a Pratyekabuddha, but without ever straying inwardly from the thought of great compassion (mahākarunācitta) of the Buddhas\textsuperscript{16},

manifests, through an illusionary concentration (māyopamasamādhi), the figure, colours and bodily attitudes of a Tathāgata,

\textsuperscript{11} In Tib. phyi maḥi mthahī bskal pa bya bar ston pahi phyir spobs pa rgyun mi ḡchod par ḡgyur ba.

\textsuperscript{12} Possession of the four rddhipādas allows of prolongation of life at will; cf. Skt. Mahāparinirvāna, p.204: yasya kasyacic catvāra rddhipāda aśevita bhāvita bahulikṛta ākankṣamānah sa kalpam vā tiṣṭhet kalpāvāsēṣam vā. Corresponding Pāli passage iq Digha II, p.103, 1-4.

\textsuperscript{13} Here tao corresponds to the Tib. nes par gyur ba = niyāma. Regarding the respective niyāma of a śrāvaka and a bodhisattva, see Vkn, p.19, n.65, and below, § 56, n.140, § 104, n.210, § 133, n.268, § 150. As from his entry into the path of vision (darśanamārga), the śrāvaka is himself predestined as to his future acquisition of the absolute good (samyaktva), namely Nirvāṇa; the bs is himself predestined as to his future reaching of Sambodhi. The niyāma of the bs constitutes his second predestination (niyatipāta); see below, § 104, n.211.

\textsuperscript{14} For the Śgs, entry into Nirvāṇa by the bodhisattvas and Buddhas is not real cessation, merely skill in means. All beings, all dharmas are essentially and eternally in Parinirvāṇa. Hence there can be no question of entry into Nirvāṇa (cf. §§ 71-2).

\textsuperscript{15} In the guise of a śrāvaka, the bs does not aspire to the Bodhi of the śrāvakas or of the arhats, a Bodhi consisting of the knowledge of the destruction of the impurities (āsravakṣayajñāna) and the knowledge of their non-arising (anupāda-jñāna), the bs aims essentially for the anuttarasamyaksambodhi of the Buddhas. Cf. Vkn, pp.298-303.

\textsuperscript{16} In theory, if a Pratyekabuddha does not teach the Dharma, it is due to timidity or lack of courage; see Koṣa III, p.196; below, § 133.
manifests, through the power of his own good roots (kuśalamūla), the presence among the Tuṣita gods, the assuming of the last existence (antimajātyādāna), the entry into the womb (garbhāvakrānti), the birth (jāti), the renunciation of the world (abhinīkramana) and the occupation of the seat of enlightenment (bodhimandaniṣidana)\(^\text{17}\),

manifests, through the power of profound wisdom (prajña), the entry into the womb (garbhdvakrdnti), the birth (jdti), the renunciation of the world (abhiniskramana)

manifests, through the power of skilful means (upāya), the entry into Nirvāṇa,

manifests, through the power of concentration (samādhi), the distribution of the relics (śariravibhāga),

manifests, through the power of his previous aspiration (pūrva-pranidhāna)\(^\text{18}\), the disappearance of the Saddharma (saddharmavipralopa),

What then, O Bhagavat, is this samādhi through which a bodhisattva manifests such virtues (guna), but without definitively entering Parinirvāṇa?

8. The Buddha said to the bodhisattva Drdhamati: Excellent, excellent (sādhu sādhu), O Drdhamati, you question the Tathāgata on this subject (artha) for the welfare and happiness of many beings (bahujanahitāya bahujanasukhāya), through pity for the world (lokānukampāyai), for the benefit, welfare and happiness of the great body of beings, humans and gods (mahato janakāyasyārthāya hitāya sukhāya devānām ca manusyānām ca), for the protection of present and future bodhisattvas (pratyutpānām cānāgatānām ca bodhisattvānām parigrahāya).

Know this. You have planted good roots (avaropitakusalamūla), you have honoured and served innumerable hundreds of thousands of koṭinayutas of Buddhas of the past; you have trodden all the paths (mārga)\(^\text{19}\), you have overcome Māra and adversaries (nihatamāra-pratyarthika); you have obtained an independent knowledge (svatantra-jñāna) regarding all the Buddhadharmas; you have won over and protected throngs of bodhisattvas; you know the treasure (kośa) of all the teachings (dharma) of the Buddha; that is why you have come to ask me

\(^{17}\) A bs in the tenth stage magically carries out the exploits of an ‘historical’ Buddha. See more below, § 21, Nos.96-100, §§ 123, 163.

\(^{18}\) At the moment of his cittotpāda, a bs can, through an aspiration, determine the duration of the Saddharma which he will expound as a Buddha.

\(^{19}\) In Tib. theg pa thams cad kyi ņes par Ḥbyun bahi lam rnams su ņes par Ḥbyun ba = sarvayāniriyānāmārganirīyāta, ‘You have trodden the paths of release of all the Vehicles’.
a question (*praśnavyākarana*) already asked in the past of Buddhas as numerous as the sands of the Ganges (*gangānadi-vālukopama*).

9. Drdhhamati, in this assembly (*parśad*), the Tathāgata does not see a single deva, nāga, yakṣa, gandharva, a single Śrāvaka or Pratyekabuddha who would be capable of formulating this question. Only a man as eminent as yourself is able to approach such a question. Listen well then, and engrave it on your mind (*tena hi śṛṇu sādhu ca suṣṭhu ca manasikuru*). I will tell you of that *samādhi* with which bodhisattvas must be endowed (*sampanna*) in order to obtain the virtues (*guna*) of which you speak and of even greater ones (*bahvantaraviśiṣṭa*).

Drdhhamati said to the Buddha: Excellent, O Bhagavat, and he began to listen (*sādhu bhagavann iti pratyāśrauṣṭi*).

[The Heroic Progress]

10. The Buddha said to Drdhhamati: It is a *samādhi* called ‘Concentration of Heroic Progress’ [Śūramgamasamādhi; abbr. to Śgs]. Bodhisattvas who have obtained this *samādhi* can, since you ask about it, manifest Parinirvāṇa, but without definitively ceasing to be.

They manifest (*samdarśayanti*) figures (*samsthāna*) and colours (*varna*), but without harming the suchness of form (*rūpatathatā*)\(^{20}\).

They circulate (*samcarami*) through all the buddhaksetras, but do not conceive (*na vikalpayanti*) of the buddhaksetras\(^{21}\).

They come close (*samyūṭjanti*) to all the Buddhas, but do not see any distinction (*viśeṣa*) in the basic sameness (*samatā*) and the fundamental element (*dharmanadhātu*)\(^{22}\).

They perform all the practices (*caryā*), but clearly understand the method of purifying the practices (*caryāpariśodhana*).

They possess sovereignty (*ādhipatya*) over all the gods and mankind (*devamanusya*), but do not fall into pride (*māna*), pretension (*stambha*) or negligence (*pramāda*).

They possess the supreme power (*aiśvarya*) of all Māras, but abstain

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\(^{20}\) In Tib. *gzugs su ston pa thams ca kyan ston la gzugs kyi de bzin niid las chos rnams hhkhrugs par yan mi byed*: ‘Even while displaying themselves in all manifestations of form, they do not strip away the dharmas from the suchness of form (*rūpatathatā*)’. In other words, even while manifesting themselves by appearing in forms, the bss know that the suchness (*tathatā*) of form is empty and non-existent: *Rūpam eva śūnyata śūnyataiva rūpam* (cf. Vkn, p.LXIX, n.19).

\(^{21}\) In fact the buddhaksetras are empty and non-existent (cf. Vkn, pp.133, 182, 210).

\(^{22}\) *Fa hsing* 法性 corresponds to the Tib. *chos kyi dbyins = dharmanadhātu*. Non-existent like the rest, the Buddhas resort to the *dharmanadhātu*, the fundamental element which is non-existence pure and simple (cf. Vkn, pp.LXX-LXXII). From this absolute point of view, everything is the same (*sama*) as everything else.
from the works of cruel Māras (mārarman).

They circulate through the triple world (traidhātuka), but do not swerve from the fundamental element (dharmadhātu).

They are born [630b] in all the destinies (gati) but do not conceive (na vikalpayanti) of there being various destinies.

They skilfully pronounce (vyākurvanti) all the utterances of the Dharma (dharmapada) and, in various languages (nirukti), they clarify its meaning (arthaṃ samprakāśayanti), but they know (adhigacchanti) that syllables (aksara) spring from sameness (samatā) and that there exist no differences (viśeṣa) between languages.

They are always recollected (samāhita), but they ripen (paripācayanti) beings.

They possess the certainty of universal destruction (ksayaksānti) and the certainty of the non-arising of dharmas (anuttattikadharmaṃksānti), but they speak of dharmas as having arising (utpāda) and cessation (niruddha) as their marks (laksana).

They go alone (ekacārin) and without fear (viśārada) like a lion (simha).

[The Offering of a Throne]

11. Then, in the assembly, the Śakras, Brahmās, Lokapāla Kings of the gods and the whole assembly (sarvāvatī parsad) had this thought: We have never before heard the name of this samādhi, even less the explanation of its meaning. Today, when we have come and seen the Buddha, it is of advantage to hear the name of the Śūramgamasamādhi pronounced. The son of good family (kulaputra) or daughter of good family (kuladūhita) seeking [perfect] Buddhahood (samyaksambuddhatvā) and who, after having heard the explanation (vibhanga) of the Śūramgamasamādhi, believes it

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23 Read mung 魟 instead of i 驢.
24 Fa hsiang 法相 corresponds here to the Tib. chos kyi dyiṃs = dharmadhātu.
25 Cf. Vkn, p.203; below, § 74.
26 They profess the dharmanairatmya even while adopting the language of the Sthaviras and Sarvāstivādins who speak of the three or four marks of the conditioned (sanskritalaksana): arising, duration, modification and disappearance (cf. Kośa II, p.222).
27 Kumārajīva usually renders by fo-tao 佛道 the Skt samyaksambuddhatva (compare Pancavinśati, ed. Dutt, p.25, 16, and the trans. by Kumārajīva, T 223, ch.1, p.220a 18). Further on (T 642, ch.2, p.638c 7), the four characters ch'eng-chiu fo-tao 成就佛道 have as their correspondence in the Tibetan version (Tib. trip., Vol.32, p.86, fol.314b 8), bla na med pa ye dag rdzogs pahi byaṅ chub mnon par rdzogs par hishaṅ rgya bar ḥgyur ba, equivalent to the Skt anuttarāyāṃ samyaksambodhāv abhisonambuddhaḥ (cf. Mahāvyutpatti, No.6355).
(adhimucyate) and does not doubt, that son or daughter of good family will never stray from Buddhahood (buddhatvān na vivartasyati). Even more so, if after having believed it (adhimucya), he or she grasps it (udgrhṇāti), remembers it (dhārayati), repeats it (vācayati), expounds it to others (parebhyāḥ samprakāśayati) and, conforming to what it says, applies his or her effort to it (bhāvanāyogena prayunakti).

12. Then the Śakras, Brahmās and Lokapāla Kings of the gods had this thought: We should now present (prajñāpayitum) to the Tathāgata a lion-throne (simhāsana), a throne of the Good Dharma (saddharmāsana), a throne worthy of a great personage (satpurusāsana), a throne of great splendour (mahāvyūhāsana), a throne for a great turning of the Wheel of the Dharma (mahādharmačakrapravartāsana), so that the Tathāgata, seated on this throne of ours, will expound the Śūramgamasamādhi.

Among themselves, each one said to himself: It is I alone who offer this simhāsana to the Buddha, no-one else can do so.

13. Then the Śakras, Brahmās and Lokapāla Kings of the gods each separately offered (prajñāpayanti smā) to the Tathāgata a simhāsana which was adorned (alamkṛta), pure (viśuddha), admirable (darśanīya) and very high (unnata), strewn with innumerable precious fabrics (apramānaraṇavāstraśīrṇa), its top covered with canopies (vitāna), banners (dhvaja) and wonderful precious parasols (ratnacchātra), [surrounded] by a balustrade (vedikā) of all kinds of precious jewels (ratna), [set] to the right and left with innumerable precious trees (ratnavrksa) with branches and leaves on which rows of pearls (muktiṇa) were carefully arranged, hoisted with banners and flags (samucchṛtadvajapataκa)29, draped with great precious canopies (mahāratnavitānitātā)30, adorned with interlacings of jewels and hung with precious bells (ratnakīṅkīnī), the top scattered with all kinds of wonderful flowers (nānāvidhapatpabhikīrṇa), perfumed with all kinds of celestial incenses (divyadhūpavāśita), embellished with gold (hemā), silver (rūpya), jewels (ratna) of precious stones (maṇi) and pearls (muktiṅa): indeed, of the most varied of ornaments, none was missing from that seat.

14. At that precise moment (etasmin eva kṣanālavamuhūrte), there were before the Tathāgata 84,000 kotinayutas of precious simhāsanas, but no discomfort (āvaraṇa) resulted from this for the assembly31.

28 Commonplace stock phrase; cf. Vkn, p.250, n.16.
29 Cf. Mahāvyutpatti, No.6120.
30 Cf. ibid., No.6119.
31 A commonplace wonder, cf. Vkn, pp.139, 211.
Taken one by one, the devaputras did not see the seats of the others and each one said to himself: I alone have offered a simhāsana to the Buddha, and it is on that throne that I have offered him that the Buddha will expound the Śūramgamamasamādhi.

Then the Śakras, Brahmās and Lokapāla Kings of the gods, having completed the offering of the thrones, each said to the Buddha: May the Buddha sit on my throne and expound the Śūramgamamasamādhi.

[The Multiplication of the Buddhas]

15. Then the Bhagavat performed such a supernormal action (evamṛūpam rdhyābhisamkarām abhisamkaroti sma)\(^{32}\) that he sat everywhere at the same time on the 84,000 koṭinayutas of simhāsanas [630c], but each deva only saw the Buddha seated on the throne that he had set out and did not see the other thrones. One Śakra devendra said to another Śakra: ‘Just look at the Tathāgata seated on my throne’.

Similarly, the Śakras, Brahmās and Lokapāla Kings of the gods said to each other: ‘Just look at the Tathāgata seated on my throne’. And the other Śakra replied: ‘Now the Tathāgata is seated only on my throne; he is not on yours’.

16. Then the Tathāgata considered that those Śakras, Brahmās and Lokapāla Kings of the gods fulfilled the requisite conditions (pūrva-pratyayd) for being delivered and, desiring to demonstrate a little of the potency (prabhāva) of the Śūramgamamasamādhi and have the practices (caryā) of the Mahāyāna adopted, the Tathāgata, say I, acted so that all the assemblies saw the Tathāgata present everywhere on the 84,000 kotinayutas of precious simhāsanas.

17. The whole assembly experienced great joy (prātiprdmodyajā) and was filled with wonder (adbhutaprdpta). They all rose from their seats (utthāyanāṇāt) and, joining their hands (pragrhitānjali), bowed to the Buddha and said to him: Excellent, excellent! Immense is the power [of the Tathāgata] who is able to gratify the desires (āsayaripāraṇa) of all the devaputras. All the devaputras who have offered a seat to the Tathāgata, having thus witnessed the supernormal might (rddhirātihārya) of the Buddha, aroused the anuttarasamāyaksambodhicitta. Together they addressed the Buddha and said to him: Bhagavat, it is in order to pay homage (pujana) to the Tathāgata, calm the suffering of all beings (sarvasattvaduhkhaprasamana), protect the Good Dharma (saddharmaparigrahana) and not interrupt the lineage of the Buddhas (buddhavamśānapaccheda) that we arouse the anuttarasamayak-

\(^{32}\) A traditional expression: cf. Vkn, pp.139, 204, 237, 247.
sambodhicitta. May we,-in future time (anāgata 'dhvani), become Buddhas gifted with such supernormal might and accomplish wonders (vikurvaṇa) such as those that the Tathāgata accomplished today.

Then the Buddha congratulated (sādhukāram adāt) the devaputras: Excellent, excellent! It is exactly as you say (evam etad yathāavadatha): to arouse the anuttarasamyaksambodhicitta for the welfare and happiness of all beings (sarvasattvānāṁ hitāya sukhāya) is the supreme homage (paramapūjā) rendered to the Tathāgata.

[Unreality and Identity of the Tathāgatas]33

18. Now, in the assembly of Brahmas, there was a Brahmadev god named Samatāvihārin34 ‘Residing in Sameness’. He said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, which then are the real (bhūta) Tathāgatas, the one seated on my throne or those who are on the thrones of the others?

The Buddha said to Samatāvihārin: All dharmas are empty (śūnya), like an illusion (māyopama). Born of the complex [of causes and conditions] (sāmāgryutpanna), they are inactive (niśceṣṭa). All spring from mental illusion and imagination (vithapanaparikalpaprathyupasthita)35 and, not being independent (asvāmika), they are born as one thinks of them36.

All these Tathāgatas are real (bhūta)37. And why are they real?

These Tathāgatas, originally and spontaneously, are not born: hence they are real.

These Tathāgatas are non-existent in the present and in the future: hence they are real.

The Tathāgatas are not composed (samgrhīta) of the four great elements (mahābhūta): hence they are real.

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33 Šākyamuni, multiplying himself infinitely, is seated on the 84,000 kotinayutas of thrones. How can the true Šākyamuni be distinguished from his countless doubles? Each devaputra would like the true Buddha to be the one to occupy the throne he has offered. In fact, all these Buddhas are equally ‘real’ (chen shih 真實) according to the Chinese version by Kumārajīva, equally ‘unreal’ (yan dag pa ma yin pa) according to the Tibetan translation. However, reality and unreality intermingle in one and the same non-existence, in one and the same emptiness. The ideas raised here can also be found in several parts of the Vān, especially pp.227-8, 238-42. The sameness of all dharmas is one of the main theses of the Madhyamaka (see ibid., pp.LXVIII-I-XIX).

34 In Tib. Mṇam pa ņid la gnas pa.

35 However, the traditional expression is vithapanapratyupasthānalaksana, in Tib. rnam par bsgrub pa ņe bar gnas pahi mshan ņid ‘Having as their mark having been created by mental illusion’: cf. Vān, p.26, n.89.

36 In Tib. de dag ni ji lta ji ltar hdod pa de lta de ltar rnam par sgrub po.

37 As was pointed out in n.33, the Tibetan translation says ‘unreal’ instead of ‘real’.
These Tathāgatas are not composed of the aggregates (skandha), bases of consciousness (āyatana) or elements (dhātu): hence they are real.

These Tathāgatas are the same (sama) and without difference (nirviṣeṣa) at the beginning (ādau), in the middle (madhye) and at the end (parīvayasāne): hence they are real.

O Brahma, these Tathāgatas are the same and without difference. And why?

They are the same because of the suchness of form (rūpatathā), the same because of the suchness of feeling (vedanā), of perception (saṃjñā), of volition (saṃskāra) and of consciousness (viṣṇāna): hence they are [631a] the same.

These Tathāgatas are the same because of the suchness of past time (atitādhvatathā), the same because of the suchness of future time (anāgatādhvatathā), the same because of the suchness of present time (pratyutpannādhvatathā).

They are the same in that they are like the dharmas of illusion (māyādharmopama), like the dharmas of mirage (maricidharmopama), non-existent (asat), free of coming (āgamana) and free of going (nirgama). That is why these Tathāgatas are said to be the same.

All dharmas are the same, and it is equally so for these Tathāgatas. All beings (sattva) are the same, and it is equally so for these Tathāgatas. All the Buddhas of all the universes (lokadhātu) are the same, and it is equally so for these Tathāgatas. All the universes are the same, and it is equally so for these Tathāgatas. That is why the Buddhas are said to be the same.

O Brahmarāja, these Tathāgatas do not deviate from the suchness of all dharmas (sarvadharmānāṃ tathatāṃ nātikrāmanti), this is why they are said to be the same. Understand it well, O Brahmarāja, the Tathāgatas know that all dharmas are hence the same; that is why the Tathāgatas give the name of sameness to all dharmas.

38 Kumārajīva renders tathātā by the single character ju 如, whilst Hsūn-tsang translates it by chen-ju 如. See the Sanskrit list of the asamskṛtadharmas in Pañcarāmāstikā, ed. Dutt, p.168, 16-17, and the respective translations by Kumārajīva (Ṭ 223, ch.4, p.243b 2-3) and Hsūn-tsang (Ṭ 220, ch.486, p.469a 15-17).

39 In Tib. de bzin gṣregs pa ldi dag ni sgyu mahi chos kyi de bzin ŋid kyi mṇam.


41 In Tib. de lta bas na de ltar de bzin gṣregs pas chos thams cad mṇam par mṇon par rdzogs par saṅs-rygas te: ‘That is why the Tathāgatas are enlightened (abhisambuddha) in sameness (sama) regarding all dharmas’.
19. The brahmarāja Samatāvihārin said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, it is astonishing (adbhuta) that the Tathāgata who thus penetrates the sameness of all dharmas (sarvadharmasamātā) also manifests his wonderful physical body (parinispamna rūpakāya) to beings.

The Buddha replied: Brahmarāja, this is due to the potency (prabhāva) of the Śūramgamasamādhi as it was practised previously (pūrvacarita). For this reason the Tathāgata, even after having penetrated the sameness of all dharmas, also manifests his wonderful physical body to beings.

This having been said, the brahmarāja Samatāvihārin and ten thousand brahmadevas obtained the preparatory certainty (anulomikāksānti) concerning dharmas.⁴²

20. Then the Bhagavat withdrew his supernormal power (rddhy-abhisamkāraṇa punar eva pratisamharati sma); thereupon, the Buddhas and the thrones disappeared, and the whole assembly saw no more than a single Buddha.

[The Hundred Aspects of the Heroic Progress]⁴³

21. Then the Buddha said to the bodhisattva Drdhamatī: The Śūramgamasamādhi is not obtained by the bodhisattvas of the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth stages (bhūmi); it is only the bodhisattva dwelling in the tenth bhūmi who can obtain this Śūramgamasamādhi.⁴⁴ What then is this Śūramgamasamādhi?

⁴² This is the second ksānti, the first being the ghosanugā ksānti, and the third the anupattikadharmaksānti; cf. Vkn, pp.25, n.84, 290; below, § 48, n.119.

⁴³ The numbering of these hundred aspects is due to Chinese initiative; it does not appear in the Tibetan translation which gives more than a hundred of them. Among those which do not appear in the Chinese, there should be pointed out, in fol.285a 7, zun gi rim pa dan snrel žihi rgyud bren pa sles pa = yamakavyatvastāhārajiñāna ‘Knowledge consisting of the production of paired and inverted sounds’. Regarding this subject, see Vkn, pp.I.VI-I.X.

In the Tibetan translation, § 21 is followed by a partly versified passage going from folios 286b 5 – 289a 3. These stanzas probably did not appear in the original Sanskrit used by Kumārajiva as he certainly would not have omitted to translate them. In its oldest form, the Śgs was probably a prose work like the Aṣṭasāhasrikā, the Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā, the Aṣṭādaśaśasrikā and the Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā. However, in the course of time, literary taste having evolved, a certain number of stanzas may have been added. The Chinese translations made in Ssii-chuan, in the third century, include, it seems, ten gāthās (see above, p.65). At the end of the sūtra the Tibetan version introduces a further partly versified passage (Tib. Trip., vol.32, pp.96-8, folios 338b 8 - 344a 1) which does not appear in the translation by Kumārajiva.

⁴⁴ It will be noted that the ten stages of the bs are not yet designated by their traditional titles: Pramuditā, etc. (cf. Mahāvyutpatti, Nos 886-895). They are still anonymous as in the bhūmipariparvartas of the large Prajñāpāramitās (Pañcavimśati, pp.214-25; Śatasāhasrikā, pp.1454-73; Aṣṭādaśa, T 220, ch.490-91, pp.409b-497b), chapters which E. Conze considers to be...
1. Purifying the mind [and making it pure] like space (ākāśavac cittapakārikarman).
2. Examining and bringing to the fore the minds of all beings (sarvasattvacittānām pratyanvekṣā sammukhiṣkarana).
3. Knowing the strength and weakness of the spiritual faculties in beings (sarvasattvānām indrivarapāraṇajñānā).
4. Determining (avadhāranā) and understanding (paryājñāna) the [mechanism of] the cause and the fruit (hetuphala) in beings.
5. Knowing the fruition of action in beings (sattvānām karmapipātajñānā).
6. Penetrating the various aspirations of beings (nānādhimukti-prāvesa) and, after having penetrated them, not forgetting them (asampramosa).
7. Knowing the multiple and various tendencies acquired by beings (anekanānādhaśitasātikāra).
8. Being at ease with the sounds of Brahmā and the concentrations (brahmavasarasamādhisvākrodana), teaching beings the diamond-like concentration (vajropamasamādhiśamprakāśana) and mastering at will the absorptions (dhvāna) and attainments (samāpatti).

Enlargements of the original edition. In fact, there is still no reference to the bhūmis in the Astasāhasrikā the oldest known Prajñāpāramitā text.

45. This is the fifth tathāgatābalasa indriyaparāparaṇajñānabalasa (Mahāvyut. No 124) In the lines that follow, the Sgs will mention another eight tathāgata-balas omitting only the sthāna sthānajñānabalasa. See the list of the ten balas in Majjhima I, pp 69-71, Anguttara V, pp 32 sq., Patsambhdā II, pp 174-6, Vibhanga p 335 sq., Mahāvastu I pp 159-60, Kosa VII, pp 66-71, Kosavyākhyā, p 641, 14 sq., Pañcavimsati, p 210, Mahāvyut. Nos 120-9, Arthaviniscaya p 577, Dharmasamgraha, Ch 76.

46. The text is faulty, read chih yeh pao 知聲報 instead of chih wu yeh pao 知業報, with the Tib las kyi rnam par smin pa la hpyug pa ses pa. This is the second tathāgatabalasa karmavipākajñānabalasa (Mahāvyut. No 121) See Kosa VII, p 60.

47. This is the third tathāgatabalasa nānādhimuktiyānabalasa (Mahāvyut. No 122) See Kośa VII, p 70.

48. This is the fourth tathāgatabalasa nānādhaśitasātikāralasa (Mahāvyut. No 123) See Kośa VII, p 70.


50. By means of the vajropamasamādhi the ascetic abandons the final passion of the highest sphere of existence the navasamjñānasamjñāvatana. This samādhi is immediately followed by accession to arhatship, cf Lamotte, History, p 617.

51. This is an allusion to the seventh tathāgatabalasa dhvānavimoksasamādhisamāpattijñānabalasa (Mahāvyut. No 126) There are four dhvānas, eight vimoksas, three samādhis, two samāpattis and nine anupūrvavīrhasamāpattis, cf Kośa VII, p 69.
9. Discerning the paths which lead to the various destinies (sarvatragāminipratipadvyavalokana)\textsuperscript{52}.

10. Knowing the former abodes without encountering any impediments (anāvaranaṃ pūrvanivāsajñānam)\textsuperscript{53}.

11. Possessing an unobstructed heavenly eye (apratigham divyacaksus)\textsuperscript{54}.

12. Obtaining the knowledge of the destruction of defilements (āsravaksayajñāna)\textsuperscript{55}, but without attaining it inopportune (akālam).

13. Obtaining the knowledge which penetrates the sameness of the world of form and the formless world (rūpārūpyasamatpraveṣajñāna). [631b]

14. Manifesting and being at ease with all forms (sarvarūpasamdarśanavikriṇḍana).

15. Knowing that all sounds (svaraghoṣa) are the same as an echo (pratiśrutkāsama).


17. Delighting beings with good words (subhāṣitaiḥ sattvasamtarpanam).

18. Expounding the Dharma as circumstances require (yathā-pratyarham dharmadesāṇā).

19. Distinguishing between the opportune and the inopportune time (kālakālavyavalokana).

20. Being able to change one’s sex (indriyaparāvṛttijñānam).

21. Giving instructions that are never in vain (anirarthakā dharmadesāṇā).

22. Penetrating the limit of reality (bhūtakotyanupraveśa)\textsuperscript{56}.

23. Being skilful at winning over the various categories of beings (sattvajātasamgrahanakuśala).

24. Fulfilling all the perfections (sarvapāramitāparipūri).

25. Having bodily attitudes and a bearing precluding all peculiarity

\textsuperscript{52} This is the sixth tathāgatabala: sarvatragāminipratipajjñānabala (Mahāvyut., No.125). See Kośa VII, p.70.

\textsuperscript{53} This is the eighth tathāgatabala: pūrvanivāsānusmrjitjñānabala (Mahāvyut., No.127). See Kośa VII, p.71.

\textsuperscript{54} This is the ninth tathāgatabala: cyutypapādajñānabala (Mahāvyut., No.128). This understanding of the death and rebirth of beings arises from the heavenly eye (divyacaksus). See Kośa VII, pp.68-9, n., and Vkn, p.67, n.57.

\textsuperscript{55} This is the tenth tathāgatabala: āsravaksayajñānabala (Mahāvyut., No.129). See Kośa VII, p.71.

\textsuperscript{56} In Tib. yan dag pahi mthah la hjug pa.
26. Eliminating all reflection, discrimination and imagination (sarvakalpavikalpaparikal paprahāna).

27. Not harming the fundamental element (dharmadhātu), but exhausting it to the very end (prāntakoṭi).

28. In a single instant, manifesting one’s body in the presence of all the Buddhas.

29. Remembering the instructions of all the Buddhas (sarvabuddhadharmadeśanādhāraṇa).

30. In all the universes (lokādhātu), performing bodily transformations (kāyavikurvaṇa) like mirages (maricisama).

31. Skilfully expounding all the Vehicles (yāna), delivering beings and always ensuring the uninterruption of the Triple Jewel (triratnāsamanuccheda).

32. Producing great adornments up to the final limit (aparāntakoṭi) of Samsāra, and doing so without experiencing the slightest feeling of tiredness (parikheda).

33. Always manifesting oneself in all places of birth (jātisthāna), and doing so opportunely and uninterruptedly.

34. Manifesting one’s activity in all places of birth.

35. Being skilful at ripening beings (sarvasattvaparipācanakauśala).

36. Skilfully keeping up acquaintance with all beings.

37. Being unfathomable to all [adepts] of the two Vehicles.

38. Clearly understanding the pronunciation of all sounds (svarāṅga).

39. Causing all dharmas to be burnt (pradipta).

40. Causing an ordinary kalpa to become an incalculable kalpa (asamkhyaeyakalpa).

41. Causing an asamkhyaeyakalpa to be reduced to an ordinary kalpa.

57 In Tib. rtog pa dan rnam par rtog pa dan yongs su rtog pa thams cad yan dag par bcom pa.

58 In Tib. chos kyi dbyiṅs tha mi dad pa miṅam pahi nos la hjug pa śes pa: ‘Penetrating and knowing the depths (tala) of the undifferentiated (asambhinna) and equalised (sama) dharmadhātu’. Even while manifesting himself in the world of beings and things, the bs never loses sight of the fundamental element, namely, the emptiness (śūnyatā) of beings and things. However, he is careful not to hypostatise it into a nature of things. Cf. Vkn, pp.LXIX-LXXII.

59 In Tib. ṇan thos dan ran sanks rgyas thams cad kyi ye śes kyis gtim dpag dkaḥ ba: ‘Being difficult to fathom (duravagāha) by the knowledge (jñāna) of all the Śravakas and Pratyekabuddhas’.

60 At the moment of the kalpa of disappearance (samvartakalpa), beings and the receptacle-world are destroyed by fire; cf. Vkn, pp.146 and n., 183, stanza 19.

61 A mahākalpa includes four asamkhyaeyakalpas and each asamkhyaeyakalpa numbers twenty antarakaḷpas or small kalpas (cf. Vkn, p.146, n.). However, the bs, through his acintyavimokṣa, wields his dominance over time and, in the minds of those he wins over, can cause a very long period to appear as very short, and vice versa. See Vkn, pp.144-5.
42. Causing an ordinary field (ksetra) to expand into innumerable fields (asamkhya yan ksetra).
43. Causing innumerable fields to be reduced to an ordinary field.
44. Placing immense buddhaksetras into a single pore of skin (romakupa)62.
45. Placing all beings into a single body63.
46. Understanding that all buddhaksetras are the same as space (aka sasama).
47. Extending one’s own body to all the buddhaksetras without exception.
48. Placing all bodies into the fundamental element (dharma dhatu) so that there are no longer any bodies.
49. Understanding that all dharmanas are free of marks (alaksana).
50. Being fully acquainted with all skilful means (upaya).
51. With a single vocal pronouncement (ekavaghudaha rena), being able to express all the natures of things (savadharma svabhava).
52. In uttering only one phrase (ekapada), speaking for innumerable asamkhya yaka kalpas.
53. Skilfully studying all the chapters of the expositions of the Dharma (savadharma mukha prakarana).
54. Fully recognising resemblances and differences, and expounding the Dharma briefly (peyalam) or at length (vistarena).
55. Withdrawing skilfully from all the paths of Mara (sarva maramagatikrama n).
56. Emitting the ray of great skilful means, of knowledge and of wisdom (mahopajnya napatrajyara smipramocana)64.
57. Causing actions of body, speech and mind to be preceded by knowledge (kavya vamanaskarmani jnana puvramgamani)65.
58. Without making any [special] effort (anabhisamkaram), always having the superknowledges (abhijna) at one’s disposal66.
59. Using the four penetrating knowledges (pratisamvijyana)67 so

63 In Tib. sems can gcig gi lus la sems can thams cad kyi lus yan dag par hdu zin hjug pa: ‘Concentrating and inserting the bodies of all beings into the body of a single being’.
64 In Tib. thabs chen po la mkhas pas ses rab dan ye ses kyi hod zer gton ba: ‘Through ability in great skilful means, emitting the ray of wisdom and knowledge’.
65 These are the avasikadharma Nos 13-15 of the Buddha: sarvakayakarma jnana puvramgamam jnana nuparivarti, etc. (cf. Mahavyut., Nos 148-50).
that all beings experience great gladness (saṃtuṣṭi).

60. Manifesting transformations (vikurvaṇa) to the limit of the fundamental element (dharmadhātu).

61. Using the means of winning over (sattvaparigrahana) to secure beings (sattvaparigrahana).

62. Understanding all the languages (vyavahāra) used by all beings in the various universes (lokadhātu). [631c]

63. Not calling into question that dharmas are like an illusion (māyopameśu dharmesu nihsaṃsayaḥ).

64. In all places of birth, practising widely all the sovereign powers (sarvajātisthāneśu vaśitāparipūrīḥ).

65. [Obtaining] willingly and tirelessly all necessary things.

66. Showing oneself as a master (adhipati) among all beings.

67. Being a field of merit (puṇyakṣetra) equally profitable to the good and the bad.

68. Obtaining and penetrating all the secrets (guhya) of the bodhisattvas.

69. Always emitting rays (raśmipramocana) over all the universes without exception.

70. Possessing a knowledge (jñāna) which is profound (gambhīra) and unfathomable (duravāgaḥ).

71. Having a mind (citta) like earth (prthivi), water (ap), fire (tejas) and wind (vāyu).

72. In every teaching (nirdeśa), statement (pada) and discourse (nirukti), skilfully causing the turning of the Wheel of the Dharma (dharmacakrapravartana).

73. Unimpededly (anāvaraṇam) [penetrating] the Tathāgata stage (tathāgatabhūmi).

74. Spontaneously (svaraṣena) obtaining the anutpattikadharmakṣāntī.

75. Acquiring a mind conforming to the truth and not being defiled by the stains of the passions (kleśamala).

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68 In Tib. so so yaṅ dag rig pa bṣis sems can gi khams thams cad tshim par byed pa: ‘Through the four pratisamvids delighting all the sattvadhātu’.

69 In Tib. chos kyi dbyinths thams cad kyi klas par rnam par hphrul pa ston pa = sarvadharmadhāthuparyantam vikurvaṇasamdarśanam.

70 See Vkn. p.19, n.67.

71 An early Mahāsāṃghika thesis: ‘In all their words, the Tathāgatas set turning the Wheel of the Dharma’. Cf. A. Bareau, Les Sectes bouddhiques, p.58.

72 In Tib. ma bstan par raṅ gi gis bzod pa daṅ ye sès thob pa daṅ rin po che lta buḥi sems bskyed pas kun nas ŋon moṅs pa thams cad kyi dri mas mi gos pa: ‘Untaught (anupadēsam) and by
76. Inserting all the waters into a single pore (ekasmin romakūpe), but without disturbing the aquatic creatures (jalastha).

77. Accumulating immense merit (puñya) and good roots (kuśalamūla).

78. Clearly understanding the applications of skilful means (upāyaparināmana).

79. Excelling in wonders (prātiḥārya) and everywhere carrying out all the practices (caryā) of the bodhisattvas.

80. Finding security (kṣema) in all the Buddhadharmas.

81. After having found it, escaping from original existences [conditioned] by previous actions (pūrvakarman).

82. Penetrating the hidden Dharma treasures of the Buddhas (buddhānāṃ gūḍhadharmakośapraṇvesaḥ).

83. Manifesting a dissolute life completely given over to pleasure.

84. Hearing quantities of teachings (dharma) and being able to remember them all.

85. Seeking out all dharmas (sarvadharmaparyēṣaṇa) without ever tiring.

86. Conforming to worldly conditions (lokadharmānuvartana), without being defiled by them.

87. Expounding the Dharma to mankind for immense kalpas, but giving them the impression that the expounding lasted for only a morning (pūrvvāḥna).

88. Manifesting all kinds of infirmities, making oneself lame (khaṇja), deaf (badhira), blind (andha) and mute (mūka) in order to ripen beings (sattvaparipācanārtham).

89. Having an hundred thousand Guhyakādhipati Vajrapāni-Mallas oneself (svatah), obtaining patience (ksānti) and knowledge (jñāna) and, by means of a jewel-like (ratnopama) cittotpāda, not being defiled by the stains of the defilements (samkleśamala)'.

The cittotpāda 'like a jewel' (ratnākaropama) is accompanied by the perfection of morality (śīlapāramitā). It occupies the sixth place in the traditional list of the twenty-two cittotpādas; cf. Abhisamayālāmākāra I, v.19; Āłoka, p.25, 26-27; Paṅcativimśati, p.22, 1-2; Sūtrālāmākāra, p.16, 23.

73 Cf. Vkn, p.143, § 11.

74 An obscure sentence, with no correspondence in Tibetan.

75 In Tib. rtse ba dan ċāga ba dan lons spvyod thams cad kun tu ston pa dan sans ṭi žin rab tu ži la ŋe bar ži ba: ‘Giving oneself over to games (kriđana), pleasures (nandana) and delights (upabhoga), but resting, calming and stilling the mind’.

76 Regarding the eight lokadharmas, see Vkn, p.11, n.50.


78 Cf. Vkn, p.183, stanza 18.
as permanent assistants (*nityānubaddha)*.

90. Seeing and discovering spontaneously (*svarāṣena*) all the states of Buddhahood (*buddhatva*).

91. Being able, in an instant, to manifest a life-span (*ayuspramāṇa*) being prolonged for innumerable *asamkhyeyakalpas*.

92. Seeming to adopt all the bodily attitudes (*īryāpatha*) of the first two Vehicles, but without inwardly renouncing the practices (*caryā*) of the bodhisattvas.

93. With a perfectly calm (*praśānta*) mind, [dwelling] on emptiness (*sūnyatā*) and signlessness (*ānimitta*).

94. Even while disporting oneself with female musicians, inwardly retaining the concentration on the recollection of the Buddhas (*buddhānusmrītamādhī*).

95. Whether seeing (*drṣṭe*), hearing (*śrute*), touching (*sprṣte*) or co-existing (*samsthite*), ripening innumerable beings (*aprāmaṇaśasattva-paripācana*).

96. From moment to moment, manifesting the acquisition of complete enlightenment (*abhisambodhi*) and, by conforming with beings to be disciplined (*vaineya*), causing them to obtain deliverance (*vimuktī*).

97. Manifesting the entry into the womb (*garbhāvakratānti*) and the birth (*janman*).

98. [Manifesting] the renunciation of the world (*abhiniskramand*) and the acquisition of Buddhahood [or complete enlightenment] (*abhisambodhana*).

99. Setting turning the Wheel of the Dharma (*dharmacakravartana*).

100. Entering great Nirvāṇa, but without attaining complete cessation.

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79 In **Tib** *Lag na rao ye hbum rtag tu phyi bzin du kbrog ba* This concerns the yaksa Vajrapāṇi ‘Thunderbolt-in-hand’ His epithet of *Guhyaśādhpati* can be interpreted as ‘Great Master of the Guhyaka yakṣas’ or ‘Great Master of the three-fold Mystery (of the body, speech and mind of the Tathāgata)’ The epithet of *Malla* is not found in the Chinese versions; it can be a common name meaning ‘athlete’, or a proper name designating the Mallas of Northern Bihar where the Buddha entered Nirvāṇa For the Mahāyāna, the bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi belongs to the close entourage (*abhyantaraparivara*) of Sakyamuni and is, together with Ānanda, one of his *upasthāyakas* or attendants (cf. Nāgārjuna, *Traite V*, p 2236 and n ) he is ‘permanently attached’ (*nityānubaddha*) to the person of the Buddha and the great bodhisattvas *(Lalitavistara, p 66, 5-7, Daśabhūmika, p 71, 22, Lankāvatāra, p 240, 10)* On the astonishing career of this mythical character, see my article ‘Vajrapāṇi en Inde’ in *Mélanges de Sinologie, Bibliothèque de l’Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises* XX, Paris 1966, pp 113-59

80 Regarding this sequence of verbal adjectives in *ta-* in the locative, see **Vkn**, p 98, n 118

81 This is how the **Tib** (fol 286b 1-5) gives Nos 96 to 100 sems can mthah yas pa / tshad
O Drdhhamati, the Śūramgamasamādhi is so infinite (apramāṇa) that it reveals all the marvellous power of the Buddha and innumerable beings benefit from it.

[The Heroic Progress and Good Dharmanas]

22. Drdhhamati, this Śūramgamasamādhi is not understood in the light of a single statement (ekapada), a single object (ekālambana), a single meaning (ekārtha): all the absorptions (dhyāna), attainments (samāpatti), liberations (vimokṣa), concentrations (samādhi), superknowledges (abhijñā), supernormal powers (ṛddhi) and penetrating knowledges (pratisaṃvijñāna) are included (samgrhitā) in [632a] the Śūramgamasamādhi.

23. Just as springs, streams, rivers, tributaries and water courses flow into the great sea (mahāsamudra), so all the bodhisattva possesses in the way of dhyānas and samāpattis is to be found in the Śūramgamasamādhi.

24. Just as a noble Cakravartin king is accompanied everywhere by an heroic general (śūrasenāpatti) and four army companies (catur-aṅgabala), so, O Drdhhamati, all the samādhimaghakhas, samāpattimaghakhas, pratibhānamaghakhas, vimokṣamaghakhas, dhāraṇīmaghakhas, abhijñāmaghakhas, vidyāvimuktimaghakhas and dharma-maghakhas are included in the Śūramgamasamādhi, and everywhere that bodhisattvas practise the Śūramgamasamādhi they are accompanied by all the samādhis.

med pa yons su smin par byed pa dan / sens kyi skad cig cigs kyi skad cig la dul bahi sens can ji ltar yons su smin pa la / mnon par rdzogs par byan chub pa dan / rnam par grol ba ston pa dan / byan chub sens dpah dag mnal du hjug pa dan / bsas pa dan / mnon par hyun ba dan / dkah ba spyod pa dan byan chub kyi sūn por hgro ba dan / bdud hdul ba dan / byan chub mnon par rdzogs par khis ha ngya ba dan / chos kyi hkhor lo bskor ba dan / mya nān las hdah po chen po dan / lus hjig pa yan ston byan chub sens dpahi chos ńid de yan mi gton ūn śin tu phun pho med par yan mya nān las mi hdah pa hdi ni blo gros bstan pa dpah bar hgro ba hdi ti ne kzhin ces bya ste /: Ripening an infinite and countless number of beings and ripening them from moment to moment according to the requirements of beings to be disciplined (vaineyasattva); manifesting the attainment of enlightenment (abhisambodhi) and deliverance (vimukti); manifesting the Bodhisattva's entry into the womb (garbhavakranti), the birth (janman), the leaving of the world (abhinisāramanā), the practice of the austerity (dūskaracarāyā), the going to the seat of enlightenment (bodhimandagamana), the victory over Mara (māradhārasana), the attaining of enlightenment (abhisaṃbodhana), the turning of the Wheel of the Dharma (dharmacakrapravartana), the great Nirvāṇa and the destruction of the body (kāyavināśa), and all that while not abandoning the dharma-nature (dharmatā) of a bodhisattva and not definitively entering Nirvāṇa-without-a-remainder (nirupadhiśesanirvāṇa): this, O Drdhhamati, is what is called Śūramgamasanāmādhi'.

The feats of the Tathāgata (tathāgata-kārya) are recapitulated in more or less the same terms by the Daśabhūmika, pp.14, 20-24; 90, 12-15. Also see above, § 7, n.17; further on, §§ 123, 163.
25. Drdhamati, just as a noble Cakravartin king, while travelling, is followed by his seven jewels (saptaratna), so, O Drdhamati, the Sūramgamasamādhi is always followed by all the auxiliary dharmas of enlightenment (bodhipākskādharma). That is why this samādhi is named ‘Heroic Progress’ (śūramgama).

[The Heroic Progress and the Perfections]

1. Dānapāramitā

26. The Buddha said to Drdhamati: The bodhisattva in Sūramgama-samādhi has no need to seek riches (bhoga) to give away. All precious substances (ratnadraavya) to be found in the mahāsāhasralokadhatu, the great seas (mahāsamudra), the palaces of the gods (devabhavana) and the world of mankind (manuṣyaloka) – food (anna), drink (pāna), clothing (vastra), elephants (hastin), horses (āśva), vehicles (yāna) – these he has majestically at his disposal. They come to him by reason of his previous merit (pūrvapunya) and, furthermore, they are voluntarily created by his supernormal power (rddhibala). Such is the special fruit (phalavisesa) of the perfection of giving (dānapāramitā) which characterises the bodhisattva in Sūramgamasamādhi.

2. Śīlapāramitā

27. The Buddha said to Drdhamati: The bodhisattva in Sūramgama-samādhi does not pledge himself to morality, but does not avoid it (śīlam na sāmadadāti na tu śilād vicalati). In order to discipline beings (sattvavainayārtham) he seems to pledge himself to morality (śilasamādāna), comply with its bodily attitudes (iyṛyāpatha-parigrahaṇa), confess his shortcomings, if he has any, and abhor his faults, but inwardly (adhyātmam) he is pure (viśuddha) and always faultless (anāpattika). [Conversely], in order to ripen beings (sattvaparipācanārtham), he is born in the world of desire (kāmadhātu), becomes a Cakravartin king, surrounds himself with an harem and a body of servants (antahpurasevakakāya-parivṛtta), seems to have a wife

82 Cf. Digha I, p.89, 1-4, Mahāvyutpati, Nos.3621-8, etc.
83 In theory, the morality of commitment (samvarasīla) – that of the monk who commits himself through vows – is superior to simple and natural honesty. Even if he does not commit himself, the bs practises a superior morality (adhiṣīla), for all his activity is in the service of beings. As a monk, even if he does not abide by the rules, he is pure; as a layman, even if he leads a dissolute life, he is recollected. His altruism sanctifies all his actions. See Samgṛaha, pp.212-27, and the notes, pp.41*-43*.
84 We have in Tib. bsla ba yān yongs su ḡdzin par byed = siksāparigrahaṇa: ‘observing the rules (of the religious life)’.
(bhāryā) and children (putra) and gives himself over to the five objects of desire (pañcakāmaguṇaparicarana), but inwardly he is always established in concentration (samādhistha), of pure morality (viśuddhaśīla) and perfectly aware of the defects of the threefold existence (bhavatrayadosadārśin).\(^{85}\) Such is, O Drḍhamati, the special fruit of the perfection of morality (śilapāramitā) which characterises the bodhisattva in Śūraṃgamasamādhi.

\(^{1}\) 3. Kṣāntipāramitā

28. The Buddha said to Drḍhamati: The bodhisattva in Śūraṃgamasamādhi cultivates patience (kṣāntim bhāvayati) to the end and completely. \(^{86}\) ‘Beings are not born’, and thus he cultivates patience. ‘Dharmas do not arise’, and thus he cultivates patience. ‘The mind (citta) is devoid of shape or colour (samsthāna-varṇa)’, and thus he cultivates patience. ‘There is neither another (para) nor a self (ātman)’, and thus he cultivates patience. ‘Samsāra does not merit attention (manyanā)’, and thus he cultivates patience. ‘The self-nature of things (svabhāvatā) does not allow of destruction (abhedyā)’, and thus he cultivates patience. While the bodhisattva is thus cultivating patience, there is nothing that he cultivates and there is nothing that he does not cultivate.

29. In order to ripen beings (sattvaparipācanārtham), he is born in the world of desire (kāmadhātu); he shows himself to be angry (sakrośa), but inwardly he is serene (abhīprasanna); he shows himself to be unapproachable (durāsada), but he is neither distant (dūre) nor close (antike). In order to purify beings [632b], he upsets accepted attitudes (īryāpathān vikṣipati), but he never upsets the fundamental element (dharmadhātu).\(^{87}\) He speaks of things to be endured, but there is no eternal (nitya), stable (dhrva), immutable (avipariṇāma) dharma to be endured. Endowed with such patience, it is in order to destroy the hatred (dveṣa) and animosity (vyāpāda) of beings that a bodhisattva always sings the praises (varṇana) of the merits of patience

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85 Defects of the kāma-, rūpa- and ārūpya-bhavas.
86 Theorists distinguish three kinds of patience: patience in bearing insults (apakāramārṣaṇa-kṣānti), patience in accepting suffering (duḥkhaḥivāsanākṣānti) and patience in contemplating the Dharma (dharmānīdhyānāksānti), that is, the profound and vast teachings of the Buddhist doctrine (cf. Samgraha, p.191). These profound teachings are notably the Summaries of the Dharma (dhammoddāna): ‘Impermanent are all formations, painful are all formations, impersonal are all dharmas, calm is Nirvāṇa’ (cf. Vkn, p.63, n.51). It is this patience concerning the Buddhist doctrine which is involved here. The subject is studied at length in Traité II, p.912 sq.
87 In Tib.chos kyi dbyins.
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§30

(ksāntipuṇya); however, for him there is neither animosity (vyāpāda) nor patience (ksānti). Such is, O Drḍhamati, the special fruit of the perfection of patience (ksāntipāramitā) which characterises the bodhisattva in Śūraṃgamasamādhī.

4. Vīryapāramitā

30. The Buddha said to Drḍhamati: The bodhisattva in Śūraṃgama-samādhī activates great vigour in the search for good dharmas (kuśaladharmaparyesārtham mahāvīryam ārabhate), but does not develop any activity of body, speech or mind (kāyavānmanaḥ-samudācāra). It is for the idle (kusīda) that he seems to activate vigour, ‘so that’, he says, ‘beings may imitate my exercises (śiksā’), but no activism (ārambha), no grasp (ādāna) [can be exerted] on dharmas. And why is this? A bodhisattva knows that all dharmas rest eternally on the fundamental element (dharmadhātu) without coming (āgamanā) or going (nirgama)88. Thus, even while remaining apart from all activity of body, speech and mind, he seems to activate his vigour (vīryam ārabdhum), but he does not see any dharma to acquire. Even though he seems to activate his vigour in this world, he is inwardly (adhyātmam) and outwardly (bahirdhā) free of exerting any activism (ārambha).

He ceaselessly traverses innumerable buddhaksetras, but confronted with bodily forms, he remains the same (sama) and immovable (acala)89. He seems to bring into play all the good dharmas (kuśaladharma), but does not distinguish between either good or bad dharmas.

He seems to seek the truth (dharmaparyesāṇa) and initiate discussions but, with regard to Buddhahood (abhisambodhi), he in no way depends on instruction from others (aparapratyaya).

He seems to seek a teacher (ācārya) and a preceptor (upādhyāya), but he is the master of gods and mankind (śāstā devamanuṣyāṇām).

He seems to enquire laboriously, but he possesses in himself an unobstructed eloquence (apratihatapratībhāṇa).

He seems to show respect (satkāra), but he is himself venerated by gods and mankind.

He seems to descend into a womb (garbham avakrāntum), but he is not defiled (kliśta) by any stain (mala).

88 In Tib. byaṅ chub sems dpah des chos kyi dbyiṅs gnas pa ŋid ma hoṅs ma soṅ ba rtogs pahi phyir ro.

89 In Tib. lus kyi chos ŋid las kyan mi gyoho = kāyadharmatāyā na vicalati: ‘He does not swerve from the nature of the body’. Even while travelling through countless buddhaksetras, the bs does not lose sight of the very nature of bodies and form, non-existent in themselves.
He seems to come into the world (prasūta), but he does not see any dharma arising or perishing.

He appears in the form of a boy (dāraka), but all the organs of his body are fully developed (paripūrnendriya).

He seems to study the professions (śilpaśthāna), medicine (cikitsāvidyā), magic (mantravidyā), writing (lipi), numeration (saṃkhyā), calculation (gananā) and the manual arts (karmasthāna), but he knows all this perfectly in advance.

He appears ill (glāna), but he is free from all the diseases of the passions (vigatakleśavyādhi).

He appears old (jīrṇa), but all his organs are intact (anupahatendriya) in advance.

He appears to die, but he is beyond birth (jāti), death (marāṇa) and passing on (cyuti).

Such is, O Drdhamaṭi, the special fruit of the perfection of vigour (vīryapāramitā) which characterises the bodhisattva in Śūramgamasamādhi.

5. Dhyānapāramitā

31. The Buddha said to Drdhamaṭi: The bodhisattva in Śūramgamasamādhi, even though he knows that all dharmas are eternally concentrated (sadāsamāhita), teaches the various kinds of absorptions (dhyānaviśesa). He shows himself absorbed in order to win over the distracted (viksiptacitta), but he does not see any dharma that could be ‘distracted’, all dharmas being, like the fundamental element (dharmadhātu), [eternally concentrated]. In order to subdue the mind (cittadamanārtham), he never strays from absorption (dhyānād na vicalati).

He takes up the [four] bodily attitudes: he walks, stands⁹⁰, sits or lies down (caturvṛdham īryāpatham kalpayati tadyathā caṅkramyate tīsthati niśīdati sayyām kalpayati), but he is always calm (sānta) and concentrated (saṃāhita).

He holds conversations (pralāpa) with beings, but he does not abandon [632c] the state of concentration (saṃādhidharmatām na parityajati).

Through goodwill (maitrī) and compassion (karunā) for beings, he enters the villages (grāma), towns (nagara), districts (nigama), capitals (rājadhanī) and kingdoms (rāṣṭra), but he always remains concentrated.

⁹⁰ Read chu 住 in place of ch’ū 去.
When, for the welfare and happiness of beings (sattvānām hitāya sukhāya), he seems to take food, he is always concentrated.

His body (kāya) is hard (dṛđha), diamond-like (vajrasama), real, infallible (amogha) and indestructible (abhedya). It does not contain either a belly (pakvāsaya), or stomach (āmāsaya), or excrement (vis), or urine (mūtra), or bad odours (durgandha) or impurity (asuci).

He seems to take food, but nothing penetrates into him, or it is only through compassion (karund), for the welfare and happiness of beings (sattvānām hitāya sukhāya). In all circumstances he is blameless (sarvatrdnavadya). If he seems to exercise the practices of the worldly (prthagjanacaryā), he is really free of practice and he transcends all practices (sarvacaryāḥ samatikrāmati).

Dṛđhamati, regarding this bodhisattva in Śūramgamasamādhi, when he appears in a forest (aranya), it is exactly as if he were in a village (grāma); when he appears among the laity (grhastha), it is exactly as if he were among the religious (pravrajita). If he appears in white clothing (avaddtavasana), he does not have the dissipation (pramāda) of a layman; and if he appears as an ascetic (śramaṇa), he does not have the arrogance (manyand) of a monk.

He takes up the religious life in an heretical order (pāsandikeṣu pravrajati) in order to win over beings⁹¹, but he does not really take it up (pravrajyā), he is not defiled (kliśṭa) by all the false views (mithyādrṣṭi) which prevail there and does not give any credence (prasāda) to them. He seems to adopt the bodily attitudes (īryāpatha) of the heretics (pāsandika), but does not conduct himself in accordance with them.

32. Dṛđhamati, just as a guide (parināyaka), placing himself at the head of a group of people, helps them to make their way along a steep path, then goes back to help other persons pass along, so, O Dṛđhamati, the bodhisattva in Śūramgamasamādhi, taking into account the aspirations of beings – śrāvakayānikas, pratyekabuddhayānikas or buddhayānikas – indicates the appropriate path (yathāpratyaḥram mārgam deśayati) to them and, after having helped them make their way, goes back to help others along. That is why this worthy man (satpurusā) is called a guide (parināyaka).

33. Just as a good ship (nau), leaving this shore (āpāra), conveys innumerable beings (apramānasattvāms tārayati) to the other shore (pāra)

⁹¹ It is thus that Mañjuśrī took up the religious life with the Nirgranthas of Vaiśāli and became a disciple of Satyaka Nirgranthiputra; cf. Ratnakāraṇa, T 462, ch.2, pp.475c-476b (trans. 'Mañjuśrī', T'oung Pao XLVIII, 1960, p.40).
and, having reached the other shore, goes back (pratinivartate) to convey other beings, so too, O Drdhhamati, the bodhisattva in Śūramgamasamādhi: he sees beings being carried off by the fourfold flood (caturogha)² of Samsāra; he wishes to rescue them (uttārana) and enable them to find the way out (nihsaranā). He takes into account the degree of ripeness (pakvata)³ of the good roots (kusalamula) planted by those beings: if he sees beings destined to be rescued by the [Vehicle of the] Pratyekabuddhas, he shows himself to them and manifests Mahāparinirvāna; 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 Nirvāna. Then, through the power of his Śūramgamasamādhi, he returns to a new birth (punarjanman) in order to rescue other beings. That is why this worthy man (satpurusa) is called captain of the ship (nāvikapati).

34. O Drdhhamati, just as an illusionist (māyākāra), in the presence of a great gathering of people (mahato janakāyasya purataḥ), shows himself in the form of a corpse (mṛtaśarīra), swollen (vyādhmātaka), putrid (vipūyaka), burnt by fire (vidagdhaka) and devoured by animals (vikhāditaka)⁴, then, when he has received money from the crowd, rises again because he fully understands illusionary wiles, so the bodhisattva in Śūramgamasamādhi, in order to ripen beings (sattva-paripācanaṁ), appears [being born], old, [sick] and dead⁵, but he is not subject to birth (jātī), old age (jarā), sickness (vyādhi) or death (marāna).

Such is, O Drdhhamati, the special fruit of the perfection of absorption (dhyānapāramitā) which characterises the bodhisattva in Śūramgamasamādhi.

6. Prajñāpāramitā.

35. The Buddha said [633a] to Drdhhamati: The bodhisattva in Śūramgamasamādhi cultivates wisdom (prajñāṁ bhāvayati) and his faculties are sharp (tīkṣṇendriya).

He never sees the self-nature of beings (sattvasvabhāva) but, in order to ripen them, he speaks of beings. He does not see either a

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² A traditional expression (Lalitavistara, p.195, 18; Divyavadāna, p.95, 15; Avadānasataka I, p.16, 11; Gandavyūha, p.492, 1) to designate the fourfold defilement (āśrava): defilement of desire (kāma), existence (bhava), false views (drṣṭī) and ignorance (avidyā). Besides caturogha, we also find caturyoga); cf. Digha III, pp.230 and 276.

³ Adopt the variant shu instead of chiu .

⁴ An allusion to the various stages of the meditation on repulsiveness (āsubhabhāvanā); cf. Mahāvyut. Nos.1159, 1163, 1161.

⁵ In Tib. skye ba dañ / rga ba dañ / na ba dañ ḥchi ba yan ston la.
living being (jīva) or an individual (pudgala), but he speaks of a living being and an individual. He does not see\(^96\) the self-nature of actions (karmasvabhāva) or the self-nature of fruition (vipākasvabhāva), but he teaches action and fruition to beings. He does not see\(^96\) the self-nature of the passions (kleśasvabhāva) of Samsāra, but he teaches a clear understanding of the passions of Samsāra (samsāra-kleśaparijñā). He does not see Nirvāṇa, but he talks of reaching Nirvāṇa. He does not see that dharmas admit of distinctive marks (viśiṣṭalakṣaṇa), but he speaks of good (kusala) and bad (akusala) dharmas.

36. Having already reached the other shore (pāra) of unobstructed knowledge (apratihatajñāna), he seems to be born in the world of desire (kāmadhātu), but he is not attached (na sajjate) to the world of desire. He seems to practise the absorptions (dhyāna) of the world of form (rūpadhātu), but he is not attached to the world of form. He seems to enter the attainments (samāpatti) of the formless [world] (ārūpyadhātu), but he is born in the world of form. He seems to practise the absorptions of the world of form, but he is born in the world of desire. He appears in the world of desire, but does not exercise the practices (caryā) of the world of desire. He knows all the absorptions (dhyāna) and limbs of absorption (dhyānānga); he can voluntarily enter an absorption (dhyānapravesa) and withdraw from an absorption (dhyānavyutthāna). In order to ripen beings (sattvaparipācanārtham), he is born wherever he wishes and, in all the places of birth (sarveṣu jātisthānēsu), he assumes an individual existence (ātmabhedam pariṁrañāti).

37. Being endowed with profound and marvellous wisdom (gambhiraprajñāsamanvāgata), he eliminates all the practices of beings (samucchinnasarvācaryā); in order to ripen beings, he seems to exercise the practices, but in truth he has no dharma to practise, and he has transcended all practices (sarvacaryāsamatikrānta).

He has long since eliminated the ‘grasp’ [that is, the belief] concerning me and mine (ātmātmiyagrāha), but he ‘grasps’ (grhnāti) things which he needs\(^97\).

For a bodhisattva endowed with this knowledge (jñāna) and this wisdom (prajñā) and all actions (karman) that he undertakes are consistent

\(^{96}\) Read pu chien 不見 instead of pu té 不得, conforming with the Tib. mi dmigs.

\(^{97}\) In Tib. de ni ɲar ḍødzin pa daɲ ɲa ɭa yir ḍødzin pa dag daɲ bral ba ɭin la ɭen pa daɲ gtoɲ par yan snah ṣo.
with knowledge and wisdom (jñānaprajñānuparivartin) and he is not defiled (kliṣṭa) by the fruits of actions (karmaphala)\(^{98}\).

In order to ripen beings, he professes to be mute (mūka), but in truth he possesses a wonderful Brahmā voice (brahvasvararutaravīti)\(^{99}\).

He has reached the other shore (pāra) of speaking (nirukti) and writing; he does not reflect in advance about what he should say; in all the assemblies where he goes, his word is well-spoken (subhāṣita); it provokes joy (mudita), and minds are strengthened. It is exactly as it should be (yathāpratyayarham) that he expounds the Dharma, and the knowledge and wisdom of the bodhisattva do not undergo the slightest diminution (apacaya).

38. O Drdhhamati, let us imagine, for example, some men (nara) and women (nari), large or small, who, with all kinds of receptacles (bhājana), go to a source of water: stream (udbhida), lake (tadāga), reservoir (vilva), river (nadi) or great sea (mahāsamudra). Each person, having filled the receptacle, large or small, which is at his or her disposal, returns home. Well now! The waters have not undergone the slightest diminution (apacaya). In the same way, O Drdhhamati, the bodhisattva in Śūraṅgamasaṁādhi goes to all kinds of assemblies: assembly of Kṣatriyas, assembly of Brāhmaṇas, assembly of Grhapatis, assembly of Śakras or assembly of Brahmās. Having reached those assemblies, he does not expend any mental effort (cittābhoga)\(^{100}\); with his good words (subhāṣita) he provokes delight (samtoṣayati), and it is exactly as it should be (yathāpratyayarham) that he expounds the Dharma. However, his knowledge (jñāna) and eloquence (pratibhāna) do not undergo the slightest diminution. Such is, O Drdhhamati, the special fruit of the perfection of wisdom (prajñāpāramitā) which characterises the bodhisattva in Śūraṅgamasaṁādhi.

[Liberating Action of the Heroic Progress]

39. The Buddha said to Drdhhamati: Beings who see the bodhisattva in Śūraṅgamasaṁādhi [633b] are all liberated (parimucyante); those

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\(^{98}\) In Tib. de ses rab dan ye ses dañ ldan pas ye ses kyis byas pahi las thams cad spyad kyi / ṇa rgyal gvis byed pa yan ma yin la las dañ rnam par smin par brjod pa yan ma yin no / 'Being endowed with wisdom (praṭiṇā) and knowledge (jñāna), he accomplishes all the actions resulting from knowledge; but, by not acting through egoism (ahamkāra), for him there is no question of action (karman) or fruition (vipāka').

\(^{99}\) In Tib. tshams pahi sgra dan skad dan dbyarhs (cf. Mahāvyut., No.482). See Hōbōgirin, pp.133-5, s.v. 'Bonnon'.

\(^{100}\) In Tib. lhun gvis grub = anābhoga. On the meaning of this expression, see the notes by L. de La Vallée Poussin in Siddhi, p.617.
who hear his name (*nāman*), see his bodily attitudes (*īryāpatha*), hear his instructions (*dharmadeśanā*) or see his silence (*tūṣṇīmbhāva*)\(^{101}\), are all liberated.

O Drdhhamati, it is like the great king of medicaments (*mahābhaisajyarāja*) tree called Darśaniya\(^{102}\), ‘Pleasant to behold’: persons who see it find the cure for their sickness (*vyādhi*). So it is with the bodhisattva in Śūramgamasamādhi: beings who see him find the cure for craving (*rāga*), hatred (*dvesa*) and delusion (*moha*).

40. It is like the great king of medicaments (*mahābhaisajyarāja*) called Vipravāsa\(^{103}\), ‘Dispersion’: in time of battle (*samgrāma*) the drums (*dundubhi*) are coated with it; as soon as the wounded, hit by an arrow (*śalya*) or struck by a lance (*śūla*), hear the sound (*svara*) of those drums, the arrows come out [of their wounds] and the poisons (*viśa*) are eliminated. So it is, O Drdhhamati, with the bodhisattva in Śūramgamasamādhi: for those who hear his name, the arrows (*śalya*) of craving (*rāga*), hatred (*dveṣa*) and delusion (*moha*) are pulled out of their own accord (*svatah*), the poisons of all the false views (*sarvadrṣṭigatavīśa*) are eliminated and no more passion (*klesa*) arises.

41. O Drdhhamati, it is like the medicament tree (*bhaisajyavrksa*) called Saṃpanna\(^{104}\), ‘Complete’: those who use its root (*mūla*) find the cure to their sickness (*vyādhi*); its trunk (*gaṇḍa*), knots (*samāḍhi*), pith (*sāra*), bark (*tvac*), branches (*śākhā*), leaves (*pattra*), flowers (*puspa*) and fruit (*phala*) can also cure sickness; whether it is standing (*samuccrita*), dried out (*śuṣka*) or cut into pieces (*khandaśaś chinna*), it can cure all the sicknesses of beings. So it is with the bodhisattva in Śūramgamasamādhi: there is not one moment when he is not benefiting beings; he always dispels their torment (*upadrava*); he expounds the Dharma to them and practises the four means of winning over (*samgrahavastu*) and the perfections (*pāramitā*) so that they can obtain liberation. Whether people respect him or not, whether they benefit him or not, the bodhisattva uses every means to bring them to security (*kṣema*). Even those who, until their dying day, ate flesh (*māmsāda*): animals (*tiryagyoni*), bipeds (*dvipad*), quadrupeds (*catuspada*), birds (*paksin*), wild beasts (*mṛga*), belonging or not to human kind (*manusya manusya*), all these beings, by virtue of the morality (*śīla*) and previous aspirations (*pūrvapraṇidhāna*) of that bodhisattva, will be

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101 Vimalakirti’s silence continues to be famous; cf. Vkn, p.202.

102 In Tib. Blta na sdug pa; cf. Mahāvyut., No.5214.

103 In Tib. Hbral ba; cf. Mahāvyut., Nos 8386, 8413.

104 Chū–tsu 舊足. The corresponding Tibetan is missing.
reborn after their death among the gods (param maranād deveśupatsyante); they will always be free of sickness and will escape torment (upadrava). Drḍhamati, the bodhisattva in Śūraṅgamasamādhi is exactly like the medicament tree (bhaisajyavrksa).

[Instantaneous and Simultaneous Practice of the Perfections]

42. The Buddha said to Drḍhamati: The bodhisattva in Śūraṅgamasamādhi, in the course of all his births (sarvesu janmesu), comprehends for himself the six perfections (pāramitā) without learning them from anyone. Whether he raises his foot (caranotksepane) or lowers his foot (caranāniksepane)105, whether he inhales (āśvāse) or exhales (praśvāse), at every instant (kṣane kṣane) he always possesses the six pāramitās.

And why? O Drḍhamati, the body (kāya) of that bodhisattva consists of the self-nature of things (dharmaśvabhāva) and his domain (vihāra) consists of things106.

43. Drḍhamati, let us suppose that a king (rājan) or his ministers (amātya) grinds with a pestle an hundred thousand different kinds of perfumes (gandha) and reduces them to a fine powder (cūrṇa), and let us suppose that a certain man comes looking for a single kind of perfume to the exclusion of all the other kinds mixed with it. Then, O Drḍhamati, from this fine powder containing an hundred thousand kinds of perfumes, would it be possible to extract a single kind which has not been mixed with the others?

[Drḍhamati replied]: Certainly not, O Bhagavat.

[The Buddha went on]: Equally, O Drḍhamati, that bodhisattva having [long since]107 perfumed his body (kāya) and mind (citta) with all the pāramitās, it is at every instant (kṣane kṣane) that he arouses the six pāramitās.

44. How then, O Drḍhamati, does the bodhisattva arouse the six pāramitās at every instant?

1. The bodhisattva has renounced everything (parityaktasarvasva), and his mind is devoid of greed (lobha) and attachment (abhiniveśa): such is [633c] his dānapāramitā.

2. His mind is wholesome (kuśala), still (praśānta) and absolutely flawless: such is his śīlapāramitā.

105 The same expressions are found in Vkn, p.98.
106 In Tib. byaṅ chub sems dpah dehi lus ni chos kyi raṅ bzin no / gnas pa ni chos kyi raṅ bzin no.
107 According to the Tib. yun riṅ po nas.
3. His mind is essentially indestructible (aksaya) and is not injured by any object (sarvavisayair aksata): such is his ksāntipāramitā.

4. Attentively he considers and analyses the mind (cittam vibhāvayati pravicinotti) and recognises its mark of discernment (cittasya vivekālakṣanāṃ vijñānī): such is his vīryapāramitā.

5. He is absolutely stilled (atyantopaśānta) and controls his mind (cittam damayati): such is his dhyānapāramitā.

6. He examines the mind, knows the mind and penetrates the nature of the mind: such is his prajñāpāramitā.

Drḍhamati, it is thus that the bodhisattva in Śūraṁgamasamādhi possesses the six pāramitās at every instant.

45. Then the bodhisattva Drḍhamati said to the Buddha: It is wondrous (adbhuta), O Bhagavat. The domain (yihāra) acquired by the bodhisattva in Śūraṁgamasamādhi is inconceivable (acintya). O Bhagavat, bodhisattvas who wish to dwell in the domain of the Buddhas (buddhavihārena viharitukāma) should train themselves in the Śūraṁgamasamādhi. And why? Because then, O Bhagavat, even if they travel through the domains (vihāra) of all the foolish worldlings (bālapṛthagjana), the bodhisattvas are free from craving (rāga), hatred (dveṣa) and delusion (moha).

46. Now there was in the assembly a great Brahmadeva named Maitrisampanna, ‘Endowed with Goodwill’. He said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, if a bodhisattva wishes to travel through the domains of all the foolish worldlings, he should train himself in the Śūraṁgamasamādhi. And why? Because, even while travelling through the domains of all the foolish worldlings, his mind is free from craving, hatred and delusion.

The Buddha said: Excellent, excellent. O Maitrisampanna, it is exactly as you say (evam etad yathā vadasi). A bodhisattva who wishes to travel through the domain of all the foolish worldlings should train himself in the Śūraṁgamasamādhi, but without thinking of any training (sarvaśikṣānāṃ amanyanayā).

[Gradual Training in the Heroic Progress]

47. The bodhisattva Drḍhamati said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, if a bodhisattva wishes to train himself in the Śūraṁgamasamādhi, how

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108 Corrupt text: read hsin pu chin hsiang 心不盡相 instead of chih hsin chin hsiang 知心盡相. The Tib. has gan sens kyi mi zad pahi chos ŋid dan / yul thams cad kyis smas par mi ḥgyur de ni dehi bzod pahi pha rol tu phyin paho.

109 In Tib. Byams pa mchog.
should he train himself?

The Buddha said to Drdhamati: It is like training oneself in archery (āvedha). First of all, you aim at a large mound of earth. When you have hit the large mound of earth, you learn to aim at a small mound of earth. When you have hit the small mound of earth, you learn little by little to aim at a target (laksya). When you have learnt to hit the target, you then learn to aim at a stick (danda). When you have learnt to hit the stick, you learn to aim at an hundred hairs (roman). When you have hit those hundred hairs, you learn to aim at ten hairs. When you have hit those ten hairs, you learn to aim at a single hair. When you have hit that single hair, you learn to aim at an hundredth fraction of a hair: once capable of hitting that, you are reputed to be a good archer (niryāta isvastrācārya); wherever you wish to aim, you do not strike emptiness; if you want to, you can effortlessly (anābhogena) reach any being, human (manuṣya) or non-human (amanuṣya), the sound of which is heard in the night (rātri) or darkness (andhakara).

48. Equally, O Drdhamati,

1. Adopt the variant tui 堆.

112 This paragraph, which I have divided into six sections, contains an outline of the career of the bs in the preparatory stages (bhumi) and the stages proper. As in the bhūmiparāvartas of the larger Prajñāpāramitās, these stages are as yet unidentified and do not bear the name of Pramudita, etc., which will come to define them later.

The account in the Śgs is still incomplete but contains elements which will be taken up by later sūtras and sūstras and will finally culminate in a comparatively coherent system. The fundamentals of this can be found in the preface by J. Rahder to his edition of the Dasabhumika and in other more systematic works, such as N. Dutt, Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism, London 1930, pp.238-89; L. de La Vallée Poussin, ‘Bodhisattva’ in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics II, pp.743-8; ‘La carrière de Bodhisattva’ in Siddhi, pp.721-42.

I will limit myself here to indicating the still undecided position of the Śgs.

1. The first section concerns the bs’s career before the bhūmis: the bs trains himself in good intentions (āśaya) and effort (prayoga); he arouses high resolve (adhyāśaya), develops the four infinite states (apramāṇacittā), also called Brahmavihāras, and undertakes the practice of the first five Abhijñās.

The bs is still at the beginner’s level (ādikarma) where his cittaotpāda is merely associated
with wishing (chanda), good intentions (āśaya) and high resolve (adhyāśaya) to bring about the welfare and happiness of creatures. Then he devotes himself to effort and his cittotpāda, flame-like, is ‘associated with effort’ (prayogasahāgata).

This preliminary phase will later be called Adhīmukticāryabhūmi ‘Stage of the Practice of Adherence’. It consists of two spheres: 1. the sphere of the accumulation of merits (sambhāravasthā), 2. the sphere of effort (prayogavasthā). The former consists in the cultivation of good roots leading to deliverance (mokṣabhāgīya kuśalamāla); the latter in the cultivation of good roots leading to the penetration of the truths (nirvedhābhāgīya kuśalamāla), namely, heat (usmagata), summits (mūrdhan), patience (ksānti) and supreme worldly dharmas (laukikāgradharma).

Even though the mokṣa- and nirvedhābhāgīyas are mentioned by both Vehicles, the Śgs passes over them in silence. Conversely, it refers to the Brahmanvihāras and Abhijñās, practices and mental powers whose origins are lost in the mists of time, but which have their place in the canonical writings of Buddhism and which the Prajñāpāramitā introduces into the bs’s career (see Pañcavimsāṭi, pp.181-2 and 184-5).

2. The second section in the Śgs is very brief: ‘Having learnt the Abhijñās, he can then complete the six pāramitās’. This completing of the six pāramitās is a characteristic of the sixth stage: the Abhimukhi (cf. Pañcāvimśati, p.216, 1-2). In the course of the first six stages – Pramūdita, Vimala, Prabhākari, Ārcismaṭi, Sudurjayā and Abhimukhi – the bs cultivates all six pāramitās at the same time, but especially giving (dāna) in the first, morality (śīla) in the second, patience (ksānti) in the third, vigour (vīrya) in the fourth, absorptive meditation (dhyāna) in the fifth, and wisdom (prajñā) in the sixth. The Śgs gives sufficient allowance to this state of affairs by assigning the completing of the six pāramitās to the sixth bhūmi.

What it does not say, however, is that the first bhūmi, the Pramūdita, constitutes the path of vision (dārśanāmārga) of the bs, the sphere of his penetration of the truths (prativedhāvasthā), while the other nine bhūmis form his path of meditation (bhāvanāmārga). This assertion enables us to establish a parallel between the Path of the Sra ṁkas and that of the bodhisattvas. We can take it that, at the time of the Śgs, no approximation between them had yet been made, or at least not markedly.

Other definitions were to follow later (cf. Bodh. bhūmi, p.367; Śūtrālamkāra, p.179):

a. The first bhūmi, the Pramūdita, is the stage of pure high resolve (suddhādhyāsaya).

b. The following six bhūmis form the stage of the accomplishing of the practices (caryā-pratipatti): 1. the second bhūmi, the Vimala, is the abode of higher morality (adhiśīlavihāra); 2. the third bhūmi, the Prabhākari, is the abode of higher thought (adhicittavihāra); 3. the fourth, fifth and sixth bhūmis – namely, Ārcismaṭi, Sudurjayā and Abhimukhi – form the abode of higher wisdom (adhiprajñāvihāra), being respectively associated with the auxiliaries of enlightenment (bodhipākṣya), the noble truths (satya), and dependent origination (pratītyasamutpāda); 4. the seventh bhūmi, the Dūramgama, is the abode where ‘not without action or effort, the bs no longer perceives objects’ (sābhisaṃskāraḥ sābhogo nirmittavihāra).

c. A close link unites bhūmis 2 to 7 (cf. Madhyāntavibhāga, p.190, 15-18): they aim at destroying attachment to objects (nimittābhinivēsa) by means of meditation (bhāvanā) and, to this effect, increase efforts (ābhogaprayogā): taken together, they constitute the ‘sphere of overcoming’ (niryānāvasthā).

The preceding considerations seem to be totally unknown to the Śgs.

3. The third section in the Śgs evidently concerns the seventh bhūmi, the Dūramgama, since ‘the bs understands and penetrates skilfulness in means’ and because, according to general opinion, the seventh bhūmi is particularly associated with the upāyakausālayapāramitā (see Dāśabhūmika, p.60, 6-7; Samgraha, p.207; Siddhi, p.623).
Immediately after upāyakausālya, the Sgs mentions the successive acquisition of two ksāntis: 1. the second certainty called preparatory (dvitiyānulomikī ksānti); 2. the certainty of the non-arising of dharmas (anupattikadhartmaksānti). Once the latter is acquired, the Buddha gives the bs the great prediction (mahāvyākarana) and announces to him that he will one day reach Sambodhi.

However, this classification will not be retained; as will be seen later on, in n.119, the dvitiyānulomikī ksānti is a characteristic of the sixth bhūmi and not the seventh, while the anupattikadhartmaksānti, followed immediately by the mahāvyākarana, is definitively obtained in the eighth.

4. The fourth section in the Sgs concerns the eighth bhūmi, the Acala. According to our author, it is characterised by the ‘Concentration consisting of always being in the presence of the Buddhas of the present’ (pratyutpannabuddhasamuddhāvasthitasamādhi), the requirements necessary for acquiring the Buddha attributes and, finally, the securing of a Buddha-field (buddhaksetra).

However, by placing the pratyutpannasamādhi in the eighth bhūmi, the author contradicts himself, for he will assert in section 6 that all the concentrations of the bs are obtained in the tenth bhūmi, and we know from the Daśabhumika (p.82, 14-15) that the pratyutpannasamādhi is no exception. Conversely, it is indeed in the eighth bhūmi that the bs practises the vision (darsanatā), realisation (parinispādanatā) and purification (visādhana) of his buddhaksetra. Here the Sgs agrees with the Pañcavimśati, p.217; the Śatasāhasrika, p.1458, the Daśabhūmika, p.66, 10-16, etc.

The Sgs, however, does not seem to have given much consideration to the importance of the eighth bhūmi, which later sources emphasize emulously:

a. The eighth bhūmi is characterised by the definitive acquisition (pratilabhā, pratilambha, pratilambhāta) of the anupattikadhartmaksānti (see the references below, n.119).

b. The acquisition of the ksānti is accompanied by the great prediction (mahāvyākarana) concerning the final triumph of the bs; cf. Lalitavistara, p.35, 21; Daśabhūmika, p.71, 24; Saddharmapuṇḍ., p.266, 1-2; Śūtrālamkāra, pp.20, 15; 141, 27; 166, 12; Madhyāntavibhāga, pp.190, 18; 192; 1.

c. From then on, the bs is predestined as to his future Buddhahood: niyatipatitāv buddhatve (Madhyāntavibhāga, p.190, 20); niyato buddhavat anuttarādāyām samyaksambodha (Śūtrālamkāra, p.83, 24); trityāniyatipatitāt buddhavat (Bodh. bhūmi, p.367, 12). He is an irreversible (avaivartikā) bs, in possession of an irreversible certainty (avaivartikaksāntipratable). Besides, the eighth bhūmi, the Acala, is also called Niyatabhūmi ‘Predestined Stage’ (Bodh. bhūmi, p.367, 11), Avivartyabhūmi, Avinivartaniyabhūmi, Avaivartikabhūmi ‘Irreversible Stage’ (Daśabhūmika, p.71, 12; Śūtrālamkāra, p.176, 22; Bodh. bhūmi, p.235, 18). It marks the beginning of the irreversible career (avivartacaryā, avivartanacaryā), the infallible career (abandhyacaryā) which will carry on through the last three bhūmis (cf. Mahāvastu 1, pp.1, 3; 63, 13-14; Bodh. bhūmi, p.290, 21).

d. Finally and above all, in the eighth bhūmi, the activity of the bs is carried out spontaneously, without action or effort, for it is no longer distracted by objects or notions; that is why it is called Anabhisamākārānabhagavāhāra or Anabhisogānirmitavāhāra (cf. Madhyāntavibhāga, p.105, 18-21; Śūtrālamkāra, p.178, 3; Bodh. bhūmi, p.367, 11; Saṃgraha, p.202).

5. The fifth section in the Sgs concerns the ninth bhūmi, the Sādhumati. The author mentions only five accomplishments (sampad) characterising the bs from his descent from the Tuṣita heaven until his reaching Sambodhi. He is therefore not as complete as the Prajñāpāramitā (Pañcavimśati, pp.217, 11-16; 224, 10 - 225, 7; Śatasāhasrika, pp.1458, 11-18; 1470, 16 - 1472, 7), the Abhisamayālāmkāra (I, vv.68-9) and the Āloka (p.103, 19-26), which attribute up to twelve accomplishments to the ninth bhūmi, while not interpreting them in exactly the same
1. A bodhisattva who wishes to train himself in the Śūraṅgama-samādhi should first train himself in good intentions (āśaya). [Having learnt good intentions, he should learn effort (prayoga)\(^{113}\). [Having learnt effort], he should learn high resolve (adhyāśaya)\(^{114}\). Having learnt high resolve, he should learn great goodwill (mahāmaitri). Having learnt great goodwill, he should learn great compassion (mahākarunā). Having learnt great compassion, he should learn the four Noble Brahma Abodes (ārya brahmavihāra), that is, goodwill (maitri), compassion way. Certain accomplishments indicated by the Śgs – accomplishment of birth (janman), family (kula), clan (gotra), conception (garbhāvakrānti) – are partly inspired by the biographies of the Buddha Śākyamuni; cf. Majjhima III, pp.119-23; Aṅguttara II, p.130; Mahāvastu I, pp.142-8; Nidānakathā in Jātaka I, pp.48-9.

Here again, however, the Śgs is silent on the particularly mystical value of the ninth bhūmi, the stage of assured practice and the abode of the four analytical knowledge (niyatacāryābhūmi and pratishamvidvihāra; cf. Bodh. bhūmi, p.367, 13), having as its main virtue the power (bala) of the pratishamkhāṇa and bhāvanā (Samgraha, p.208; Siddhi, p.624). It is pre-eminently the sphere of the instructor (kathikāvasthā); cf. Madhyāntavibhāga, p.190, 21-24.

6. Finally, the sixth section in the Śgs concerns the tenth bhūmi, the Dharmamegha 'Cloud of the Dharma' (see Samgraha, pp.202-3), also called Ultimate Abode (paramavihāra; cf. Bodh. bhūmi, p.367, 13), Stage of the Consecration in Omniscience (sarvajñā-nāṁābhisekabhuṃi: cf. Daśabhūmika, p.82, 8), or Sphere of Consecration (abhisekavasthā; cf. Madhyāntavibhāga, p.190, 24). In this stage, the predominant virtue is the perfection of knowledge (jñānapāramitā). The bs obtains the great sāmādhis (Daśabhūmika, p.82, 9-21) and has at his command the dhāranis (Sūtrālamkāra, p.17, 2). According to the Pañcavimśati, p.225, 8, and the Āloka, p.104, 8-9: bodhisattvo daśamāyām bhūmau sāṁtāh sams tathāgata eveti vaktavyo na tu samyaksambuddhah: ‘the bs who is to be found in the tenth stage should quite simply be called Tathāgata, but not yet Fully and Perfectly Enlightened’.

Thus, § 48 of the Śgs contains an outline of the ten stages proper to the bodhisattvas: an account which is exact in its essentials, but too summary and divergent on several points of what was later to become, in the great Mahāyānist treatises, the traditional teaching.

We will see further on, at § 149, n.299, that the Śgs was not unaware of speculations concerning the stages common to the śrāvakas and bodhisattvas.

\(^{113}\) Phrase, no doubt inadvertently, omitted from the Chinese version. This is the Tibetan version: byan chub sems dpah dpah bar hgro bahi tin ne hdzin hdi la slob po na thog ma ŭid du bsam pa la slob po // gan gi tsh la bsam pa la slob par gyur po deh tshe sbyor ba la hjug go /.

\(^{114}\) In Tib. gan gi tsh la sbyor ba la bslab par gyur po deh tshe lhag pahi bsam pa la hjug go. On the difference between āśaya and adhyāśaya, see Vkn, pp.284-6. In the Sambhārabhūmi ‘Stage of Accumulation’, the citotpāda of the beginner bs (jādi-kārmika) is associated with good wishing (chanda), good intentions (āśaya) and high resolve (adhyāśaya). Associated with chanda, the citotpāda is like earth (prthivī); associated with the āśayas, it is like pure gold (kalyānasuvrana); associated with adhyāśaya, it is like a new moon in the white fortnight (suklapaksanavacandra). In the Adhimukticaryābhūmi ‘Stage of the Practice of Adherence’ preceding the ten stages proper, the citotpāda of the bs, associated with effort (prayoga), is like a flame (jvalana). See Pañcavimśati, pp.19, 4 - 21, 16; Śatasāh., pp.56-66; Abhisamayālāmkāra I, v.19a; Āloka, p.25, 14-24; Sūtrālamkāra, p.16, 17-21.
Having learnt the four Noble Brahmā Abodes, he should learn the five superknowledges (pañcābhiñā) incurred by fruition (vipākajā) and always conform to them.

2. Having learnt the superknowledges, he can then complete the six perfections (satpāramitāh paripūrayati).

3. Having completed the six perfections, he understands and penetrates [skilfulness] in means (upāyakauśalya).

Having penetrated skilful means, he establishes himself in the second certainty called ‘preparatory’ (dvitiyānulomikī kṣānti). Being

115 Cf. the Tibetan version: gan gi tshe lhag pahi bsam pa la bslabs par gyur pa dehi tshe byams pa chen po la hjug go / gan gi tshe byams pa chen po la bslabs par gyur pa dehi tshe sīn rje chen po la hjug go / gan gi tshe sīn rje chen po la bslab; par gyur pa dehi tshe dagah ba chen po la hjug go / gan gi tshe dagah ba chen po la bslabs par gyur pa dehi tshe byan σhoms chen po la hjug go / gan gi tshe byan σhoms chen po la bslabs par gyur pa dehi tshe byan chub sems dpah hphags pahi gnas pa bī la bslabs par yin te / bī gan że na / byams pa chen po dan / sīn rje chen po dan / dagah ba chen po dan / byan σhoms chen po do / This clearly concerns the four Brahmavihāras, also called apramānas or apramānacittas (cf. Vkn, p.18, n.66). From the outset, Buddhism borrowed these devout practices from ancient Brahmanic Yoga, and the Prajñāpāramitā also recommends them to the bs (see Pañcavimsati, pp.181–2).

116 The Tib. is more precise: gan gi tshe byan chub sems dpah hphags pahi gnas pa hdi bī la bslabs par gyur ba dehi tshe rjes su hthun pahi mnon par šes pa ln po mi ñams pa dag la slob po: ‘When the bs has learnt the four noble abodes (āryavihāra), he learns the five preparatory (anulomikī) Abhijñās which are indestructible (aksaya)’.

In the main, the first five abhijñās are supernormal powers common to both worldlings (prthagjana) and noble ones (ārya); only the sixth abhijñā, the knowledge of the destruction of the defilements (āsravaksayajñāna), is reserved for the noble ones (Kosa VII, pp.97 and 100).

This is why the Prajñāpāramitā (Pañcavimsati, pp.184–5) does not recommend it to the bs who would be transformed by this abhijñā into a kṣināsrava arhat, unable to devote himself to the welfare of beings.

117 The six pāramitās are cultivated in the first six bhūmis, dāna mainly in the first, śīla in the second, and so on (Samgraha, p.207). They are not perfectly fulfilled (paripūra) until the sixth bhūmi.

118 Upāyakauśalya is the dominant perfection of the seventh bhūmi; see Daśabhūmika, p.60, 6-7; Samgraha, p.207; Siddhi, p.623.

119 Here and in the following line read ti'ērh (and not ti san) jou shun jen 第二柔順忍, according to the Tib. rjes su hthun pahi bzhod pa gniš pa = dvitiyānulomikī kṣānti.

The problem of kṣānti, sometimes ‘patience’ and sometimes ‘certainty’, is one of the most complicated ones for scholasticism. J. May (Candrakirti, p.212, n.717) remarks: Kṣānti is firstly a nirvedhabhāgīva, thus connected to the prayogamārga (Kosa VI, p.165; Siddhi, pp.579-82); secondly, eight moments of the darsanamārga; thirdly, the third pāramitā.

However, we must further distinguish the kṣāntis clustered around the anutpattika-dharmakṣānti ‘certainty of the non-arising of dharmas’, a fundamental thesis of the Madhyamaka. In all they number three, ten or five.

I. The three kṣāntis.

1. Sometimes they are designated by their numerical order: prathamā, dvitiyā and tṛtiyā:
Sukhāvatīvyūha, ed U Wogihara, p 44, 16-17 (T 360, ch 1, p 269b 5), Samādhīrāja I, p 76, 5-6 (T 639, ch 2, p 556a 2)

2 More often they have names 1 ghoṣānugā or ghoṣānugamī ‘following words’ (yin hsüang 音響, sgrahi rjes su hgro ba), 2 anulomikī ‘preparatory’ or ‘conforming’ (jou shun 柔順, rjes su hthun pa), 3 anutpatkadharmaksānti ‘certainty of the non-arising of dharmas’ (wu shēng fā jēn 無生法忍, mt shye bahu chos la bsod pa), cf Sukhāvatīvyūha, p 112, 13 (T 360, ch 1, p 271a 14-15), Avatamsaka, T 278, ch 28, p 580c 8, T 279, ch 44, p 232b 9)

The Avatamsaka (T 279, ch 44, p 232b 12-26) defines them clearly ‘What is the ghoṣānugā kṣānti of the bs? Hearing the dharmas expounded by the Buddha, the bs does not fear, does not tremble, does not take fright (na trasatā, na samtrasatā na samtrāsām āpādyate), he believes in them deeply, loves them, follows them, remembers them attentively, cultivates (bhāvayati) them and dwells (pratisthati) in them

‘What is the anulomikī kṣānti of the bs? The bs examines (vītarāyatī) and appreciates (vicārayati) these same dharmas, he assimilates and does not refute (na virodhayati) them, he gradually comprehends them so well that his mind is purified, he abides correctly in their cultivation and possesses (pratipadyate) them

‘What is the anutpatkadharmaksānti of the bs? The bs does not see that the least dharma arises and does not see that the least dharmas ceases Why? That which is unarisen (anutpanna) is unceasing (anuruddha), that which is unceasing is indestructible (aksaya), that which is indestructible is unstained (viraya), that which is unstained is undifferentiated (abhinnena), that which is undifferentiated is abodeless (anālaya), that which is abodeless is calm (sānta), that which is calm is free from desire (vitarāgā), that which is free from desire is inactive (anabhisaṃskṛta), that which is inactive is wishless (aparīhita), that which is wishless is homeless (anīketa), that which is homeless does not leave and does not arrive’

See a similar definition of the anutpatkadharmaksānti in Daśabhūmika, pp 63, 26 - 64, 6

Certain paraphrases clarify the meaning of these three kṣāntis the second is called sānyatānulomikī kṣānti ‘certainty conforming to emptiness’ (Tathāgatagarbhasūtra, T 312, ch 12, p 732c 18, quoted in Madh vṛtti, p 362, 8) For the third, we find anutpatkikāvaharāmesu kṣāntī (Laṅkā, p 36, 9, nirātmakeśa anutpatkikāvaharāmesu kṣāntī (Vajracchedikā, p 58, 9), anutpatkadharmasvāmāsūtra (Sūtrakāraṇa, p 163, 20), etc

3 After having defined the prathama, dvitiyā and tṛtiyā kṣāntī, the Samādhīrāja I, p 82, 7-10 (see the Chinese tr, T 639, ch 2, p 556b 24-25) qualifies them respectively as ghoṣānugamī kṣāntī, cintāmayī anulomikī kṣāntī and bhāvanāmayī anutpatkikā kṣāntī These details are interesting because they establish a parallel between the three kṣāntīs of the bs and the three prajñās of the śrāvaka srutamāyī ‘based on teaching’, cintāmayī ‘based on reflection’ and bhāvanāmayī ‘based on contemplation’ (cf Digha III, p 219, Vibhanga, pp 324-5, Visuddhimagga, ed Warren, p 370, Kośa VI, pp 143-4) However, whereas the three kṣāntīs of the bs concern emptiness, the three prajñās of the śrāvaka concern the general marks of dharmas (dharmānām sāmānyalakṣanam) impermanence, suffering and impersonality

4 The Dhyānasamādhiśūtra (T 614, ch 2, p 285a 10 sq ) distinguishes between an upādākṣānti, an anulomikī dharmaśānti and an anutpādākṣānti The first is simply patience in bearing insults and torments (see above, § 28, n 86), the second is the understanding of impermanence and of the bhūtalakṣana devoid of any mark, the third marks an advance on the previous one Here, the ‘patience’ kṣānti and the ‘certainty’ kṣānti are intermixed

5 A treatise by Vasubandhu (or Maitreya) translated by Kumārajīva, the Bodhicittotpādanāsāstra (T 1659, ch 2, p 516b-c), posits three kṣāntīs 1 svaddhāksāntī, faith in the four āryasatyas, the dvādasamāṇās of dependent origination, the four āpamāṇacittas and the six pāramitās, 2 anulomikī kṣāntī, certainty relating to the pudgala- and dharmanairātmya,
established in the second certainty called ‘preparatory’, he acquires (pratilabhate) the certainty of the non-arising of dharmas (anupattikadharmaśaṅti). When he has acquired the anupattikadharmaśaṅti, the Buddhas predict to him (vyākurvanti) [that he will reach supreme and perfect enlightenment (anuttarāṁ sanyak-sambodhiṁ abhisambhotsyate)]\(^{120}\).

4. After the Buddhas have given him the prediction (vyākaraṇa), he
3. paramā dharmaśaṅti, which is none other than the anupattikadharmaśaṅti. Under slightly different terms, it is always the same theory.

One would like to know at what precise moments in his career the bs acquires these three kaśāntis, but the early texts are somewhat reticent. Naturally, it depends on the disposition of each person. In the course of one and the same instruction, certain listeners arouse the cittaotpāda, others acquire the ghoṣanugā, others the anulomikī, and yet others the anupattikā (see Vkn, pp.25 and n.84; 58; Samādhīrāja II, pp.253, 5; 280-1).

The texts distinguish between adhimukti, adherence, approbation of the non-arising of things, and the definitive acquisition (pratilabdha, pratilambha, pratilambhatā) of kaśānti (Lalita vistara, pp.36, 9; 440, 21; Saddharmapuṇḍ., pp.266, 1; 437, 1). See the Āstāsāhā, p.856, 25: bodhisattvāḥ praṇāpāramitāyām carantāḥ sarvadharma anupattikā ity adhimuṇicānti na ca tāvad anupattikadharmaśaṅtipraliladbhā bhavanti.

Here, in § 48, the Ṣgs situates the anulomikī and the anupattikā in the seventh bhūmi, but this is not the general opinion. The Daśabhumika places the anulomikī in the sixth bhūmi (p.47, 19-20) and the anupattikā in the eighth (p.64, 5). Equally, nearly all the sāstras situate the anupattikā in the eighth bhūmi (Sūtrālāmākāra, pp.122, 2; 131, 17; Madhyāntavibhāga, p.105, 11; Bodh. bhūmi, pp.350, 27; 351, 13-14).

II. The ten kaśāntis. Less frequent than the preceding, a list often kaśāntis is mentioned in the Aṭṭasaṁsīka, p.64, 17 (T 220, ch.3, p.12b 16) and itemised in the Avatāmsaka (T 279, ch.44, p.232b 9-10): 1. ghoṣanugā, 2. anulomikī, 3. anupattikadharmaśaṅti, 4. māyopāma, 5. maricitupāma, 6. svapnopāma, 7. pratiśrabdopāma, 8. pratibimbopāma, 9. nirmitopāma, 10. akāśopāma.

III. The five kaśāntis. Modern judgement considers the Jén-Wang hu kuo po-lo-mi ching ‘Perfection of Wisdom of the Good King who protects the State’ as an apocryphal Chinese work, of which there exist two editions: that by Kumarājīva (T 245) and that by Amoghavajra (T 246). They mention five kaśāntis (T 245, ch.1, p.826b 23-24; T 246, ch.1, p.836b-c): 1. damaksānti (fu jen), 2. śraddhāśaṅti, 3. anulomikī kaśānti, 4. anupādakāśaṅti, 5. nirodhakāśaṅti. The first four are subdivided into three categories: strong (adhimātra), middling (madhya) and weak (mrdu); the fifth and last, into strong and weak categories.

The damaksānti relates to the Adhimukticaryābhūmi, the preparatory stage of the bhūmis, the weak category concerning the ten vihāras, the middling category the ten caryās and the strong category the ten pariṇāmas. [Here the Chinese apocryphal text agrees with the Pañcarāṃṣaṭi, pp.136, 14 - 141, 24, and the Bodh. bhūmi, p.324, 14-20.]

The śraddhāśaṅti pertains to the first three bhūmis: Prajñātīta, Vimala and Prabhākari. The anulomikī kaśānti pertains to bhūmis 4 to 6: Arciṣmati, Sudurjaya and Abhimukhi. The anupādakāśaṅti concerns bhūmis 7 to 9: Dūramgamā, Acalā and Śadhumati. The nirodhakāśaṅti characterises the tenth bhūmi (Dharmamegha) and the Buddhabhūmi. This distribution of the kaśāntis among the bhūmis became a compulsion among the masters of Chinese Buddhism; cf. Mochizuki’s Encyclopaedia, pp.1657-8.

\(^{120}\) The acquisition of the anupattikadharmaśaṅti is accompanied by a ‘Great Prediction’
penetrates into the eighth bodhisattva stage (bodhisattvānam astamakāṁ bhūmim praviśati). When he has entered the eighth bodhisattva stage, he acquires the Concentration consisting of always being placed facing the Buddhas of the present (pratyutpannabuddhasamucchāvasthitasamādhi)\textsuperscript{121}. Having obtained the Concentration consisting of always being placed facing the Buddhas of the present, he is never deprived of the sight of the Buddhas (satatasamitam tathāgatadarśanāviraḥito bhavati). Never being deprived of the sight of the Buddhas, he fulfils the causes and conditions (hetupratyaya) necessary for attaining the Buddha attributes (mahāvyākarana) regarding the final triumph of the bs cf Lalita, p 35, 21, Sūtrālāmākāra, pp 20, 15, 141, 27, 166, 12 This is what stands out clearly in a passage from the Saddharmapundū, p 266, 1-2, which attributes to three thousand living beings the joint acquisition of the anutattkā and the vyākarana travānām prāṇisahasrānām anutattkādadharmakāntprayatnābhāvo 'bhūt, travānām ca prāṇisahasrānām anusattarāyām samyaksambodhau vyākaranapratyayābhāvo 'bhūt This great vyākarana will be defined below, in § 108\textsuperscript{121} This is the last of the nine bodhisattvasamādhis listed by the Mahāvyut, No 745, according to the Daśabhūmika, p 82, 14-15, it concerns the tenth bhūmi A Pratyutpannabuddhasamucchāvasthitasamādhiṣūtra was translated into Chinese with the title of Pan chou san me ching (T 418) by Lokaksema on the eighth day of the tenth moon of the second Kuang-ho year (cf Ch’u, T 2145, ch 2, p 6b 12) or 24 November 179 In this sūtra, the Buddha says to the bs Bhadrapāla ‘There is a dharma which cannot be cultivated ceaselessly, which should be kept ceaselessly, which does not yield to other dharmas and which is the foremost of the virtues (guna) it is the Pratyutpannabuddhasamucchāvasthitasamādhi’ (T 418, ch 1, p 9046 19-22) ‘It is not with the heavenly eye (divyacaksus) that the bs in samādhi see the Buddha, nor with the heavenly ear (divvasrottra) that he hears him, nor with the rddhipādas that he goes to his buddhaksetra Neither does he see the Buddha by dying here and being reborn there in his buddhaksetra on the contrary, it is here, on the very spot where he is seated in samādhi, that the practitioner sees the Buddha and hears the sūtras he expounds’ (ibid, p 905a 23-26)

The samādhi in question is independent of the abhyjnā (superknowledges or powers normally acquired by the yogin) and of infinitely greater import, for it draws its power from the Prajñāpāramitā Commenting on a passage in the Pañcavimśati (ed Dutt, p 30, 6-12), the Upadeśa in Nāgārjuna, Traité V, p 2272 sq, explains ‘What is seen with the divyacaksus does not go beyond the trīsāhasrahāśasralokadhātu, but here [in this samādhi], through the power of the Prajñāpāramitā, the bs sees all the Buddhas to be found, in each of the ten directions, in universes as numerous as the sands of the Ganges Why Because from the perspective of the Prajñāpāramitā, nothing is close (samīpe) or distant (dūra), and there is no obstacle. The divyacaksus is undefiled and undefined (anivrttvāyākta, cf Kośa II, p 168) The Pratyutpannasmādhi is obtained as much by a man freed from desire (vītarāga) as a man not freed from desire (avītarāga), the divyacaksus is obtained only by those who have renounced desire The Pratyutpannasmādhi is a vision resulting from the constant cultivation and practice of mindfulness (smṛti), perception (saṃjñā) and subjective imagination (samkalpa) The divyacaksus, obtained through the practice of the abhyjnā, is an eye made of clear form derived from the four great elements of the world of form (rūpadhātōs caturmahābhūtānīy upādāya rūpaprasāda), and that eye enjoys total luminosity The technique of the divyacaksus is easy thus, when the sun rises, it is not hard to see colours, conversely, the technique of the samādhi is difficult: thus when one lights a lamp at night-time, it is not easy to see colours’
377.3x600.0

[§48] SŪRĀMGAMASAMĀDHISŪTRA 147

(buddhadharma). Fulfilling the causes and conditions necessary for attaining the Buddha attributes, he achieves (abhirnirharati) a Buddha-field of splendid accomplishments (buddhaksetravyūhasampad)\(^{122}\).

5. Having achieved a Buddha-field of splendid accomplishments, he attains the accomplishments called of birth, family and clan (janmakula-gotrasampadā paripūrayati)\(^{123}\). Having attained the accom-

The method of the recollection of the Buddhas (buddhānusmṛti) through the Pratyutpānanasmādhī or direct visualisation excited great interest in China, particularly among members of the Association of the White Lotus (Po-lien shē) founded in Lushan by Hu-yuan (334-416 C.E.) who had earlier consulted Kumārajiva. Regarding this particularly interesting phase of Chinese Buddhism, all the details wished for can be found in P. Demieville, ‘La Yogācārabhūmi de Sangharakṣa’, Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient XLIV, 1954, pp.355-9; see also E. Zürcher, The Buddhist Conquest of China, pp.220-1.

\(^{122}\) According to the Prajñāpāramitā (Pañcavimsati, p.217, Śatasāhasrikā, p.1458), it is in the eighth bhūmi that the bs practises the vision (darsanātā), realisation (parinirvāṇatā) and purification (parisodhanatā) of his buddhaksetra. On this purification, see especially Vkn, pp.14-17.

\(^{123}\) Read shèng chìa hsing ch'êng ch'u 生家姓成 with the Tib skye ba dān rigs dan rus phun sum tshogs pa = janmakulagotrasampad.

These three accomplishments are explained in the Prajñāpāramitā (Pañcavimsati, p.224; Śata-sāhasrikā, p.1471):


Cf. Upadesa in Nāgārjuna, Traité V, p.2439: ‘When the Bodhisattva is on the point of being born, the devas, nāgas and asuras adorn the trisūhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu. Thereupon lotus seats (padmāsana) made of the seven jewels (saptaratnamaya) emerge spontaneously (svatāt). From the belly of the mother first come innumerable bss who go and sit on the lotuses; they join their hands, sing praises and wait. Bodhisattvas, and also devas, nāgas, asuras, rṣis and noble ladies join their hands and wholeheartedly wish to see the birth of the Bodhisattva. Then the Bodhisattva emerges from the right side of his mother, just like the full moon emerging from clouds. He emits a great radiance (avabhāsa) which illuminates immense universes. At that very moment a great voice extends throughout the universes of the ten directions and proclaims that, in such-and-such a place, the Bodhisattva has come to his last existence. Sometimes there are bss who are born in apparitional bodies on lotuses. With regard to the four wombs (yoni), the Bodhisattva is born from the chorion (jarāyuja) or has an apparitional birth (upapāduka). With regard to the four human castes (jāti), the Bodhisattva is born into either the kṣatriya caste or that of the brāhmaṇa, since those two castes are respected by men’.

2. Kulasampad ‘accomplishment of family’: yad bodhisattvo mahāsattvo mahākulesu pratīyāyate: ‘The bs goes to be born in great families’.

Cf. Upadesa in Nāgārjuna, Traité V, pp.2439-40: ‘Brāhmaṇa families possess wisdom (prajñā), kṣatriya families possess power (bala); the brāhmaṇa favours the future life; the kṣatriya favours the present life, both types of families are useful to the world; that is why the Bodhisattva is born among them. Furthermore, there is the deserving Dharma family, that of irreversible (avaivartika) adherents. Taking on birth in those families is the “accomplishment of family”’.

3. Gotrasampad ‘accomplishment of clan’: yad bodhisattvo mahāsattvo yato gotrāt
plishments called of birth, family and clan, he attains the accomplish-
mements of the descent into the womb and of the leaving of the
world (garbhāvakrānty-abhiniskramanasampadā paripūrayati)\textsuperscript{124}.

paurvākā bodhisattvā abhūvan tatra gotre pratvājāyate ‘The bs goes to be born in clans from
which earlier bs have come’

Cf Upadesa in Nāgārjuna, \textit{Traite V}, p 2440 ‘When the Bodhisattva is still found in the
Tusita heaven, he examines (vilokayati) the world, wondering which clan (gotra) is the most
noble for welcoming a being, it is into that clan that he takes on birth Thus, of the last seven
Buddhas, the first three were born into the Kaundinya clan, the next three into the Kāśyapa clan,
and the Buddha Sākyamuni into the Gautama clan Moreover, the bs who begins with the
firmness of high resolve (adhyāsavadhdhātā) [is born] into the clan of the Buddhas For others,
obtaining the certainty of the non-arising of dharmas (anuttatakadharmaksānti) would be the
“clan of the Buddhas”, since it is then that the bs acquires a partial influx of the “knowledge of
all the aspects” (sarvākārajñātā) [proper to the Buddhas] Compare this level with the
gotrabhumi in the śrāvakā system’

\textsuperscript{124} Read ju t'ai ch'u chia ch eng chiu 入胎出家成就, with the Tib mnal du hjug pa dan
mnon par byun ba phun sum tshogs pa = garbhāvakrānty-abhiniskramanasampad

These two accomplishments are also explained in the Prajñāpāramitā (Pañcavimśati, p 224,
Satāsāhasrikā, p 1471)

1 Garbhāvakrāntisampad ‘accomplishment of the descent into the womb’ yad bodhisattvo
mahāsattvah sarvāsū jātisūpāpāduka upapadyate ‘In all his births, the bs is born as an
apparitional being’

Cf Upadeśa in Nāgārjuna, \textit{Traite V}, pp 2438-9 ‘According to certain people, the
Bodhisattva, mounted on a white elephant, surrounded (parvṛta), revered (satkṛta), respected
(gurukṛta), esteemed (mānita) and served (pūjita) by innumerable Tusita gods, enters with them
into the womb of his mother According to others, the mother of the Bodhisattva who possesses
the Illusion-like Concentration (māyopamasaṃādhi) acts so that her belly dilates inordinately,
all the bs of the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātū, the devas, nāgas and asuras can enter and
leave there In that belly is a palace (bhavana) and a dais (kūṭāgāra) [The deities] arrange a bed
(khatvā) on it, suspend banners (patākā) and parasols (chattra), scatter flowers and burn
perfume, all that results from the meritorious actions (punyakarman) of the Bodhisattva Then
the Bodhisattva descends and takes his place and, through the power of his samādhi, enters that
womb even while remaining as before in the heaven of the Tusita gods’

2 Abhiniskramanasampad ‘accomplishment of the leaving of the world’ yad bodhisattvo
mahāsattvah pravrajito nekait sattvakotinuyutasatasahasraḥ sārdham abhinirāmaḥ grhāt te
cā sattvā nīyatā bhavantu trisu yānesu ‘The bs who is leaving the world takes up the homeless
life with innumerable hundreds of thousands of kotinuyutas of beings, and those beings are
predestined to the three Vehicles’

Cf Upadeśa in Nāgārjuna, \textit{Traite V}, p 2442 ‘Thus, one night in his palace, the
Bodhisattva Sākyamuni saw that his courtesans resembled corpses The devas and asuras of the
ten directions, bearing banners (patākā) and flowers (puspa), came and offered them to him
and, proceeding respectfully to meet him, escorted him outside Then Chandaka, despite the
order he had received previously from King Śuddhodana, acquiescing to the wishes of the
Bodhisattva, arrived leading the horse [Kanthaka] The four messenger-kings of the gods
supported in their hands the hooves of the horse, which left the town by jumping over the
ramparts It was in order to destroy all the passions (kleśa) and Māra in person that the
Bodhisattva thus bore witness, before all beings, to his repugnance for the household life, since
6. Having attained the accomplishments of the descent into the womb and of the renunciation of the world, he attains the tenth stage (daśamām bhūmim paripaśayati). Having attained the tenth stage, he receives the consecration (abhiṣeka) of the Buddhas\textsuperscript{125}. Having received the consecration of the Buddhas, he obtains all the bodhisattva concentrations (sarvabodhisattvasamādhi). Having obtained all the bodhisattva concentrations, he last of all (paścāt) obtains the Śūramgamasamādhi. Having obtained the Śūramgamasamādhi, he can perform Buddha deeds (buddhakārya) for all beings, but he does not abandon the practices (caryā) of a bodhisattva.

Drḍhamati, if a bodhisattva learns all those dharmas, he obtains the Śūramgamasamādhi. A bodhisattva who has obtained the Śūramgamasamādhi has no further dharmas to learn. Why? Because he has learnt all dharmas thoroughly. Just as an apprentice-archer who can hit a fraction of a hair has nothing further to learn – and why? Because he has already learnt how to; so, O Drḍhamati, a bodhisattva who is in Śūramgamasamādhi has no further dharmas to learn, because he has already gained all the concentrations (samādhi) and all the merits (punya).

49. Thereupon the bodhisattva Drḍhamati said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, I would like to relate a comparison (upamā); may the Bhagavat permit me to do so. The Buddha consented\textsuperscript{126}.

Bhagavat, just as the devarāja Mahābrahmā, lord of the tri-sāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu, surveys (vilokayati) for himself the

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if a person as deserving and noble as himself abandons his home, what should not common worldlings (prthagjana) do? Episodes (nīḍāna) of that type illustrate the “accomplishment of the leaving of the world”\textsuperscript{127}.
\end{flushleft}

\textsuperscript{125} Cf. Madhyāntavibhāga, p.190, 24 sq.: daśamyām hi bhūmāv bodhisattvom mārganishāgato daśadiglokaḥātu vavasthitānām buddhabhagavatām rasāmiḥhyo vīṣeṣenābhisicyate.

To consecrate the son of a cakravartī king, water from the four great oceans is poured on his head. To consecrate a bs of the tenth stage, called stage of the Cloud of the Dharma (dharmameghā), the Buddhas of the ten regions emit rays which enter the head of the bs and confer on him all the Buddha attributes: he is then said to be abhisīkto buddhatve ‘consecrated in Buddhahood’ (cf. Daśabhūmika, pp.85-6; Sūtrālamkāra, p.178). For the Prajñāpāramitā (Paṇḍavaṁśati, p.217, 17; Sātasahasrikā, p.1458, 19) the bs in the tenth bhūmi should be called Tathāgata: bodhisattvo mahāsattvo daśamyām bhūmaḥ sthitah sams tathāgata etevi vaktavyaḥ.

\textsuperscript{126} The Chinese translation is somewhat free. We have in Tib. bcom ldan ḍdas bdag spobs so / bde bar gšegs pa bdag spobs so / bcom ldan ḍdas kyi bkaḥ stsal pa / blo gros brtan pa deh dus la dbab par šes na khyod spobs par gyis šig; this gives in Skt pratībhāti me Bhagavan pratībhāti me Sugata. bhagavān avocat: pratībhāte Drḍhamate yasyedānāṁ kālam manyaye: ‘Something comes to my mind, O Bhagavat; something comes to my mind, O Sugata’. The Bhagavat replied: ‘Say it, O Drḍhamati, if you think the time has come’.

This expression is very common in Pali and Sanskrit; cf. Majjhima I, pp.230, 10-12; 234, 6-7;
trisāhasramahā-sāhasralokadhātu without making any effort, so the bodhisattva in Śūramgamasamādhi surveys for himself all the dharmas without making any effort, and he also knows the functioning of the mind and mentation (cittacaittapravṛtti) of all beings.

The Buddha said to Drḍhamati: It is as you say (evam etad yathā vadasi): the bodhisattva in Śūramgamasamādhi knows all the bodhisattva dharmas and all the Buddha dharmas.

[Secrets and Mysteries of Meruṣikharadhara]

50. Now, in that assembly, there was a Śakra devendra named Meruṣikharadhara127 ‘Holding the Summit of Mount Meru’, who lived outside the confines (prāntadvīpa) of the trisāhasramahā-sāhasralokadhātu. He said to the Buddha: Just as [634b] a being established on the summit of Sumeru beholds (vilokayati) all the continents (dvīpa), so a bodhisattva established in Śūramgamasamādhi spontaneously (svatas) sees the practices (caryā) of the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas as well as the practices of beings.

51. Then the bodhisattva Drḍhamati asked the Śakra Meruṣikharadhara: From which universe of four continents (cāturdvīpaka) do you come? Of which Sumeru do you occupy the summit (śikha)?

The Śakra replied: Kulaputra, a bodhisattva who possesses the Śūramgamasamādhi should not be asked the place (sthāna) where he dwells. Why? Because such a bodhisattva dwells in all the buddha-ksetras, but is not attached to a dwelling place (sthānam nābhiniiviśati), does not perceive a dwelling place (sthānam nopalabhate) and does not

Sanskrit Mahāparinirvāṇa, p.182; Mūlasarv. Vinaya in Gilgit Manuscripts III, part 4, p.188, 6; Divyāvadāna, p.20, 21; Saddharmapund., p.101, 9.

Commenting upon the passage in Majjhima I, p.230, 10: upamā mam, bho Gotama, patibhāti, etc., Buddhaghosa (Papañcasūdani II, p.275) explains: ‘Upamā mam, bho Gotama, patibhāti’ ti, bho Gotama, mayham ekā upamā upatthāti, āharāmi tam upaman ti vadati. ‘Patibhātu tam Aggivessanā’ ti upatthatu te, Aggivessana, āhara tam upamam vissattho ti Bhagavā avoca: ‘A comparison comes to my mind means: a comparison comes to me and I would like to say it. The Bhagavat answers patibhātu, meaning: as the comparison comes to you, say it with confidence’.

Patibhāti comes from the root bhā ‘to shine, to gleam’, but by giving it as shuo 説 and spobs respectively, the Chinese and Tibetan translators seem to have confused it with the root bhan ‘to speak, so say’.

127 In Tib. Lhun pohi rtse ḍzin (see Mahāvyut., No.693). This Śakra who holds sway over the great chililocosm is infinitely superior to the god Śakra who rules over the Trāyavastriṃśa gods of our little universe of four continents. On the respective dimensions of these worlds, see Vkn, p.276. [† see Foreword, p.xv, regarding this Śakra’s name in Sanskrit].
see a dwelling place (*sthānam na paśyati*).

Dṛḍhamati asked: Friend (*sakhi*), have you obtained the Śūramgamasamādhi?

The Śakra replied: Such a *samādhi*, can it be obtained or not?

Dṛḍhamati answered: No!

The Śakra went on: Kulaputra, it must be understood that the bodhisattva who practises this *samādhi* has not obtained any dharma\(^\text{128}\).

Dṛḍhamati said further: A man as eloquent (*pratibhānavat*) as yourself must necessarily have obtained the Śūramgamasamādhi.

The Śakra said: Kulaputra, I do not see any dharma onto which one can hold; and among all those dharmas onto which one cannot hold must be ranked the Śūramgamasamādhi. O Kulaputra, to hold to this *samādhi* is not to hold to anything. If you do not hold to anything, you do not take anything. If you do not take anything, you do not speak of it.

52. Then the Buddha said to the bodhisattva Dṛḍhamati: Do you see this Śakra Meruśikharadhara?

I see him, O Bhagavat.

O Dṛḍhamati, this Śakra, spontaneously (*svatas*) and at will (*yathākāmam*), obtains the Śūramgamasamādhi and, dwelling in that *samādhi*, manifests himself (*ātmānam samdarśayati*) in all the palaces of the Śakras (*śakrabhavana*) of the *trisāhasramahāśāhasralokadhātu*.

53. Then the Śakra devendra of this universe\(^\text{129}\) said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, if the Śakra Meruśikharadhara manifests himself in all the palaces of the Śakras, how is it that I myself have never seen him in any Śakra residence (*śakrasthāna*)?

Then the Śakra Meruśikharadhara said to the Śakra [devendra]: Kauśika, if I were now to show you my true body (*bhūtakāya*), you would feel no joy (*muditā*) in your own palace. I am forever going to the palace where you reside, but you, you do not see me.

54. Then the Śakra devendra said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, I would like to see the perfected body (*parinispannakāya*)\(^\text{130}\) of this *satpuruṣa*.

The Buddha said: Kauśika, do you want to see it?

Yes, Bhagavat, I would very much like to see it.

The Buddha said to the Śakra Meruśikharadhara: Kulaputra, then show your true and marvellous body to the Śakra [devendra]:

Immediately, the Śakra [Meruśikharadhara] displayed his true and

\(^{128}\) Compare in the Vkn, p163, § 10, the answer given by the Devi to Śränputra.

\(^{129}\) The Śakra of our little universe of four continents (*cāturdvipa*) who is often mentioned in the early canonical texts; he is named Kauśika (cf. Vkn, p.101 and n.).

\(^{130}\) In Tib. *lus yongs su grub pa*. 
marvellous body. Thereupon, in the assembly, the Śakras, Brahmās, Lokapāla Kings of the gods, śrāvakas and bodhisattvas who had not as yet obtained the Śūramgamasamādhi, became invisible [634c], like a block of ink (maśirāśisadṛśa)\(^{131}\). The body of the Śakra Meruśikharadharaka, as lofty (abhyudgata) as Meru, king of the mountains, was shining (bhāṣate), gleaming (tapati) and resplendent (virocate)\(^{132}\). The body of the Buddha was itself doubly luminous.

55. The Śakra devendra said to the Buddha: It is extraordinary (adbhuta), O Bhagavat, the body of the satpurusa present here has colours that are pure, marvellous and unequalled. The bodies of the Śakras, Brahmās and Lokapāla Kings of the gods are all eclipsed (dhyāmikṛta), like blocks of ink (maśirasivarna). Bhagavat, when I, in the Sudharmā devasabhā\(^{133}\) on Mount Sumeru, wear the necklet of jewels (maniratnaniskā) called Sakrabhilagna\(^{134}\) ‘Śakra pendant’, the bodies of all the devas are eclipsed (dhyānīkṛta) by its brilliance. It is I whom am

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\(^{132}\) This is a stock phrase; cf. Vkn, p.6, n.37.

\(^{133}\) Read shan f'a i 'ien t'ang 善法天堂 with the Tib. chos bzan lhahi mdun sa = Sudharmā devasabhā. Cf. Divyavadāna, p.220, 6-8: esā devānām trāyastriṃśānām Sudharmā nāma devasabhā yatra devās trāyastrikaśatvāra ca mahārājānāh samnisaṇāh samnīpatītāh: ‘It is the meeting hall of the Trāyastriṃśa gods called Sadharmā, where the Trāyastriṃśa gods and the four Great Kings assemble’.

Sudharmā, one of the four wives of Maghā, was involved in the construction of a rest house for travellers. After her death, she was reborn among the Trāyastriṃśas and, in recompense for her merit, the city of the gods was endowed with a meeting hall which was given the name of Sudharmā (cf. Dharmapada Commentary I, pp.269-74; Jātaka I, p.201). It is in this hall that the gods assembled on the eighth of each month, or else to hear the propounding of the Dharma and to celebrate festivals (cf. Digha II, p.268; Majjhima II, p.79; Samyutta I, p.221; Jātaka VI, pp.97, 126, etc.).

\(^{134}\) In Tib. brgya byin thogs pa. The Śakrabhilagna appears in the list of the forty-seven maniratnas compiled by the Mahāvyutpatti, No.5960. In theory, it is a jewel belonging to Śakra (Gaṅdavyūha, p.498, 22), but it is also worn by the bss, notably Maṇjuśrī (Maṇjuśrīparinirvāṇa, T 463, p.481a 1), and used in the way of adornment (Mahāvastu II, p.310, 21; Sukhavativyuha, p.110, 9; Lalitavistara, p.297, 16; Gaṇḍavyūha, p.101, 21).

Ratnakāraṇḍa, T 462, ch.1, p.468a 18-20: ‘The Śakrabhilagnamaniratna is attached to the neck of Śakra and lights up the Trāyastriṃśa heaven all over. Through the power of this jewel, all that exists is illuminated; nevertheless, this jewel is devoid of reflection’.

Amitāyurbuddhadyāna, T 365, p.342b 10-12: ‘In the Sukhāvati, every young person wears five hundred kotīs of Śakrabhilagnamaniratnas by way of a necklet (nīka). The brilliance of those manis lights up an hundred yojanas, as would an hundred kotīs of suns and moons together’.

‘Ascent of Maitreya to the Tuṣita heaven’, T 452, p.419e 22-25: ‘He is seated on a lotus, his legs crossed. His body, the colour of the jambūnādaratna, is sixteen yojanas long
now eclipsed by the brilliance of this satpuruṣa and the necklet of jewels that I wear no longer shines (na bhāsate).

The Buddha said to the Śakra devendra: Kauśika, supposing the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu were filled (paripūrṇa) with Śakrābhilagna jewels, there is still another jewel which would eclipse them all: the Sarvadevaloka’s ‘Brilliance of all the gods’. Kauśika, supposing the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu were filled with Sarvadevaloka jewels, there is still another jewel which would eclipse them all: the Vajrāloka’s ‘Diamond Brilliance’. Kauśika, supposing the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu were filled with Vajrāloka jewels, there is still another jewel which would eclipse them all: the Sarvālokasamgraha’s ‘Assemblage of all the brilliances’.

Kauśika, do you see the Sarvālokasamgraha jewel worn by this Śakra [Meruśīkharadhara]?

Yes, I see it, O Bhagavat; but the brilliance of that jewel is so violent that my eyes cannot bear it.

The Buddha said: Kauśika, when bodhisattvas in possession of the Śūraṃgamasamādhī eventually become Śakras, they all wear a necklet of jewels like that.

Then the Śakra devendra said to the Buddha: So, O Bhagavat, those who do not arouse the anuttarasamāyaksambodhicitta are deprived (parihīna) of such a perfected body (parinispānākāya) and are also deprived of the Śūraṃgamasamādhī.

and is endowed with the thirty-two laksanas and the eighty anuvyājanas. His usṇīsa has the violet colour of the vaidurya. The Śakrābhilagnanamani and an hundred thousand myriad of koṭis of kīmsukaratanas adorn his tiara’.

Mahādharmaulkadhārani, T 1340, ch.5, p.681c 19-27: ‘The Abhilagnaratna is the colour of pure gold and originates from good roots (kusalamūla). It shines by itself; it can even surpass the summit of Sumeru, the heavens of the Trayastrimśas, Yamas, Tuṣitas and be found in the palace of Brahmā. When the bs, on leaving Jambudvipa, is born among the Tuṣitas, it happens that, through the power of its kusalamūlas, this jewel spontaneously springs from its coffers (karanda) and overcomes the Māras. How is this so? If the Māras or their entourage (parivāra) arouse a malign thought against the Tuṣita gods, thwart or torment the bs, then even if they try with all their might, they cannot shake him. Why? Because this maniratna adorns the neck of the bs and, through its power, annihilates all Māra works. Māra Pāpimat is deeply troubled by it. Besides, from the moment when the bs leaves the Tuṣita gods to enter his mother’s belly, this ornament always accompanies him. Until he leaves home and sits on the bodhimanda and under the bodhivrksa, this jewel is constantly there’

However, here the Śgs reveals to us the existence of jewels infinitely more powerful than the Śakrābhilagna. I have not been able to find any reference to them.

135 In Tib. lha thams cad snaṅ ba.
136 In Tib. rdo rje snaṅ ba.
137 In Tib. snaṅ ba thams cad bsdus pa.
56. Then the devaputra Gopaka said to the Śakra devendra:

In Tib. Shed pa. This concerns a young woman of the Śākyan clan, named Gopa, Gopi or Gopikā, who knew Śākyamuni while he was still living at home and giving himself over to pleasure. According to certain sources, she was one of Śākyamuni’s wives. After her death, she was reborn in the Trayastrīmsā heaven, where she was known as the devaputra Gopaka.

We have little information on the wife or wives of the Buddha Śākyamuni and their exact names.

1. The Pali sources only recognise, it seems, that he had but one wife: the one who gave him Rāhula, his only son. She was known by various names: Rāhulamātī (Vin, I. p.82), Bhaddakacā[nā] (Buddhavamsa XXVI, v.15; Mahāvamsa II, v.24) Yasodharā (Buddhavamsa Comm., p.245), Bimbādevi (Jātaka II, p.392, Sumanagala II, p.422) and Bimbāsundari (Jātaka VI, p.478). She was born on the same day as the Buddha (Jātaka I, p.54) and married him at the age of sixteen (Jātaka I, p.58).

The Pali sources also know of a Gopā or Gopikā, but without stating whether or not she was the wife of the future Buddha. She is mentioned in the Sakkāpāṇhī suttanta (Digha II, p.271):

Idh’ eva Kapilavatthusmim Gopika ndma Sakyadhāte ahosi Buddhe pasannā dhamme pasannā samghe pasannā sīlesu paripūrakārini. Sā itthicittam virājetvā purisaścittam bhāvetvā kāyassa bhedā param maranā sugātār sawat samuppanna devānām Tāvatimsānām sahavyatam, amhākam puttattam ajjhūpapagātā: ‘Here, in Kapilavatthu, there was a daughter of the Śakyas, named Gopikā, who believed in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Community, and kept the precepts. Having given up all female thoughts and having cultivated male thoughts, she had, on the dissolution of her body after her death, a good destiny and was born in the heavenly world, in the company of the Tāvatimsā gods, with a filial relationship with us’.

This passage recurs in the corresponding Chinese Āgamas: Dirgha, T 1, ch.10, p.63a 3-4; Madhyama, T 26, ch.33, p.634b 5-10. The latter is more proxil: ‘Gopi, a daughter of the Śākyas, was a disciple of the Bhagavat. She followed the Bhagavat and practised continence (brahma-caryaya). She abhorred the female body and loved the masculine form: she changed her feminine body and took a masculine form. She renounced desires and abandoned desires. On the dissolution of her body after her death, she was reborn in a good place, among the Trayastrīmsā gods, where she was our son’.

2. The separate biographies recount how the Buddha came to win the hand of his future wife, during a tournament where he was displaying his skill in the arts (śilpasamdarśana); in these sources, the wife of the Buddha is sometimes referred to as Yaśodharā (Fang kuang ta chuang yen ching, T 187, ch.4, p.561c; Yin kuo ching, T 189, ch.2, p.629b; Fo pēn hsiing chi ching, T 190, ch.13, p.712c; Ching hsū mo ho ti ching, T 191, ch.4, p.942c; Buddhacarita II, v.26; Mahāvastu II, p.48 sq.), sometimes as Gopā or Gopi (Hsiu hsing pen ch'i ching, T 184, ch.1, p.465b; T’ai tzū jui ying pēn ch’i ching, T 185, ch.1, p.475a; P’u yao ching, T 186, ch.3, p.500c; I ch’u p’u sa pēn ch’i ching, T 188, p.619a; Lalitavistara, p.142 sq.

3. We read in the Mahāyānist Upadesa (Nāgārjuna, Traité II, pp.1002-4): ‘It is said in the Rāhulamātījātaka that the Bodhisattva Śākyamuni had two wives: the first was called Gopā or Gopīya, the second Yaśodharā or Yaśodharā Rāhulamātī. Gopā, being sterile (bandhya), had no children’.

4. The Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya attributes three wives to him, each one surrounded by 20,000 courtesans: Yaśodharā, Gopā and Mṛgajā (Kėn pēn shuo . . . p’i nai yeh, T 1442, ch.18, p.720c 12-13; P’o sêng shih, T 1450, ch.3, p.114b 24-26; ch.12, p.160c 15). The same Vinaya tells us in what circumstances Śākyamuni married them: 1. He himself chose Yaśodharā from among all the young girls of his clan (T 1450, ch.3, p.111c; W.W. Rockhill, Life of the Buddha,
Sravakas\textsuperscript{139}, who have already entered the absolute certainty (avakråntan-iyàma)\textsuperscript{140}, even if they praise and cherish Buddhahood (buddhatva), cannot achieve it because they have already set up an obstruction (āvaraṇa) to Samsāra\textsuperscript{141}. Beings who have aroused, are arousing and will arouse the anuttarasamyaksambodhicitta should cherish Buddhahood: then they can obtain a physical body (rūpakāya) as perfected [as that of Meru-śikharadhara].

57. Just as those born blind (jātyandha), even if they praise and cherish the sun (sūrya) and moon (candra), cannot delight (anubhāvītum) in their radiance, so those Sravakas entered into the absolute certainty (avakråntaniyāma), even if they praise and cherish the Buddha attributes (buddhadharma), cannot personally gain any advantage from those Buddha virtues (buddhaguna). That is why those who wish to obtain that marvellous body and great wisdom (mahāprajñā) should arouse the anuttarasamyaksambodhicitta [635a]; then they will obtain a perfected physical body.

When the devaputra Gopaka had spoken those words, twelve thousand devaputras aroused the anuttarasamyaksambodhicitta.

p.20); 2. He stopped his coach beneath Gopā’s terrace; seeing which Śuddhodana took Gopa and gave her to his son (T 1450, ch.3, p.112c; Rockhill, op. cit., pp.21-2); 3. Seven days before the Great Departure, when the future Buddha was returning to his palace, Mrgaja addressed him with the famous stanza, Nibbātā nūnā sā mātā; Śākyamuni, in thanks, cast his necklet on the young woman; Śuddhodana, learning of the matter, took Mrgaja and gave her to his son (T 1450, ch.3, p.114b; Rockhill, op. cit., pp.23-4). This version of the facts is confirmed by the Chung hsu mo ho ti ching (T 191, ch.4, pp.944c-945a). Other sources mention the stanza uttered by the young woman whom they call Mrgi (Fo pèn hsing chi ching, T 190, ch.15, p.724b; Mahāvastu II, p.157) or Kīșagotami (Jātaka I, pp.60-1; Dhammapada Comm. I, p.85), but do not say that she married Śākyamuni.

Gopā was a Śākyakanyā and daughter of Dāṇḍapāṇi, maternal uncle of the Buddha (Lalitavistara, p.142, 8; Gaṇḍavyūha, p.420, 19). Mahāyāna texts consider her the wife or one of the two wives of the Buddha (Laṅkāvistara, p.157, 3-9; Suvarnabhāsa, p.200, 8-9; Upadesa in Nāgārjuna, Traité II, pp.2002-4; V, p.2236). The Śgs is of the same opinion, as is shown clearly by the Tibetan version (see below, n.143).

\textsuperscript{139}In the Tibetan translation, Gopā addresses Śakra by saying to him: kye yab ‘O, my father’. This daughter of the Śakyas had been reborn with the status of devaputra among the Trayastrīmśa gods; thus it is that Śakra was her father.

\textsuperscript{140}In Tib. nès par gyur pa la žugs pa. On the meaning of this expression, cf. Vkn, p.18, n.65. Kumārajīva translates it here by ju fa wei 入法位, whereas in his translation of the Vimalakirti he regularly rendered it by ju chèng wei 入正位 (T 475, pp.549b 7; 553c 8; 554c 12), which seems preferable.

\textsuperscript{141}When he penetrates the darśanamārga, the śrāvaka is predestined (niyata) to the acquisition of the Absolute Good (samyaktva), that is, Nirvāṇa. Turning his back on samsāra, he will attain the Bodhi of the arhats which will release him from existence, but with the difference from the bodhisattvas that he will never reach the supreme and perfect Bodhi of the Buddhās. Cf. Vkn, pp.179-80.
58. Then the bodhisattva Drḍhamati asked the devaputra Gopaka: Through what good-rooted action did you change your female body (kena kuśalamūlena strikāyaṃ parāvartīṣṭhāḥ)?

Gopaka: Kulaputra, those who are pledged to the Great Vehicle (mahāyānasamprasthitā) do not see any difference (viśesa) between man (purusa) and woman (stri). Why? Because the omniscient thought (sarvajñacitta) is not found in the triple world (trādhaṭtuka) and because [notions] of man and woman are wrought by discrimination (vikalpa-prabhāvita). You ask me, O friend (sakhi), through what good actions I changed my female body; well, it is because in days gone by I served the Bodhisattva [Śākyamuni] with a mind free of hypocrisy (aham pūrvakāle bodhisattvasya satkāram cakārācapalena cittaṃ).

Drḍhamati: How did you ‘serve’ him?

Gopaka: I served the Bodhisattva as the Lord (bhagavat).

Drḍhamati: How did you serve him ‘with a mind free of hypocrisy’?

Gopaka: I conformed my bodily action (kāyakarman) to my voice (vāc), and I conformed my vocal action (vākkarman) to my mind (manas): this is, for a woman, a mind free of hypocrisy (acapalacitta).

Drḍhamati: How did you change your female body?

Gopaka: In conformity with fulfilment (yathāsādhananam).

Drḍhamati: How did you ‘fulfil’?

Gopaka: In conformity with changing (yathāparāvṛttim).

Drḍhamati: O devaputra, what is the meaning of that word?

Gopaka: Kulaputra, dharmas do not consist of either ‘fulfilment’ (sādhana) or ‘changing’ (parāvṛtti). All dharmas are of a single flavour (ekarasa), that is, the flavour of the fundamental element (dharma-dhāturasa). It is in conformity with my aspiration (yathāpranidhānam) that I had a female body (strikāya) and, if now my body is that of a man (puruṣa), I have not for all that destroyed or abandoned the signs (nimitta) of a female body. That is why, O Kulaputra, it must be understood that [concepts] of man and woman are perverse views (viparyāsa), and that all dharmas as well are perverse views: they are...
absolutely free of duality \( (atyantam dvayavipramukta) \)\(^{146}\).

59. The bodhisattva Drdhamati asked Gopaka: Do you know even the smallest part \( (kamcid eva pradesam) \) of the Šūramgamasamādhī?

Gopaka replied: Kulaputra, what I know of it I learnt from others. I did not acquire it personally \( (sāksātkṛta) \). According to my memories, in days gone by \( (atīte dhvani) \), the Buddha Šākyamuni, then an ordinary bodhisattva in the dwelling of King Šuddhodana, was at the palace in the midst of his harem \( (antahpura) \). In the still of the night \( (praśāntarātri) \), there arrived from the Eastern region \( (pūrvā diś) \) Brahmārāj as numerous as the sands of the Ganges \( (gaṅgā-nadivālukopama) \); they questioned the Bodhisattva, some of them about the Bodhisattva Vehicle and others about the Śrāvaka Path, and the Bodhisattva replied to all their questions\(^{147}\).

\(^{146}\) In the Vkn, pp.169-71, the problem of the equivalence of the sexes is treated in more or less the same terms: the Śgs and the Vkn are manifestly inter-related, but the latter likes to present things in a more theatrical style: it introduces a goddess who changes into a man, whilst her questioner, Śāriputra, is changed into a woman.

\(^{147}\) An interesting variation on the theme of the Great Departure or, to be more exact, on the reasons that determined it. On this subject like many others, the Buddhist tradition has been the object of more and more complicated anecdotal constructions:

1. The spiritual crisis which determined Šākyamuni to leave home was, in the beginning, confined to three depictions: marriage followed by a life of pleasure in the women’s quarters; this led to disgust, and disgust provoked the Great Departure. Such is the most simple and logical version of the facts; it can be found in the Pāli sources (Nidānakathā, in Jātaka I, p.61, 21-31) and in the Buddhacarita of Asvaghosa, Ch.V, vv.63-8.

2. Most of the separate biographies insert a new event: the intervention of deities who remind the Bodhisattva that the time has come for him to leave home and that his refusal would lead to serious consequences for humanity. This is what is called in Sanskrit the samcodana ‘instigation’, not to be confused with the adhyesana ‘invitation’ or request which the gods addressed to Šākyamuni, once he had become a Buddha, so that he would consent to expound the Dharma.

The sources are not in agreement over the deities who instigated the Bodhisattva to the Great Departure:

Šuddhāvāsā devāh, Īśvara, Maheśvara and Mahābrahmā (Mahāvastu II, pp.158, 4 - 159, 2).

A group of undefined devas (Hsii hsing pên ch’i ching, T 184, ch.2, p.467c 14; T’ai tzū jui ying pên ch’i ching, T 185, ch.1, p.475b 19-20).

Devas, nāgas, yakṣas, gandharvas, asuras, garudās, kimnaras, mahoragas, śakras, brahmās and lokapālas (Lalitavistara, p. 159, 20 sq.; T 187, ch.5, p.565b 7-8).

The four devarājas (Abhinirakramasūtra, T 188, p.619a 29).

All the devas, from the four devarājas to the suddhavāsas (Kuo ch’u hsien tsai yin kuo ching, T 189, ch.2, p.632b 24-28).

The Tso-p’ing or ghatikāra gods (Abhinirakramasūtra, T 190, ch.16, p.729b 11-21).

Śakra devendra and Brahmadevarāja (Chung hsü mo ho ti ching, T 191, ch.5, p.946a 16 sq.; Mulasarv. Vin., T 1450, ch.4, p.115c 22 sq.).

The exhortations addressed to Šākyamuni by these deities vary in length depending on the
60. Among those Brahmās, a Brahmarāja who had not grasped the skilful means (*upāya*) being used by the Bodhisattva, put this question to him: Friend, even while being so wise and replying so well to questions, how can you remain attached to royalty (*rājya*) and pleasures (kāmabhoga)?

Other Brahmadevas who had understood the wisdom (*prajñā*) and skilful means (*upāya*) of the Bodhisattva said to that Brahmā: The Bodhisattva is not attached to royalty and pleasures; it is in order to ripen and perfect beings that he is here as a layman (*grhastha*) and that he appears as a bodhisattva, but at the same time, in other universes, he has already attained complete enlightenment (abhisambuddha) and sets turning the Wheel of the Dharma (*dharmacakram pravartayati*).

The Brahmā, having heard this, asked: What *samādhi* has the Bodhisattva acquired in order to perform such transformations (*vikurvana*)?

The other Brahmās replied: He performs them through the might (*sthāna*) of the Śūraṃgamasamādhi.

61. [This narration over, Gopaka said to Drḍhamatī]: Kulaputra, at sources but follow the same aim: to remind the Bodhisattva of his duties. No deity seems as yet to suspect that the life of pleasure in the women’s quarters is only skill in means. The old school of sculpture in central India has depicted the *adhyesana*, the invitation to the Buddha to expound the Dharma (J. Marshall and A. Foucher, *Monuments of Sāñchi* I, p.210; II, pl.49c, and 64a 2), but did not, it seems, devote any sculpture to the *samcodana*, the instigation to the Bodhisattva to leave home. This deficiency accords in with the silence held by the earliest literary sources.

In contrast, the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra depicted both events. In the scenes of the *samcodana*, the Bodhisattva wears the hairstyle and jewels of a prince (cf. A. Foucher, *Art gréco-bouddhique* I, p.127, fig.47 in the centre; I, p.321, fig.164b; II, p.89, figs 347 and 348), whilst in the scenes of the *adhyesana*, he is dressed as a monk (ibid., I, pp.420-7, figs 212, 213, 215).  

3. In the present passage, the Śgs gives another version and another interpretation of the facts. From among the deities who instigated the Bodhisattva, it only retains the Brahmarājas, not the single Brahmā reigning over the Rūpadhātu of our universe of four continents, but an infinity of Brahmās as numerous as the sands of the Ganges and come from the Eastern region. This grandiose perspective is in keeping with the taste of the Mahāyāna. It is another Mahāyānist theory that the presence on earth of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas does not relate to an historical truth, but constitutes ordinary skilful means (*upāya*) on their part derived from the prodigious power (*rddhi, adhisthāna, vikurvana*) of the Great Compassionate Ones. In order to bring this theory to light, the Śgs distinguishes between two kinds of Brahmā: on the one hand, Brahmās with a poor understanding, sharing the narrowness of view of the śrāvakas and who believe they can reproach the Bodhisattva for lingering with the pleasures of the women’s quarters and the idleness of power; on the other hand, Brahmās who know that the whole conduct of a bodhisattva, whether it seems good or bad, is following no other aim than the winning over of beings.

148 See below, §§ 125-8.

149 *Tzu tsai shên pien* 自在神変 corresponds to the Tib. *rnam par hphrul ba*. 
that moment [635b], I had this thought: ‘The samādhi and supernormal power (rddhibala) of the Bodhisattva must indeed be extraordinary (adbhuta) so that, living in the midst of pleasures (kāma) and directing the affairs of the kingdom, he never deviates at all from that samādhi’. Having said this to myself, I redoubled my respect and really considered the Bodhisattva as the Lord (bhagavat). Resolutely, I aroused the anuttarasamyaksambodhicitta and I too wished to fulfil the same virtues (guna) as he in the future. O Kulaputra, this is what I have seen of the Śūramgamasamādhi; it is only a small part of it. I only know that this Śūramgamasamādhi possesses virtues (guna) and might (sthāma) which are immense (apramāna) and inconceivable (acintya).

Drđhamati said to the Buddha: Marvellous (āscaryya), O Bhagavat, are those most deeply inspired words (adhyāśayanirdesa) of the devaputra Gopaka: all that is the work of the Tathāgata. O Bhagavat, ever protected by [the Tathāgata] his spiritual friend (kalyānamitra-parighīta), the devaputra Gopaka will also be established in the Śūramgamasamādhi and will obtain powers of transformation (vikurvanabala) like those which the Bhagavat at present possesses.

[Multiple Appearance of a Bodhisattva in the Heroic Progress]

62. The bodhisattva Drđhamati asked the Buddha: Bhagavat, in this assembly are there persons in possession of the Śūramgamasamādhi? Now, in the assembly, there was a devaputra named Matyabhimukha ‘Close to the intelligence [of a Buddha]’ who said to the bodhisattva Drđhamati: It is as if a merchant (sārthika) entering the great sea (samudra) asked if the great sea contained jewels (maniratna) to be taken and carried away. Your question is like that. And why is this? At the moment you are sitting in the presence of the Tathāgata, the great sea of knowledge (mahājñānasamudra), in an assembly in which there are bodhisattvas endowed with the jewels of the Dharma

150 Read p‘u sa san mei instead of p‘u sa chu san mei.
151 To the Hsien-i 現意 of the Chinese corresponds the Tib. Sans rgyas blo gros mnon sum, which presupposes Buddhamatyabhimukha in Sanskrit. I have kept the abridged Chinese reading Matyabhimukha.
152 The great sea possesses eight wonderful and extraordinary qualities; one of the eight is to contain quantities of precious jewels: Seyyatha pi mahāsamuddo bahuratiano anekaratano, tat’ imāni raiānāni seyyathidham muttā manī veluriyo sankho silā pavālān rajatam jātarāpam lohitanko masāragallam (Vinaya II, p.239, 35-38; Aṅguttara IV, p.199, 20-23; Udāna, p.56, 6-9, see also Dasabhūmika, p.97, 10; Vkn, p.179).
153 The punctuation in the Taishō should be corrected.
(dharmaratnasamanvāgata) and displaying great trappings\(^{154}\). And you dare to ask if in this assembly there are bodhisattvas who are in possession of the Śūramgamasaṁādhi. O Drdhmati, at present in this assembly there are bodhisattvas in possession of the Śūramgamasaṁādhi who manifest themselves in the body of a Śakra devendra, in the body of a Brahmārāja, or in the bodies of devas, nāgas, yākṣas, gandharvas, asuras, garuḍas, kimnaras and mahoragas. There are bodhisattvas in possession of the Śūramgamasaṁādhi who manifest themselves in the bodies of bhikṣus, bhikṣunīs, upāsakas and upāsikās. There are bodhisattvas in possession of the Śūramgamasaṁādhi with bodies adorned with the primary and secondary physical marks (laksanā-nuvyañjasamalamkṛta). There are bodhisattvas who, in order to ripen beings (sattvapariṇācanārthaṁ), manifest the figure (samsthāna), colours (varna) and signs (nimitta) of a female body (strikāya); others manifest the figure, colours and signs of a Śrāvaka; yet others, the figure, colours and signs of a Pratyekabuddha.

63. Drdhmati, depending on whether the Tathāgata attends an assembly of Kṣatriyas, Brāhmaṇas, Vaiśyas, Śakras, Brahmās or Lokapālas, the bodhisattvas manifest figures, colours and signs corresponding to those assemblies. It should be known that all these are the special fruits (phalavīṣesa) of the Śūramgamasaṁādhi.

Drdhmati, wherever you see the Tathāgata expounding the Dharma, understand clearly that there there are [635c] innumerable great bodhisattvas, masters of great knowledges, displaying great trappings\(^{155}\), having obtained mastery over all dhārmas (sarvadharmesu vaśtā-prāpta); they come in the wake of the Tathāgata to set turning the

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\(^{154}\) Kumārajīva usually renders by fa ta chuang yen 發大莊嚴 the Sanskrit expression mahāsamānāhasamnaddha, in Tib go cha chen po bgos pa (see further below, notes 155, 216) Literally, the expression means ‘Girded in the great armour’ The Abhisamayālāmkāra I, v 43, defines it as
dānādau sadvidhe tesām pratyekam samgrahena yā
samnāhapratipattih sā sadbhīh satkair yathoditā

‘The action [which consists of girding on] the armour is represented by six sextuples, the six [pāramitās], giving, etc, being combined respectively one with the others’

The samnāhapratipatti thus includes six sextuples (the combination of giving with the other five pāramitās, of morality with the other five pāramitās, etc), this adds up in all to thirty-six aspects

They are detailed in the Pañcavimsatī, pp 176, 177, 178, 22, and the Śatasāhasrikā, pp 1302, 20 - 1309, 12 See also Astasāhasrikā, p 84, Āloka, pp 84-5, E Obermiller, Analysis of the Abhisamayālāmkāra I, p 107-13, E Conze, Abhisamayālāmkāra translation, pp 19-20

It must be recognised that the translation fa ta chuang yen adopted by Kumārajīva is not a very happy one That of Hsuan-tsang appearing in T 220, vol VII, ch 411, p 62a 12, is clearer pet ta kung tē k’ā 被大功德錦 ‘Dressed in the great armour of the qualities’

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\(^{155}\) See the preceding note
Wheel of the Dharma.

64. The bodhisattva Drdhamati said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, I now say that this devaputra *Matyabhimukha possesses the Śūramgamasamādhi; in fact his wisdom (prajñā), eloquence (pratibhāna) and unobstructed superknowledges (apratihatābhijñā) are so very great!

The Buddha said: Drdhamati, it is exactly as you say (evam etad yathā vadasi): that devaputra *Matyabhimukha is already in Śūramgamasamādhi; ‘it is because he does penetrate that samādhi that he could speak as he did.

[Various Transformations of the Assembly]

65. Then the Buddha said to the devaputra *Matyabhimukha: Show, then, be it only a small part (kamcid eva pradesam darśaya) of your skill in the Śūramgamasamādhi.

The devaputra *Matyabhimukha asked the bodhisattva Drdhamati: Friend, would you like to see a little of the supremacy (ārṣabhā)\(^{156}\) of the Śūramgamasamādhi?

Drdhamati replied: I would very much like to see it.

1. The devaputra *Matyabhimukha, who had at his disposal the supremacy of the Śūramgamasamādhi, performed such a supernormal action (evamṛūpam rddhyabhisāmskāram abhisāmskaroti sma)\(^{157}\) that all the members of the assembly (sarvāvati parsad) were transformed into noble Cakravartin kings, adorned with the thirty-two marks (dvātrimsālaksanaśamalakṛta), surrounded by a retinue (sānucāra) and accompanied by the seven jewels (saptaratnaśamanvāgata).

The devaputra asked: What do you see?

Drdhamati replied: I see all the members of the assembly with the colours (rūpa) and signs (nimitta) of noble Cakravartin kings, surrounded by a retinue and accompanied by the seven jewels.

2. Then the devaputra made all the members of the assembly appear like so many Śakra devendras, dwelling in the palaces (vimāna) of the Trayastrimśas\(^{158}\), surrounded by an hundred thousand daughters of the gods (devakanyā), playing music (tūryāni pravādayamāna) and giving themselves over to pleasure in the Grove of Joy (nandanavane paricārayamāna)\(^{159}\).

\(^{156}\) In Tīb., khyu mchog.

\(^{157}\) This is a stock phrase; cf. Vkn, pp.139, 204, 219, 247.

\(^{158}\) The Vaijayantaprāśāda.

\(^{159}\) The four parks of the Trayastrimśa gods are the Caitraratha, Pārusyaka, Miśraka and Nandana.
3. And again, by means of his supernormal power (rddhibala), he transformed all the members of the assembly into as many Brahmarājas, with their colours (rūpa), signs (nimitta) and bodily attitudes (īryāpatha), dwelling in the palaces (vimāna) of the Brahmas and cultivating the four infinite states (caturapramāna).

Then he asked Drdhmati: What do you see?

The latter replied: Devaputra, I see all the members of the assembly like so many Brahmas.

4. Once again, he displayed such supernormal power that all the members of the assembly were transformed into as many sthavira Mahākāśyasapas, with his figure (samsthāna), colours (varna) and appearance (prakāra), equipped with his robe and alms-bowl (cīvarapātradhara), entering the absorptions (dhyāna) and attainments (samāpatti) and practising the eight liberations (vimokṣa): there was not the slightest difference.

5. Yet again, he displayed such supernormal power that all the members of the assembly appeared like so many Sākyamunis with their Buddha-bodies (buddhakāya), their primary and secondary marks (laksanānuvyañjana) and their bodily attitudes (īryāpatha), each surrounded by a gathering of monks (bhiksusamghaparivrta).

Then he asked: Drdhmati, what do you see?

The latter replied: Devaputra, I see all the members of the assembly like so many Sākyamunis with their Buddha-bodies, their primary and secondary marks and their bodily attitudes, each surrounded by a gathering of monks.

66. The devaputra *Matyabhimukha said to Drdhmati: This is the supremacy (ārsabha) of the Śūramgamasamādhi. O Drdhmati, a bodhisattva who possesses the Śūramgamasamādhi can insert the trisdhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu into a mustard seed (sarsapa) in such a way that the mountains (parvata), rivers (nadi), suns (surya), moons (candra) and stars (tārakā) all appear as before, without constricting or disturbing beings. Drdhmati, this is the inconceivable supremacy (acintyārṣabha) of the Śūramgamasamādhi.

[Necessity of acquiring the Heroic Progress]

67. Then the Mahāśrāvakas and the devas, nāgas, yakṣas, gandharvas, Śakras, Brahmas and Lokapāla Kings of the gods,

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160 The spheres of the four dhyānas; the first three consist of three stages, and the fourth of eight.
161 See the Vkn, pp.141-50, which describes these abilities, the acintyavimokṣas of the bs, in full.
addressing the Buddha with one voice, said to him: Bhagavat, those
who have obtained this Śūraṃgamasamādhi have inconceivable virtues
(acintyaguṇa). Why? Those men are all close to Buddhahood162 and
they are endowed with knowledge (jñāna), the superknowledges
(abhiṣijña) and the higher knowledges (vidyā)161. We others, today and in
this very place, have seen the various colours (rūpa) and various
transformations (vikurvana) of the assembly, and we think this: Those
who have not heard the Śūraṃgamasamādhi are certainly possessed by
Māra (mārādhiṣṭita), and those who have heard it are certainly
protected by the Buddhas (buddhaparigrhitā). What then can be said
(kah punar vādāḥ) of those who, having heard it, repeat and practise it?

Bhagavat, the bodhisattva who wishes to penetrate the Buddha
attributes (buddhadharma) and reach the other shore (pāra) should
listen attentively (ekacitāsrāvana) to the Śūraṃgamasamādhi, grasp it
(udgrahana), remember it (dhārana), repeat it (vācana) and expound it
to others (parebhya uddeśanā).

Bhagavat, the bodhisattva who wishes to manifest all the figures
(samsthāna), all the colours (varṇa) and all the bodily attitudes
(īrvāpatha), the bodhisattva who wishes to understand the functioning
of the mind and mentation (cītacāttapraṇātī) of all beings, the
bodhisattva who wishes to know how to cure all the diseases (vyādhi) of
beings, that bodhisattva should listen carefully to this jewel of the
Dharma (dharma-ratna) which is the Śūraṃgamasamādhi, grasp it,
remember it and repeat it.

Bhagavat, he who has obtained the Śūraṃgamasamādhi has certainly
entered the domain of the Buddhas (buddhaviśaya) and into the mastery
of knowledge (jñānavaśita).

68. The Buddha said: It is so, it is so, it is exactly as you say (evam etad
yathā vadatha). He who has not obtained the Śūraṃgamasamādhi does not
deserve the name of perfectly accomplished (kṛtacaryā)164 bodhisattva, and
the Tathāgata denies that this man truly possesses giving (dāna), morality
(sīla), patience (ksanti), vigour (vīrya), absorptive meditation (dhyāna) and
wisdom (prajñā). That is why, if you wish to tread all the paths [of release
(nirvāṇamārga)]165, you should seek to obtain the Śūraṃgamasamādhi, but
without thinking of any training (sikṣā).

162 Chiu ching fo tao 究竟佛道 corresponds here to the Tib. de bzin gšegs pahi hgyos su mchi ba laṣgs, which gives the Sanskrit tathāgatagatiṃgata.
163 The traividiya consisting of three of the six abhiṣijña; see Kośa VII, p.108.
164 Shên hsing 深行 corresponds to the Tib. spyod pa byas pa.
165 In Tib. ṇes par ḡbyun bahi lam.
1. The Practice of Heroic Progress

69. Then the bodhisattva Drdhmati questioned the devaputra *Matyabhimukha: If a bodhisattva wishes to obtain this samādhi, what dharmas should he cultivate?

The devaputra: A bodhisattva who wishes to obtain this samādhi should cultivate the dharmas of the worldly (prthagjanadharmas). If he sees those prthagjanadharmas are neither united (yukta) with nor separate (viyukta) from the buddhadharmas, then he is cultivating the Śūraṃgamasamādhi.

Drdhmati: Can there be union (yoga) or separation (viyoga) in relation to the buddhadharmas?

The devaputra: In relation to the prthagjanadharmas, there is neither union or separation, and even less so in relation to the buddhadharmas.

Drdhmati: What is meant by cultivating [dharmas]?

The devaputra: Understanding that the prthagjanadharmas and the buddhadharmas constitute non-duality (advaya), that is cultivating dharmas\(^\text{166}\). In reality, between these [two kinds] of dharmas, there is neither union nor separation since, O Kulaputra, all dharmas have a mark of non-arising (anutpādalaksana), all dharmas have a mark of non-cessation (anirodhalaksana), all dharmas have a mark like space (ākāsasamalaksana) and all dharmas have a mark of non-encounter (asamāgama)\(^\text{167}\).

2. The End Result of the Heroic Progress

70. Drdhmati: Where does the Śūraṃgamasamādhi go (kva gacchati)?

The devaputra: The Śūraṃgamasamādhi goes [636b] to the minds (citta) and practices (carita) of all beings, but does not take for its object (nālambhate) those minds and practices.

It goes to all the places of birth (jātisthāna), but it is not defiled

\(^{166}\) Regarding the identity of the worldly and the holy ones, see Vkn, pp.44-5, 55-6, 128.

\(^{167}\) The Tib. is clearer: ḡdi la sbyar baḥam / dgral bar bya baḥi chos ni gaṅ yan med do // de ciḥi phyir ḍe na / ḍrīz kyi bu chos thams cad ni mi skye baḥi de bzin Ňiṅ dan ḍan ḍan no // chos thams cad ni mi ḡhog paḥi de bzin Ňiṅ dan ḍan ḍan no // chos thams cad ni mi ḡkhrugs paḥi de bzin Ňiṅ de bzin Ňiṅ dan ḍan ḍan no // chos thams cad ni ḡbraḷ ba med paḥi de bzin Ňiṅ dan ḍan ḍan no // chos thams cad ni ḍhraḷ ba med paḥi de bzin Ňiṅ Ňiṅ dan ḍan ḍan no //: 'Here, there is no united (yukta) nor separated (viyukta) dharma. Why? O Kulaputra, all dharmas have a suchness (tathatā) [comprising] non-arising (anutpāda), non-cessation (anirodha), non-distraction (avikṣepa), non-encounter (asamāgama) and non-separation (aviyoga)'.
(kliṣṭa) by those places of birth.

It goes close to the Buddhas of all the universes, but it does not distinguish (na vijānāti) the bodies of those Buddhas with their primary and secondary marks (laksanānuvyāñjana).

It goes towards all sounds (svāra) and all languages (nirukti), but it does not distinguish the notion of a syllable (aṅkarasaṁjñā).

It displays (samdarśayati) all the buddhadharmas but does not go so far as to exhaust them completely.

Kulaputra, you asked me where this samādhi goes. Well, everywhere the Buddhas go, this samādhi goes as well.

3. The Nirvāṇa of the Buddhas

71. Drḍhamati: And the Buddhas, where do they go?

The devaputra: The Buddhas, because of the suchness of things (tathatā), do not go anywhere.

Drḍhamati: Do not the Buddhas go to Nirvāṇa?

The devaputra: All dharmas are [already] in Nirvāṇa (atyantā-nirvṛta); that is why the Tathāgatas do not go to Nirvāṇa. Why? Because of the very nature of Nirvāṇa, one does not go to Nirvāṇa.

Drḍhamati: In the past did not Buddhas as numerous as the sands of the Ganges (gangānadivalukopama) go to Nirvāṇa?

The devaputra: All those Buddhas as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, do they arise?

Drḍhamati: And yet, it has been said by the Tathāgata: ‘Buddhas as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, after arising, attain Nirvāṇa’.

The devaputra: Kulaputra, has he not also said: ‘A single individual arising in the world arises for the benefit and happiness of many beings, [through compassion for the world], for the advantage, benefit and happiness of the great body of beings, [mankind and the gods. Which is that single individual? The Tathāgata, the holy, fully and perfectly enlightened one]’. What do you think of that (tat kim manyase)?

168 Regarding this idea, see Saddharmapuṇḍ, p.49, 3-4:
Ye cāpy abhūvan purīmās tathāgatāḥ
parinirvṛtā buddhasahasranāke,
ātiatam adhvānam asamkhyaikalpe
tesām pramāṇam na kadāci vidyate.

169 The Tibetan version quotes the passage in full: lha dan mi hi skye bo man po la phan pa hi phyr / skye bo man po la bde ba hi phyr / hjig rten la smin brtse ba hi phyr / skye bo phal po che dan lha dan mi mams kyi don gvi phyr / phan pahi phyir bde ba hi phyr / gan zag gcig hjig rten du ḥbyun st / ḥdi lta st / de bzin gšes pa dgra bcom pa yan dag par rdzogs pahi saṅs rgyas so l.

This concerns a well-known passage in the Anūtattara I, p.22, 1-4: Ekapuggalo bhikkhave
Would the Tathāgata truly be an individual subject to arising (upāda) and cessation (nirodha)?

Dṛḍhamati: O Devaputra, the Tathāgata, in truth, is not possessed of either arising or cessation.

The devaputra: Kulaputra, understand this: Even though the Tathāgata speaks of ‘Buddha arising in the world’, for the Tathāgata there is no real arising. Even though the Tathāgata speaks of ‘Buddha reaching Nirvāna’, for the Tathāgata there is no real cessation.

72. Dṛḍhamati: At present, do not innumerable Tathāgatas attain complete enlightenment (abhisambodhi)?

The devaputra: It is in accordance with the nature of non-arising (anupāda) and non-cessation (anirodha) that the Tathāgatas attain abhisambodhi. O Kulaputra, whether the Buddhas appear in the world or enter Nirvāna, there is no difference (viśesa). Why? The Tathāgatas understand completely (abhisambudhyante) that all dharmas are essentially appeased (atyantaparinirvṛta) and that is why they are called Buddhas.

Dṛḍhamati: If all dharmas are essentially appeased, can Nirvāna itself [insofar as it is appeasement] be understood (abhisambuddha)?

The devaputra: The fact that all dharmas are essentially appeased (parinirvṛta) is identical to Nirvāna itself. To understand this is to understand the nature of Nirvāna. O Kulaputra, if the Tathāgatas appear in the world, it is not by virtue of an arising (upāda), a duration (sthitī) and a destruction (bhaṅga); it is the absence of arising, duration and destruction that is named the appearance of a Buddha (buddhotpāda).

4. The Absence of a Base

73. Dṛḍhamati: Is it while in Śūramgamasmādhī that you say all that?

The devaputra: Kulaputra, what do you think of this (tat kim manyase)? On what do the imaginary beings created by the Tathāgata (tathāgatanirmitanirmanā) base themselves in order to speak?

Dṛḍhamati: They base themselves on the supportive power


170 The Chinese text is corrupt, though the Tibetan is clear: ci de bzin gsogs pas gaṅ skye baham / ḡaṅ par ḡyur bahi gaṅ zag de sned dam /

171 In other words, Nirvāṇa is possessed in advance and not acquired.

172 Arising, duration and cessation constitute, according to early Buddhism, the three marks of conditioned things (samskrta-laksana).
(adhiśṭhāna)\textsuperscript{173} of the Buddha, and then they can speak.

\textit{The devaputra:} And the Buddha, on what does he base himself in order to create those imaginary beings? [636c].

\textit{Dṛḍhamati:} The Buddha bases himself on the knowledge of non-duality (advayābhījñā) in order to create those imaginary beings\textsuperscript{174}.

\textit{The devaputra:} Just as the Tathāgata bases himself on the ‘absence of a base’ (apratiṣṭhāna) in order to create those imaginary beings, so those imaginary beings base themselves on the absence of a base in order to speak.

\textit{Dṛḍhamati:} If they have no base, how can they speak?

\textit{The devaputra:} In the same way that I speak to you while not basing myself on anything.

5. The Bodhisattva’s Eloquence

\textbf{74. Dṛḍhamati:} Why is a bodhisattva endowed with eloquence (pratibhānasampanna)\textsuperscript{175}?

\textit{The devaputra:} A bodhisattva speaks without using the notion of self (ātmasamjñā), without using the notion of another (parasamjñā) and without using the notion of dharma\textsuperscript{176}; he is therefore ‘endowed with eloquence’.

When he expounds the Dharma, syllables (aṅkṣara) are inexhaustible (aṅkṣaya), and dharman is also inexhaustible. In so speaking, he does not speak of duality (dvaya), he is therefore ‘endowed with eloquence’.

Kulaputra, if a bodhisattva does not reject the mark of illusion (māyālaksana) inherent in all dharman and does not reject the mark of echo (pratisrutlaksana) inherent in all sounds (svāra), he is ‘endowed with eloquence’.

Moreover, just as syllables (aṅkṣara), sounds (svāra) and language (nirukti) have no sphere (sthāna), no place (deśa), no inside, no outside,

\textsuperscript{173} In Tib. byin gvi rlabs.

\textsuperscript{174} The Tib. differs slightly: de bzin gsegs pa ni gnas med pa la gnas te sprul pa sprul par mdzad do: ‘It is by basing himself on the absence of a base (apratiṣṭhāna) that the Tathāgata creates those imaginary beings (nirmāṇa)’.

The subject is treated in the same way and in practically the same terms by the Vkn, pp.158-60, 171.

\textsuperscript{175} The eloquence of the bs is ‘philosophical silence’: excluding all words and not saying anything, not expressing anything, not uttering anything, not teaching anything, not designating anything, this is to enter into non-duality. See Vkn, pp.202-3, where Manjusri congratulates Vimalakirti on remaining silent.

\textsuperscript{176} In the Vkn (p.49), Vimalakirti explains to Maudgalyāyana that there is no-one to expound, no-one to hear or understand: it is as if an illusory man were to expound the Dharma to other illusory men.
no base \((pratiṣṭhāna)\) and originate in dependence \((pratītya-samutpanna)\), so also dhammas have no sphere, no place, no inside, no outside and no base; they are neither past \((aṭṭha)\), nor future \((anāgata)\) nor present \((pratyutpanna)\), and they are not expressed by sounds \((sva)\) or language \((nirukti)\). To speak, in knowing this for oneself, is to be ‘endowed with eloquence’. Like an echo \((pratīṣṛutkā)\), for example: it speaks in that all sounds reverberate \((anugacchanti)\) in it.

75. Drḍhamati: What does the word ‘reverberation’ \((anugama)\) mean? 

The devaputra: Kulaputra, reverberation means reverberation in space \((ākāśa)\). Just as there is no reverberation in space, so all dharmas are devoid of reverberation, all dharmas avoid comparison \((anupama)\) and avoid all reconciliation \((asadrśa)\). It is those who hear the echo who speak of reverberation.

Then the Bhagavat congratulated \((sādhukaṁ adāt)\) the devaputra: Excellent, excellent, it is exactly as you say \((sādhu sādhu. evam etad yathā vadasi)\). Over this matter a bodhisattva should not fear, tremble or take fright \((nottrasitavyam na samtrasitavyam na samtrāsam āpattavyam)\). Why? Because if ‘reverberation’ were to exist, he would not attain \(anuttarasamāyaksambodhi\).

\[Revelations Concerning the Devaputra *Matyabhimukha\]

76. The bodhisattva Drḍhamati asked the Buddha: Bhagavat, from which \(buddhaksetra\) did this devaputra *Matyabhimukha come to this \(Sahā\) universe?

The devaputra said: What is the point of that question?

Drḍhamati said: I would like to turn towards that place and pay homage to it, for it is the place travelled through and inhabited by such \(satpurusas\).

The devaputra said: It is those who hold this Śūraṃgamasamādhi in their hands that the whole world with its gods and mankind \((sadevamanusyo loka)\) should venerate.

77. Then the Buddha said to the bodhisattva Drḍhamati: It is from the Abhirati universe of the Buddha Aksobhya that this devaputra *Matyabhimukha arrived here [in the Sahāloka]. There, he always expounded the Śūraṃgamasamādhi. O Drḍhamati, all the Buddhas without exception expound the Śūraṃgamasamādhi. Drḍhamati, this devaputra *Matyabhimukha \([637a]\), here in this Sahā universe, will

\(^{177}\)This is a stock phrase; see Samādhīrāja l, p.273, 6-7; Saddharma-pund., pp.36, 2; 37, 1; 73, 8-9; 78, 3; 233, 13-14.

\(^{178}\)In the Vkn, pp.243-9, I have assembled some references to the Abhirati universe of the Buddha Aksobhya. It is from there that Vimalakirti also came.
reach supreme and perfect enlightenment (anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambhotsyate). It is in order to destroy the five corruptions (pañcakasāyaprāhāna)\textsuperscript{179}, to secure a pure Buddha-field (pariśuddhabuddhaksetraparigrāhāna), to ripen beings (sattvaparipācana), to cultivate (bhāvanā) and to enhance (vardhana) the Śūramgamasamādhi that he has come here.

78. Dṛḍhamati asked the Buddha: After how long (kiyacciran) in this universe here will that devaputra reach supreme and perfect enlightenment (anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambhotsyate)? What will he be called and what will be the name of his universe (lokadhātu)?

The Buddha answered: During the sixty-two kalpas that will follow the Nirvāṇa of the thousand Buddhas of the Auspicious Period (bhadrakalpa), there will be no more Buddhas; during this lapse of time, there will appear only an hundred thousand nayutakoṭis of Pratyekabuddhas, and it is under them that all beings will plant good roots (kuśalamūlāy avaropsyanti)\textsuperscript{180}.

\textsuperscript{179} See Vkn, pp.84, 264.

\textsuperscript{180} We are at present in the mahākalpa called the Auspicious Period (bhadrakalpa), in the course of which a thousand Buddhas appear in the world; four have already come, all the others are yet to come. The mahākalpa which will follow will, as always, consist of four asamkhyyeyakalpas: 1. a period of devolution of the world (samvartakalpa), 2. a period during which the world remains devolved (samvartasthāvikalpa), 3. a period of evolution (vivartakalpa) and, 4. a period during which the world remains evolved (vivartasthāvikalpa).

Each of these four periods consists of twenty intermediary kalpas, called antaralakalpas or ‘small kalpas’. It is only during the twenty intermediary kalpas of the period when the world remains evolved (vivartasthāvikalpa) that the Buddhas, Pratyekabuddhas and cakravartin kings appear in the world.

During the first antaralakalpa of this period (the 61st of the mahākalpa), the human life-span, infinite in the beginning, continues to diminish until it is no more than ten years.

Antaralakalpa Nos 2 to 19 of this period (Nos 62 to 79 of the mahākalpa) are each subdivided into two phases: 1. a phase of increase (utkarsa) during which the human life-span, ten years at the beginning, increases until it is 80,000 years, 2. a phase of diminution (apakarsa) during which the human life-span progressively decreases from 80,000 to ten years.

The 20th antaralakalpa of this period (No.80 and the last of the mahākalpa) is only of augmentation: the human life-span increases from ten to 80,000 years.

The Buddhas appear in the course of the phases of diminution of life, when the life-span is diminishing from 80,000 to 100 years. The Pratyekabuddhas appear during the phases of augmentation and the phases of diminution of life. The cakravartins appear in the era when the human life-span is infinite until the era when life is of 80,000 years.

In the case envisaged here, an hundred thousand nayutakoṭis of Pratyekabuddhas will appear during the first two antaralakalpas of the vivartasthāvikalpa, that is, during the 61st and 62nd antaralakalpas of the mahākalpa. During the 63rd antaralakalpa, the Buddha Vimalaprabhākirtirāja will appear, and his life-span will last throughout ten antaralakalpas, that is from the 63rd to the 72nd antaralakalpas of the mahākalpa.
Those [sixty-two] kalpas having elapsed, the devaputra [*Matyabhimukha] will reach supreme and perfect enlightenment. He will be called the Tathāgata Vimalaprabhākirtirāja ‘King Glory of Unstained Brilliance’. His universe [the present Sahālokadhatu] will then have the name of Prasannadarsanā ‘Pure vision’

181 In Tib *Hod dri ma med par grags pahi rgyal po* The prediction which concerns him is of great interest Certain preliminary thoughts are required, which have already been noted by Burnouf *tr *‘In extended Sūtras, such as the Sādharmapundarīka, Saṃādiḥrāja, Sādharmālankāvatāra Lalitavistara and Gandavyūha, the Buddha does not gather together an assembly unless it consists of an exaggerated number of monks and nuns, devas of all kinds and, above all bodhisattvas, persons whose merits are no less innumerable than their names are complicated’ These names are the longer the more the bodhisattva is less known In the case of famous bodhisattvas, their names tend to be abbreviated, but the processes of abbreviation are extremely varied, so much so that it is not always easy to know if one is dealing with the same person Here are some names of famous Buddhas and bodhisattvas whose names have several variations

Aksobhya, Aksobhyarāja, Amitābha, Amitāyus, Amitaprabha, Amītanātha, Amītyurjñānaviniscayarājendra, Avalokitesvara, Avalokita, Avalokitavesvara, Dundubhisvara, Dundubhisvararāja, Bhasajyaguruyu, Bhasajyaguruvaidūryaprabha, Bhasajyaguruvaidūryarāja, Bhasajyaguruvaidūryaprabhāra, Mañjuśrī Mañjughosa, Mañjuddhvaja, Mañjunātha, Mañjughāna, Mañjusvara, Mañjuvarā, Mañjuvarā, Mañjusvara, Mahāsthāma, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, Mañjreyya, Mañjriya, Mañjrika, Mañjranātha, Mañjranāman, Ajita, Ajitamaitreyya, Vajrapāni, Candavajrapāni, Guhyakādhipati, Guhyādhipati, Guhyakendra, Guhyaka Vajrapāni Malla (only in Chinese versions?), Vairocana, Vairocanaraśmiratamanditaśvārajāra, Samantabhādra, Samantatathābra, Bhadrā, Samanta

The greatest circumspection is required when it is a question of recognising one and the same person among all these diverse names

Here, in § 78 of the Sūtras, Śākyamuni gives a prediction to the devaputra-bodhisattva Matyabhimukha (or Buddhāmatyabhimukha, according to the Tibetan version) In our Sahāloka universe, which will then have the name of Prasannadarsanā, during the 63rd antarākalpa of the Mahākalpa which will follow the present Bhadrakalpa, Matyabhimukha will become a Buddha with the name of Vimalaprabhākirtirāja

It was said above, at § 77, that before appearing here in the Sahāloka, Matyabhimukha was to be found in the Abhirati universe of the Buddha Aksobhya According to the Vkn, p 243, it was from this same Abhirati universe in the Eastern region that Vimalakirti came, and, as I have pointed out in the notes, the ideas expressed by Matyabhimukha in §§ 62-75 of the Sūtras are identical to the theories explained by Vimalakirti in the Vkn

So, in the minds of the authors of these two sūtras, Matyabhimukha and Vimalakirti tend to be confused, and this Buddha Vimalaprabhākirtirāja whom Matyabhimukha is named to become one day would be none other than the bodhisattva Vimalakirti in his final existence as a Buddha In this case, Vimalaprabhākirtirāja would be to Vimalakirti what Amitāyurjñānaviniscayarājendra is to Amitābha, what Bhasajyaguruvaidūryaprabhāra is to Bhasajyaguru, etc a full name as against a name abbreviated by use

If this hypothesis is correct, the present passage of the Sūtras would be informing us about the final abhisambodhi of Vimalakirti and would thus fill a gap that I regretted in my introduction to the Vkn, p cv

182 In Tib *Mthon na dan ba*
79. In that period, the Tathāgata Vimalaprabhākīrtirāja will cause beings to have pure minds (prasannacittā), and the beings of that universe will not be beset (pariveṣṭita) by craving (rāga), hatred (dveṣa) or delusion (moha); animated by pure faith in the Dharma (dhammadṛṣṭa), they will practise the Good Doctrine (saddharma).

Dṛḍhamati, the life-span (āyuspramāṇa) of the Buddha Vimalaprabhākīrtirāja will consist of ten small kalpas (antarakaḷpa). He will deliver beings by means of the Three Vehicles and, among them, an innumerable (apramāṇa) and infinite (ananta) number of bodhisattvas will obtain the Śūramgamasamādhi and a wondrous power (vikurvanabala) over all dharmas. In that period, Māra and his kin (mārajātiya) will pledge themselves to the Great Vehicle (mahāyānasamprasthitā) and will be compassionate towards beings (sattvakārunika). That buddhaksetra will be free of the three bad destinies (durgati) and the [eight] unfavourable conditions (aṅkṣaṇa)183; adorned and pure, it will be like the Uttarāvati184. It will be free of the works of Māra (mārakarman) and freed from all the false views (mithyādṛṣṭi).

After the Nirvāṇa of that Buddha, his Dharma will endure for an hundred thousand kotis of years. Dṛḍhamati, such is the pure universe in which that devaputra will reach supreme and perfect enlightenment.

80. Then the bodhisattva Dṛḍhamati said to the devaputra: It is of great advantage to you (lābhāṣ te sulabdhdh)185 that the Tathāgata has predicted your reaching anuttarasamyaksambodhi.

The devaputra replied: Kulaputra, the great advantage is not gaining any dharma (sarvadharmānām alābhō mahālābhā ity utcyate). To gain any dharma whatsoever is disadvantageous: that is why, O Kulaputra, not gaining any dharmas is a great advantage.

As he was speaking, twenty-five thousand devapurtras who had previously planted good roots (avaropitakusalamūla) aroused the

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183 Cf. Vkn, pp.20 and n., 57, 79.
184 A continent situated to the north of the caturdvāpaka (Kośa III, p.146), the Uttarāvati or Uttarakuru is the mythical region of the Hyperboreans. Men there are without cupidity (amamā) and have no private property (aparīgghahā), they live for a thousand years and are particularly elegant. Without sowing or labouring, they gather rice which is free of blight and husks and cook the grains on oven stones (Digha III, p.199; Aṅguttara IV, p.396; other references in Akanuma, Noms propres, pp.721-2; Malalasekera, Proper Names I, pp.355-6). Their way of life is depicted on the Stūpa at Bhārhat; cf. A. Foucher, ‘Sur l’interprétation de quatre bas-reliefs de Bharhut’, Revue des Arts Asiatiques XIII, pp.1-9.
185 A traditional expression; see Vkn, p.249.
81. Then Śāriputra said to the Buddha: It is extraordinary (adbhuta): at present the Šūramgamasamādhi is being expounded and yet Māra Pāpimāt ’Māra the Malign’ does not come to cause trouble (vicakṣuh-karanāyā)\(^{188}\).

The Buddha said to Śāriputra: Do you want to see Māra’s troubles? Yes, I would like to see them.

82. Thereupon the Buddha at that very instant emitted a ray of light from the circle of hair between his two eyebrows, one of the characteristic marks of a great man (atha khalu buddhas tasyām velāyām mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇād bhrūvivarāntarād ūrṇākośāt prabhām pramumoca)\(^{189}\); the whole of the assembly saw Māra Pāpimāt bound by the five bonds (pañcabandhanabaddha) and incapable of freeing himself from them.

The Buddha said to Śāriputra: Do you see Māra Pāpimāt bound by the five bonds?

[Śāriputra replied]: Yes, I have seen him; by what is Māra then bound?

The Buddha replied: He is bound by the supportive power (adhisthānabala) of the Šūramgamasamādhi. In buddhaksetras where the Šūramgamasamādhi is expounded, ill-willed (praduṣṭacitta) Māras oppose it, but through the supportive power (adhisthānabala) of the Šūramgamasamādhi and of the Buddhas, all those Māra Pāpimats find themselves bound by the five bonds. Śāriputra, in the places where the Šūramgamasamādhi is expounded, whether I am present in the world or already in Parinirvāṇa, all Māras, kin of Māra (mārajātiya) and other ill-willed (praduṣṭacitta) beings are bound by the five bonds through

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\(^{186}\) Regarding Māra, see my notes in Vkn, pp.99-101. and the survey by A. Wayman, ‘Studies in Yama and Māra’, Indo-Iranian Journal III, 1959, pp.44-73, 112-31. The conversion of Māra and his daughters is a literary theme frequently exploited by the sūtras of both Vehicles; the present account should be compared with the Mahāsamnipāta, Gilgit Manuscripts IV, 1959, pp.1-82, the Vkn, pp.99-106, and many other sources.


\(^{188}\) To the Chinese jao luan 嫌亂, corresponds the Tib. mig gis mi rtos bar bgyi bahi slad du, which gives in Sanskrit vicaksukkaranāya; cf. Mahāvyut., No.6528. The expression is also found in Mahāvastu III, p.416, 1 and 15; Lalitavistara, p.378, 15; Aṣṭasāhasrikā, p.243, 2; Śikṣāmuccaya, p.96, 10 (cf. Edgerton, Dictionary, p.483).

\(^{189}\) A stock phrase; see Saddharmapuṇḍ, p.423, 1-2, and, with slight variations, ibid., pp.20, 8-9; 243, 3; Lalitavistara, pp.300, 6-8; 393, 17-18; Lankāvatāra, p.13, 4.
the supportive power of the Śūramgamasamādhi.\textsuperscript{190}

[The Twelve Bonds of False Views]

83. Then, in the assembly, the devas, nāgas, yakṣas, gandharvas, etc., said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, with regard to this samādhi, we do not feel any doubt (samśaya) and we have no opposition (antarāya) to it. We do not want to be bound by the five bonds (pañcabandhana). O Bhagavat, we respect this samādhi, and that is why we have all come to protect (parigrāhana) its instructors (dharmaṁabhānaka). We consider this samādhi like the Bhagavat himself.

84. The Buddha said to the devas, nāgas and other divine beings: It is for this reason that you must free (parimoktum) yourselves from the twelve bonds of false views (drṣṭigataṁbandhana). What are those twelve?

Those twelve bonds are:

1. the view of a self (ātmadrṣti),
2. the view of a being (sattvadrṣti),
3. the view of a living being (jivadrṣti),
4. the view of an individual (pudgaladrṣti),
5. the view of nihilism (ucchedadrṣti),
6. the view of eternalism (sāsvatadrṣti),
7. the view of the belief in a self (ātmagrahadrṣti),
8. the view of the belief in what pertains to the self (ātmiyagrāhadrṣti),
9. the view of existence (bhavadrṣti),
10. the view of non-existence (vibhavadrṣti),
11. the view of a personality (satkāyadrṣti),
12. the view of all dharmas (sarvadharmadrṣti)\textsuperscript{191}.

Such are the twelve bonds. Know that if beings have any feelings of hatred (dvesa) for the Buddhadharma and seek to destroy (nivartitum) it, they are entangled in those twelve bonds of false views. Those who believe (adhimucyante) in the Buddhadharma, follow (anuvartante) it and do not oppose it will be freed from those twelve bonds.

\textsuperscript{190} As we shall see at the end of § 87, these bonds are fixed to both hands, both feet and the neck of Mara. In the Legend of Aśoka and related sources (cf. Divyavadāna, p 357), three corpses, those of a serpent, a dog and a man, are bound to the nape of Mara's neck.

\textsuperscript{191} We have in Tib. chos thams cad la mnon par 'zen par lta ba, which gives in Sanskrit sarvadharmābhūtoṇiveśadrṣti.
[The Virtue of the Name]

85. Then Śāriputra said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, at the moment, does Māra Pāpimat [637c] hear the name of this Śūramgamasamādhi?

The Buddha replied: He too hears it but, since he is bound, he cannot come here.

Śāriputra said: Why does the Tathāgata not make use of his supportive power (adhisthānabala) so that Māra cannot hear the name of that Śūramgamasamādhi?

The Buddha said: Stop (tiṣṭha), do not say such words! Supposing that universes as numerous as the sands of the Ganges (gaṅgā-nadivālukopama lokadhātu) were filled with a great fire (maḥāgni) [and that they would have to be crossed] in order to hear the Śūramgamasamādhi being expounded, they would have to be crossed all the same. Why? If someone hears the Śūramgamasamādhi being expounded, I claim that he would gain from it great advantages (lābha) far superior to the obtaining of the four absorptions (dhyāna) or the four Brahmā Abodes (brahmavīhāra).

86. Śāriputra, if Māra Pāpimat now hears the name of the Śūramgamasamādhi being uttered, he will succeed in transcending (samatikṛantum) the works of Māra (mārakarman). And, even if they are bound, those who hear this samādhi will free themselves from the twelve bonds of false views (dvādaśa drṣṭigatabandhana). That is why, O Śāriputra, perverse and malign men, caught in the net of Māra (mārajālapraṭīṣṭa), should hear this Śūramgamasamādhi. How much more so (kāḥ punar vādah) should beings with pure thoughts (prasannacitta) delight in hearing it.

[Bondage and Deliverance]

87. Now there was in the assembly a bodhisattva named Māragocarāṇupalipta¹⁹² 'Undefiled by the Domain of Māra'; he said to the Buddha: In truth, Bhagavat, I would like to go now to the world of Māra and, by means of my wondrous power (vikurvāṇabala), compel Māra to establish himself in the Śūramgamasamādhi.

The Buddha said: Yes, if you consider now to be the right time (yasyedāṁ kālam manyase).

Then the bodhisattva Māragocarāṇupalipta suddenly disappeared from the assembly and appeared in Māra’s palace (mārabhavana). He said to Māra Pāpimat: Do you not hear the Buddha expounding the

¹⁹² In Tib. Bdud kyi spyod pahi yul gyis mi gos pa.
Śūramgamasamādhi? Innumerable beings arouse the anuttara-samyak-sambodhicitta and escape from your domain (gocara), and [that instruction] will deliver many more persons by enabling them all to leave your domain.\(^{193}\)

Māra replied: I hear the Buddha expounding the name of the Śūramgamasamādhi but, being bound by the five bonds (pañcabandhānabaddha), I am not able to go there. They are the bonds I have at my two hands, two feet and neck.

88. [Mara:gocaranupalipta] asked Māra Pāpīmat: Who bound you?

Māra replied: At the precise moment that I made the resolve to go there in order to disturb those who are listening attentively to the Śūramgamasamādhi, I was immediately bound by the five bonds. At that precise moment I said to myself: ‘The Buddhas and bodhisattvas have great might (anubhāva) and are not easily disturbed; if I go there, I shall be overcome, so it is better to stay here in this palace’. I had scarcely finished that thought when I was [† momentarily] delivered (mukta) from the five bonds.

The bodhisattva responded: [† Similarly], those foolish worldlings (bālaprthagjana) are bound (baddha) by their own notions (saṃjñā), imaginations (vikalpa), perverse views (viparyāsa) and apprehensions (nimittograhana); they are bound by their movements (inījita), reflections (manyanā) and idle talk (prapañca); they are bound by what they have seen, heard, thought and known (drṣṭaṃsrutatavijñāta)\(^{194}\). But in reality, there is nothing which is ‘bound’ (baddha) or ‘delivered’ (mukta). Why? Dharmas are not ‘bound’ because they are originally delivered (svabhāvena mukta); dharmas are not ‘delivered’ because originally they were not bound\(^{195}\). Regarding this mark of eternal deliverance (nityavimuktilaksana), there is no possible error: it is by means of this exposition of the Dharma (dharmamukha) that the Tathāgata expounds the Dharma; [638a] beings who understand its meaning and seek deliverance attentively and vigorously are delivered from the bonds.

[Conversion of the Daughters of the Gods]

89. Then, in Māra’s entourage, seven hundred devakanyās ‘daughters

\(^{193}\) In Tib ḡeṅ yan sems can sin tu dpag tu med pa dag khyod kyi yul las hdah bar hgyur ro ‘Besides, innumerable beings will still leave your domain’

\(^{194}\) See Vkn, p 138, n 5

\(^{195}\) The identity of bandhana and moksa is also one of the theses of the Pañcavimśati, p 192, 12-13, and the Vkn, pp 192, 201
of the gods’ strewed the bodhisattva Māragocarāṇupalīpta with celestial perfumes (divyagandha), flowers (puspa), powders (cūrṇa), unguents (vilepana) and necklets (niśka). They said to him: When shall we be delivered (mukta) from the domain of Māra?

The bodhisattva replied: If you do not destroy the bonds of Māra (mārabandhana), you will be delivered. They asked: What are the bonds of Māra?

He said: They are the sixty-two kinds of false views (drṣṭigata). If you do not destroy those false views, you will be delivered from the bonds of Māra.196

90. The devakanyās said further: How can deliverance be obtained by not destroying false views?

He replied: False views do not originally come from anywhere and do not go anywhere. To know the mark of the non-coming and non-going (anāgamanirgama) of the false views is to be delivered from the bonds of Māra.

False views are neither existent nor non-existent. Not to distinguish between either existence (bhāva) or non-existence is to be delivered from the bonds of Māra.

Not to see anything is the right view (samyagdrṣṭi) and this right view is neither right (samyak) nor wrong (mithyā). Dharmas are neither right nor wrong, neither actors (kāraka) nor reactors (vedaka), and this is to be delivered from the bonds of Māra.

Those false views are not found inwardly (adhyātmam) or outwardly (bahirdhā) or beyond the two (nobhayam antarena). Not to muse (amanyanā) on those false views is to be delivered from the bonds of Māra.

The seven hundred devakanyās, having heard that discourse, obtained the preparatory certainty (anulomikā ksānti) and said: When we are no longer defiled by the domain of Māra (māragocarāṇupalīpta), we shall set free (parimocayisyāmah) all those who are bound by Māra (mārabaddha).

[Self-interested Conversion of Māra]

91. Then the bodhisattva Māragocarāṇupalīpta said to Māra Pāpīmat: Your handmaids (bhrtyā) have aroused the anuttarasamyaksambodhicitta; what are you going to do?

Māra replied: Being bound by the five bonds (pañcabandhana-

196 According to the Vkn as well, the sixty-two kinds of false views are identical to deliverance and constitute the Tathāgatagotra, cf Vkn, pp 44, 57, 119, 127, 129 and n., 177, 183
The bodhisattva went on: Arouse the anuttarasamyaksambodhicitta, and you will be delivered from those bonds.

Then the devakanyās, through pity (anukampa) for Māra, said to him: You can arouse the anuttarasamyaksambodhicitta. Do not take for the fearful (bhaya) what is security (kṣema); do not take for suffering (duḥkha) what is happiness (sukha); do not take for bondage (bandhana) what is deliverance (mukti).

92. Then Māra framed a thought of deceit (māyācitta) and said: If you renounce (visarjatha) the bodhicitta, I consent to arouse it.

Then the devakanyās, resorting to skilful means (upāya), said to Māra: We have already renounced the bodhicitta, therefore you can arouse the anuttarasamyaksambodhicitta. If a single bodhisattva arouses the bodhicitta, all bodhisattvas arouse it as well. Why? The citta is undifferentiated (nirviśīṣṭa); among all beings the citta is the same (sama).

Thereupon Māra Pāpimat said to the bodhisattva Māragocarānupalipta [638b]: I arouse the anuttarasamyaksambodhicitta; may I through that good root (kusalamūla) be delivered from the bonds!

Scarcely had he said those words than he found himself delivered from the bonds.

[Conversion of the Lustful Devakanyās]

93. Then the bodhisattva Māragocarānupalipta, by means of his supernormal power (rddhibala), emitted a great light (mahāprabhā) and showed his marvellous body (parinispakāya): he illuminated all the palaces of Māra (mārabhavana), and Māra found himself eclipsed (dhyāmakṛta) like a block of ink (māśīrāsādṛśa).

Now there were in Māra’s entourage two hundred devakanyās deeply attached to the pleasures of the senses (kāmarāgātisakta). Seeing the perfect beauty (rupasampad) of that bodhisattva, they became enamoured (samrakt) of him. Each one declared separately: If that man makes love to us, we will all comply with his orders (sarvās tasya śāsanam anuvartasyāmah).

94. Then the bodhisattva, knowing that they fulfilled the requisite conditions (purvapratyayd) for being delivered, created through transformation (abhinirmimite sma) two hundred devaputras of perfect beauty (krātimatātā paricārayati) (cf. Divyāvadāna, pp.1, 6; 98, 19; Saddharmapuṇḍ., pp.72, 13; 78, 2, etc.).
beauty, identical to his own. He also created two hundred magnificent belvederes (kūtāgāra) for intimacy, superior to all the palaces of Māra. The devakanyās, finding themselves in those magnificent belvederes, each thought apart: ‘It is I who am disporting myself with the bodhisattva’. When their desires (āśaya) were fully gratified (paripūrṇa), their craving (kāmarāga) disappeared. They aroused the high resolve (adhyāśaya) and honoured the bodhisattva. Then the latter expounded the Dharma as was suitable (yathāpratītyayham) to them, and they all aroused the anuttarasamāyaksambodhicitta.

[Further Guile of Māra]

95. Then the bodhisattva Māragocarāṇupalipta said to Māra Pāpimāt: You can go to the Buddha.

Māra had this thought: Now that I am delivered from the bonds, I shall go to the Buddha and disturb the instruction of the Dharma.

Thereupon Māra Pāpimāt, surrounded by his retinue, went to the Buddha and said to him: Bhagavat, do not expound the Śūraṃgamasamādhi any more. Why? When you expound that samādhi, I am bound by the five bonds. I would like the Tathāgata to expound something else.

Then the bodhisattva Dr̥ḍhamati said to Māra Pāpimāt: Who unbound your bonds?

Māra replied: The bodhisattva Māragocarāṇupalipta unbound my bonds.

[Dr̥ḍhamati went on]: What did you promise, in return for being unbound?

Māra said: I promised to arouse the anuttarasamāyaksambodhicitta.

96. Then the Buddha said to the bodhisattva Dr̥ḍhamati: Today Māra Pāpimāt aroused the bodhicitta in order to be unbound, and not with a pure intention (adhyāśaya). Equally, O Dr̥ḍhamati, after my Nirvāṇa [at the end of time, in the final period], in the last five hundred years (mama parinītratasya, paścime kāle, paścime samaye, paścimāyāṃ pañcaśatyāṃ vartamānāyāṃ), numerous bhikṣus will arouse the bodhicitta for material gains (lābha) and not with a pure intention (adhyāśaya).

97. O Dr̥ḍhamati, consider the might (sthāma) of the Śūraṃgamasamādhi and the supportive action (adhiṣṭhāna) of the Buddhadharma: bhikṣus, bhikṣunis, upāsakas and upāsikās who, through derision

198 The Tibetan version reproduces in full this well-known stock phrase; cf. Vkn, p.264, in the notes.
(vidambanā), through love of gain (lābhakāma) or to imitate others (parānuparivartana), will listen to this samādhi and arouse the bodhicitta. I know that for them that cittotpāda will be the cause and condition (hetupratyaya) of arrival at anuttarasamyaksambodhi. How much more so can it be said (kaḥ punar vādaḥ) of those who will listen to this Śūramgamasamādhi with a pure intention (adhyāśaya) and will arouse the anuttarasamyaksambodhicitta? [638c]. It must be known that the latter are predestined to the Buddha attributes (buddhadharmaniyata).

[Prediction to Māra]

98. The bodhisattva Drḍhamati said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, today Māra Pāpimat, after having heard the Śūramgamasamādhi expounded, aroused the bodhicitta in order to be delivered from his bonds. Will that cittotpāda enable him one day to obtain the perfected Buddha attributes (paripūrnabuddhadharma)?

The Buddha replied: It is indeed as you say (evam etad yathā vadasi). Because Māra Pāpimat has the merit (= good roots, kuśalamūla) of having heard this samādhi and because he aroused the bodhicitta, he will in the future (anāgata 'dhvani) come to eliminate (vyantikartum) the works of Māra (mārakarman), the practices of Māra (māracaryā), the hypocrisy of Māra (māraśāthya) and the guiles of Māra (māramāyā). As from today (adyāgreṇa) he will gradually (krameṇa) gain the power of the Śūramgamasamādhi and will finally reach supreme and perfect enlightenment (anuttarāyāṃ saṃyaksambodhim abhisambhotsyate).

99. The bodhisattva Drḍhamati said to Māra Pāpimat: The Tathāgata has just given you the prediction (vyākaraṇa).

Māra said: Kulaputra, it was not with a pure intention (adhyāśaya) that today I aroused the anuttarasamyaksambodhicitta. How then could the Tathāgata give me the prediction? The Buddha has said: ‘From thought (citta) arises action (karman) and from action arises fruition (vipāka’). Since I have never had the thought [that is, the intention] of seeking Bodhi, how could the Tathāgata give me the prediction?

[The Four Kinds of Prediction199]

100. Then the Buddha, in order to destroy the doubts of the assembly

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199 Adopt the variant i wēn 以聞.
200 1. The Avatamsaka (T 278, ch.37, 633c 8-19; T 279, ch.53, p.281a 16-25; Tib. Trip., vol.26, p.62, fol.150b 4 - 151a 3) is familiar with the ten vyākaranas by virtue of which the bs knows himself to be vyākṛta. Further on (T 278, ch.39, p.646c 7-15; T 279, ch.55, p.292c 16-23;
The four vyākaranas of which the Sgs speaks here are mentioned in the Bodhisambhārasāstra, a work translated into Chinese at Lo-yang between 590 and 616 by Dharmagupta of the Sui, with the title of P'u ti tzu liang lun (T 1660) It is a work in verse and prose, according to the K'ai (T 2154, ch 7, p 551c 1), the kārikās are by Nāgārjuna and the commentary by the bhiksū Ṣivara Here is a translation of the passage referring to the vyākaranas (T 1660, ch 3, p 528b 16-25)

'In the Mahāyāna, four vyākaranas are spoken of 1 Anutpādatabdhiçittavyākaraṇa A man is tikṣṇendriya and udārddhimuktika, and the Bhagavat Buddhas having considered him with their apratihatabbhadracaksus give him the vyākaraṇa 2 Utpādatabdhiçittavyākaraṇa A man has ripened the kusaḷamūlas, planted and cultivated the seed of Bodhi, his faculties are very sharp, he has obtained the superior practices and he wants only to liberate beings This is why, as soon as he has aroused the bodhiatta, he has entered the state of avaivartika, he is avinpaṭidadharman and freed from the eight aksanas 3 It can happen that a man, hearing his own vyākaraṇa, loses his zeal (virya) for the six pāramīs, but he proves to be ever more vigorous if he does not hear it this is why the Buddha does not let him hear it However, desiring other men to hear the vyākaraṇa so that they may cut off their doubts (samsayacchedāṇa), the Buddha, through adhisthāna, confers the vyākaraṇa unbeknown to the one concerned 4 If the bs has ripened the five lokaṭtarendriyas, he acquires the anutpattikadhardhamsānti and dwells in [the eighth stage] of the bs, namely the acalabhūmi It is to him that the sammukhavyākaraṇa applies'

3 The Upadesa, also attributed to Nāgārjuna, refers twice to the four vyākaranas of the Sgs (T 1509, ch 4, p 92b 3-6, ch 40, p 349c 19) I should here correct the translation of the first passage which I gave earlier in Nagarjuna, Traité 1, p 293 It should read 'In the Śūramgamasaṃādhi, there are four kinds of bs and four kinds of vyākaraṇa 1 The anutpādatabdhiçittavyākaraṇa, 2 the utpādatabdhiçittavyākaraṇa, 3 the sammukhavyākaraṇa [given in such a way] that [only] all other men know it, but the one concerned does not know it, 4 the sammukhavyākaraṇa given in such a way that all men and the one concerned know it'

[In this passage, the term used for the third vyākaraṇa is wrong, it should read asamukhavyākaraṇa instead of sammukhavyākaraṇa]

Further on (ch 76, p 597a 23 - b 2), the Upadesa goes into more detailed explanations

'According to some people, there are two kinds of irreversible (avaivartika) bs 1 he who has already obtained the vyākaraṇa, 2 he who has not yet obtained the vyākaraṇa'

'He who has already obtained the vyākaraṇa is of two kinds 1 he who obtained the vyākaraṇa while he was present (sammukha), 2 he who obtained the vyākaraṇa while he was not present (asamukha)'

'He who has obtained the vyākaraṇa while he was not present is of two kinds 1 he who has obtained the vyākaraṇa while he was already perfected (samppanna), 2 he who has obtained the vyākaraṇa while he was not perfected (asamppanna)'

'He who has obtained the vyākaraṇa while he was already perfected is he who knows the true nature (bhūtalaksana or bhūtanaya) of all dharmas and who fulfills to perfection (paripārayati) the six pāramīs'

'He who has obtained the vyākaraṇa while he was not perfected is he who knows only the true nature of all dharmas but who has obtained only a part of the prajñāpāramitā and does not
perfectly fulfil the other pāramitās.

4. The quotations that preceded demonstrate the importance that the Mādhyamikas attached to the predictions. However, the theory of the vyākaranā which disregards the pudgalanairātmya and runs counter to the absolute sameness among beings, is only valid for Śamvṛti and does not apply absolutely speaking. Thus the Vkn does not pay much attention to it: Vimalakirti explains to the future Buddha Maitreya that supreme Bodhi being possessed by everybody, from the beginning and by right, any prediction concerning it is null and void and no bs can pride himself on having received it (see Vkn, pp.86-90). Nevertheless, scholars continued to discuss the vyākaraṇa and the Yogācārins developed the system still further.

5. Mahāyānasūtraśālamkāra, p.166, 9-17: Tatra pudgalabhedena vyākaranam gotraśthotpāditacitasammukhāsamsakospudgalavākaraṇat kālabhedena parimitāparimitā- kālayākaraṇat. punar bodhau vyākaranam bhavati vyākaranēva evamnāmā tathāgata evam amasmin kāle vyākariṣayati. anyat punar mahāvyākaraṇam yat astamāyām būmāv anupattikadharmaḥkāntilābhahatāḥ, aham buddho bhavisyāmitti mānaprahaṇātāḥ, sarvanimitābhogaprahaṇātāḥ, sarvabuddhabhodhisattvaḥ ca sārāhām ekbhāvopagamanatāḥ, taddāma-samānabhādādarsanāt, punah ksetrādhibhir vyākaraṇam īdṛse buddhaksetre evamnāmā iyāta kāleṇa buddho bhavisyati, evamnāmake kalpe, īdṛśaś cāsya parvāro bhavisyati, etāvad antaram kālam asya saddharmānuvṛttir bhavisyatī.

Free translation: 1. Depending on the various individuals to whom it is addressed, the prediction is conferred: a. on an individual belonging to the lineage of the Tathāgata; b. on a bs who has already aroused the thought of Bodhi; c. on a bs who is present; d. or finally, on a bs who is absent. 2. According to the various methods of predicting the time, we can distinguish: a. the prediction which fixes the time required for attaining supreme and perfect enlightenment; b. the prediction which does not fix it. 3. Again there are: a. the prediction having a bearing on Bodhi, that is, prophesying the attainment of Bodhi; b. the prediction having a bearing on the prediction, announcing that a Tathāgata with such-and-such a name, at such-and-such a time, will make such-and-such a prophecy. 4. Yet another is the Great Prediction: it is addressed to a bs in the eighth stage who has acquired the certainty of the non-arising of dharmas, who has destroyed any feeling of pride making him say: ‘I shall become a Buddha!’, who has eliminated every object and every effort of thought, who has understood the fundamental sameness uniting him with all the Buddhas and bodhisattvas and who no longer sees any distinction between their mental series and his own mental series. 5. The prediction which specifies the field and the rest, saying: ‘In such-and-such a Buddha-field, the so-named, after so long, will become a Buddha, in the cosmic period of such-and-such a name; he will have such-and-such an entourage, and his Saddharma will last for such-and-such a length of time’.

6. The Madhyāntavibhāga, p.190, 18-21, defines the Great Prediction (No.4 of the preceding text) in the following way: Vyākaraṇāvasthāṣṭamāyām būmāv iti. sarvathā sarvanimitābhogasamajñānavigamād astamāyām būmāu niyatipatito bhavati buddhavatī iti buddhah bhagavadbhī sammukhāvākaraṇanato vyākriyate: The state of prediction is related to the eighth stage: in the eighth stage, through the complete elimination of every object of thought, every mental effort and every notion, the bs is predestined to Buddhahood; this is why the Blessed Lord Buddhas confer the prediction on him in his presence’.

7. Bodh. bhūmi, p.290, 4-10: Śadbhīr ākāraśi samāsātas tathāgataḥ bodhisattvam anuttarāyām samyakasambodhau vyākuryanti. katamaśa śadbhī. gotraśtham anupādātacamāṃ, tathātāpādātacamāṃ, sammukhāvāsthītam, viparokāvāsthītam, parimitākāland iyātā kālenānuttarām samyakasambodhim abhisambhōṣyata iti, aparimitākālaṃ vyākaroṇā tu kālibhāvam karoṇi: ‘In short, the Tathāgatas predict to a bodhisattva his arrival at supreme and perfect enlightenment in six different ways. What are those six? They confer the prediction:
(tasyāḥ parśadaḥ saṃśayacchedanāya), said to Drdhamati: The prediction conferred on a bodhisattva is of four kinds. What are those four?

1. The prediction concerning him who has not yet aroused the thought of Bodhi (anuptādidadharmīcittavyākarana).
2. The prediction conferred on him who has just aroused the thought of Bodhi (uptādidadharmīcittavyākarana).
3. The prediction made unbeknown to the one concerned (raḥovyākarana).
4. The prediction made in the presence of him who has acquired the certainty of the non-arising of dharmas (anuptattikadharmāśāntilabdhasammukhavyākarana).

These four predictions can only be known by the Tathāgatas; Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas do not know them.

1. Anuptādidadharmīcittavyākarana

101. Tatra Drdhamate katamad anuptādidadharmīcittavyākaranaṃ. iha Drdhamate sa pudgalah pāñcagatike saṃsāre upapanno bhavati, yadi vā nirayesu yadi vā tiryagyonau yadi vā yamaloke yadi vā deveṣu yadi vā manusyeṣu; sa ca pudgalas tikṣṇendriyo bhavati, udārādhimuktiḥ; tam enam tathāgatah prajānāti: ayam purusa-pudgalo yāvadiyadhä kalpakotiniyutaśatasahasrāraṇ ānuttarāyāṃ samyaksambodhau cittam utpādayisyati, iyadbhir asamkhyeya-kalpakotiniyutaśatasahasrāraṇ bodhisattvacaryāś carisyati, iyanti buddhakotiniyutaśatasahasrāṇi satkariṣyati, iyanty apramāṇāni sattvakotiniyutasahasrāṇi paripācayisyati bodhipratiṣṭhāpanāya, iyadbhiś cāsamkhyeya kalpaśatasahasrasāraṇ bodhim abhisambhotsyate, evaṃmāḥ bhavisyati, idṛśaṃ cāṣya buddhaṃkṣetram bhavisyati, idṛśaś

1. on a bs who belongs to the lineage of the Tathāgatas, but who has not yet aroused the thought of Bodhi; 2. on a bs who has just aroused that thought; 3. on a bs who is present; 4. on a bs who is absent; 5. they predict a specific time by saying that at the end of a certain length of time the bs will reach supreme and perfect enlightenment; 6. they predict an indeterminate time and give no set date'.

8. At the Council of Lhasa, the Indian party referred to the present passage of the Śgs in support of their gradualist thesis. The Chinese Sudden Way supporters responded by opposing them with a passage from the Viśeṣaṃśintibrāhmaṇaparipṛcchā (T 586, ch.2, pp.45c - 46a) where it is said that the Buddha confers the prediction on the bss who practise neither the dharmas of arising nor the dharmas of cessation... (cf. P. Demiéville, Le Concile de Lhasa, pp.141-6). They could also have quoted the Vkn which, as we have just seen, considers the prophecy as null and void, even if given to Maitreya.

201 In Tib. gсан lun bstan pa. It is also called asammukha- or viparokṣavāyākaraṇa.
202 The Tib. simply says: bzod pa thob nas mṅon sum du lun bstan pa = ksāntilabdhasammukhavyākaraṇa.
cāsyā śrāvakaparivāro bhaviṣyati, īḍrśam cāsyāyuspramāṇam bhaviṣyati, etāvad antaram kālam asya parinirvātasya saddharmah sthāsyati. idam Drḍhamate tathāgatah prajānāti taduttaram ca. idam Drḍhamate ucyate bodhisattvavānupāditabodhicittavyākaranam
tat kasya hetoh. na hy asāmakam etaj jñānam pravartate: katamasya bodhisatvasya bodhiparipācakānindriyāni samvidyante, katamasya na samvidyante. tato vayam bhagavann ajānānās tathārūpesu, hīnasamjñām utpādayema. tena vayam ksanyema

Then the Venerable Mahākāśyapa said to the Bhagavat: As from today, O Bhagavat, we should consider all beings as being the Master in person. Why? It is because we do not possess your knowledge and we do not know in which bodhisattva spiritual faculties ripening in

203 The underlined text represents an original passage of the Śgs quoted in Śiksāsamuccaya, p.91, 8-14.
204 This is a fragment of the original text quoted in Śiksāsamuccaya, pp.91, 14 - 92, 1. The form ksanyema, from the verb ksana (ksanoti, ksanute) is a passive optative with an active flexional ending (ksanyema for ksanyemahi); cf. L. Renou, Grammaire sanscrite II, p.465; F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar, p.182.
Bodhi are to be found and in which bodhisattva they are not to be found. So therefore, O Bhagavat, not knowing this, it comes about that we conceive scorn for such men and, through this, we can harm ourselves.


The Bhagavat said: Excellent, excellent, Kāśyapa, what you have just said was well spoken. It is in considering the importance of the subject, O Kāśyapa, that I taught you the following rule: ‘Monks, a man should not judge a man, for he harms himself very quickly, O monks, that man who judges a man. I myself or someone like me can assess a man’. In accordance with this teaching, O Kāśyapa, a bodhisattva and a śrāvaka should consider all beings as being the Master himself, and ask themselves cautiously if some individual adhering to the Bodhisattva Vehicle is not before them.

2. Utpāditabodhicittavyākaraṇa

104. ‘The prediction conferred on him who has just aroused the thought of Bodhi’. There are also beings having long since planted good roots (avaropitakusalamūla), having accomplished the good practices (kṛtacāraya), given over to vigour (ārabdhavirya), with sharp faculties (tikṣṇendriya), aspiring to the noble teaching (udārādhimuktika),

205 Ksanyati is a passive present indicative with an active ending. To this form, attested in Śīkaśāsāmuccaya, p.92, 3, corresponds the Pāli khaṇṇati attested in Āntuttara III, p.350, 6; V. p.140, 19, etc. The verb is therefore connected with the Sanskrit root ksan ‘to harm’ and not with the root khan ‘to dig’ as the Rhys Davids and W. Stede Pāli-English Dictionary II, p.60, and Woodward and Hare, Pāli Concordance II, p.74, would have us believe.

206 A fragment of the original text quoted in Śīkaśāsāmuccaya, p.92, 1-6.

207 A canonical saying taken from the Samyuktāgama, T 99, ch.35, p.258a 23-25; c 7-8. The Pāli phrasing attested in Āntuttara III, pp.350, 4-8; 351, 13-16; V, pp.140, 18-22; 143, 17-21, differs slightly: Tasmā ti h’Ānanda ma puggalesu pamāṇikāh ahuvatthā, mā puggalesu pamāṇam ganhitthā. Khaṇṇati h’Ānanda puggalesu pamāṇam ganhonto. Aham vā Ānanda puggalesu pamāṇam ganheyyam, yo vā pan’ assa mādiso: ‘This is why, Ānanda, do not be among those who take the measure of men; do not take the measure of men, for he harms himself, O Ānanda, he who takes the measure of men. It is I, Ānanda, who can take the measure of men, or someone who may be like me’.

208 In Tib. spyad ba byas pa.
greatly compassionate (mahākarunāsamanvāgata) and seeking to deliver beings (sattvarvāvīmoktukāma). Immediately after their cittotpāda, those men are:

irreversible (avaivartika)209, entered into the absolute certainty of the bodhisattvas

209 We saw earlier, § 5, n.5, that the bs is truly avaivartika when he is in possession of the anutptikadharmakṣānti, a virtue of the eighth bhumi, the Acalā, also called avivartyaabhūmi or avaivartikabhūmi. However, the problem of the avaivartika is one of the most obscure of the Mahāyāna, and the long chapter devoted to it by the Prajñāpāramitā (Aṣṭaśāhasrikā, pp.665-92; Pañcavimśati, T 223, ch.16, pp.339a - 341b) is not enough to clarify it.

In fact, the eighth bhumi is not the only one to be qualified as avīvartanya- or avaivartikabhūmi: the epithet can also be applied to the first bhumi, the Pramudita, classified in the Path of Vision (darsanamārga) of the bs, a path in the course of which the bs is avakṛāntabodhisattvaniyāmā 'entered into the certainty of the Bodhisattva', predestined as to his future accession to Sambhodhi (see above, § 7, n.13).

Here are some texts where it appears quite clearly that the bs is avaivartika from the start of his career, from the first bhumi:

a. Pañcavimśati, p.66, 15-16; Śatasāhasrikā, p.272, 7-9: santi bodhisattvā mahāsattvā ye prathamacittotpādenaiva bodhisattvaniyāmam avakṛāmanty avinivartaniyābhūmān vávātisthante: ‘There are bs who simply by means of the first cittotpāda enter the certainty of the bs or establish themselves in the irreversible stage’.

b. Pañcavimśati, p.107, 10-11 (cf. Śatasāhasrikā, p.381, 20): evam hi bodhisattvo mahāsattvāh prajñāpāramitāyām carann avinivartaniyām bhūmim avakṛāmati: iti nirodhe dharmajnānakṣāntih: ‘And so the bs moving in the perfection of wisdom enters the irreversible stage: this is the nirodhe dharmajnānakṣāntih’, or ninth moment of the Dārśanamārga having as its object the cessation (nirodha) of suffering connected with the Kāmadhūtā (Koṣa VII, p.5).

c. The Upadeśa (T 1509, ch.75, p.586a 10-11) defines the Dārśanabhūmi, a stage common to both śrāvakas and bodhisattvas: ‘The Dārśanabhūmi [for the śrāvaka], is the Prathama-phalapratipannaka, that is, the candidate to the srotāpanna fruit [grade covering the first fifteen moments of the Dārśanamārga; see Koṣa VI, p.194; Aloka, p.35, 16-17; Abhidharmasamuṣcaya, p.88, 19-20]; for the bodhisattva, it is the avaivartikabhūmi’.

d. The Upadeśa (T 1509, ch.74, pp.579c 21- 580a 11; passage noted and translated by L. de La Vallée Poussin in Siddhi, pp.738-9):

‘What should a bs obtain in order to receive the name of avaivartika?

‘According to the Abhidharmavibhāṣā, when the bs, having passed through three asamkhyeyakalpas, plants the causes which will produce the thirty-two marks: from that moment, he is called avaivartika (see Koṣa IV, pp.222-3).

‘According to the Vinaya-Avadāna, from the time he saw the Buddha, Dipamkara scattered the five flowers, spread his hair out on the ground, received the ‘prediction of avaivartika’ from the Buddha, rose in the air and praised the Buddha: from that moment, he is named avaivartika.

‘However, in the Prajñāpāramitā, when the bs is possessed of the practice of the six pāramitās, obtains jñāna and upāya, is no longer attached to the pāramitās which are absolutely empty, sees that all dharmas are free of arising-cessation-increase-diminution-defilement-purity-coming-going-unity-multiplicity-permanence-impermanence-existence-non-existence, free of any dualities whatsoever; when, by reason of this jñāna, he sees and severs every note of impermanence after having severed every note of permanence; abandons the view of non-arising-cessation, the view of impermanence, is not attached to non-arising-cessation . . . he is
(avakrāntabodhisattvaniyāma),

graded in absolute certainty (niyatipatita),

called “bs who has acquired the anupattikadharmaksānti”, he enters the bs predestination (bodhisattvaniyāma), he is named avaivartika.

‘Doubtless, from the first arousal of the thought of Bodhi, the bs is avaivartika, but he is not endowed with the characteristics of avaivartika’.

It follows from this passage that the Upadesa, faithful interpreter of the Prajñāpāramitā, distinguishes two kinds of avaivartika: 1. an avaivartika incorrectly so called, from the time of entering the bhūmis; 2. an avaivartika correctly so called, starting with the eighth bhūmi. Hence, the term leads to confusion and only the context allows us to decide which kind of avaivartika we are dealing with. Here in § 104 of the Śgs, it obviously concerns an avaivartika incorrectly so called, while in § 108, it will be a question of an avaivartika correctly so called.

e. To complicate matters still further, the Aloka, p.665, 5-8, posits three kinds of avaivartika bs: 1. he who is on the Preparatory Path [where he cultivates the practices] favourable to the penetration of the Truths (nivedhabhāgīväprayogamārgastha); 2. he who is on the Path of Vision consisting of [eight] ksāntis and [eight] jñānas (ksāntijñānasamgrha-darśānamārgastha); 3. he who is on the Path of Meditation which follows (prābandhika-bhāvanāmārgastha).

Regarding the bodhisattvaniyāma, parallel to the samyaktvaniyāma of the śrāvaka, see above, § 7, n.13.

This concerns the second of the three niyatipātas enumerated in Bodh. bhūmi, p.290, 11-23 (or T 1579, ch.46, p.547a 5-17): traya ime bodhīsattvasa nyāyatpāṭāh. katame trayah. gotrastha eva bodhisattvo niyatipatita ity ucyate. tat kasya hetoh. bhāvo ‘sau pratrayāṇān āśādyā nyātām anuttarām samyaksambodhim abhisamboddham. punar ekato body bodhisattvo nyātām cītīm upādayaītī anuttarāyām samyaksambodha na punas tasmāt pratruddāvartayaītī yāvad anuttarām samyaksambodhim abhisambhuyate. punar bodhisattvo vaśītprāptah sarvām sattvārthacāryām yatveccati yathārabbate tathāvābandhayām karoti. ta ete trayo niyatipatitā bhavanti. gotrasthanyātiṃtaḥ cītītprāṇāmāyānīttipātaḥ ca. tatra paścīmam niyatipātam āraḥhya tathāgataḥ niyatipatitam bodhīsattvaṃ vyākurvāna vyākurvanti: ‘There are three certainties [= predestinations] for the bs: 1. The bs who is to be found in the spiritual lineage is said to be predestined, in fact if he meets with favourable conditions, he is capable of certainly reaching supreme and perfect enlightenment. 2. Furthermore, a certain bs arouses a thought of ‘predestination’ regarding supreme and perfect enlightenment and does not swerve from it until he reaches the latter. 3. Finally, the bs, in possession of the sovereign powers, infallibly achieves whatever he wishes and whatever he undertakes in the service of all beings. These three kinds of bs have ‘fallen into predestination’: predestination consisting respectively of the fact of belonging to the lineage, of the cittotpāda and of the infallible practice. With regard to the third and last predestination, the Tathāgatas give the prediction to the niyatipatīma bs’. Compare the six niyatipātas of Sūtrālaṃkāra, pp.166, 21 - 167, 1.

However, in the paragraph which concerns us, the epithet niyatipatita appears only in the Chinese version by Kumārajīva who renders it by to-pi-ting-shu. The Tibetan version replaces it with another expression: log par luṅ bahi chos can ma yin pa, corresponding to the Sanskrit avinipātadharman and meaning ‘free from falling into the bad destinies’. It is a standard epithet which the Hinayāna texts apply to the srotaāpanna: avinipātadharman, niyata, sambodhiparāyana; see Dīgha I, p.156, 9; II, p.200, 17; Divyāvadāna, p.534, 4. The Mahāyāna texts also apply it, altering details as appropriate, to certain bs; the Sukhāvatīvyūha, p.114, 16, talks of avinipātadharmāno yāvadbhodhiparyantam bs ‘free of falling or reversal until their attainment of Bodhi’.
and have transcended the eight unfavourable conditions of existence (aṣṭākṣaṇaḥ samatikrānta)\textsuperscript{212}.

As soon as such men have aroused the cittotpāda, the Buddhas predict to them that they will one day reach anuttarasamyaksambodhi, that they will have such-and-such a name, such-and-such a field (kṣetra) and such-and-such a life-span (āyuspramāṇa).

When the Tathāgatas, knowing the tendencies (āśaya) of men like that, give them the prediction, it is a ‘prediction conferred on him who has just aroused the thought of Bodhi’.

3. Rahovyākarana\textsuperscript{213}

105. ‘The prediction made unbeknown to the one concerned’. There are bodhisattvas\textsuperscript{214} who, as long as they have not received the prediction, always vigorously seek anuttarasamyaksambodhi.

1. Delighting in all kinds of giving (nānāvidhadānādhimukta), they love to bestow all gifts\textsuperscript{215}.

2. Undertaking strict commitments (dṛḍhasamādānastha), they do not transgress against morality (śīlaskandham na tyajanti).

3. Displaying great trappings\textsuperscript{216}; possessing the power of great patience (mahākṣaṇaṁ tibalopeta), they are evenminded (samacitta) towards all beings.

4. Giving themselves over to vigour (ārabdhavīrya), they seek all the good dharmas (sarvakuśaladharmāṁ paryesante). Their bodies (kāya) and minds (citta) are not idle (akusīda); they seem like men trying to save their hair which is ablaze\textsuperscript{217}.

5. Skilled in mindfulness and attention (smṛtisamprajanyakūsala)\textsuperscript{218}, they can acquire the four absorptions (dhyāna).

6. Seeking wisdom (prajñāparyesin), they exercise the Bodhi of the Buddhas.

Having long practised those six perfections (sattāḥramitaḥ), they

\textsuperscript{212} See Vkn, p.20 and n.

\textsuperscript{213} Also called asamṛtukha, asamakṣa or viparoksa; cf. above, n.200.

\textsuperscript{214} The Tib. says: lazy (kusida) bss.

\textsuperscript{215} In Tib.: bdog pa thams cad yons su gton ba ‘abandon all their riches (sarvasvaṁ parityajanti)’.

\textsuperscript{216} In Skt. mahāsaṃmānasamādhiḥ; cf. n.154.

\textsuperscript{217} The Tib. is more literal: mgo dan gos la me hbar ba ltar = āḍīptaśirascaitopama ‘Like someone whose head and clothes were on fire’. This is a well-known expression; see Gāndavyūha, p.493, 2; Śūkṣamasmuccaya, p.54, 3-4; Mahāvyutpatti, No.1802; and for the Pāli, Samyutta V, p.440, 7; Anguttara II, p.93, 18; III, p.307, 12; IV, p.320, 27; V, p.98, 3.

\textsuperscript{218} In Tib. dran pa dan šes bzin la mkhas pa.
realise the Buddha marks (*buddhalakṣaṇa*)\(^{219}\).

106. Then other bodhisattvas, the devas, nāgas, yakṣas, gandharvas, etc., reflect thus: ‘So vigorous (*evamvidhārabdhavīrya*) a bodhisattva is truly extraordinary (*adbhuta*). After how long will he attain *anuttara-samyaksambodhi*? What will his name be? Which will be his field (*kṣetra*)? What will be the number of his śrāvakas?

107. The Buddha, in order to cut off the doubts (*samśayacchedana*) of those beings, then gives the prediction: the whole of the assembly (*sarvāvati pariṣad*) hears and understands the prediction; only, and because of the supportive power (*adhiṣṭāna-bala*) of the Buddha, the bodhisattva concerned is not able to hear it. The whole of the assembly knows that this bodhisattva will become a Buddha, what his name will be, which will be his field and the number of his śrāvakas. Those who doubted will then be sure and will consider this bodhisattva as being the Bhagavat himself (*tasya bodhisattvasyāntike bhagavatsamjñāṃ upādayisyanti*). However, the bodhisattva himself [639b] will not know whether or not he has obtained the prediction. Such is the ‘prediction made unbeknown to the one concerned’.

4. *Anutpattikadharmaksāntilabdhasaṃkhavīkarāṇa*

108. ‘The prediction conferred in the presence [of him who has acquired the certainty of the non-arising of dharmas]’. A certain bodhisattva has accumulated good roots (*samcitakuśalamūla*) for a long time; there is nothing he does not see; he has always practised continence (*brahmācarya*)\(^{220}\); he contemplates the not-self (*anātman*) and the empty (*śūnya*)\(^{221}\) and, concerning all dharmas, he has acquired the certainty that they do not arise (*anutpādaksānti*).

The Buddha knows that the merits (*puṇya*) and wisdom (*praṃṇā*) of that man are perfected (*samppana*)\(^{222}\); and so, in the midst of a great assembly

\(^{219}\)They accomplish acts productive of the marks, and it is from this moment that they are predestined; see Kośa IV, p.220 sq.

\(^{220}\)It is doubtful whether Kumārajiva caught the meaning. The Tib. is more coherent: *hdi la byaṅ chub sms dpah dge bahi rtsa ba bsdus pa yin, yun rin po nas tshaṅs par spyod pa mi dmigs par spyad pa . . . yin te*: ‘Now, however, the bs has accumulated good roots (*samcitakuśalamūla*) and, long since, imperceptibly (*anupalambhena*) observed continence’.

\(^{221}\)The *pudgala*- and *dharmanairūpaya*.

\(^{222}\)This concerns a bs of the eighth stage, free of all grasping of an object (*nimittodgrahana*) and effort of thought (*ābhoga*), possessing the ‘absolute patience’ (*paramārthaksānti*), namely, the *anutpattikadharmaksānti*, understanding the true principle (*bhūtanyā)* of things and its fundamental identity (*advaya*) with the Buddhas, definitively (*atyantam*) entered into the predestination of the bs (*avakṛntabodhisattvaniyāma*) and possessing the third certainty (*niyatipāta*): that of the infallible practice (*abandhyacaryā*) which supremely ensures the welfare of
of devas, manuṣyas, Māras, Brahmās, śramaṇas and brāhmaṇas, he confers the prediction on him openly (sammukha) and says to him: ‘Kulaputra, in so many hundreds of thousands of koṭīniyutas of kalpas, you will become a Buddha having such-and-such a name, such-and-such a field, such-and-such a number of śrāvakas and such-and-such a life-span’.

Then innumerable persons, in imitation of that bodhisattva, will arouse the anuttarasamyaksambodhicitta. As for him, having received the prediction face to face with the Buddha, he will rise into the air to the height of seven palm trees (saptatālamātram vaihāyasam abhyudgamisyati)\(^\text{223}\). Such is, O Drdhamati, the fourth prediction, conferred ‘in the presence’.

[Bodhisattvas Having Received the Prediction]

109. Then the bodhisattva Drdhamati said to the Buddha: Here, in this assembly, are there bodhisattvas who have been the object of the four predictions?

The Buddha replied: Yes, there are some.

Drdhamati asked: Who are they?

The Buddha said:

1. The bodhisattva Simhanadanadin\(^\text{224}\) ‘Roaring the Lion’s Roar’ and the grhapatiputra ‘Pleasure-loving’\(^\text{225}\) have received the prediction before arousing the thought of Bodhi (anupāditacittavyākarāna). Equally, in universes in other regions, innumerable bodhisattvas have also received the prediction before arousing the thought of Bodhi.

2. Moreover, the bodhisattva Santimat\(^\text{226}\) ‘Appeased’, the bodhisattva kumarabhuta ‘Great Virtue’\(^\text{227}\), the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī kumarabhuta\(^\text{228}\) beings. It is on this bs that the Buddhas confer the Great Prediction {mahāvyakarana} which always takes place, it seems, in the presence (sammukha) of the one concerned.

\(^\text{223}\) This is a traditional expression, frequently used in Buddhist Sanskrit: Lalitavistara, pp.18, 16; 350, 20-21; Divyāvadāna, p.252, 16; Samādhīrāja I, p.88, 12; Saddharmapund., pp.459, 11; 465, 7; Lāṅkāvatāra, p.16, 6. It is rarer in Pāli which usually says vehāsam abhuggantvā without defining the height (however, see Dhammapada Comm. II, pp.62, 14; 100, 5). The translations in Chinese and Tibetan (sin ta la bdun tsam du) show that it does indeed concern the height of the palm tree, and not the span as is sometimes translated.

\(^\text{224}\) In Tib. Sen gehi sgra sgrags; see Mahāvyut. No.685; Vkn, p.5.

\(^\text{225}\) To the Chinese Lo-yu 樂欲 (Chanda?) here corresponds the Tib. Dgahi hdod (Nandakāma?).

\(^\text{226}\) In Tib. gi ba ldan pa.

\(^\text{227}\) Ta té 大德 (Bhadanta?) is not mentioned in the Tibetan version.

\(^\text{228}\) In time gone by, in the Anutpādā universe in the Eastern region, when he was the cakravartin king Ākāsa, Mañjuśrī aroused the cittotpāda and at the same moment received the prediction from the Buddha Meghasvara; see the Mañjuśrībuddhaśetrāgavāyuśa in T 310, ch.59, p.345c 26, and for details, my article on ‘Mañjuśrī’, T'oung Pao XLVIII, pp.17-23.
and innumerable other bodhisattvas have received the prediction after having aroused the thought of Bodhi (upāditacittavayākarana). They are all at the irreversible stage (avaivartikabhūmi).

3. Moreover, the bodhisattva Jñānaśūra\(^{230}\) ‘Hero of Knowledge’, the bodhisattva Viśeṣamati\(^{231}\) ‘Special Intelligence’ and innumerable other bodhisattvas have received the prediction unbeknown to themselves (rahovyākarana).

4. Finally, O Drdhamati, I myself\(^{232}\), Maitreyā\(^{233}\) and the thousand bodhisattvas of the Auspicious Period (bhadrakalpa)\(^{234}\) have all received the prediction conferred in the presence of those who have acquired the certainty of the non-arising of dharmas (anupattikadharmaśāntīlabdhasamkhyāvyākarana).

The Bodhisattva Drdhamati said to the Buddha: Extraordinary (adbhuta), O Bhagavat, are the inconceivable practices of the bodhisattvas (acintyabodhisattvacaryā) and the inconceivable predictions

\(^{229}\)This remark, missing in the Tibetan version, is perhaps a note added to the text It should only be accepted with the reservations formulated in n 209 above

\(^{230}\)In Tib Ye ses dpah bo

\(^{231}\)In Tib Hkhyad par blo gros The bs Viśeṣamati is a member of a group of sixteen Satpurusas, starting with Bhadrāpāla, enumerated with some variants in several Mahāyāna sūtras (cf Vkn, p 6, n 38) In the Saddharma-pundarik, p 19, 4, Viśeṣamati is one of the eight sons of the Buddha Candrasūryapradīpa

\(^{232}\)The career of a bs is usually divided into three incalculable periods (asamkhya-yakalpa) Śākyamuni revered 75,000 Buddhas during the course of the first Asamkhya, 76,000 during the course of the second, and 77,000 during the course of the third

For Śākyamuni, the first Asamkhya ended under the Buddha Ratnaśikhin, at the same time as the adhimukti-caryābhūmi The second comprised bhūmis 1-7 and ended with Dipamkara The third comprised bhūmis 8-10 and ended with Vipaśyin See Vībhāsā, T 1545, ch 178, p 892c, Koša IV, p 227, Nyāyānusāra, T 1562, ch 44, p 591b, Upadeśa, T 1509, ch 4, p 87a (tr and notes in Nāgārjuna, Traité I, p 248), Sūtrālambkāra, p 172, Samgra ha, pp 209-10

\(^{233}\)We possess in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, Tocharian, Old Turkish and Khotanese several accounts or adaptations of the ‘Prediction to Maitreyā’, see the references in Lamotte, History, pp 701-2 The Maitreyavyākarana of Gilgit has been edited by N Dutt in Gilgit Manuscripts IV, pp 187-214

\(^{234}\)The thousand sons of a cakravartin king – including Śākyamuni and Maitreyā – who are or will be the thousand Buddhas of the present Bhadrakalpa received the prediction on several occasions, as it appears in two long jātakas

1 According to the Tathāgataghūyasūtra (T 310, ch 9, pp 49a - 53a, T 312, ch 4, pp 712c - 716c, Tib Trip vol 22, pp 56-9, fol s 135a - 143a), the thousand sons of the cakravartin Dhṛtarāstra received the prediction from the Buddha Anantagunanārāratnavyūharāja who appeared, during the Vībhūṣanakalpa, in the Sudarśanā universe

2 According to the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa (Vkn, pp 255-7), the thousand sons of the cakravartin Ratnacchhattra received the prediction from the Buddha Bhaisajyarāja who appeared, during the Vicaraṇakalpa, in the Mahāvyūha universe

In both cases, the thousand princes were in possession of the anupattikadharmaśāntī
(acintyavyākarana) that they receive! The Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas cannot understand them and, even less so, other beings.

The Buddha said: Drdhhamati, the practices (caryā) of the bodhisattvas and the vigour (vīrya) that they develop as well as their supportive power (adhiṣṭhānabala) are inconceivable (acintya).

[Prediction Conferred on the Daughters of the Gods]

110. Then the devakanyās who had been won over (vinīta) by the bodhisattva Māragocarāṇupālipta and who had aroused the anuttarasamyaksambodhicitta scattered celestial flowers (divypuspa) over the Buddha and said to him: Bhagavat, we do not like the prediction conferred unbeknown to the one concerned (raho vyākarana); we would like to obtain the prediction conferred in the presence of whoever has acquired the certainty of the non-arising of dharmas (anupattikadharmaksāntilabdhasammukhayākarana). We would like the Bhagavat to give us now [639c] that prediction with regard to anuttarasamyaksambodhi.

111. Thereupon the Buddha smiled (smitam akarot): from his lips flashed forth rays (arcis) of various colours (nānāvidhavarna) which illuminated all the universes, returned to the Bhagavat and disappeared into his cranial protuberance (uṣñiṣe 'ntarhita). Ānanda asked: Bhagavat, for what reason are you smiling?

The Buddha said to Ānanda: Do you see these two hundred devakanyās who, with joined hands, are bowing down before the Tathāgata?

Yes, I see them, O Bhagavat.

112. [The Buddha went on]: Ānanda, those devakanyās, in days gone by, in the presence of five hundred Buddhas, deeply planted good roots (avaropitakusalamūla). Henceforth, they will pay homage (pūjayisyanti) to innumerable Buddhas and, at the end of seven hundred incalculable cosmic periods (asamkhyeyakalpa), they will become a Buddha with the name of *Vyuharaja 236. Ānanda, those devakanyās, after their death (maranakālakriyākāle), will change their female bodies (strīkāya) and will all be reborn in the dwelling of the Tuśita gods where they will pay homage to (pūjayisyanti) and serve (upasthāpayisyanti) the bodhisattva Maitreya.

235 Depending on whether the Buddha intends this or that prediction, the rays that he emits return to him in a fixed part of the body If he predicts supreme and perfect enlightenment, the rays disappear into his usnīsa See Dvīvyāvadāna, p 69, 6-7, Avadānāsātaka I, p 6, 1-2 yadi Bhagavān anuttarān samyaksambodhim vyākartaḵāmo bhavaty, usnīse 'ntardhiyánte

236 In Tib Chos bkod pa = Dharmaṃvūḥa.
[Fallacious Departure of Māra]

113. Then Māra Pāpimāt, learning that the devakanyās had received the prediction, said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, I have lost all command (vasītā) over my entourage (parijana) since it heard the Śūramgamasamādhī expounded. What then can be said (kāh punar vādah) of my other subjects (anubaddha)? If they hear the Śūramgamasamādhī, they will also become certain of the Buddha attributes (buddhadharmesu niyatā bhaviṣyanti).

114. Then the devakanyās bold-mindedly (alīnacittena) said to Māra Pāpimāt: Do not be distressed, we are not leaving your world (dhātu). Why?

The suchness of the world of Māra (māradhatutathatā) is the suchness of the world of the Buddha (buddhadhātutathatā). Between the māradhatutathatā and the buddhadhātutathatā there is neither duality (dvaya) nor difference (viśeṣa). And we do not swerve from that suchness.

The true nature of the world of Māra (māradhatudharmatā) is the true nature of the world of the Buddha (buddhadhatudharmatā). Between the māradhatudharmatā and the buddhadhatudharmatā there is neither duality (dvaya) nor difference (viśeṣa). And we do not leave, do not exceed that true nature.

The world of Māra (māradhātu) is nothing precise or definable, and the world of the Buddha (buddhadhātu) is also nothing precise or definable. Between the māradhātu and the buddhadhātu there is neither duality (dvaya) nor difference (viśeṣa). And we do not leave, nor do we exceed that true nature of things (dharmaṭā).

That is why it should be known that all dharmas are imprecise (aniyata) and, since they are imprecise, [for you] there is neither presence of retinue (parivāra) nor absence of retinue (aparivāra).

115. The Māra Pāpimāt, saddened and aggrieved, wanted to return to his paradise.

The bodhisattva Māragocarāṇupalipta said to Māra Pāpimāt: Where are you going?

Māra replied: I want to return to the palace where I live.

The bodhisattva went on: Do not leave this assembly, this is your palace.

237 To ju in the Chinese corresponds the Tibetan de bzin ṅid.
238 To hsiang in the Chinese corresponds the chos ṅid of the Tibetan.
239 Cf. the Vkn, p.105, where, even while staying in the Garden of the Dharma (dharmārāma), the devakanyās are returned to Māra.
At that very moment Māra Pāpimāt found himself in his own palace. The bodhisattva asked him: What do you see?

Māra Pāpimāt answered: I find myself back in my own palace: these lovely groves (ramaniyārāma) and these rivers (nadi) belong to me.

The bodhisattva said to him: Well then, now offer them (niryātaya) to the Tathāgata.

Māra replied: Agreed!

At the precise moment that he uttered that word, he saw the Tathāgata, the śrāvakas and bodhisattvas: the whole assembly was in his residence and the Buddha was expounding the Śūramgamasamādhi [640a].

[Respective Value of Offerings to the Buddha]

116. Then Ānanda said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, the Buddha was offered the place where he expounds the Śūramgamasamādhi, and he was offered the meal (bhojana) which he ate before attaining complete enlightenment (abhisambodhi). How great are the merits (punya) gained by the two masters of giving (dānapati) who made those offerings to him?

240 In other words, what are the merits of the two generous dānapatis who respectively made an offering to the Buddha of the vihāra where he expounded the Śū, and the meal which he took before reaching enlightenment? The Tibetan version differs and asks which were the respective merits of the two dānapatis who offered Śākyamuni the vihāra where he expounded the Śū and the meal he took before expounding this same sutra.

According to the text itself (§ 1), the Śū was expounded at Rājagha on the Grdhrakuta-parvata. This is a piece of pious fiction, the principle works of the Great Vehicle having been published around five centuries after Śākyamuni’s Nirvāṇa. However, Mahāyāna scholars and Chinese pilgrims accepted to the letter the anachronisms put forward by the Mahāyāna sūtras, and commentators such as Nāgārjuna, Paramārtha, Hsüan-tsong, Hsüan-tsê, etc., elaborated a whole theory on the places and dates that the three phases, or more exactly, three ‘turnings of the wheel’ of the Buddha’s teaching took place (cf. É. Lamotte, ‘Sur la formation du Mahāyāna’, Festschrift F. Weller, Asiatica, Leipzig 1954, pp.381-2).

Several Mahāyāna sūtras, including the Prajñāpāramitā, Saddharmapuṇḍ., Śū, etc., were propounded on the Grdhrakūtaparvata. This was one of five mountains surrounding Rājagha, present-day Rajgir. Archaeologists still argue over its exact position and hesitate between Śailagiri (Cunningham), Cchathagiri (Sir John Marshall, M.H. Kuraishi and A. Ghosh, D.N. Sen), Udayagiri (B.C. Law) and Ratnagiri (L. Petech). See the bibliography on this question in A. Ghosh, ‘Rajgir 1950’, Ancient India VII, 1951, p.68; L. Petech, Northern India..., Rome 1950, pp.44-8; D.N. Sen, ‘Sites in Rajgir’, Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna, Buddha Jayanti Issue, 1956, pp.136-58.

At the time of Śākyamuni, the Grdhrakūta already contained a certain number of residences such as the Paṭibhānakūta, the Sitavana, the bank of the river Sappini, the Paribbājakārāma, the Moranivāpa, the Maddakucchi, the Sūkarakhatalena, etc. When it comes to establishing the site where the great teaching of the Mahāyāna sūtras took place, the choice is superabundant. Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsong, who respectively visited the Grdhrakūta in about 404 and 637 C.E.,
brought back information which they collected on the spot (see T 2085, pp 862c-863a, tr Legge, pp 82-4, T 2087, ch 9, p 921a-b, tr Watters II, pp 151-2) They are relatively in agreement, but manifestly apocryphal On the summit of the Grdhrakūta, Fa-hsien saw the ‘temple’ (tāng) where the Buddha expounded the Dharma it was in ruins and only the brick foundations of the walls remained The pilgrim stayed for a whole night on the spot and, in memory of the earlier divulgation, chanted the Sūramgamasamādhi himself When, two centuries later, Hsuan-tsang went to the same site, the temple had been restored ‘where the Tathāgata had in the past stayed for a long time and expounded the Dharma’ there now stood a tall brick vihāra (chuan chung-shē) enclosing a life-sized statue of the Buddha Not far from there, a stūpa marked the spot where the Buddha had uttered the Saddharmapundaka

Fa-hsien and Hsuan-tsang are both agreed in situating the temple of the teaching in the immediate neighbourhood of the places where Devadatta had thrown the rock which injured Sākyamuni on the foot and where Māra, in the shape of a vulture, had terrified Ananda The first event is well known to the canonical sources while the second is completely unknown to them At the time of the two Chinese masters, the Guide to the Pilgrimage to the Grdhrakūta had already been compiled, mixing the old with the new, it betrays its apocryphal nature

In such conditions, it is pointless to wonder, with the Sgs, who might have offered the Buddha the vihāra where he expounded the Śgs In the mind of Hsuan-tsang or the Indian who gave him the information, it was doubtless Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha who, so he could go and hear the Buddha, had built, from the foot of the mountain to its summit, a stone stairway more than ten paces wide and five or six li long (T 2087, ch 9, p 921a 24-26) All this is mere hypothesis

Conversely, the Indians were fully informed on the person who offered the Buddha the meal before his Bodhi According to the Pāli sources, this was Sujātā, daughter of Senānī ‘General’, from the village of Senāni in Uruvelā She presented the Bodhisattva with a cake prepared with cream collected from the milk of a thousand cows and a handful of new nee (see Nidānakathā in Jātaka I, p 68, Dhammapada Comm I, p 85, Manorathapūrani I, pp 402-3)

However, the Sanskrito-Chinese sources differ slightly from this tradition and sometimes split the generous donation into two, according to them, there would have been

1 A single donation Sujātā (Mahāvastu II, pp 131, 10, 200, 17, 205, 3, 263, 15, Lalitavistara, pp 265-7, which makes Sujātā one of the ten daughters of the grāmika Nandika, P'u yao ching, T 186, ch 5, p 511c 23, which presents the young lady as the daughter of a śresthīn (merchant) from Sujātaka, Tang kuang ta chuang yen ching, T 187, ch 7, p 583a 29, Shen mao hsi shu ching, T 757, ch 2, p 599b 6)

2 A single donation Nandabālā (Buddhacaritā of Aśvaghosa XII, v 109, which makes Nandabalā the daughter of a gopañhipa) In the corresponding Chinese version, she is sometimes called Nāndā and sometimes Nandabalā (T 192, ch 3, p 24c 9 and 11)

3 Two donations the daughters of Sena (Hsiu hsing pên ch'î ching, T 184, ch 2, p 469c 13)

4 Two donations the two daughters of the grāmika Sujātā (Fo pên hsing chi ching, T 190, ch 25, p 771b 23)

5 Two donations Nandā and Nandabalā, daughters of a gopañhipa (Mūlasarv Vin, T 1443, ch 1, p 911a 8, T 1444, ch 2, p 1026c 24, T 1450, ch 5, p 121c 9, Chung hsu mo ho ti ching, T 191, ch 6, p 949b 24, Fo pên hsing ching, T 193, ch 3, p 75b 3)

In the weeks that followed his enlightenment, the Buddha went alms-seeking in Uruvilvā Sujātā filled his bowl and took ‘the two refuges’ in the Buddha and the Dharma The fact is reported in the Mahīśāsaka Vin (T 1421, ch 15, p 103b) and the Dharmaguptaka Vin., where Sujātā is called Sucarā (T 1428, ch 31, p 786a 22) On this subject, see the translation and
117. The Buddha replied: Ananda, the Buddha was offered the meal which he ate before his reaching anuttarasamyaksambodhi, he was offered the meal which he ate before setting turning the Wheel of the Dharma (dharmacakrapravartana)\(^{241}\), and he was offered the meal which he ate before expounding the Śūramgamasamādhi. Well, the respective merits resulting from those three gifts of food are undifferentiated (nirviśesa).

118. Ananda, the place where I attained anuttarasamyaksambodhi is the Diamond [Seat] (vajrāsana) where all the Buddhas, past (atīta), future (anāgata) and present (pratyutpanna), reach complete enlightenment (abhisambodhi). Well, all the places where the Śūramgamasamādhi is expounded are absolutely the same (sama, nirviśesa) as that Diamond Seat\(^{242}\). It is also the same for all the places


On that occasion the Buddha proclaimed Sujātā, daughter of Senāni, the foremost of the upāsikā-disciples having been the first to take refuge (Anguttara I, p.26, 16-17). However, in the corresponding passage in the Ekottara (T 125, ch.3, p.560b 1), the upāsikā Sujātā is replaced by the upāsikā Nandānandabālā, as if both names designated one and the same person.

However it may be, Buddhists have always considered Sujātā’s offering as supremely meritorious because of the excellence of the beneficiary, on this occasion the Buddha who is the best field of merit. Its value is only equalled by the meal, indigestible though it may have been, which the blacksmith Cunda offered to the Master immediately before his Nirvāṇa. This resulted in a formal declaration by the Buddha (Digha II, pp.135-6; Sanskrit Mahāparinirvāṇa, pp.282-4): Dve āme pindapātā samasamapalā samasamavipākā ativiya aññhe piṇḍapātehi mahāphalatarā ca mahānīsamāsatarā ca; katame dve, yañ ca piṇḍapātam bhūjītvā tathāgato ānuttaram sammāsambodhim abhisambujjhati yañ ca piṇḍapātam bhūjītvā tathāgato anupādīsesāya nibbānadhatuyā parinibbāyat.

The thesis upheld here by the Śgs is that all gifts, of vihāra or piṇḍapāta, made to the Buddha or to Dharma instructors are equal and without difference.\(^{241}\)

As far as I know, no Buddhist text mentions a meal taken by the Buddha before the Discourse at Vārāṇasi.\(^{242}\)

In the proper meaning of the word, the bodhimanda is the site of the enlightenment at Bodh-Gayā, the Diamond Seat (vajrāsana) where the thousand Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa have attained or will attain enlightenment. In the figurative sense, the bodhimanda indicates the wholly spiritual presence of the Dharma or of the dharmakāya of the Buddhas, and this independently of any material location (for details, see Vkn, pp.94-9, n.105). Conceived originally as the place sanctified by the presence of the material body of the Buddhas, the bodhimanda is considered by several Mahāyāna sūtras to be the symbol or quintessence of the Dharma or Buddhist Path. Thus for the Saddharmaupādāya, p.391, 6-13, anywhere that the Sūtra has just been recited, monastery, convent, house, etc., should be considered as the bodhimanda. For the Vimalakirtinirdeśa (Vkn, pp.94-9), the bodhimanda is quite simply the great Bodhi of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas: wherever they may come from or go to, the bodhisattvas come from the bodhimanda. The Śgs expresses an identical idea by saying that all the places where the Sūtra is expounded are absolutely identical to the Diamond Seat. This is an outline of the theory regarding the bodies of the Buddhas which contrasts the dharmakāya, or body of
where the Śūraṃgamasamādhi is taught (deśita), recited (vācita) or written down (likhita).

119. Ānanda, the Buddha was offered the meal which he ate before setting turning the Wheel of the Dharma for the first time. Well, if a Dharma-master (dharmācārya) who is about to recite or expound the Śūraṃgamasamādhi is offered a meal, the respective merits resulting from those two offerings are the same (sama) and undifferentiated (nirvīṣeṣa).

120. Furthermore, O Ānanda, the Buddha was offered the monastery (vihāra) where he won over beings by means of the eighteen supernatural wonders (rddhiprātiḥārya)\(^\text{243}\); he was also offered the monastery where he recites and expounds the Śūraṃgamasamādhi. Well, the merits resulting from those two gifts do not differ between themselves.

Then Ānanda said to Māra Pāpīmat: It is of great advantage for you (mahālābhās te sulabdhāḥ) to have been able to give your palace to the Buddha so that he may dwell in it.

Māra said: That is the result of the supportive action (adhiṣṭhāna)\(^\text{244}\) of the bodhisattva Māragocarānupalipta.

[Exploits of Māragocarānupalipta in the Heroic Progress]

121. The bodhisattva Drḍhamati said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, to perform such great wonders (vikurvana), is not the bodhisattva Māragocarānupalipta in Śūraṃgamasamādhi?

The Buddha replied: Drḍhamati, it is indeed as you say (evam etad yathā vadasi). This bodhisattva is in Śūraṃgamasamādhi and can thus, by means of his supernormal power, proceed at will:

He manifests himself in all the domains of Māra (māragocara), but he is not defiled (upalipta) by the domains of Māra.

He disports himself (ramati) with the daughters of the gods (devakanyā), but he does not experience any illicit sexual pleasures (maithunarati)\(^\text{245}\). immutable truth, with the nirmānakāyas, fictitional and provisional bodies which the Buddhas assume out of compassion so as to win over beings.

\(^\text{243}\) The author doubtless has in mind the Pavilion of Wonders (prātiḥāryamandapa) which Prasenajit, king of Kosala, built for the Buddha between the town of Śrāvasti and the Jetavana Grove (cf. Mülasarv. Vin., T 1451, ch.26, p.331a 3-5; Divyavādāna, p.155, 17-19). It was there that the Buddha performed the yamakapraṭiḥārya, multiplied images of himself up to the Akanistha heaven and where a violent storm raised by the yaksas completed the routing of the six sectarian masters.

\(^\text{244}\) Correct én li 惡力 to shēn li 神力. The Tibetan has byin gyi rlabs.

\(^\text{245}\) In Tib. ḥkhrig pahi dgah ba.
This kulaputra is to be found in Śūramgamasamādhi: he enters the palaces of Māra, and yet he never leaves the assembly (parśad) gathered around the Buddha.

He seems to travel through the world of Māra (māradhātu), to stroll and amuse himself there, but he makes use of the buddhadharmas to win over beings.

[Exploits of the Buddha in the Heroic Progress]

122. The bodhisattva Drdhhamati said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, when the Tathāgata is in Śūramgamasamādhi, how many wondrous feats (vikurvaṇavyūha) does he manifest? It would be good, O Bhagavat, if you would reveal to me be it only a small part of it (kaṃcid eva pradeśam).

The Buddha said: Drdhhamati, I am at present in Śūramgamasamādhi.

In this trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu, there are a thousand million (koṭiṣata) Caturdvipakas, Candrasuryas. Caturmahārāja devas, Trāyastriṃśa devas, Yāma devas, Tuṣita devas, Nirmānarati devas, Paranirmitavaśavartin devas, etc., up to Akaniṣṭha devas [640b], Sumeru parvatarājas and Mahāsamudras: this is called a trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu.

Drdhamati, even while dwelling in Śūramgamasamādhi, I am in the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu and, eventually, in Jambudvipa, I practice, as the case may be, the perfections (pāramitā) of giving (dāna), morality (śīla), patience (kṣānti), vigour (vīrya), absorptive meditation (dhyāna) or wisdom (prajñā). In Jambudvipa I am, as the case may be, a recluse with the five superknowledges (pañcabhijñarṣi), or again, a layman householder (grhastha) or a monk (pravrajita).

In Caturdvipaka, I am, should the occasion arise, a Tuṣita deva separated from Buddhahood by only one existence (ekajātipratibaddha), or again a noble Cakravartin king, a Śakra devendra, Brahmarāja, Caturmahādevarāja, Yāma devarāja, Tuṣita devarāja, Nirmānarati devarāja, Para-nirmitavaśavartin devarāja, or again a merchant (śreṣṭhin), householder (grhapati), minor king (koṭṭarāja), great king (mahārāja), kṣatriya, brāhmaṇa or śūdra.

123. In Caturdvipaka, should the occasion arise, I leave the Tuṣita heaven and descend to be born in the world, or again, I enter the womb, I dwell in the womb, I am born, after my birth I take the seven steps (saptapada) and, raising my hand, I proclaim: ‘I am the eldest (jyeṣṭha) of

246 For details, see Vkn, pp.275-6.
heaven and earth, I dwell in the palace in the midst of the harem (antahpura), I renounce the world, I practise the austerities (duśkaracaryā), I receive the grass, I sit on the bodhimanda, I vanquish Māra, I become Buddha, I meditate [under] the king of trees, Śakra and Brahmā invite me to set turning the Wheel of the Dharma, I set turning the Wheel of the Dharma, I reject the life forces (āyuhsamskārāṇa utsṛjāmi), I enter Nirvāṇa, my body is burnt, all my bodily relics (śarīra) are preserved, my relics are distributed, my Dharma is on the point of disappearing, my Dharma has disappeared, my life-span (āyuḥpramāṇa) is immense, my life-span is short, my field (kṣetra) does not contain any bad destinies (apāya), my field does contain bad destinies.

Now Jambudvīpa is pure and adorned like a royal palace, now it seems wretched, now again, it seems superior (adhimātra), middling (madhya) or inferior (avara).

124. Such is, O Dṛḍhamati, the wondrous power (vikurvanabala) of the Śūramgamasamādhi. The bodhisattva seems to enter Nirvāṇa, but he does not entirely disappear: in the trīsāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu, he continues to manifest this wondrous power (vikurvanabala) and display such marvels (vyūha).

Dṛḍhamati, consider the Buddha: for the moment (etarhi), in this caturdvipaka here he sets turning the Wheel of the Dharma, but in other Jambudvīpas he has not yet reached Buddhahood and, in yet other Jambudvīpas, he is already in Nirvāṇa. This is called the Exposition of the Dharma leading to the Concentration of Heroic Progress (śūramgamasamādhipravesadharmamukha).

[Extension of the Heroic Progress to Other World Systems]

125. Then, in the assembly, the devas, nāgas, yaksas, gandharvas, etc., the bodhisattvas and mahāśrāvakas reflected thus: Is it only in this present trīsāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu that the Buddha Sākyamuni possesses this supernormal power (rddhibala), or does he exercise it equally in other universes?

247 Cf. Majjhima III, p.123: Sampatijato bodhisatto samehi pādehi patiṭṭhahitvā uttārābhimukho sattapadavithāre gacchati, setamhi chatte anubhīramāne sabbā ca disā viloketi, āsabhī ca vācām bhāsati: Aggo 'ham asmi lokassa, setho 'ham asmi lokassa, jettho 'ham asmi lokassa, ayam antimā jāti, na 'thi dāni punabbhavo ti.

On the seven steps of the Bs, see Nāgārjuna, Traité I, p.6, in the notes.

248 Kuśa grass, to be laid on the seat of enlightenment. Sākyamuni received his from Svastika.

249 A traditional expression; cf. Sanskrit Mahāparinirvāṇa, p.212.

250 See in the Vkn, p.22 sq., the transformation of the Sahāloka on the supernormal intervention of the Buddha: Śāriputra, who saw it as impure, suddenly sees all its splendidours.
Thereupon Mañjuśrī, knowing the thoughts of the assembly and desiring to cut off the doubts (samsayacchedana) of the latter, said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, I travel through all the Buddha-fields (buddhaksetra). Now, in the zenith region (upariṣṭhād diṣi), if, leaving this universe here, one traverses universes as numerous as the sands of the sixty Ganges (ito buddhakṣetrāt ṣaṣṭigaṃgānaḍivālukopamāṇi buddhakṣetrāṇy atikramya), there is a Buddha universe (buddhalokadhātu) called Ekapradīpa ‘Single Lamp’; there a Buddha expounds the Dharma to mankind. I went to him and, after saluting his feet by touching them with my head (tasya pādau śīrṣābhivandya), I asked him: ‘Bhagavat, what is your name and how should I address you (ko nāma tvam, kathāṁ dhārayāmi)?’ That Buddha answered me: ‘Go and find the Buddha Śākyamuni and he himself will answer you’.

O Bhagavat, the virtues and marvels (gunaṇyūha) of that Buddha-field are such that, were one to spend a kalpa or more at it, one could not enumerate them all. In that field, the name of Śrāvaka or of Pratyekabuddha is not even mentioned; there is only an assembly of bodhisattvas ceaselessly expounding the irreversible Wheel of the Dharma (avaivartikadharmacakra).

Bhagavat, do tell me the name of that Buddha who expounds the Dharma in the Ekapradīpa universe.

126. Then the Buddha [Śākyamuni] said to Mañjuśrī kumarabhūta: Now listen carefully and engrave it well in your mind (tena hi śṛṇu sādhu ca suṣṭhu ca manasikuru)251, but you must not fear or tremble or take fright, or hesitate or doubt (nottrasitavyam na samtrasitavyam na samtrāsas āpattavyam na vimatavicikitsū upādayitavyah)252. Why? The supernormal power (rddhibala) of the Buddhas is inconceivable (acintya) and the supremacy (ārṣabha) of the Śūramgamasamādhī is also inconceivable. Mañjuśrī, he who expounds the Dharma in the Ekapradīpa universe is the Buddha named Sarvaṅgadharmanamdarṣaṅka-vikurvanaprabhārāja253 ‘King of Wondrous Brilliance manifesting all the Virtues’. O Mañjuśrī, that Buddha Sarvaṅgadharmanamdarṣaṅka-vikurvanaprabhārāja of the Ekapradīpa universe is myself. In that universe I manifest (samdarṣayāmi) the supportive power of the Buddhas; in that universe I expound the irreversible Wheel of the

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251 Kumārājīva abbreviates this formula which the Tibetan reproduces in full.
252 This is a stock phrase; cf. Samādhirāja II, p.273, 5-6; Saddharmapuṇḍ., pp.73, 8-9; 78, 3.
253 In Tib. Yon tan gyi chos thams cad ston par snan ba’iam par hphrul bahi rgyal po. He is a Buddha of the zenith region. Further on, in § 170, Śākyamuni will also identify himself with a Buddha from the eastern region.
Dharma (avaivartikadharmacakra): it is a 'pure land'\textsuperscript{254} cultivated (prabhāvīta) by me in days gone by.

127. Maṇjuśrī, you should know that I exercise this supernormal power everywhere in innumerable (apramāna) and infinite (ananta) koṭinayutaṣatsahasrānis of buddhaksetras, but the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas do not know this. Such is, O Maṇjuśrī, the supremacy (ārṣabhā) of the Śūraṃgamasamādhi: bodhisattvas, even while always manifesting such wondrous feats (vikurvaṇa) in innumerable universes, never swerve from this samādhi.

128. Maṇjuśrī, just as the sun (sūrya) and moon (candra), without ever leaving their palaces (vimāna), illuminate villages (grāma), towns (nagara) and districts (nigama)\textsuperscript{255}, so the bodhisattvas, without ever swerving from the Śūraṃgamasamādhi, manifest themselves everywhere in innumerable universes and expound the Dharma according to the aspirations (adhimukti) of beings [641a].

[Faith in the Heroic Progress]

129. Then the whole assembly was filled with astonishment (adbhutaprāpta): well-pleased (tuṣṭa), delighted (udagra), transported (āttamanās), filled with joy and gladness (prītisaumanasyajātā)\textsuperscript{256}. The innumerable onlookers made salutations, their hands joined (pragrhitānajāli). The devas, nāgas, yakṣas, gandharvas, asuras, garuḍas, kimnāras, mahoragas, etc., showered the Buddha with pearl necklaces (ardhahāra), marvellous flowers of various colours, powders (cūrṇa) and unguents (vilepana); they caused every musical instrument (tūrya) at the disposal of the gods to sound and praised the Tathāgata. The śrāvakas\textsuperscript{257} removed their outer garments (uttarasāṅga) and offered them to the Buddha. The bodhisattvas showered the Buddha with wonderfully coloured flowers, as big as Sumeru, as well as various perfumes (gandha), powders (cūrṇa), unguents (vilepana), necklets of pearls and jewels (maniratnaniska).

They all exclaimed: Yes, Bhavagat, all the places (pradeśa) where the Śūraṃgamasamādhi is expounded are diamond-like (vajrasama).

\textsuperscript{254} *Ching t'u* 齋土 ‘pure land’ belonging to the vocabulary of Chinese Buddhism. Going by the Tibetan version which has sans rgyas kyi zin, the Sanskrit original translated here was simply buddhaksetra.

\textsuperscript{255} Kumārajiva abbreviates the traditional enumeration grāma-nagara-nigama-janapada-rāṣṭra-rājadhānīḥ; cf. Vkn, pp.8, 140, 141, 150, 246, 253, 272.

\textsuperscript{256} Here again, Kumārajiva abbreviates a well-known stock phrase; cf. Vkn, pp.8-9, 160, 234, 264, 270.

\textsuperscript{257} The punctuation of the Taishō should be corrected.
Those who, having heard this samādhi, will believe (adhimokṣyanti), grasp (udgrahīṣyanti), repeat (vācayiṣyanti) and expound it widely to others (parebhyaś ca vistarena samprakāśayiṣyanti), will not fear (nottṛasiṣyanti) and will not tremble (na samtrasiṣyanti), those most surely are also diamond-like (vajrasyaṃ), prompted by an indestructible certainty (abhedyaksāntipratilabdha), firmly established in faith (prasādaniśrita), protected by the Buddhas (tathāgata-parigrhitā), endowed with strong good roots (sthūlakūśalamūla), having great advantages at their disposal (sulabdhalābha), vanquishers of Māra and adversaries (nihatamdrapratyarthika), freed from the bad destinies (ksīnāpāya) and protected by spiritual friends (kalyāṇamitrarigrhitā).

Bhagavat, as we understand the meaning of the Bhagavat’s words (yāthā vayam, bhagavan, bhagavato bhāṣitasyārtham ājānimah)²⁵⁸, beings who, having heard this Śūramgamasamādhi, will believe (adhimokṣyanti), grasp it (udgrahīṣyanti), repeat it (vācayiṣyanti), penetrate it in depth (paryavapsyanti), expound it widely to others (parebhyaś ca vistarena samprakāśayiṣyanti) and apply their effort to it (bhāvanākārṇaḥ pratyokṣyante), those beings will definitively and irreversibly be predestined regarding the Buddha attributes (buddha-dharmaniyata).

130. The Buddha said: Excellent, excellent, it is indeed as you say (sādhu sādhu, evam etad yatha vadatha). Those, however, who have not firmly planted good roots (anavaropitakūśalamūla), when they hear this Śūramgamasamādhi, do not believe it (na pattiyaṃ)²⁵⁹. Few are the beings who, hearing this Śūramgamasamādhi, believe it; many are those who, hearing the Śūramgamasamādhi, do not believe it.

Kulaputras, if he is endowed with four qualities (caturbhir dharmaih samanvāgataḥ), a man can believe (pattiyaṃ) this samādhi when he hears it. What are those four?

1. In times gone by, under the Buddhas of the past (atiṭabuddha), he heard this samādhi.

2. Protected by spiritual friends (kalyāṇamitrarigrhitā), he aspires profoundly (adhyāsaṃ) to Buddhahood.

3. Having accumulated good roots (kuṣalamūla), he is an aspirant to the good teaching (udārādhipukti).

²⁵⁸ A stock phrase; cf. Vkn, p 252
4. He is a bodily witness to the profound dharmas of the Great Vehicle (mahāyāna-agambhīradharmakāyasākṣin)\(^{260}\).

If he is endowed with these four qualities, a man can believe the Śūraṃgamasaṃmādhī.

131. Kulaputras, there are also the arhats whose aims are fulfilled (paripūnasamkalpa), those who possess the right view (dṛṣṭisampanna)\(^{261}\), those who pursue [the truth] under the impulse of faith (śraddhānusārin) and those who pursue the truth by means of the Dharma (dharmānusārin)\(^{262}\). Those men who adhere through faith (śraddhādhamukta) to the word of the Buddha (tathāgatatpravacana) believe the Śūraṃgamasaṃmādhī, but do not witness it bodily (na tu kāyena sākṣātakurvanti)\(^{263}\). Why? Because this samādhi cannot be

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\(^260\) Regarding kāyasākṣin, see below, n.263.

\(^261\) The Tib. has lta ba phun sum tshogs paham / rgyun du žugs pa: ‘the dṛṣṭisampanna or srotāpanna’. One becomes srotāpanna on the sixteenth and last thought-moment of the darsanamārga. The srotāpanna has definitively abandoned the passions which are wrong views (dṛṣṭi) of their nature: satkāyadrṣṭi, etc., those which the Kośa (VI, p.257) calls the avastuka klesas. Thus put in possession of right view (dṛṣṭisampanna), the srotāpanna is assured of a swift deliverance: he will attain Nirvāṇa after seven rebirths at the most. See also Puggalapaññatti, p.26.

\(^262\) Correct chien-hsing 見行 to fa-hsing 法行.

During the first fifteen thought-moments of the darsanamārga, the ascetic, qualified as an ārya and who has entered the predestination (avakṛntaniyāma), is a candidate to the first fruit (prathamaphalapratipañcakka), namely, the fruit of srotāpanna. If his spiritual faculties – śraddhā, vīrya, smṛti, samādhi and prajñā – are weak (mrdūndriya), the ascetic is a śraddhānusārin ‘faith-devotee’: he pursues the truth (arthānusayin) and becomes acquainted with the truths relating to suffering etc. (dukhhdāsatisya) under the impulse of others, through confidence in others (parapratyayena). Conversely, if his spiritual faculties are sharp (tiṣṇendriya), he is a dharmānusārin ‘Dharma-devotee’: he pursues the truth by means of the twelve-limbed texts, sūtras, etc. (see Kośa VI, p.194).

The distinction between śraddhā- and dharmānusārin, qualifying respectively the ascetic with weak faculties and the ascetic with sharp faculties, persists into the bhāvanamārga, but the wording differs.

The candidate to the fruit of sakṛdāgāmin, called candidate to the second fruit (dvitīyaphalapratipannaka), who has destroyed the five categories of the passions relating to the Kāmadhūtā, and the candidate to the fruit of anāgāmin, or candidate to the third fruit (treṇyaphalapratipannaka), who has destroyed seven or eight categories of the passions relating to the Kāmadhūtā, are, according to the degree of their faculties, either śraddhāprāpta or dṛṣṭiprāpta in that they are informed (prābhāvita), the former by faith and the latter by speculative views.

Regarding all this, see Visuddhimagga, ed. Warren, p.566; Kośa VI, p.196; Āloka, p.35 and many other sources as well.

\(^263\) The kāyasākṣin ‘bodily witness’ is a type of anāgāmin. The clearest explanation, in my opinion, is found in the Āloka, p.36, 3-4: Bhavāgraparamāsa ca rūparāgavitārāgo dṛṣṭa-dharmaśamah kāyasākṣiti dvividhah: [The anāgāmin] who has reached [by a rebirth or an
penetrated *gatimgata* by the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas and even less so by other beings.

132. Then the sthavira Mahākāśyapa ś134 said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, it is like a man blind from birth (jātyandha) who, in a dream (svapna), regains his sight (caksus): he sees all kinds of colours (rūpa) and feels great joy; still in a dream [641b], he mixes and converses (pralapati) with those who enjoy normal sight. However, this blind man, once awakened (pratibuddha), no longer sees the colours. Thus we, having heard this Śūramgamasamādhī, were well-pleased (tusta), delighted (udagrd) and transported (āttamanas); we thought we had obtained the heavenly eye (divyacaksus) ś265, we mixed, we conversed and we debated attainment] the summit of existence [or fourth and last level of the Ārūpyadhatu] and who is freed from all attachment regarding form [because he has eliminated all the categories of the passions relating to the Kāmadhatu and Rūpadhatu], this anāgāmin is of two kinds: 1. he who has attained Calmness [or Nirvāna] during the course of his present existence [in the summit of existence where he was reborn]; 2. he who bodily witnesses Nirvāna [in the attainment called *samjñāvedayiti*anirdho ‘cessation of perception and feeling’ constituting Nirvāṇa-on-Earth].

Indeed, as defined by the Kośa VI, pp.223-4, the anāgāmin who has acquired *nirodha* is considered as a kāyasāksin (nirdhalābhy anāgāmi kāyasāksi punar mātah). The anāgāmin, whatever he may be, who has acquired the attainment of the cessation of perception and feeling, experiences, through his body only - since he has no more mind a dharma similar to Nirvāṇa (nirvāṇasādṛśa dharma), namely, the nirodhasamādāpatti. How can he immediately experience it through his body only? Because, in the absence of mind, that immediate discernment arises by relying on the body (cittabhāvāt kāyasāvottpatteh . . . sākṣātksīvāya).

On the kāyasāksin in the writings of the Hinayāna, see Dīgha III, pp.105, 28, 254, 1; Majjhima I, pp.439, 30; 478, 4-8; Madhyma, T 26, ch.30, p.616a 13 (in the list of the eighteen śāikṣas); Anguttara I, pp.74, 1; 118-19; IV, pp.10, 25; 77, 18; 215, 10; Patisambhīḍā II, p.52, 26-33; Puggalaṇaḥattī, p.14, 29; Visuddhimagga, ed. Warren, p.566, 5-6 (yo dukkhato manasikāranto passaddhībhahulo samādhīnirīyam patilabhati so sabbatha kāyasakkhi nāma hoti); Vibhāsā, T 1545, ch.152, p.776b 5-7; Kośa VI, pp.223, 273; Kośavyākhyā, p.566; Abhidharmadipā, p.348; Satyasiddhiśāstra, T 1646, ch.1, p.246b 25; Mahāvyutpatti, No.1020 (in the list of the twenty śrāvakapudgalas).

Among the śūtras and śāstras of the Mahāyāna where the kāyasāksin is mentioned, we can consult the Pañcaviṃśati, pp.70, 14 - 71, 7; Śatasāhasrikā, pp.272, 18 - 273, 18; Abhisamayālākāra I, vv.23-4 (on the twenty types of holy ones) and its Āloka, pp.35, 14 - 36, 7 (cf. the excellent analysis by E. Obermiller, *Analysis of the Abhisamayālākāra*, London 1933, pp.51-6); Yogācārabhūmi, T 1579, ch.26, p.424c 24-26 (in the list of the twenty-eight pudgalas; cf. A. Wayman, *Analysis of the Śrāvakabhūmi*, p.84).

Here the Śgs posits the thesis that the śrāvaka, whatever may be his level on the ladder of the satpuruṣas, is incapable of witnessing bodily the profound realities (gambhirat̄thikāra) of the Mahāyāna, and in particular the Heroic Progress reserved for the Buddhas and bodhisattvas of the tenth bhūmi. ś264

In Mahāyāna śūtras, the śrāvakas, particularly Mahākāśyapa, often confess their own inferiority; see Vkn, pp.53, 60-1, 149, 166, 178-80, 228; Saddharmapuṇḍ., pp.60, 210, 211.

Regarding the divyacaksus, see Vkn, pp.66-8 and note, 247.
with the bodhisattvas. But now that, from the lips of the Buddha, we have heard this *samādhi*, we know nothing at all of the matter and, like those blind from birth, we know nothing of the dharmas practised by the Buddhas and bodhisattvas. As from today (*adyāgreṇa*), we consider ourselves like those blind from birth, not knowing the profound dharmas (*gambhiradharma*) of the Buddhas, not knowing and not seeing the domain (*gocara*) of the Bhagavat. As from today, we know that the bodhisattvas really possess the heavenly eye and have the profound knowledges (*gambhirajñāna*). Bhagavat, if a man does not possess the thought of omniscience (*sarvajñacitta*), how could he assert he is knowledgeable (*jñānin*) and that he is a field of merit (*punyakṣetra*)?

The Buddha said: Excellent, excellent, Kāśyapa, it is indeed as you say (*sādu sādu, Kāśyapa, evam etad yathā vadasi*). These profound knowledges obtained by the bodhisattvas cannot be attained by either the Śrāvakas or Pratyekabuddhas.

While Mahākāśyapa had been speaking, eight thousand beings aroused the *anuttarasamyaksambodhicitta*.

### [The Field of Merit]

133. Then the bodhisattva Dṛḍhamati questioned Mañjuśrī kumārabhūta: Mañjuśrī, one speaks of a field of merit (*punyakṣetra*)²⁶⁶. What is a *punyakṣetra*?

²⁶⁶ On the whole, the merit (*punya*) resulting from a gift varies according to the excellence of the giver (*dāyaka*), the thing given (*deya*) and the beneficiary (*pratigrāhaka*). The last, who brings about the fruition of alms bestowed on him, is called a field of merit (*punyakṣetra*).

In the scale of values, four kinds of *punyakṣetra* can be discerned: the field of merit is distinguished by destiny (*gati*), suffering (*duhkha*), benefaction (*upakarana*) or virtues (*guna*); see Kośa IV, p.236 sq.

1. Field distinguished by destiny. A fruition an hundred times greater is to be expected from a gift made to an animal; a fruition a thousand times greater is to be expected from a gift made to an immoral man, etc.; see Majjhima III, p.255, 14 sq.; Kośavyākhyā, p.320, 31 sq.

2. Field distinguished by suffering. The poor and wretched who are ‘a sorry field of merit’ and provoke compassion (*karuna*); see Abhidharmāmṛtāsāra, T 1553, ch.1, p.966a; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch.12, p.147a (Nāgārjuna, *Traité II*, pp.722-3).

3. Field distinguished by benefaction. The father, mother, master, the benefactors who constitute a ‘field of indebtedness’ and provoke gratitude. Nevertheless, this still concerns a worldly (*laukika*) and conditioned (*samskṛta*) field; see Saddharmasṃṛtyupasthāna, T 721, ch.61, p.359b; Ta fang pien pao ên ching, T 156, ch.3, p.141b 28; ch.5, p.148c 12; Upāsakaśila, T 1488, ch.3, p.1051c.

On the subject of filial piety, in no way unknown in India, a particularly noteworthy canonical topic should be pointed out: Aṅguttara I, pp.61-2; Ekottara, T 125, ch.11, p.601a; Avadānasataka I, p.205; Mūlasarv. Vin., T 1448, ch.4, p.16a 19-27; Divyāvadāna, pp.51, 19 -
Ekena bhikkhave amsena mdtaram hareyya ekena amsena pitaram parihareyya vassasatāyuko vassasatājīva. So ca tesam ucchādanasarimadannahanāpamassāhanena te pi tatth’ eva muttakārīsam cajeyyam na tveva bhikkhave mātāpitunnam katam vā hoti patikatam vā. Imissā ca bhikkhave mahāpathhāvā pahūtasattaranāyā mātāpitāro issarādhipace rajje patitthāpēyey na tveva bhikkhave mātāpitunnam katam vā hoti patikatam vā. Tam kissa hetu? Bahu kapā bhikkhave mātāpitāro putūnām āpadakā posakā imassa lokassa dasetāro.

4. Field distinguished by virtues. These are the members of the Community of disciples (sīrāvakasamgha) which is, by definition (see Woodward, Pāli Concordance, p.353a), āhuneyyo pdhuneyyo dakkhineyyo ahjalikaraniyo anuttaram punakkhettam lokassa ‘Worthy of sacrifices, worthy of offerings, worthy of alms, worthy of being saluted with joined hands, the best field of merit in the world’.

This Community is subdivided into two large classes: the sāikṣas ‘those who still train’ and the asaikṣas ‘those who have no more to train in’ (see the Dikkheiyasutta in Anguttara I, p.63; Samyukta, T 99, ch.35, p.258c). The Madhyamāgama, in a more developed version of the same sutta (T 26, ch.30, p.616a) distinguishes eighteen kinds of sāikṣa and nine kinds of asaikṣa.


The nine kinds of asaikṣa are: 1. cetanadharman, 2. prativedhanadharman, 3. akopyadhāman, 4. parihāṇadhāman, 5. aparihāṇadhāman, 6. anurakṣāṇadhāman, 7. sthitākampyo, 8. prajñāvimukta, 9. ubhayatobhāgavimukta.

These technical terms are defined in the Abhidhammas, particularly the Kośa, Ch.VI; Āloka, pp.35-6; Abhidhānasamuccaya, pp.88-91.

According to the Ta fang pien fo pao ēn ching, T 156, ch.3, p.141b; ch.5, p.148c, the field of merit constituted by the Samgha is transcendental (lokottara) and unconditioned (asamskṛta). According to the Upāsakaśīla, T 1488, ch.3, p.1051c, this field of virtues (gunaksetra) encompasses all the holy ones, from possession of the usmāgata (the first of the possession of the nirvedhābhāgīyas) up to arrival at anuttarā samyakṣambodhi. Thus, the Buddha is included in this, and he is considered as the best of all the punyaksetras; see Avatamsaka, T 279, ch.13, p.67b-c; Mahāmāyāsūtra, T 383, ch.2, p.1013a 13; Upadeśa in Nāgarjuna, Traité I, p.524.

Regarding the virtues (guna) which make the Samgha a superior field of merit, the texts do not agree: the lists compiled in the early writings differ from those drawn up by the Mahāyānist. According to Majjhima I, pp.446, 29 - 447, 6, ten virtues, called of the asāikṣa, are required of a bhikṣu for him to be a punyaksetra: the Eightfold Path, samyagdṛṣṭī, etc., plus right knowledge (samyagināna) and right deliverance (samyagvimukti). Harivarman, a Hinayāna master and native of Kāśmir who lived in the third century, counts twelve of them: having destroyed the klēsas of rūga-dvesa-moha, etc. (Satyasiddhiśāstra, T 1646, ch.1, p.246c - 247a.

The Mahāyāna claims a special place for the bodhisattvas in the honours list of the holy ones. If the sūtras, in their introductions (nidāna), usually mention the arhats before the bodhisattvas, this is bowing to tradition. The Upadeśa in Nāgarjuna, Traité I, p.235, remarks on this subject: ‘Even though the bss come after the Buddha, they have not destroyed all their passions; this is why the arhats are spoken of first [in the nidānas]. Among arhats, wisdom is paltry, but they are already ripened (paripakva); among bss, wisdom is rich, but they have not destroyed their passions. That is why the arhats are spoken of first. But there are two kinds of
Mañjuśrī replied: If one is endowed with ten qualities (daśabhīr dharmaiḥ samanvāgataḥ), one is a punyakṣetra. What are those ten?

1. Dwelling in the three doors to deliverance (vimoksamukha): emptiness (śūnyatā), signlessness (ānīmitta) and wishlessness (apranihita), but not entering into absolute certainty (dharmaniyama).

2. Seeing and knowing the four Noble Truths (catuḥsatyajñāna-darśana), but not reaping the fruit of the Path (na tu mārgaphala-sākṣātkāraḥ).

3. Arousing the eight liberations (astavinoksa), but not abandoning Buddhodharma as the esoteric (abhisamadhodharma) and the exoteric (prakāśitadharma). In the exoteric, the Buddhas, Pratyekabuddhas and arhats are all fields of merit, because their passions are destroyed without any remainder. In the esoteric it is said that the sōs have acquired the anupatītakadhrmaksāntī, that their passions are destroyed, that they are possessed of the six abhyānās and work for the benefit of beings. It is by putting itself in the exoteric point of view that the sūtra places the arhats before the sōs.

From this new concept comes the tendency henceforth of defining the punyakṣetra, no longer as a function of the sāksas and asāksas, but as a function of the sōs. The present passage of the Śgs (§§ 133-4) is quite categorical in this respect. It admits that the Buddha declared the great arhat Subhūti to be ‘foremost of the daksināyas’, that is, of the punyakṣetras, but only in relation to the other sākṣas and not in relation to the sōs. Subhūti admits here to not himself possessing any of the ten virtues required for being a true punyakṣetra as conceived by Mañjuśrī. The ten virtues listed in § 133 pertain exclusively to the sōs, coupling with wisdom (prajñā) that skill in means (upāyakauśala) which makes their conduct seem apparently contradictory because it has no other aim than to win over beings (see the references in Vkn, pp LVII-LVIII).

The same point of view is represented by the Gunapunyakṣetra, T 683, p 777a 17-22 ‘In the Samgha, there are five pure virtues constituting a punyakṣetra, to venerate it is to gain merit and progress towards Buddhahood. What are those five? 1 to arouse the thought (cittotpāda) and leave the world so as to embrace the Path, 2 to destroy one’s own ornaments (anuvyāṇa) so as to dress as a monk, 3 to reject definitively affections so as not to be for or against anyone, 4 to sacrifice one’s life so as to follow the Good, 5 to seek resolutely the Mahāyāna so as to deliver mankind.’

All the above discussions arise from the perfection of giving (dānapāramitā) known as worldly (laukikī), which practises alms-giving while remaining attached to the provisional notions of a giving subject, recipient and thing given (see Pañcavimśati, pp 263, 22 - 264, 13). However, there exists a transcendental (lokottarā), triple pure (trīṃdandalapaśuddha) dānapāramitā the bs, when he makes a gift, no longer perceives either a giver, beneficiary or object given, or fruitton (bodhisattva dānam dasanāmānam upalabhakrt pratisrāhakam nopalabhate dānam ca nopalabhate tadvipākam ca nopalabhate), he applies this giving to supreme Bodhi, but does not perceive Bodhi, see Pañcavimśati, pp 18, 7-9, 183, 20-22, 264, 16-22, Upadesa in Nāgārjuna, Traité II, p 724.

267 Cf Vkn, p 48, n 16
268 See above, § 104, n 210
269 The fruit of the Path, namely, Nirvāṇa which normally results from the knowledge and practice of the four Noble Truths.
270 Cf Vkn, p 53, n 25
the bodhisattva practices (*bodhisattvacarya*).

4. Arousing the triple knowledge (*traividya*)\(^{271}\), and still travelling through the triple world (*traidhatuka*).

5. Manifesting the figure (*samsthana*), colours (*varna*) and bodily attitudes (*irypatha*) of a śrāvaka, but not being a mere repeater (*ghośanuga*)\(^{272}\) seeking to learn the Dharma from the lips of another (*parato dharmaparyesin*).

6. Manifesting the figure, colours and bodily attitudes of a Pratyekabuddha\(^ {273}\), but expounding the Dharma with unfailing eloquence (*anācchedya pratibhāna*).

7. Dwelling always in absorption (*dhyāna*) and attainment (*samādhi*), but at the same time exercising the bodhisattva practices (*bodhisattvacarya*)

8. Never swerving from the right Path (*mārga*), but pretending to enter the wrong paths (*kumārga*)\(^ {274}\).

9. seeming to be strongly attached to pleasures (*samrakta*), but being detached (*virakta*) from all the passions (*klesa*).

10. Entering Nirvāṇa, but not destroying or abandoning Saṃsāra\(^ {275}\).

It should be known that a man endowed with these ten qualities is a true *punyakṣetra*.

134. Then the bodhisattva Drdhamati said to Subhūti: Āyuṣmat Subhūti, the Bhagavat has called you the foremost among the *punyakṣetras*\(^ {276}\). Do you possess those ten qualities?

Subhūti replied: I do not possess even one of them, let alone all ten.

Drdhamati went on: Then why are you called the foremost among the *punyakṣetras*?

Subhūti replied: Compared with the Buddhas and bodhisattvas, I am not the foremost among *punyakṣetras*; it is only in relation to śrāvakas

\(^{271}\) Cf. Vkn, p.40, n.38.

\(^{272}\) In Tib. *sgra hi rjes su so n.*

\(^{273}\) In theory, if the Pratyekabuddhas do not teach the Dharma, this is through timidity and lack of courage (Kośa III, p.196). According to the Mahāyāna, their Nirvāṇa is not definitive: at the end of their career, they are in a sort of catalepsy called ‘Nirvāṇa resembling an extinguished light’ (*pradīpanirvānaprākhyanta nirvāṇa*), but they are awakened from it by the exhortations of a Buddha and they then enter the Mahāyāna Path, the one and only way leading to deliverance (*Āloka*, pp.133-4).

\(^{274}\) See above, §31, n.91.

\(^{275}\) Regarding this *apratisthitanirvāna*, see Vkn, p.45, n.8.

\(^{276}\) Subhūti was proclaimed by the Buddha to be the foremost of those who are worthy of offerings (*dakkhineyyanam aggo*), *dakkhineyya* being synonymous with *punyakṣetra*; see Anguttara I, p.24, 9; Manorathapurani I, p.221, 12-13. He was also the foremost of the *aranavihārinis* and of those who practise the *śunyatāsamādhi*. See the references in Vkn, pp.54-5, in the notes.
and Pratyekabuddhas that the Buddha proclaimed me the foremost among punyakṣetras [641c].

O Drdhamati*, it is like a minor border king (pratyantajanapadānāṁ kotṭarājāḥ): he also is called king, but if a noble Cakravartin king goes to the border, all the minor kings lose the title of king, for then there is only a noble Cakravartin king whose royal majesty is infinitely superior (bahvantaraviśiṣṭa) to theirs. Equally, O Drdhamati, in the kingdoms, villages (grāma), towns (nagara) and districts (nigama)277 where there are no bodhisattvas, I have the title of punyakṣetra, but wherever there are Buddhas or great bodhisattvas, I lose the title of punyakṣetra. Indeed, bodhisattvas possess omniscience (sarvajñacitta): that is why they are superior to me.

Thereupon, the Buddha congratulated (sādhukṛtam adāt) Subhūti: Excellent, excellent, it is indeed as you say (evam etad yathā vadasi): that is the word of a great śrāvaka devoid of pride (anabhīmānika).

[The Truly Learned]

135. Again, the bodhisattva Drdhamati asked Mañjuśrī kumārabhūtā: Mañjuśrī, one speaks of the learned (bahuśruta)278 What is a bahuśruta?

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*† the original French version had Subhūti’s name twice in this paragraph – corrected to Drdhamati with the agreement of É. Lamotte.

277 See above, § 128, n.255.

278 Already in the early texts, the bahuśruta ‘he who has heard much’ holds an important place. Bahuśruta is the term given to him who has heard and retained the Word of the Buddha, specifically the nine or twelvefold Dharma. Here are a few canonical texts where this notion is defined:

1. Vinaya II, p.95, 32-36; Majjhima III, p.11, 19-24; Āṅguttara II, pp.22, 23 - 23, 5; III, p.114, 21-26 (the Cullaniddesa II, p.212, gives a typical definition): Baḥussuto hoṭi sutadharo sutasannicayo; ye te dhammā ādikalyāṇā majjhimakalyāṇā pariyośānakalyāṇā sāththam savyaṅjanam kevalaparipunnāṁ parisuddham brahmacariyam abhivadanti tathārūpā ‘ssa dhammā baḥussutā honti dhātā vacasā paricitā manasānupekkhitā diṭṭhiyā suppatividdhā: ‘He has heard much, he memorises what he has heard and stores up what he has heard; the teachings, good in the beginning, good in the middle and good at the end, whose meaning is good and whose letter is good (cf. the corresponding Sanskrit phrasing: svartha, suvyaṅjana), which propounds the entirely fulfilled and perfectly purified brahma conduct, these teachings are much heard by him, recalled, familiar in their enunciation, examined by the mind and well penetrated by right view’.

2. The dharmas in question are indeed the authentic teachings: it is the Word of the Buddha as it appears in the writings.

Āṅguttara II, pp.147, 28-29; 170, 1-2: Bhikkhu baḥussuto āgatāgamo dhammadharo vinayadharo māṭikādharo: ‘The baḥussuta, monks, knows the texts and has memorised the Dharma, the Discipline and the moral teachings.’

Āṅguttara II, p.178, 12-16: Bauḥ kho bhikkhu mayā dhammā desitā – suṭṭam geyyam
Mañjuśrī replied: If someone, hearing a religious discourse of a single phrase (ekapāḍika dharmamukha), can analyse the hundred thousand koṭinayutas of meanings (artha) in it, develop and explain it for an hundred, a thousand or ten thousand kalpas without exhausting veyyakaranam gāthā udānam itivuttakam jātakam abhutadhammam vedallam. Catuppāḍāya ce pi bhikkhu gāthāya attham aṁñāya dhammāṁ aṁñāya dhammnudhammapatipanno hoti bahussuto dharmadharo ti alam vacanāyā ti: ‘Monks, I have widely imparted the teachings: suttas, etc. Now, if a monk knows the meaning and knows the teaching, be it only a verse of four feet, and behaves in conformity with the teaching, that is sufficient for him to be called a bahussuta who has memorised the teaching’.

The present wording refers only to the ninefold writings, suttas, etc., while the corresponding passage in the Madhyamagama (T 26, ch.45, p.709b 7-8) mentions the twelvefold writings. Regarding the distribution of these two classifications throughout the canonical texts, see Lamotte, History, pp.143-7.

3. The bahussuta appears in a canonical list of seven good dhammas, faith, etc. (Digha III, pp.252, 11; 282, 26; Majjhima III, p.23, 15). 

4. Erudition also has a place in the series of predictions which relate to the duration of the Saddharma, predictions which diverge considerably from each other (see Lamotte, History, 191-202). According to the Vinayamāṭrīka of the Haimavatas (T 1463, ch.3, p.818c 8), the Saddharma lasts for five centuries, and the fourth is characterised by the predominance of the bahūsrūta. According to the Mahāsāṃnipāta (T 397, ch.55, p.363b 3), the Saddharma continues for five periods of five centuries and, during the third, the bhiksus are bahūsrūta.

5. In Āṅguttara I, pp.24, 32 - 25, 3, the Buddha proclaimed the five pre-eminences of Ānanda: aggo bahussutānam, satimantānam, gatimantānam dhitimantānam upatthākanam. During the twentieth year of his public ministry he attached Ānanda to his person as an upasthāyaka or attendant (see Vkn, p.79 in the notes). The reason which dictated this choice to him was less the unflinching devotion of the disciple as his prodigious erudition, which enabled him to memorise the words of the Teacher and to expound the Dharma correctly.

In the Hinayanist Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (Digha II, pp.144-6; Sanskrit Mahāparinirvāṇa, pp.298-302; Āṅguttara II, p.132), the Buddha declares that Ānanda is the best of all the attendants that the Tathāgatas have had or will ever have. The great disciple is learned (pandita) and knows when to introduce into the Teacher’s presence those who come to visit him. Besides, he possesses four wonderful qualities (āscarya-adbhūta-dharmā): all the assemblies that come to him rejoice at the sight of him and delight in his teachings.

These considerations are taken up and amplified in the Mahāyānist Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (T 374, ch.40, p.601c 18 sq; T 375, ch.36, p.850a 17): ‘Endowed with eight qualities, the bhikṣu Ānanda is capable of memorising perfectly the twelvefold writings: 1. his faculty of faith (sraddhendriya) is firm; 2. his thought is correct; 3. his body is free of disease; 4. he constantly exerts vigour (vīrya); 5. he is gifted with mindfulness (smṛti); 6. his mind is free of pride (abhimāna); 7. he has perfected samādi and prajñā; 8. he is gifted with wisdom born of listening (srutamayi prajñā). These eight qualities characterised the upasthāyakas who succeeded each other in the service of the last seven Buddhas; these upasthāyakas were named Aśoka, Kṣemakara, Upaśānta, Bhadrika, Svastika, Sarvamitra and, finally, Ānanda.

However, the thesis upheld here by the Śgs, which once again is in unison with the Vkn, p.228, is that the pre-eminences in which the great disciples rejoice apply only to śrāvakas and are worthless with regard to bodhisattvas. The least bodhisattva is infinitely superior to the greatest of the śrāvakas.
either his knowledge (jñāna) or his eloquence (pratibhāna), then he is a bahuśruta.

Moreover, O Drdhamati, the bodhisattva who, as soon as he hears them, can remember (dhārana) all the words of the innumerable Buddhas of the ten regions, the bodhisattva for whom there does not exist a single phrase (pada) not already heard before (apurvaśruta), the bodhisattva for whom what is commonly heard is the already-heard, the bodhisattva who remembers (dhārayati) things just as he hears them (yathāśrutam) and without forgetting them (asampramosam), the bodhisattva who expounds to beings while there are no beings, the bodhisattva who does not make any distinction (viśeṣa) between his own self (ātman), the beings (sattva) and the thing expounded that bodhisattva, say I, is bahuśruta.

136. Now there was in the assembly a bodhisattva devaputra named Vimalacandragarbha ‘Spotless Moon Essence’, who had this thought: The Buddha proclaimed Ānanda the foremost of the bahuśrutas; is Ānanda truly a bahuśruta such as Mañjuśrī has just defined it? Having had that thought, he questioned Ānanda: The Tathāgata, he said to him, has proclaimed you the foremost of the bahuśrutas. Is your learning (bahuśrutyā) like that which Mañjuśrī has just defined?

Ānanda replied: I do not in any way possess the learning that Mañjuśrī has just defined.

Vimalacandragarbha asked: Why then has the Tathāgata always proclaimed you the foremost of the bahuśrutas?

Ānanda replied: The disciples (śrāvaka) of the Buddha obtain deliverance (vimuktī) in so far as they repeat the words of the Master (ghoṣāṇuga): it is among them that the Buddha proclaimed me the foremost. But he never said that I was the foremost of the bahuśrutas among the bodhisattvas, immense seas of knowledge (apramāṇajñāna-samudra), endowed with unequalled wisdom (asamaprajñā) and unobstructed eloquence (apratihatataptibhāna).

O devaputra, it is because the sun (sūrya) and moon (candra) illuminate them that the men of Jambudvīpa see figures (samsthāna) and colours (varṇa) and carry out their activities (karmakāraka). Equally, it is only because of the brilliance of the wisdom (prajñāprabhā) of the Tathāgata that I have managed to remember his Dharma. In this respect I

279 The punctuation of the Taishō should be corrected.
280 The same idea is expressed in the Vkn, p.48, § 7.
281 In Tib. Zla ba dri ma med pahi sñin po [† on the correct name of this devaputra in Sanskrit, see Foreword, p.xv].
have no personal power at my disposal; the matter should be attributed to the supernormal power (rddhibala) of the Tathāgata.

Then the Bhagavat congratulated (sādhukāram adāt) Ānanda: Excellent, excellent, it is indeed as you say (sādhu sādhu, evam etad yathā vadasi) [642a]. If you remember and if you have memorised the teachings, that is due to the supernormal power of the Tathāgata.

137. Then the Buddha said to Vimalacandragarbha: The dharmas remembered by Ānanda are very few; those that he has not understood are innumerable and infinite.

O devaputra, of all the dharmas that I acquired on the seat of enlightenment (bodhimanda), I have not expounded the hundred-thousand-hundred-millionth part of them, and of the little that I have expounded Ānanda has not remembered an hundred-thousand-hundred-millionth part of them.

Let us consider, O devaputra, what the Tathāgata, in a single day and a single night, expounds to the Śakras, Brahmājās, Lokapāla devarājas, devas, nāgas, yakṣas, gandharvas, devaputras and bodhisattvas who inhabit all the universes of the ten regions. By means of the power of his knowledge (jñānabala) he composes gāthās, he expounds sūtras, nidānas, avadānas and pāramitās, he expounds the Śrāvaka- and Pratyekabuddhāyas, and the Anuttarayāna of the Buddhas containing the Mahāyāna Teaching, he belittles Samsāra and upholds Nirvāṇa. Let us suppose that all the beings of Jambudvīpa were as learned as Ānanda. Well now, were they to devote an hundred thousand kalpas to it, they would not be able to memorise [the teachings which have just been mentioned]. That is why, O devaputra, it should be known that the dharmas expounded by the Tathāgata are innumerable and infinite and that what Ānanda has remembered of them is very little.

[Prediction to Vimalacandragarbha]

138. Then the devaputra Vimalacandragarbha offered the Tathāgata...
an hundred thousand parasols (chattra) adorned with the seven jewels (saptaratnamaya). At the same instant those parasols covered (ācchādayanti sma) the firmament (antarikṣa), and the beings who were covered by them took on the colour of gold (suvarnavarna)\textsuperscript{284}.

After having offered those parasols, the devaputra said: O Bhagavat, I wish that, owing to my merit (punyā), all beings may expound the Dharma with the same eloquence (pratibhāna) as yours and that they may remember the Dharma as well as does Maṉjuśrī kumārabhūta.

Thereupon the Buddha, knowing the high resolve (adhyāśaya) concerning Buddhahood which motivated the bodhisattva devaputra, predicted (vyākaroti sma) anuttarasamyaksambodhi to him, saying: This devaputra, in four hundred and four hundreds of thousands of kalpas, will become a Buddha under the name of Ekaratnacchattra\textsuperscript{285} ‘Single Precious Parasol’, and his ksetra will be called Sarvaratnacita\textsuperscript{286} ‘Set with all the Jewels’.

[Provisional Nature of Pratyekabodhi]

139. When the Buddha had ended those words, two hundred bodhisattvas experienced discouragement (līnacitta) and thought: The teachings (dharma) of the Bhagavat Buddhas are too profound (atigambhirā) and anuttarasamyaksambodhi is too difficult to attain (sudurlabha); we are not capable of achieving these things; it would be better to enter Nirvāṇa by means of the Vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas\textsuperscript{287}.

\textsuperscript{284} See in Vkn, pp.6-9, an identical offering and wonder.

\textsuperscript{285} In Tib. Rin po chehi gdugs gcig pa.

\textsuperscript{286} In Tib. Rin po che thams cad kyis spras pa [† see Foreword, p.xv, for a more accurate name in Sanskrit].

\textsuperscript{287} The text mentions several falterings (vyāvarthana) of this type. The Vkn, p.60, presents us with some monks who ‘formerly were pledged to the Great Vehicle’, but had just lost the bodhicitta. Vimalakirti expounded the Dharma so eloquently to them that they became incapable of turning back (avaivartika) from supreme and perfect enlightenment.

However, the strangest case is that of Śāriputra, the greatest of the śrāvakas. The Upadeśa, T 1509, ch.12, p.145a (cf. Nāgarjuna, Traité II, p.701), reproduced by the Ching lü i hsiang, T 2121, ch.14, p.69b, relates an unusual story about him. Śāriputra had, for sixty kalpas, practised the ‘way of the bss’ (the Great Vehicle). One day, a beggar asked him for his eye. Śāriputra, who wanted to ‘cross the stream of giving’, hesitated but gave it to him and the beggar threw it to the ground and trod on it. Upset by this attitude, Śāriputra renounced ‘the way of the bss’ and returned to the Small Vehicle.

Nonetheless, if we are to believe the Saddharmapund., p.65, this faltering was only temporary: according to the Buddha’s prediction, Śāriputra will be a bss in the future and, after an incalculable number of kalpas, will become the Tathāgata Padmaprabha.

A special property of the bss known as avaivartika ‘irreversible’ is to be sheltered from
Why? Because the Buddha has said: ‘Bodhisattvas who falter become either Pratyekabuddhas or Śrāvakas’.

140. Thereupon Mañjuśrī kumārabhūta, comprehending the discouragement (linacitta) of those two hundred bodhisattvas, wished to dissuade them from their resolve so as to cause them to acquire anuttarasamyaksambodhi. He also wished to ripen (paripācana) the assembly with its devas, nāgas, yakṣas, gandharvas, asuras, garuḍas, kimnaras and mahoragas. That is why he said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, I remember [642b] that in days gone by (atite 'dhvani), during the kalpa called Virocana288 ‘Shining’, in the course of three hundred and sixty hundreds of thousands of existences, I entered Nirvāṇa289 by means of the Vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas.

Then the whole assembly (sarvāvatī parsad), utterly disconcerted (samśayajñāta), thought: If he has entered Nirvāṇa, he would not have returned to new births (pratisamdhībandha)290. So why does Mañjuśrī say: ‘Bhagavat, I remember that in days gone by, during the kalpa called Virocana, in the course of three hundred and sixty hundreds of thousands of existences, I entered Nirvāṇa by means of the Vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas’? What does this mean?

141. Then Śāriputra, empowered by the Buddha (buddhānubhāvena), asked the latter: Bhagavat, if someone has already entered Nirvāṇa, he such vicissitudes and, as we have seen earlier, the bs is not absolutely avaivartika until the eighth bhūmi, when he is in possession of the anuttpattikadharmaksānti.

The career of the bs functions from his first cittotpāda, as is shown in a passage of the Bodh. bhūmi, p.13, 13-20: sa ca bodhisattvasya prathamam cittotpādah samāsena dvividhah: nair vyānikācā cānair vyānikācā ca. tatra nair vyāniko ya utpanno ‘tyantam anuvartate na punar vyāvartate. anair vyānikah punar ya utpanno nātyantam anuvartate punar era vyāvartate tasya ca cittotpādasya vyāvṛttir api dvividhā: ātyantikī cānātayantikī ca. tatrātyantikī yat sakrdvyāvṛttam cittam na punar upadhyate bodhāya. anātyantikī punah yad vyāvṛttam cittam punah punar upadhyate bodhāya: ‘Briefly, the first arousal of the thought by the bs is twofold: conducive to deliverance or not conducive to deliverance. Conducive to deliverance is that which, once aroused, continues to the end and does not waver. Not conducive to deliverance is that which, once aroused, does not continue to the end but wavers. The wavering of this arousal of the thought is also twofold: definitive or non-definitive. It is definitive when the thought, once wavering, never more aims at Bodhi. It is non-definitive when the thought, after wavering, once again always aims at Bodhi’.

All this deserves to be compared with the theories relating to the Gotras (cf. Vkn, pp.303-7), but there is some lack of clarity.

288 In Tib. Rnam par sna ba.
289 Parinirvāṇa, according to the Tib.
290 To shèng ssū hsiang hsii 生死相續, in Chinese, corresponds ñid mithams sbyor ba in the Tibetan version, which gives the Skt pratisamdhī (cf. Mahāvyut., No.2164). This is ‘rebirth’; see Kośa III, pp.50-3.
cannot return to new births. So how could Mañjuśrī, after having entered Nirvāṇa, have been reborn again?

The Buddha replied: You can ask Mañjuśrī yourself and he will answer you.

[Mañjuśrī’s Fictitious Nirvāṇa]

142. Then Śāriputra questioned Mañjuśrī and said to him: If someone has already entered Nirvāṇa, he cannot return to new births. So how can you say: ‘Bhagavat, I remember that in days gone by, during the kalpa called Virocana, in the course of three hundred and sixty hundreds of thousands of existences, I entered Nirvāṇa by means of the Vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas’? What does this mean?

Mañjuśrī replied: The Tathāgata now present is all-knowing (sarvajña) and all-seeing (sarvadarśin); he tells the truth (satyavādin), he tells of reality (tattvavādin) and he does not lie (na vañcayati); never does he deceive the world with its gods and mankind (sadevamanusya loka). Now this Buddha in person bears witness (sāksīn) to my words and, if I were to speak otherwise (anyathā), I would deceive the Buddha.

143. O Śāriputra, at that time, during the Virocana kalpa, there appeared in the world a Buddha named Puṣya. After having been of benefit to the world with its gods and mankind, he entered Nirvāṇa. After his Nirvāṇa, his Good Dharma lasted for one hundred thousand years. After the disappearance of that Good Dharma (saddharmavipralopa), beings could not find the conditions for deliverance except with the Pratyekabuddhas. Even if hundreds of thousands of kotis of Buddhas had expounded the Dharma to them, they would not have believed and would not have accepted it. It was only through the bodies (kāya), bodily attitudes (īryāpatha) or teachings (dharma) of the Pratyekabuddhas that they could be won over. And all those beings aspired to the Bodhi of the Pratyekabuddhas. At that time, no Pratyekabuddha was present, and those beings had no opportunity whatsoever to plant good roots (kusalamūla).

144. So it was then that, in order to ripen them (paripācanārtham), I


292 In Tib. Rgyal, the name of an asterism (Mahāvyut., No.3192) borne by a Buddha, the eighteenth of the twenty-four Tathāgatas of the past, according to the Buddhavamsa, pp.50-1. He also appears in Mahāvastu, III, p.240, 6 and sq.; Avadānāśataka II, p.175, 14; Lalitavistara, pp.5, 10, 172, 7; Gañḍavyūha, p.206, 12. The reading Puṣpa given in certain manuscripts is doubtless wrong (cf. Edgerton, Dictionary, p.350).

293 The punctuation of the Taishō should be corrected.
pretended to be a Pratyekabuddha. In all the kingdoms (rāstra), villages (grāma), towns (nagara) and districts (nigama)\textsuperscript{294}, I was believed to be a Pratyekabuddha. Furthermore, I manifested (samdarśayāmi sma) the figure (samsthāna), colours (varna) and bodily attitudes (īryāpatha) of a Pratyekabuddha. All those beings revered me (pūjayanti sma) deeply and offered me alms-food (pindapāta). After having received and eaten it, I considered their previous conditions (pūrvapratyaya) and the teachings which it suited them to hear; I expounded to them, then I rose into the air (antarikṣam abhyudgamam), like the swan king (rāja-hamsa)\textsuperscript{295}. Then the beings felt great joy and, filled with respect, they saluted me with their heads, saying: ‘We would like, in future times (anāgate 'dhvani), [642c] to obtain virtues and advantages like those of this man’. O Śāriputra, it is with this method (tena paryayena) that I led an innumerable and incalculable number of beings to plant good roots (kuśalamūla).

145. Then, considering and knowing that those men who offered me my food were having feelings of discouragement (linacitta), I declared to them: ‘The time of my Nirvāṇa has arrived’. The hundred thousand beings, having heard those words, took up flowers (puspa), perfumes (gandha), various essences and oil (taila), and came to me. Then I entered the attainment of cessation (nirodhasamāpatti) but, in accordance with my previous aspirations (pūrvapranidhāna)\textsuperscript{296}, I did not enter Parinirvāṇa entirely (atyantam). The beings said that I was dead; in order to honour me, they burnt my body with perfumed fuel (gandhendhana) and asserted that I was truly in Parinirvāṇa.

146. Afterwards, I once more went to other capitals (rājadhānī); I represented myself as a Pratyekabuddha; there again, the beings came to offer me alms-food (pindapāta). At that time, I pretended to enter Nirvāṇa and, once again, I was said to be in Parinirvāṇa. The people came to revere me and burnt my body.

\textsuperscript{294} See above, § 128, n 255
\textsuperscript{295} This is a traditional expression
\textsuperscript{296} Earlier aspirations formulated before the Buddha Meghasvaraghosa by Mañjuśrī who was, at that time, the good king Ākāsa of the Anuptāda universe. See my article, ‘Mañjuśrī’, T’oung Pao XLVIII, 1960, pp 17-23, and, for the aspiration in question, the Mañjuśrībuddhaksetra-gunavyūha (T 318, ch 2, pp 896c - 899b, T 310, ch 59, pp 345b - 347c, T 319, ch 2-3, pp 912b - 915b, Trib. Trip., Vol.23, pp.128-32, fols 315a - 325b) The most characteristic is reproduced in its original text by the Śiksāsamuccaya, p 13

Nāham tvaritarūpena bodhim prāptum ihotsahe/ parāntakotum sthāsyāmi satvasyayakasya kāranāti//

‘I am in no hurry to attain enlightenment and I will remain here below until the end, as long as there is a being to be delivered’.
147. So it is, Śāriputra, that at that time, for a whole small kalpa (antarakalpa), in the course of three hundred and sixty hundreds of thousands of existences, I was a Pratyekabuddha and pretended to enter Nirvāṇa. In all the capitals (rājadhāni), one after the other, I delivered thirty-six hundreds of thousands of beings through the Vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas. So it is, Śāriputra, that a bodhisattva who enters Nirvāṇa through the Vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas is not in Parinirvāṇa for ever.297.

148. When Mañjuśrī had spoken those words, the trisāhasmahā-sāhasralokadhātu trembled in six ways (sadvikāram akampata) and was filled with a great radiance (mahatā prabhayā parisphuto 'bhūt). In order to pay homage to Mañjuśrī kumarabhūta, a thousand hundreds of thousands of devas caused celestial flowers (divyapuspa) to shower down and said: It is truly extraordinary (adbhuta): today we have obtained great advantages (lābhā nah sulabdhāh), we have seen the Bhagavat Buddha, we have seen Mañjuśrī kumarabhūta and we have heard the Śūramgamasamādhi. O Bhagavat, Mañjuśrī kumarabhūta possesses truly extraordinary qualities (adbhutadharma). In which samādhi is he to be found to manifest such extraordinary qualities?

[Exploits of the Bodhisattvas in the Heroic Progress]

149. The Buddha said to the devas: Mañjuśrī kumarabhūta is to be found in the Śūramgamasamādhi; that is why he can do such extraordinary (adbhuta) and difficult (duskara) things.

1. The bodhisattva in Śūramgamasamādhi affects to follow the truth under the impulse of faith (sraddhanusārin), but he does not rely

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297 See the Upadeśa, T 1509, ch.75, p.586a 28 sq.: ‘The bss know perfectly well the beings who can be delivered [only] by the Pratyekabuddhas; that is why, knowing this, they carry out the feats of a Pratyekabuddha. Thus, according to the Śūramgamasamādhisūtra, Mañjuśrī made himself a Pratyekabuddha seventy-two hundreds of thousands of times. And it is the same with the other bss’.

298 See Mahāvyut., Nos 3019-30: 1. Pūrvā dig unnamati paścimā dig avanamati; 2. paścimā dig unnamati pūrvā dig avanamati; 3. daksiṇā dig unnamaty uttarā dig avanamati; 4. uttarā dig unnamati daksiṇā dig avanamati; 5. antād unnamati madhyād avanamati; 6. madhyād unnamaty antād avanamati.

The phrasing differs; see Lalitavistara, pp.51-2, 410-11; Pañcavimśati, p.8; Śatasahasrikā, p.13.

According to the Upadeśa in Nāgārjuna, Traité I, pp.473-4, this is the ‘superior’ earthquake, with six movements. The middling and inferior ones have four and two respectively.

299 The canonical sources (Samyutta V, p.202; Samyukta, T 99, ch.26, p.183a) distinguish eight classes of ‘noble individuals’ (āryapudgala) pledged to the Buddhist Path; four are already in possession of the fruit of the religious life (srāmanyaphala), four are merely candidates to those fruit (phalapratipaññaka). These eight āryapudgalas are:
The arhat
2 The candidate to the fruit of arhat (arhatphalapratipannaka)
3 The anāgāmin
4 The candidate to the fruit of anāgāmin
5 The sakṛdāgāmin
6 The candidate to the fruit of sakṛdāgāmin
7 The srotaāpanna
8 The candidate to the fruit of srotaāpanna, also called the candidate to the first fruit (prathamaphalapratipannaka)

This classification is in descending order, the first step to be taken chronologically being that of the prathamaphalapratipannaka. That is why this last is also known as an eighth-level holy one astamaka in Sanskrit, attamaka in Pāli (see Patsambhidāmagga II p 193–34, Kathāvavatthu I, pp 243–51, Nettipakarana, pp 49, 31, 50, 1, Mahāvastu I, pp 120 9 159 8 Kosa VI, p 201)

While the other seven holy ones are pledged to the path of meditation (bhāvanāmārga), the prathamaphalapratipannaka or astamaka is still on the path of the vision of the Truths (satyadarsanamārga) The latter, as we know, consists of sixteen thought-moments (cittākṣana) the details of which can be found in my History pp 614–16

Scholars of the Small and Great Vehicles are in agreement in placing the prathamaphalapratipannaka in the first fifteen moments of the path of vision. Here are three definitions taken respectively from Vasubandhu, Haribhadra and Asanga

a Kosa VI, pp 191-4 Drnmārgas tatra pañcadasa ksanāḥ mṛdutksnendrivau teu sradhādharmānuṣārīnau ahinabhāvanāheyyau phalādyapratipannakau ‘In the path of vision, during the [first] fifteen [thought-] moments, the ascetic with dull faculties and the ascetic with sharp faculties who are [respectively] sradhādharmānusārin and dharmānusārin and who have not yet destroyed [the passions of the Kāmādhātu] to be abandoned on the path of meditation, are both “candidates to the first fruit”

b Āłoka, p 35, 15-17 Sodasaksanadarsanāmārgagāsrītya pañcapasadasu darsanāmārgacittāksanesu sradhādharmānuṣārīhireṇa prathamaphalapratipannako dvīvādah ‘The holy one who, moving through the path of vision consisting of sixteen moments, finds himself in the [first] fifteen thought-moments of the path of vision is a candidate to the first fruit, and he is of two kinds depending on whether he is a sradhādharmānusārin or a dharmānusārin’

c Abhidharmasamuccaya, ed Pradhan (original part), p 88, 19 Srotāpattipalapratipannakah katamah Nirvedhābhāgiyese pañcadasasas darsanāmārgacittāksanesu yah pudgalah ‘What is the candidate to the fruit of srotāpanna [or first fruit]? It is the man who is to be found in the [first] fifteen thought-moments of the path of vision, moments referring to the penetration [of the four Noble Truths]’

Between these identical formulas, however, hide different realities, since śrāvakas and bss pursue different aims

a In the perspective of the former, we can say that the prathamaphalapratipannaka is a samyaktaivamāvukrānta Ārya ‘entered into the certainty of acquiring the Absolute Good or Nirvāṇa’ In fact, this is a quality which is obtained from the very first thought-moment of the Darsanāmārga (cf Kosa VI, p 180 sq) Besides, this candidate to the first fruit is assuredly inferior to the holder of the first fruit, namely, the srotāpanna The prerogatives of the latter are well known he occupies the sixteenth thought-moment of the Darsanāmārga, which coincides with the first moment of the Bhāvanāmārga, his deliverance is certain and rapid he will attain Nirvāṇa after seven rebirths at the most among the men or gods of the Kāmādhātu (saptakrdbhāvaparama) and he is incapable of falling into a bad destiny (avinpātadharm)
However, from the point of view of the Mahāyāna, the ideal is not to attain Nirvāṇa, definitive nirvāṇa, but to reach supreme and perfect enlightenment by devoting oneself to the welfare and happiness of all beings. Also, the career of a bodhisattva, parallel to that of a śrāvaka, differs from it in respect of its fruit and results. The Prajñāpāramitās have applied themselves to drawing up its stages and, borrowing from the vocabulary of the śrāvakayāna, distinguish twenty categories of holy ones, but—and this is essential—the final outcome of this career is not entry into Nirvāṇa but arrival at Buddhahood through the winning of anuttarasamyojñasambodhi.

Detailed explanations of this career can be found in the Pañcavimsati, pp 60-72 (tr E Conze, The Large Sūtra on Perfect Wisdom, London 1961, pp 33-41) and the Satasāhasrikā, pp 266-81, a concise explanation in the Abhisamayālamantrā I vv 23-4 (tr E Conze, Abhisamayālamantrā, Rome 1954, pp 11-13) and its commentary, the Āloka of Haribhadra, pp 35-6 (tr E Obermiller, Analysis of the Abhisamayālamantrā I, London 1933, pp 51-6).

To return to the prathamaphalapratipannaka or astamaka, a holy one of lesser degree, we find in the Pañcavimsati, p 60, 7-10, the following definition yo bodhisattvo mahasattvo nena prajñāparamitāvāhāreṇa viharati sa itas cyuta ihaiva buddhakṣetreat upapadyate anyebhī va buddhakṣetrebhāvah cyutas tustebhī va devēbhāvah cyuta shopapadyate iti bodhissattvāstamakah ‘The bs residing in this residence of perfect wisdom dies in this world here and is reborn in this buddhaksetra here, or else he dies in other buddhaksetras or among the Tusita gods and is reborn here such is an astamaka bs’.

If I properly understand the elliptical thought of this passage, the astamaka bs is he who, after a career of greater or lesser length, will attain samvyaksambodhi in the present buddhaksetra, and this no matter where he comes from. Concurrently, the astamaka śrāvaka, after a certain number of rebirths among the gods or humans of the Kāmādhūtā, reaches his end in the Kāmādhūtā, but the end for him is Nirvāṇa and not samvyaksambodhi.

The mere mention of the astamaka in § 149 of the Sgs proves that its author knew of the speculations relating to the career of the holy ones. He was also fully informed on the ten stages of the bs which he mentioned in § 21. This is because, independently of the speculations on the twenty types of holy ones, the larger Prajñāpāramitās (Pañcavimsati, pp 214-25, Satasāhasrikā, pp 1454-73, Astādāsāṇa, T 220, ch 490-1 pp 490b - 497b) have devoted a whole section to the ten bs stages. These do not yet have the characteristic names of Pramudita, etc., which were to designate them later on, starting with the Dāsabhūmikasūtra. Nonetheless, they are the object of a very detailed and completely original analysis, without any reference to the levels of the traditional Buddhist Path. Nevertheless, since nothing is wasted in the Buddhist tradition, very early on there was an attempt to establish a more general format encompassing within a single framework the śrāvaka stages and the bs stages, while still maintaining the necessary differences. This is what the Upadeśa in Nāgārjuna, Tract V, p 2383, calls the Kung-ti 共地，the stages common (sādhārana-bhūmi) to both Vehicles.

These common stages are listed in the following sources:

a Pañcavimsati, pp 225, 16-18, 235, 18-19, T 221, ch 4, p 29b 25-26, T 222, ch 7, p 199a 1-2, T 223, ch 6, p 259c, 12-14, ch 17, p 346b 5-6, T 220, Vol VII, ch 416, p 88c 20-21
c Astādāsāśāhasrikā, pp 183, 24-26, 197, 4-8, T 220, Vol VII, ch 491, p 497b 14-15
d Āloka, p 104, 3-11
e Mahāvyutpatti, Nos 1141-7 (listing the first nine only)

These common stages (s) are eleven in number.

1 Šuklavipasyanā- or Suklavīdārsanabhūmi, s of insight (but the old Chinese translations and notably Kumārajīva read Šuskavīdārsanabhūmi and in consequence translated as Kan-hu-ti 乾贛地, s of dry wisdom)
2. **Gotrabhūmi**, s. of spiritual lineage.
3. **Astimakabhūmi**, s. of the eighth-level holy one
4. **Darsanabhūmi**, s. of vision.
5. **Tanubhūmi**, refined s.
6. **Vitarāgabhūmi**, s. of renunciation.
7. **Kṛtāvibhūmi**, s. of the one who has ended his career.
8. **Śrāvakabhūmi**, s. of the śrāvakas.
9. **Pratyekabuddhabhūmi**, s. of the Pratyekabuddhas.
10. **Bodhisattvabhūmi**, s. of the bodhisattvas.
11. **Buddhabhūmi**, s. of the Buddhas.

Haribhadra, in his Āloka, p.104, 3-9, supplies the following details: 1. The **gotrabhūmi** pertains to those who possess the lineage of the sravakas, etc.; 2. the **astamakabhūmi** pertains to the prathamaphalapratipannaka (see above); 3. the **darsanabhūmi** pertains to the srotāpanna. 4. the **tanubhūmi** pertains to the sakṛdāgāmin; 5. the **vitarāgabhūmi** pertains to the anāgāmin; 6. the **kṛtāvibhūmi** pertains to the arhat; 7. in the absence of a special word to designate it (vīsesavacanānābhāvāna), the **śrāvakabhūmi** pertains to the pratipannakatraya [i.e. śrāvakas who are respectively candidates to the second, third and fourth fruits]; 8. the **pratyekabuddhabhūmi** pertains to the Pratyekabuddhas; 9. the **bodhisattvabhūmi** pertains to the bss of whom we have spoken and is of nine kinds [Pramudita, Vimala, Prabhākari, Arcismati, Sudurjaya, Abhimukhi, Dūramgamā, Acalā and Sādhumati]; 10. having gone beyond these nine bhūmis and being found in the tenth bhūmi [the Dharmameghā], the bs should quite simply be called Buddha but not yet Samyaksambuddha, according to the assertion of the Pañcavimśatisāhasrī.

Haribhadra’s interpretation has become essential to modern exegesis. E. Obermiller, who was the first to study it in detail, seems to have made it his own (cf. *Analysis of the Abhisamayālāṃkāra*, London 1933-43, pp.176-9; ‘The Doctrine of the Prajñā-pāramitā’. *Acta Orientalia* XI, 1932, pp.48-51). And in his turn, E. Conze was inspired by him in the useful tables he devoted to the Path of the śrāvakas pratyekabuddhas on the one hand, and the bss on the other (cf. ‘Maitreya’s Abhisamayālāṃkāra’, *East and West* V, 1954, pp.6-7; ‘Marginal Notes to the Abhisamayālāṃkāra’, *Sino-Indian Studies* V, Nos 3-4, 1957, pp.6-11; *The Large Sūtra on Perfect Wisdom*, London 1961, p.200).

Haribhadra’s interpretation establishes a definite division between the śrāvaka stages (the first eight on the list, Suklavipaśyanā, etc.) and those of the bss (No.10 on the list). However, in so doing, it runs directly counter to the spirit and intentions of the Prajñāpāramitā and the Mahāyāna. Undoubtedly bodhisattvas have their own stages (Pramudita, etc.), but they can also occupy the stages of the career of the śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas.

Indeed, we read in the Pañcavimśati, p.225, 16-18, and the Śatasāhasrī, p.1473, 11-16, that the bs, after having gone beyond (atikramya) nine bhūmis: Gotrabhūmi, Aṣtāmaka, Darśana, Tanu, Vitarāga, Kṛtāvin, Śrāvaka, Pratyekabuddha and Bodhisattvabhūmi, is established in the Buddhabhūmi, the tenth bs stage. It therefore follows that the first eight are not reserved exclusively for the śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas, but pertain also to the bss.

The Vimalākirtinirdeśa (Vkn, pp.128-33), expatiates at length on the immensity of the domain (gocara) traversed by the bss, the domain, it says, where, among others, the attitudes of the śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas are manifested (ibid., p.132).

§ 149 of the Śgs which occupies us here is also just as categoric: its bs affects to be at will a śraddhānusārīn or dharmānusārīn (the two types of prathamaphalapratipannaka), astamaka, srotāpanna, sakrādāgāmin, anāgāmin, arhat, śrāvaka, pratyekabuddha. In §§ 140-7, it showed us Mañjuśrī entering Nirvāṇa via the Pratyekabuddha Vehicle throughout 360 hundreds of thousands of existences. In § 156, it will show us Maitreya simultaneously occupying, in various
places in the cosmos, the most varied of states and stages. In § 157, it will be said that the bs penetrates the practices of all the paths (sarvamārgacaryā) srāvakayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna and Mahābuddhayāna.

None should object too much that such a mastery of practice is only valid for the bs in the tenth stage, in Sūramagamasamādhī, for the answer has already been given by Drdhamati in § 51 to be in Sgs is not to be anywhere.

It is pointless to pursue any further the demonstration of a thesis harped on eternally by all the Mahāyāna sūtras. We simply note the narrowness of view of a Haribhadra who attributes certain stages to the srāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas and reserves others for the bs.

However, other exegetes have been able to see more clearly, particularly the author or authors of the Upadesa (Nāgārjuna, Traite V, p 2382 sq) ‘There are two kinds of stages 1 the stages pertaining only to the bs, 2 the stages in common (sādhāranaabhūmi) The common stages go from the Suskavidsarāsanabhūmi to the Buddhabhūmi. The stages particular to the bs are Pramudita, Vimalā, Prabhākari, Arcismati, Suduṣṭayā, Abhimukhi, Dūramgama, Acalā, Śādhumati and Dharmameghā their characteristics are described at length in the Daśabhūmikāsaūtra’.

It goes without saying that the stages common to the Small and Great Vehicles are not practised in the same way or in the same spirit, as it depends on whether a srāvaka or a bs is concerned. On this subject once again the Upadesa (T 1509, ch 75, pp 585c 26 - 586a 25) supplies useful though somewhat summary details.

‘Here the Buddha explains again how peerless Bodhi can be attained. From the first arousal of the thought (prathamacattotpada), bs exercise Prajñāpāramitā and accomplish (paripūrayanti) the bhūmīs from the first to the tenth. These bhūmīs are the aids which achieve peerless Bodhi. These ten bhūmīs are the Śuskavidsarāsanabhūmi, etc.

1 The Śuskavidsarāsanabhūmi is of two kinds of a srāvaka or of a bs. For a srāvaka, it is only for Nirvāṇa that he exerts his vigour (vīrya), morality (sīla), purification of the mind (cittavisodhana) and things profitable for deliverance (mokṣabhāgīya). Sometimes he practises-contemplates the samādhis of the Buddhhas or the meditation on the repulsive (asubhāhāvānā), sometimes he practises good-will (maitrī), compassion (karunā) or the contemplation of impermanence etc (anityādhipapayanā). He particularly assembles all the good dharmas and rejects bad dharmas. But even though he possesses jñāna and prajñā, he does not acquire the waters of the dhyanas and samāpattis and, since he cannot attain Bodhi, this stage is called stage of dry wisdom. For a bs, this stage begins with the first arousal of the thought (prathamacattotpada) and continues for as long as he has not attained the preparatory certainty (anulomikāksāntī).

2 The Gotrabhūmi. For a srāvaka, this is [the four aids to penetration (nirvedha-bhāgya)] from heat (usmaga) to supreme worldly dharmas (laukikāgradharma). For the bs, it is the obtaining of the preparatory certainty (anulomikāksāntī), he is attached to the true nature of things (dharmānāmbhitanaya), no longer holds false views (mithyādṛṣṭi) and obtains the waters of the dhyanas and samāpattis.

3 The Astamakabhūmi. For a srāvaka, this goes from the dukkhe dharmajñānakṣānti to the marge ‘nvayajñānakṣānti namely the [first] fifteen thought-moments (cittaksana) of the Darśanāmarga. For a bs, it is the anupattikadharmsaṃkṣānti and entry into the bs pre-destination (bodhisattvavṛtiyāma).

4 The Darsanābhūmi. For a srāvaka, it is the candidate to the first fruit (prathamaphala-pratipanna), that is, the srotaāpanna fruit. For a bs, it is the irreversible stage (avaivartikābhūmi).

5 The Tanubhūmi. For a srāvaka, it is either the srotaāpanna or sakrdāgāmin, for then six [read luo instead of chiu n] categories of the passions relating to the Kāmadhātu are
on others in order to believe.

2. He affects to be following the truth by means of the Dharma (dharmaṁusārin) but, concerning the nature of things (dharmaṁata) and the turning of the Wheel of the Dharma (dharmacakrapravartana), he is without irreversibility or shortcoming.

3. He affects to be an eighth-level holy one (aṣṭamaka)\(^{300}\), but for innumerable incalculable cosmic periods (asaṁkhyeyakalpa), he travels the Path (mārgam carati) for those who have fallen into the eight corruptions (aṣṭamithyāvatapatita)\(^{301}\).

4. He affects to have entered the stream of Nirvāṇa (srotāpanna) but, for beings drawn into the stream of Samsāra (saṁsārasrotovāhita), he does not enter the certainty (niyāma) [concerning the acquisition of the absolute good]\(^{302}\).

5. He affects to return only once [among mankind] (sakṛdāgāmin), destroyed (kāmāvacarasatprakāraklesāparkhānāt). For a bs, it is the stage that goes beyond the irreversible stage and continues as long as he has not become a Buddha: he destroys the passions (klesa), and the pervasions of the passions (klesāvasanā) which still remain are slight (tanu).

6. The Vitarāgabhūmi. [The śrāvaka] who has destroyed all attachments and passions relating to the Kāmadhātu is named anāgāmin. The bs, by reason of the abandoning of the passions (vairāgya), obtains the five Abhijñās.

7. The Krātivibhūmi. The śrāvaka obtains the knowledge of the destruction of defilements (āsravakṣaysayājñāna) and the knowledge of their non re-arising (anupādadajñāna): he becomes an arhat. As for the bs, he reaches the Buddhabhūmi.

8. The Pratyekabuddhabhūmi. In former existences, [the Pratyekabuddha] had planted the causes and conditions of the Bodhi of the Pratyekabuddhas. In the present existence, obtaining a partial [view] of causality, he leaves the world (pravrajati) and, contemplating the profound causality (gambhirādampatīyatābhāvanavāyā), he achieves Bodhi and is called a Pratyekabuddha. Pratyeka in the language of the Ch’in means ‘causality’ and [he who knows it] is also called Buddha.

9. The Bodhisattvabhūmi. It goes from the Śūkṣmavidārśanabhūmi to the Vītarāgabhūmi of which we have just spoken. Besides, [the stages] from the Pramuditabhūmi to the Dharma-meghabhūmi are called Bodhisattvabhūmis. Some say that [the stages] which go from the first arousal of the thought (prathamacicitotpāda) to the diamond-like concentration (vajropama-samādhi) [consisting of the destruction of the ninth and last category of the passions of the Bhavāgra] are called bs stages.

10. The Buddhabhūmi. This consists of the Buddha attributes: knowledge of things in all their aspects (sarvākārajñāna), etc. The bs, in the stages that are his own (svabhūmi) is perfected with regard to the practice (ācārasampannya) of the stages of others (parabhūmi), he is perfected with regard to deliberation (vicārasampannya). [Here], he is perfected with regard to two things: that is why he is called Perfect’.

Obviously, the author of the Śgs knows of all these speculations, but he has not yet systematised them.

\(^{300}\) Aṣṭamaka or prathamaphalapratipannaka; see preceding note.

\(^{301}\) See Vkn, p.53, n.25, and p.177.

\(^{302}\) Cf. above, §7, n.13.
but he shows himself everywhere in all the worlds (lokadhātu).

6. He affects not to be reborn again [in the Kāmadhātu] (anāgāmin), but he returns once again in order to ripen beings (sattvaparipācanaṁstham).

7. He affects to be a holy one (arhat), but he continues to exert his vigour (vīryam ārabhate) in search of the Buddha attributes (buddhadharmaparyesaṁstham).

8. He affects to be an ordinary listener (śrāvaka), but he teaches the Dharma (dharma deṣayati) to mankind with unobstructed eloquence (anācchedyapratibhāna).

9. He affects to be a Pratyekabuddha but, in order to ripen beings endowed with the power of the conditions (pratyayaṁstham)³⁰³, he seems to enter Nirvāṇa, then [643a] through the power of this samādhi he returns to new births.

10. O devaputras, the bodhisattva who dwells in Śūramgamasamādhī can make use of various noble modes of speech (āryavyāvahāra)³⁰⁴ but, in all the stages (bhūmi) where he expounds the Dharma, he does not truly dwell (na viharati).

[Superiority of the Offender over the Holy One]

150. The devas, on hearing the Buddha explaining those things, dissolved into tears and said: Bhagavat, beings who have already entered
the certainty (niyāma) of the śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas\textsuperscript{305} are definitively deprived (vipanna) of this Śūramgamasamādhi. O Bhagavat, a man guilty of the five offences of immediate fruition (pañcānantarya) who hears the Śūramgamasamādhi expounded is superior to the [holy one who has] entered into the certainty (avakṛntaniyāma) and to the arhat who has destroyed all the defilements (ksīnāsrava)\textsuperscript{306}. Why? The man who is guilty of the pañcānantaryas, on hearing the Śūramgamasamādhi expounded, arouses the anuttarasamyaksambodhicitta and even if, because of his previous misdeeds (pūrvapāpakarman), he falls into the hells (naraka), the merit (kuśalamūla) of having heard the Śūramgamasamādhi enables him to become a Buddha. Conversely, the arhat who has destroyed the defilements (ksīnāsrava) is like a broken receptacle (chinnabhājana): never could he make use of the Śūramgamasamādhi.

151. Thus, Bhagavat, one day when a distribution of ghee (ghṛta), oil (taila) and honey (madhu) was taking place, a crowd of people presented themselves with all kinds of receptacles (bhājana). Among those people a man, through inadvertence (smṛtihāni), broke the receptacle he was holding. He went to the distribution but gained no profit from the ghee, oil and honey. He refreshed himself only on the spot, but could not take anything home to give to others. In contrast, another man who had an intact receptacle at his disposal not only refreshed himself on the spot, but could take away a well-filled bowl (paripūrṇabhājana) to offer to other people.

The ghee, oil and honey denote the Good Dharma (saddharmā) of the Buddhas. The man with the broken bowl who gained only personal satisfaction from the distribution but could not take home anything to give to others denotes the śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas. The man with the intact bowl denotes the bodhisattva who, while ensuring his own welfare (svahita), can still give to all beings\textsuperscript{307}.

[\textit{Two Hundred Discouraged Bodhisattvas Obtain the Ten Powers}]

152. When the two hundred bodhisattvas\textsuperscript{308} who had wanted to with-

\textsuperscript{305} Regarding the \textit{niyāma} of the śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas, see above, § 7, n.13; § 56, n.140; § 104, nn.210 and 211.

\textsuperscript{306} A man guilty of the five ānantaryas is privileged in relation to the arhat since he can still reach Sambodhi, while an arhat whose passions are destroyed (ksīnāsrava) will immediately pass into Nirvāṇa. Regarding this commonplace widespread in Mahāyāna sūtras, see Vkn, p.55, n.33.

\textsuperscript{307} Unlike the śrāvaka only interested in his own personal deliverance, the bs assures both his own welfare and that of others (svaparārtha) at the same time.

\textsuperscript{308} Read \textit{p'u-sa} (bodhisattva) instead of \textit{tien-tz'ū} (devaputra); as can be seen from the Tib. version, \textit{byan chub sms dpah sms zum pa}, this concerns the two hundred ‘discouraged bs
draw from anuttarasamāyakasambodhi heard the words of those devaputras and learnt of the inconceivable virtues and potency (acintyaagnaprabhāva) of Mañjuśrī kumārabhūta, they renewed their high resolve (adhyāśaya) and aroused the anuttarasamāyakasambodhicitta. Fully decided on not withdrawing from it again, they said to the Buddha: Even if we should have to face dangers and lose our lives, never again will we renounce the bodhicitta and never will we abandon beings. O Bhagavat, by virtue of the merit (kuśalamūla) resulting from hearing this Śūramgamasamādhi, may we obtain the ten bodhisattva powers (daśabodhisattvabala). What are those ten powers?

1. Steadfastness in the thought of Bodhi (bodhicittasararatābala),
2. faith in the inconceivable Buddha attributes (acintyabuddhadharmaśraddhābala),
3. retention of learning (bahuśrutāsampramōsabala),
4. tirelessness in the journey through the rounds of rebirth (samsāraṇāparikhedabala),
5. steadfastness in great compassion towards beings (sattvesumahākarunāsaratābala),
6. firm generosity in giving (dānadrḍhatyāgabala),
7. not renouncing commitment as regards morality (śīlasamādānāparihānibala),
8. settling firmly into patience and kindness (ksāntisauratyanivesanabala),
9. wisdom that Mara cannot destroy, [643b]
10. belief in the profound teachings (gambhiradharmādhimuktibala).

Then the Buddha said to the bodhisattva Drdhamati: If someone, now who were mentioned at the beginning of § 139

310 The canonical list of the ten Tathāgata balas (Majjhima I, pp 69-70, Anguttara V, pp 32-6) has remained unchanged throughout the entire Buddhist tradition, conversely, the ten bodhisattvabalas have been subjected to differing lists

a The list in the Avatamsaka (T 278, ch 39, p 649c 4-13, T 279, ch 56, p 295c 1-10), reproduced in Mahāvyut Nos 760-9, 1, āsaya, 2 adhyāsaya, 3 pravoga, 4 prajñā, 5 prajñāna, 6 vāna, 7 caryā, 8 vi-kurvana, 9 bodhi, 10 dharma-cakravārvamātara-bala
b The list in the Dhamasamgraha, § 75 ādhi-mukt, 2 prat-tsamkhyāṇa, 3 bhāva, 4 ksānti, 5 jñāna, 6 prabhāna, 7 samādhi, 8 pratibhāna, 9 punya, 10 pratipatti-bala
c The list in the Vīkūrvanarājaprapchchā (T 420, ch 2, p 632c 13-26) and the Upadesa (Nāgārjuna, Traite III, pp 161-12) which has factors in common with the present list in the Śīksa, 1 sāratā, 2 sarvasattvāparītiyāga, 3 mahākarunā, 4 mahāvīrya, 5 dhyānasamāpatti, 6 prajñā, 7 samsārāparikheda, 8 anuttipattikadharmaksānti, 9 vimukt, 10 pratipattibala

310 We have in Tib bdud hdul baht ses rab kyi stobs ‘The wisdom that triumphs over Māra’ (mārādharsanaprījnābala)
or after my Parinirvāṇa, hears this Śūramgamasamādhi and believes it, he will certainly obtain those ten bodhisattvabalas.

[Why and How to Practise the Heroic Progress]

153. Now, in the assembly there was a bodhisattva named *Namamati who said to the Buddha: Bhagavat,
1. He who seeks merit should pay homage to the Buddha (punyaparyesinā buddhapūjanām kartavyam).
2. He who seeks wisdom (prajñā) should devote himself to learning (śrutābhīyoga).
3. He who seeks heaven (svarga) should observe morality (śīlarakṣaṇa).
4. He who seeks riches (upabhoga) should multiply gifts (dānavardhana).
5. He who seeks beauty (rūpa) should cultivate patience (kṣāntiḥbhāvanā).
6. He who seeks eloquence (pratibhāna) should be devoted to his teacher (gurubhakti).
7. He who seeks memory (dhairāṇi) should avoid pride (abhimāna-parivarjana).
8. He who seeks knowledge (jñāna) should cultivate right attention (yoniśo manasikāra).
9. He who seeks happiness (sukha) should avoid all wrong actions (sarvapāpakarana).
10. He who seeks to be of benefit to beings (sattvārthakriyā) should arouse the thought of enlightenment (bodhicittotpāda).
11. He who seeks a sweet voice (madhurasvara) should cultivate the truthful word (satyavāgbhāvanā).
12. He who seeks virtues (guna) should delight in solitude (pravivekapriti).
13. He who seeks the Teaching (dharma) should frequent spiritual friends (kalyāṇamitrāsevana).
14. He who seeks tranquillity (samatha) should avoid crowds (saṃsargavipravāsa).
15. He who seeks insight (vipaśyana) should cultivate attention

311 This paragraph seems to be inspired by a sūtra on the fruition of actions; cf. the two Kamānavibhāgas of Majjhima III, pp.202-15, and the Mahākarmavibhāga edited by S. Lévi, Paris 1932.
312 Ming i 名意, which I have retained, but in the Tibetan we have Rgyal bahi blo gros (Rājamati), which seems preferable.
(manasikārabhabhāvanā).

16. He who wishes to be reborn in the world of Brahmā (brahma-loka) should practise the four infinite states (caturapramāṇa-cittabhāvanā).

17. He who wishes to be reborn among the divine and human [blisses] (devamanusyasampad) should follow the ten paths of good action (daśakuśalakarmapatha).

[18. He who seeks Nirvāṇa should adhere to the emptiness of dharmas (dharmaśūnyatādhipuṭti)]

O Bhagavat, he who seeks at the same time merit, wisdom, heaven, riches, beauty, eloquence, memory, knowledge, happiness, the benefit of beings, a sweet voice, virtues, the Dharma, tranquillity, insight, the world of Brahmā, the divine and human blisses and Nirvāṇa, that man, say I, should hear the Śūramgamasamādhi, grasp, remember, expound it to others and put it into practice. Bhagavat, how then should a bodhisattva practise this samādhi?

154. The Buddha replied: *Nāmamati,

1. The bodhisattva who regards dharmas as empty (śūnya), unresisting (apratigha) and perishing from instant to instant (ksanika), without aversion or affection (ananunayapratigha), that bodhisattva practises this samādhi.

2. Moreover, O *Nāmamati, there is not just a single method of pursuance (ekapratipatti) in practising this samādhi. How is that so? As many as there are functionings (pravṛtti) in the minds and mentations (cittacaitta) of beings, are there functionings in this samādhi. As many as there are entrances (praveśa) into the minds and mentations (cittacaitta) of beings, are there entrances into this samādhi. As many as there are entrance doors (praveśamukha) into the faculties (indriya) of beings, are there entrance doors into this samādhi. As many as there are names and forms (nāmarūpa) among beings, are there names and forms in this samādhi. Knowing this to be so is practising this samādhi.

3. As many as there are names (nāman), forms (rūpa) and marks (laksana) in the Buddhas, are there names, forms and marks in this samādhi. [643c] Knowing this to be so is practising this samādhi.

4. The bodhisattva himself acquires as many fields (ksetra) as he sees of them among the Buddhas: that is practising this samādhi.

The bodhisattva *Nāmamati said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, the method of pursuance (pratipatti) in this samādhi is very difficult (atidūskara).

314 Sentence omitted, doubtless inadvertently, in the Chinese translation. In Tib. we have mya nan las ḡdah par ḡtshal bas chos la ston par mos par ḡvgiḥo.
The Buddha said to *Nāmamati: That is why few are the bodhisattvas who dwell in this samādhi, and many are the bodhisattvas who practise other samādhis.

[Maitreya in the Heroic Progress]

155. Then the bodhisattva *Nāmamati said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, the bodhisattva Maitreya here is separated from Buddhahood by only one existence (ekajātipratibaddha) and according to you, Bhagavat, he should attain anuttarasamyaksambodhi. Does Maitreya possess the Śūramgamasamādhi?

The Buddha replied: *Nāmamati, the bodhisattvas who are in the tenth stage (daśabhūmīstha), who are ekajātipratibaddha and who have received the consecration (abhiseka) from the Buddhas all possess the Śūramgamasamādhi.

156. Then the bodhisattva Maitreya performed such a supernormal action (evamṛūpaṃ rddhyabhīṣasthāram abhīṣasthāroti sma) that the bodhisattva *Nāmamati and the whole assembly (sarvavatī parisad) saw the bodhisattva Maitreya in all the Jambudvīpas of the trisahasra-mahāsāhāsralokadhātu.

Here he was among the gods (devaloka), there among mankind (manusya-loka). Here he was a religious mendicant (pravrajita), there he was a layman (grhastha).

Here he was an attendant (upasthāvaka) of the Buddha like Ānanda, there he was the foremost of the great sages (mahāprajñāvatām agryaḥ) like Śāriputra, there he was the foremost of those who possess supernormal powers (rddhimatām agryaḥ) like Maudgalyāyana, there he was the foremost of those who observe ascetic practices (dhūtagunāvādinām agryaḥ) like Mahākāśyapa, there he was the foremost of those who expound the Dharma (dharma-kathikānām agryaḥ) like Pūrṇa, there he was the foremost of those who like to train themselves (śikṣākāmānām agryaḥ) like Rāhula, there he was the foremost of the guardians of the Vinaya (vinayadharānām agryaḥ) like Upāli, there he was the foremost of those who possess the heavenly eye (divyacaksukānām agryaḥ) like Aniruddha, there he was the foremost of the absorbed (dhyāyinām agryaḥ) like Revata, [there he was the

315 Kumārajīva usually renders niyāma by chéng wèi 正位 (cf. above, § 56, n.140), but the niyāma is not received from the Buddhas. Here chéng wèi translates abhiseka as it appears in the Tibetan version dban bskur ba thob pa = abhisekaprāpta. Regarding this consecration, see above, § 48, n.125.

316 This is a stock phrase; see Vkn, pp.139, 204, 219, 247.
foremost of those who dwell in the absence of discord (*araṇavihārīṇām agryāh*) like Subhūti\(^{317}\). So it was that they saw Maitreya to be the foremost among all.

Here they saw him entering the villages (*grāma*), towns (*nagara*) and provinces (*nīgama*) to beg for his food, there they saw him expounding the Dharma, or again, seated in solitary meditation (*pratisamālīna*).

157. The bodhisattva *Namamati and the great assembly saw the bodhisattva Maitreya thus manifesting the supportive power of the Śūramgamasamādhi and, having seen him, they rejoiced greatly and said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, just as gold (*kāṇcana*), even if it has gone through the forge, never loses its self-nature (*svabhāva*), so these great Satpuruṣas, wherever they may go, manifest everywhere their natures of inconceivable qualities (*acintyadharma*).

Then the bodhisattva *Namamati said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, I claim that the bodhisattvas who can penetrate the Śūramgamasamādhi also penetrate the practices of all the paths (*sarvamārgacaryā*) and penetrate the śrāvakayāna, the Pratyekabuddhayāna and the Mahābuddhayāna.

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\(^{317}\)Here again, doubtless through inadvertence, Kumārajīva has omitted Subhūti We have in Tib la la na ni rab hbyor bzin du ṇon mons pa med par gnas pahi mchog tu gyur to

With the exception of Revata, the great śrāvakas given here as examples all appear in the third chapter of the Vkn, where I have devoted short notes to them The pre-eminent characters that characterise them are recorded in Anguttara I, p 23 sq

The early texts mention no less than ten Revatas, but the one concerned here is certainly Kankhā-Revata 'Revata the Scrupulous', proclaimed by the Buddha to be *aggo jhāyinam* (Anguttara I, p 24, 11) The Udāna, p 60, tells us in what circumstances 'Near the Jetavana of Śrāvasti, Revata, seated with his legs crossed and his body straight, was contemplating that purity which was his and which consisted in having overcome scruples (attano kankhāvitaranavissuddhim paccavekkhamāno) The Buddha perceived him and uttered this stanza

\[
\begin{align*}
yā kāci kankhā idha vā huram vā 
sakavediyā vā paravediyā vā 
jhāyino tā payahanti sabbā 
ātāpino brahmacaryyam carantā
\end{align*}
\]

'The scruples which, in the present existence or in future existences, are experienced personally or felt by others, the meditators reject them all and, filled with zeal, practise pure conduct'

Before he reached arhatship, Revata was tortured by scruples We know from the Vinayas that these were of an alimentary kind he refused to eat, outside the time prescribed for meals (*vikkāle*), treacle (*guda*) mixed with flour (*kanena badhyamāna*) under the pretext that such a mixture constituted true food (*āmisa*), in the same way, he disapproved of beans (*mudga*) which had been grown on manure (*vaccas*) because, he said, they were already cooked, see Pāli Vinaya I, p 210, Mahiśāsaka Vin, T 1421, ch 22, p 147c (where Revata is replaced by Aniruddha), Sarvāstivādin Vin, T 1435, ch 26, p 185b 11-21; Mulasarv Vin in Gilgitt Manuscripts III, part 1, pp XI, 6 - XII, 19, and T 1448, ch 1, p 3a 13 - b 9
The Buddha replied: Yes, it is indeed as you say: the bodhisattvas who can penetrate the Śūramgamasamādhi also penetrate the practices of all the paths.

[Maṇjuśrī Identical to the Buddha Nāgavamsāgra]

158. Then the sthavira [644a] Mahākāśyapa said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, I claim that Maṇjuśrī kumārabhūta, in days gone by (bhūtapūrvam), in times long past (atīte 'dhvāni), performed Buddha deeds (buddhakārya), that he sat on the seat of enlightenment (bodhimanda), that he set turning the Wheel of the Dharma, that he taught beings and that he entered great Nirvāṇa.

159. The Buddha replied: It is indeed so, it is indeed as you say (etad evam etad yathā vadasi). In times long past, well before immense (aprameya), infinite (ananta) and inconceivable (acintya) asamkhyaṃ kalpas, there was a Buddha named Nāgavamsāgra 318 ‘Acme of the Dragons’ Race’, the Tathāgata, holy one (arhat), fully and perfectly enlightened one (samyaksambuddha), gifted with knowledge and conduct (vidyācāraṇasampanna), the Sugata, knower of the world (lokavid), incomparable leader of men, those beings to be tamed (anuttara purusadamayasārathi), instructor of gods and mankind (śāstā devānām ca manusyānām ca), the Buddha, the Blessed One (bhagavat).

In the southern region (daksinasyam disi), if leaving this universe here one traverses a thousand Buddha-fields (ito buddhaksetrad buddha-ksetrasahasrāy atikramya), there is a field called Sama 320 ‘Even’, devoid of mountains and rivers (apagataparvatanāda) devoid of sand, gravel and stones, without hill or hillock, even like the palm of a hand (sama pāṇitalajāta), yielding a tender grass (mṛdutrṇa) like the Kacilindika 321.

160. It was in that universe (lokadhatu) that the Buddha Nāgavamsāgra attained anuttarasamāyaksaṃbodhi, set turning the


319 A traditional formula to recall the appearance of a Buddha of the past. See below, § 170, and the references in Vkn, p.257, n.12.

320 In Tib. Miñam pa.

321 The Tibetan version renders these traditional epithets more literally: hjig rten gyi khams mñam pa žes bya ba ri dañordo med pa / boñ ba dañ gyo mo dañ gseg ma med pa / lag mthil ltar mñam par gyur pa / ka tsa lii hdi ka ltar reg na bde bahi rtsa hjam po skyes par gyur te; in Skt. Samā lokadhātār apagataparvatapāśano 'pagatałśakathalāśaṅkaraḥ samāh pāṇitālajātāh kācilindikasukhasāmsparśasamṛdutṛṇotpānnaḥ. See identical and similar epithets in Saddharmapuṇḍ., pp.144, 9 - 145, 1; 202, 2.
Wheel of the Dharma, ripened and won over seventy kotis of bodhisattvas. Eighty kotis of men became arhats and ninety-six thousand men were established in the doctrine of causality of the Pratyekabuddhas. The Buddha Nāgavamśa-gra had an immense assembly of śrāvakas in his following O Kāśyapa, his lifespan (ayuspramāṇa) was of four hundred and forty myriad years. When he

Regarding kā cilindika (var. kā cilindika), F. Edgerton has collated many references in Sanskrit (Dictionary, p 175b) as has Lin Li-kouang in Chinese (L Aide-memoire de la Vraie Loi, Paris 1949, pp 253-4 in the notes). The grass and wonderful flowers which grow in the paradises are often compared to the kā cilindika

La liavistara, p 82 20-21 karatalambhe bhūmihāge suvibhaktavistīrnanilatne mavāgraivasamhithe kā cilindikasukhasamsparse dharamitale samasthitah

Sukhāvattvīyūha, ed U Wogithara, p 88 10-12 tāni ca puspajātāni mṛdūni kā cilindikasukhasamsparsaṇi aupamamātreṇa yāni nikṣipte pāde catuśrangulam avanamanti utkṣipte pāde catuśrangulam evonnamati

Two glosses incorporated into the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna (T 721, ch 2, p 8c 5-7, ch 30, p 176b 6) define the kā cilindika as a bird of maritime islands. For Li Lin-kouang (loc. cit.) these glosses are due to a purely Chinese confusion with kalavinka, the name of a fabulous bird, the lovely voices of whose young are supposedly audible while they are still in the shell.

That the similarity of the Chinese transcriptions serving to render kā cilindika and kalavinka may have led to confusion is possible, even probable. However, we can bring into the discussion texts of Indian origin – and not only Chinese glosses – where kā cilindika does indeed indicate an aquatic bird.

I will limit myself here to quoting the Mahāyanist Mahāparinirvānasūtra (T 374, ch 8, p 414b 19-21, T 375, ch 8, p 655b 13-16, T 376, ch 5, p 889a 16-17). There are two kinds of bird, the Cha-lin-ti (kā cilindika) and the Yuan-yang (cakravāka, cf. Mahāvyut, No 4885) which, moving or standing still, stay in groups and never separate, equally, the dharmas duhkha, anitya and anāman never separate. A little further on (T 374, ch 8, p 415b 21-23) we read ‘These kā cilindikas and cakravākas, at the height of summer, when the waters are in spate, choose high streams and place their young in them to bring them up there, then, as before, they move about peacefully.’

The kā cilindika has a particularly soft down, that is why when a lawn, flowers, horses or even thoughts are soft they are called kā cilindikasādṛśa (Mahāvastu II, p 307, 2), kā cilindikamarūpama (ibid., pp 261, 2, 262, 4) or kā cilindikasukhasamsparsa ‘having the pleasant touch of the k’ (Lalita, p 17, 12, etc.)

It is also possible that the down or plumage of the bird served to make clothes, hence the expression mṛdukā cilindikapraṇeṇi (Mahāvastu I, pp 152, 16, 226, 10, II, p 29, 13) and the Tibetan translations like ka-tsa-lin-da-hi-gos (Mahāvyut, No 5879) where the adjunction of gos shows that clothing is definitely indicated.

I think that we can accept the explanations supplied by the Kashgaran Hui-lin (737-820) in his I ch'e ching yin i (T 2128, ch 19, p 423c 21-22). The wadding Cha-chên-li-na is also the name of the lovely bird, Cha-chên-li-ti-chia (Kā cilindika). Its body has a fine and soft down, and it is unusually light and beautiful, like wadding. This down is woven so as to make clothing or padding from it. The noble cakravartin kings alone use it as clothing. This type of bird exists at present, but it is not the one that concerns us, its plumage, coarse and unpleasant, is unfit for weaving. The noble cakravartin kings alone use it as clothing.

322 See above, § 149, n 303
had delivered gods and mankind, he entered Nirvāṇa. His bodily relics (śarīra) were distributed throughout the land; thirty-six koṭis of stūpas were erected over them which beings came to venerate. After the Parinirvāṇa of that Buddha, his Good Dharma (saddharma) lasted a further ten myriad years.

161. The Buddha Nāgavamsāgra, being on the point of entering Nirvāṇa, had given the prediction (vyākarana) to the bodhisattva Jñānaprabha323 ‘Brilliance of Knowledge’ and declared: ‘This bodhisattva Jñānaprabha, after myself, will attain anuttarasamyaksambodhi and will bear the name of Jñānaprabha’.

162. O Kāśyapa, do not start wondering if, at that time, the Buddha Nāgavamsāgra of the Samā Universe was none other [than Mañjuśrī]. Why? Because the present Mañjuśrī kumārabhūta was then [the Buddha Nāgavamsāgra]324.

163. Kāśyapa, now consider the might of the Śūramgamamasamādhī. It is through its power that the great bodhisattvas manifest:
1. the descent into the womb (garbhāvākṛanti),
2. the birth (janman),
3. the renunciation of the world (abhiniskramana),
4. the practice of the austerities (duskara-caryā)325,
5. the going to the tree of enlightenment (bodhivrksagamana),
6. the installation on the seat of enlightenment (bodhimandanisādana),
7. the victory over Mara (māradharsana)326,
8. the attaining of enlightenment (abhisambodhana)327,
9. the turning of the Wheel of the Dharma (dharmacakrapravartana),
10. the Mahāparinirvāṇa,
11. the disposal of the relics (śarīranikṣepa)328.

Nevertheless, those great bodhisattvas never abandon their bodhi-

323 In Tib Ye sës hod, a bs mentioned in Mahāvyut, No 691
324 As is his custom, Kumārajīva summarises a standard stock phrase used to identify persons from the past who come into the jātakas, see the references in Vkn, p 265, n 28 The Tibetan version makes it easy to reconstruct the original Sanskrit syāt khalu punas te Kāśyapaivam kānksā vā vimitr vā vicitrīkā vāvāvāha sa tena kālava tena samayena tasmin eva Samalokahātav Nāgavamsāgro nāmābhūt tathāgatah na khalu punas tvayā Kāśyapaivam drastavyam tat kasya hetoh sa eva Mañjuśrīh kumārabhūtas tena kālava tena samayena Nāgavamsāgro nāmābhūt tathāgatah ‘rhan samyaksambuddhah
325 According to the Tibetan version dkaḥ ba spyod pa
326 According to the Tibetan version bdud hdu l ba
327 According to the Tibetan version byan chub mnon par rdzogs par htshan rgya ba
328 This is a further summary of the requisite exploits of a Buddha, see above; § 7 at the end, § 21, Nos 96-100, § 123
sattva nature (bodhisattvadharmatāṁ notsrjanti) and, [even] in Mahāparinirvāṇa, they are not absolutely in Parinirvāṇa (atyantaparinirvṛtta).

164. Then the āyuṣmānt Mahākāśyapa said to Maṅjuśrī: Friend, you have accomplished a most difficult thing (atiduskara) by thus manifesting yourself to beings.

Maṅjuśrī replied: Kāśyapa, what do you think of this (tat kim manyase): who produced this Grdhakūṭaparvata and where does this universe (lokadhātu) come from?

Kāśyapa answered: Maṅjuśrī, all universes are produced like foam and they come from the inconceivable fruition of actions (acintyakarmavipāka) accomplished by beings\(^{329}\). [644b]

Maṅjuśrī said: All dharmas also come from the inconceivable fruition of actions. In this sphere, I do not have to make any effort (abhisamskāra). Why? All dharmas depend on causes and conditions (hetu-pratyayādhīna); not being independent (asvāmika) they are forged at will (vāthākāmaviṁśaṭa). Nothing is difficult (duskara) for him who has understood this. O Kāśyapa, for a man who has not seen the four Noble Truths (na drṣṭasatya) to hear these things and believe them, that is what is difficult. But for a man who has seen the four Truths (drṣṭasatya) and obtained the superknowledges (abhiñāprāpta) to hear this and believe it, that is not difficult.

[Appearance of the Buddhas of the Ten Regions]

165. Thereupon the Bhagavat, rising into the air to the height of seven palm trees (saptatalāmātram vaihāyasam abhyudgamyā), sat down cross-legged (paryāṅkam ābhujya nyaśidat) and emitted a radiance (avabhāsa) which illuminated the innumerable universes of the ten regions. The whole assembly saw the innumerable Buddhas of the ten regions who were all expounding the Śūramgamasamādhi, adding nothing and omitting nothing (anunānadhikam)\(^{330}\), and from afar the assembly heard them.

In their own turn the Buddhas of the ten regions, rising into the air to the height of seven palm trees, sat down crossed-legged and emitted a radiance which illuminated the innumerable universes of the ten regions. The beings of those universes also saw the Buddha Śākyamuni

\(^{329}\) According to traditional acceptance, the receptacle-world (bhājanaloka) is produced by the good and bad actions of all living beings; see Kośa II, p.288, n.1.

\(^{330}\) In Tib. lhag chad med cīn lhag pa med par, giving the Skt. anunānadhikam; cf. Lānkāvatāra, p.142,4.
sitting in the air, his legs crossed\textsuperscript{331}. Those assemblies took up flowers (\textit{puṣpa}) and, from afar, scattered them over the Buddha Śākyamuni. They saw those flowers join together in the air in the shape of a flowery parasol (\textit{puṣpacchhattra}).

The bodhisattvas of this universe\textsuperscript{332}, as well as the devas, nāgas, yakṣas, gandharvas, etc., also took up flowers and scattered them over those Buddhas [of the ten regions]. And, above the Buddhas, those flowers were transformed into a flowery parasol.

166. Then the Buddha withdrew the bases of his supernormal power (\textit{rddhipādān pratisamḥarati sma}) and resumed his original seat. He said to Drdhamati: That is the wondrous power (\textit{prātiḥāryabala}) of the Tathāgata. It is so that the virtues (\textit{guna}) of beings may increase that the Tathāgata manifests these things.

167. At the moment that the Buddha manifested his wondrous powers (\textit{prātiḥāryabala}), eight thousand devas and manusyas aroused the \textit{anuttarasamyaksambodhicitta}. And, as the instruction of the Śūramgamasamādhi came to an end, the bodhisattva Drdhamati and five hundred bodhisattvas obtained the Śūramgamasamādhi. They saw the prodigious power (\textit{vikurvanabala}) of the Buddhas of the ten regions; they obtained the light of knowledge (\textit{jiṇānāloka}) regarding the profound teachings (\textit{gambhīrādharma}) of the Buddha; they established themselves in the tenth stage (\textit{daśamā bhūmi}) and received the consecration of the Buddhas (\textit{buddhābhiṣeka}). The \textit{trisāḥsramahā-sāhasralokadhātū} shook in six ways (\textit{śaḍvikāram akampata}); a great radiance (\textit{mahāvabhasa}) filled the universe; a thousand myriad musical instruments (\textit{tūrya}) played simultaneously and, from the sky (\textit{upary antarikṣāt}), the devas showered down all kinds of flowers.

[Protection Assured to the Heroic Progress]

168. Then the Buddha said to Ānanda: Grasp, Ānanda, this Śūramgamasamādhi, remember, recite and expound it widely to others (\textit{udgrhnlśva tvam Ānandemāṃ Śūraṃgamasamādhim dhāraya vācaya parebhyaś ca vistareṇa samprakāśaya})\textsuperscript{331}.

Thereupon the Śakra Meruśikharadhara said to the Buddha:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{331} Through the supernormal power of the Buddha, the inhabitants of the Sahāloka see the beings populating the innumerable universes of the ten regions, and vice versa. This concerns a common wonder in the Prajñā literature; cf. Pañcavimsāti, p 12, 5-16, and its commentary in Nāgārjuna, \textit{Traité I}, pp.526-8.
  \item \textsuperscript{332} The Sahālokadhātū.
  \item \textsuperscript{333} This is a stock phrase, see Vkn, p.272
\end{itemize}
Bhagavat, the knowledge (jñāna) and mindfulness (smṛti) of Ānanda are limited (prādeśika)\(^{334}\), and the śrāvakas restrict themselves to repeating the words of others (parato ghoṣānuga); how can you entrust (parindātum) to Ānanda this jewel of the Dharma (dharmanatna) which is the Śūramgamasamādhi?

The Śakra Meruṣikharadhara [644c] then made this declaration of truth (satyavacanam akarot)\(^{335}\): If it is indeed true that, at the present time (pratyutpanne 'dhvani) and in future times (anāgate 'dhvani) ! shall propagate (upabrhmhayisyāmi) this Śūramgamasamādhi, may the trees (vrksa) covering the Grdhraṇītaparvata all change into bodhivrksas of the Buddha and, under each of them, may there be a bodhisattva.

Scarcely had the Śakra Meruṣikharadhara said those words than he saw all the trees as bodhivrksas and, under each one of them, a bodhisattva. All those bodhivrksas\(^{336}\) uttered the following words: What is said by the Śakra Meruṣikharadhara is the truth (satya): that man will widely expound and propagate the Śūramgamasamādhi.

169. Then the devas, nāgas, yakṣas, gandharvas, etc., with one voice said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, let us suppose that the Tathāgata were to remain alive for a whole kalpa, doing nothing but expounding the śrāvakayāna to mankind; let us further suppose that at each one of his instructions he were to win over as many beings as he won over during the first turning of the Wheel of the Dharma (prathamadharma-cakrapravartana)\(^{337}\). Well now, the beings won over (vīritasattva) by the instructing of the Śūramgamasamādhi would outnumber them still more. Why? Because the beings won over by the śrāvakayāna do not attain an hundredth part (satatamīm api kālam nopayanti) of that of the beings won over by the bodhisattvayāna, nor a thousandth (sahasratamīm api), nor a ten-thousandth (daśasahasratamīm api), nor an hundredth-thousandth (śatasahasratamīm api), and so on as far as (yāvat) do not bear numbering, or calculation, or comparison, or resemblance (saṃkhyām api gaṇanām apy upamām apy upaniṣām api)

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\(^{334}\) See above, § 137.

\(^{335}\) Cf. Saddharmapund., p.413, 8: satyādhiṣṭhānam karomi yena satyena satyavacanena...

Burnouf translated: ‘Je prononce une bénédiction de vérité et, au nom de cette vérité et par la déclaration de cette vérité... [I utter a benediction of truth and, in the name of that truth and by the declaration of that truth...].’ Also see Samādhirāja, p.464, 1-4.

\(^{336}\) Equally, in the Sukhāvativyūha, the bodhivrksa of Amitābha utter words (p.110 sq.). In the buddhakṣetras, Buddha deeds (buddhakārya) are carried out by countless means; see Vkn, pp.223-5.

\(^{337}\) Viz. the discourse at Vārānasi.
na ksamante)\textsuperscript{338}. This Śūramgamasamādhi possesses immense power; it can perfect beings and cause them to obtain the Buddha attributes.

[Identity of the Buddhas Śākyamuni and Vairocana\textsuperscript{19}]\textsuperscript{19}

170. Then the bodhisattva Drḍhamati asked the Buddha: Bhagavat,

\textsuperscript{338} Here again Kumārajiva translates in abridged form a stock phrase found widespread in the comparisons; see Āstāsāhasrikā, pp.231, 364, 370, 863; Pañcavimsati, p.39; Śatasāh., p.122; Vajracchedikā, p.46; Saddharmapuṇḍ., pp.333, 349: \textit{satatam} \textit{api} \textit{kalām} \textit{nopati sahasratam} \textit{api} \textit{sahasrasatam} \textit{api} \textit{kotita} \textit{api} \textit{kotisatam} \textit{api} \textit{kotisahasratam} \textit{api} \textit{kotisatasahasratam} \textit{api} \textit{koṭiniyuta} \textit{saḥatasahasratam} \textit{api} \textit{kalām} \textit{nopati saṁkhya} \textit{api} \textit{kalām} \textit{api} \textit{gananām} \textit{api} \textit{upamānām} \textit{api} \textit{aupamān} \textit{api} \textit{upanisām} \textit{api} \textit{upanisadām} \textit{api} \textit{na} \textit{ksamate}.

\textsuperscript{339} After having created 84,000 koṭinayutas of imaginary Buddhas, Śākyamuni, in § 18, declared them all to be as real and as unreal as himself, for all dharmas, Buddhas included, are only magical illusions and mirages. Further on, in § 126, he identified himself with the Buddha Sarvagnadharmasamādhiṣaṅkavikurvanaprabhārāja reigning over the Ekapradāpā universe in the zenith region. Here, he identifies himself with the Buddha Vairocanaśirmipratimandita-vikurvana[rāja reigning over the Pratimandita universe in the Eastern region.

The subject of the Pratimandita universe is dealt with at length in the Saddharmapuṇḍ., pp.423, 4-5; 427, 3-4; 457, 6, which designates it by its long title of Vairocanaśirmipratimandita ‘Universe adorned with the Rays of the Sun’.

In Ch.25, the Saddharmapuṇḍ. brings this universe into a jātaka which I will summarise briefly. In the most distant past, during the Priyadarśana kalpa, the Buddha Jaladararjitaṁghosa-susvaranakṣatrarājaśaṁkusumābhiṁja appeared in the Pratimandita universe. At the same time and in the same place reigned King Śubhavyūha whose wife Vimaladattā had given him two sons: the bs Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra. After having won over their parents, the two princes invited them to go with them to the Buddha Jaladharā... abhijñā. No sooner said than done: the Buddha instructed the court and the king, queen and two princes left home to take up the religious life. The Buddha Jaladharā... abhijñā predicted to King Śubhavyūha that he himself would become a Buddha with the name of Śālendrarāja, in the Vistirnavati universe, during the Abhyudgatarāja kalpa.

The \textit{samavādhaṇa} which ends the jātaka established the connection between the hero of the past and the persons of the present. The king Śubhavyūha of that period is the present bs Padmasṛi; the queen Vimaladattā is now the bs Vairocanaśirmipratimanditaḥvajarāja. As for the two princes Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra, they are at present represented by the bs Bhaisajyarāja and Bhaisajyasamudgata.

In Ch.23 of the Saddharmapuṇḍ., the Vairocanaśirmipratimandita universe in the Eastern region is again mentioned. At the time when Śākyamuni is expounding the \textit{Lotus}, this universe is ruled over by the Buddha Kamalalavimalaṅkṣatrarājaśaṁkusumābhiṁja. The bs Gadgadasvara, who is a member of his entourage, asks for and receives permission to go to the Sahāloka of Śākyamuni. The latter, questioned by the bs Padmasṛi, expatiates at length on the past and present of Gadgadasvara. Formerly, in the Priyadarśana kalpa, Gadgadasvara had made an offering of 84,000 precious vases to the Buddha Meghadundubhisvararāja reigning over the Sarvabuddhhasamārāṇa universe. At present Gadgadasvara, in possession of the Sarvarūpasamārāṇa samādhi, assumes various forms in order to teach the \textit{Lotus} in innumerable universes. He is particularly ‘the protector of creatures who are born in the Sahā universe and the Vairocanaśirmipratimandita universe’ (Saddharmapuṇḍ., p.434, 5-7, with the variant in n.10).

There is no doubt that the Eastern universe, Pratimandita ‘Adorned’, or Vairocana-
how long will your life-span be (kiyat tavāyuṣpramāṇaṃ) and after how long (kiyacciraṃ) will you enter definitive Parinirvāṇa?

The Buddha replied: Drdhamati, in the Eastern region (pūrvasyām disi) if, leaving this universe, one traverses thirty-two thousand Buddha-fields (ito buddhaṅkṣetrād dvātrimśaddhauṅkṣetrānātīkramana), there is a universe (lokadhātu) called Pratimaṇḍita340 ‘Adorned’: there can be found Vairocanarasmipratimaṇḍitantavikurvanarāja341 ‘Prodigious King adorned with Solar Rays’, the Tathāgata, holy one (arhat), perfectly and fully enlightened one (samyaksambuddha), gifted with knowledge and conduct (vidyācaraṇasampanna), the Sugata, knower of the world (lokavid), incomparable leader of men, those beings to be tamed (anuttara puruṣadhyānasārathi), instructor of gods and mankind (śāstā devānām ca manuṣyānām ca), the Buddha, the Blessed One (bhagavat)342. At the moment, he is expounding the Dharma343.

O Drdhamati, my life-span (āyuṣpramaṇa) is exactly the same as the life-span of that Buddha Vairocanarasmipratimaṇḍitantavikurvanarāja.

[Drdhamati asked]: Bhagavat, how long is the life-span of that Buddha Vairocanarasmipratimaṇḍitantavikurvanarāja?

The Buddha answered Drdhamati: Go and ask him yourself and he himself will answer you.

171. Then Drdhamati, through the supernormal power (rddhibala) of the Buddha, through the supernormal power of the Śūramgamasamādhī and also through the supernormal power of his own good roots raśmaṇḍitaṇḍita ‘Adorned with the Rays of the Sun’, to which the Śgs and the Lotus refer, is none other than the universe or paradise of the Buddha Vairocana. In his work on Barabudur II, Hanoi 1935, p.584, P. Mus attempts to show ‘that the aspect, name, emblem and activity of Vairocana denote an episode in Sakyamuni’s career’. A reading of the Śgs would have spared him the effort since, in § 172, Śakyamuni declares that the ‘Prodigious king inhabiting the universe adorned with the rays of Vairocana’ is himself. Besides, the Mahāvairocanasūtra clearly defined the relationship between Śakyamuni and Vairocana: Vairocana is the historical Buddha Śakyamuni, but idealised as the dharma-kāya ‘which is neither born nor dies’ (cf. R. Tajima, Étude sur le Mahāvairocanasūtra, Paris 1936, pp.47-8).

However, it would be to disregard completely the scope of the Mahāyāna to identify Śakyamuni with such and such a particular Buddha. Śakyamuni is not only identical to the Sarvagūṇa… prabhārāja of the zenith region (Śgs, § 126) and to the Vairocana… vikurvanarāja of the Eastern region (Śgs, § 172), he is identical to all the Buddhas, whose true suchness (tathāta) is an inconceivable ‘non-existence’ (see Śgs, § 18; Vkn, pp.238-42).

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340 In Tib. Rnam par snan ba.

341 In Tib. Rnam par snan mdzad hod zer gyis brgyan pa rnam par hphrul bahi rgyal po.

342 This is a stock phrase, see above, § 159, n.319.

343 Kumārajīva abbreviates. In Tib. we have de ltar bzhugs śin hshol gzung śin chos kyan ston to, which gives the Skt. tatra tiṣṭhātā dhiṛyate yāpayaṇa dharmam ca deśayati. Regarding this stock phrase, see Vkn, p.139, n.8.
(kuśalamūla), went in an instant (ekasminn eva kṣanalavamuhūrte) to the Pratimaṇḍitā universe and, having saluted the feet of that Buddha with his head (tasya bhagavataḥ pādau śirasābhivandya) and having circumambulated him three times (trispradaksinīkṛtya), he stood to one side (ekānte 'sthāt). Then he said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, how long will your life-span be and after how long will you enter Parinirvāṇa?

That Buddha replied: My life-span is exactly the same as the life-span of the Buddha Śākyamuni. O Drdhamati, if you want to know, my life-span will last for seven hundred incalculable cosmic periods (asamkhīye yakalpa) [645a], and it is exactly the same for that of the Buddha Śākyamuni.

Thereupon the bodhisattva Drdhamati experienced great joy and, having returned to the Saha Lokadhatu, he said to the Buddha [Śākyamuni]: Bhagavat, the life-span of that Buddha Vairocanaraśmi-pratimaṇḍitāvīkurvaṇaraśa will last for seven hundred asamkhīye yakalpas and he told me: ‘My life-span is exactly the same as the life-span of the Buddha Śākyamuni’.

172. Then Ānanda, having risen from his seat, having arranged his upper garment on one shoulder, having placed his right knee on the ground and having extended his joined hands in the direction of the Bhagavat, said to the latter (athānanda utthāyāsanād ekāmsam uttarāsaṅgaṁ kṛtvā daksīṇaṁ jānmanḍalāṁ prthivyāṁ pratiṣṭhāpya yena bhagavāṁs tenāṅjaliṁ praṇamya bhagavantam idam avocat): Bhagavat, as I understand the meaning of the Bhagavat’s words (yathāham, bhagavan, bhagavato bhāṣitasyārtham ājānāmi)344, I say that it is you, O Bhagavat, who are in the Pratimaṇḍitā Lokadhātu where, under a different name (anyena nāmnā), you bring about the welfare and happiness (hitasukha) of all beings.

Then the Buddha congratulated (sādhukāram adāt) Ānanda: Excellent, excellent (sādhu sādhu), it is through the power of the Buddha that you know that; that Buddha [Vairocanaraśmipratimaṇḍitāvīkurvaṇaraśa] is myself who, under a different name, expounds the Dharma in that [Pratimaṇḍitā] universe and delivers beings. Ānanda, this supernormal and prodigious power (rddhivīkurvaṇabala) is the might itself of the Śūraṃgamasmadhi.

Then the Buddha, addressing the bodhisattva Drdhamati, said to him: Hence it should be known that my life-span (āyuspramāṇa) will last for seven hundred asamkhīye yakalpas and that after that I shall definitively enter Parinirvāṇa.

344 See above, § 129, n.258
1. Longevity and Security

173. Then the whole assembly (sarvāvatī parsad), on learning that the life-span of the Buddha was so inconceivable (acintya), experienced great joy and, filled with astonishment (adbhutaprāpta), said to the Buddha: Bhagavat, the supernormal power (ṛddhibala) of the Buddhas is astonishing (adbhuta) and all their practices (caryā) are inconceivable (acintya). Even while, in this universe [the Sahā Lokadhātu], you manifest a very short (atihrasva) life-span345, in that universe [the Pratimandita Lokadhātu], your life-span lasts for seven hundred asaṃkhyeyakalpas! O Bhagavat, we would like all beings to have such an inconceivable life-span.

Then the Buddha said to Drdhamati: In all the kingdoms (rāṣṭra), villages (grāma), towns (nagara), provinces (nigama), dwellings (vihāra) and deserted places (aranya) where this Śūramgamasamādhi will penetrate, neither Māra nor the kin of Māra (marajātīya) will have a hold over it (avatāraṁ na lapsyante)346.

He further said to Drdhamati: If a master of the Dharma (dharmācārya) writes down (likhayati), studies (svādhyāya) or teaches (uddesiya) the Śūramgamasamādhi, he will experience neither fear nor trembling in the presence of human or non-human beings (manusyaṁ manusyaṁ antike no trasisyati na samtrasiyaṁ na samtrāsaṁ āpatisyate). Furthermore, he will obtain twenty kinds of inconceivable virtues (acintyagunavivesa).

345 The majority of sources assign to Śākyamuni a life-span of about eighty years. In an early stanza affirmed in both Sanskrit and Pāli, Śākyamuni, at the moment of his Nirvāṇa, confides to Subhadra:

Ekonatrimso vayasa Subhadra
yat prāvrajam kim kuśalam gavesi
paṇcasaṭad varsāṁ samādhiṁ kāṇi
yatāṁ cāham pravrajītah Subhadra.

‘I was twenty-nine years old, O Subhadra, when I left home in search of the Good; fifty years and more have gone by since I left home’.

This stanza is reproduced frequently; cf. Sanskrit Mahāparinirvāṇa, p.376; Avadānaśataka I, p.231; Dīgha II, p.151; Dirghāgama, T 1, ch.4, p.25b; T 5, ch.2, p.172a 16; Samyuktāgama, T 99, ch.35, p.254b; Mūlasarv. Vin., T 1451, ch.38, p.396c.

To my knowledge the ‘Sūtra of the Descent of the Bodhisattva’ (T 384, ch.2, p.1024a 17) is the only one to attribute eighty-four years of life to Śākyamuni.

For A. Foucher, La Vie du Bouddha, Paris 1949, pp.322-3, the Buddha in fact died at the age of sixty-five and not eighty.

346 This is a traditional expression; see Vkn, p.272, n.39.
2. Twenty Inconceivable Virtues

174. What are those twenty inconceivable (acintya) virtues?
1. Inconceivable merit (punya).
2. Inconceivable knowledge (jñāna).
3. Inconceivable wisdom (prajñā).
4. Inconceivable skilful means (upāya).
5. Inconceivable eloquence (pratibhāna).
6. Inconceivable light of knowledge (jñānāloka).
7. Inconceivable dhāranīs.
8. Inconceivable expositions of the Dharma (dharmamukha).
9. Inconceivable mindfulness (smṛti) and intelligence (mati), in conformity with the truth.
10. Inconceivable power of the superknowledges (abhijñābala).
11. Inconceivable penetration of the language of all beings (sarvasattvaniruktipraveśa).
12. Inconceivable penetration of the practices and aspirations of all beings (sarvasattvacaryāśayapraveśa).
13. Inconceivable vision of all the Buddhas (sarvabuddhadarśana).
15. Inconceivable ripening of beings (sattvaparipācana).[645b]
16. Inconceivable power over the concentrations (samādhikurvāna).
17. Inconceivable achievement of pure lands (kṣetraḥbhūnirbhāra).
18. Inconceivable beauty of shapes and colouring (samsthana-varṇaprasāda).
19. Inconceivable virtues (guna) and sovereign powers (vaśitā).
20. Inconceivable practice of the perfections (pāramitābhāvanā).

Such are the twenty virtues. Drḍhamati, whoever writes down (likhati) and studies (svādhyāyati) this Śūraṃgamasamādhī obtains those twenty kinds of inconceivable virtues (acintya-gunaviśeṣa). That is why, O Drḍhamati, whoever wants to obtain those advantages (artha) in this and future existences (ihāparajanmani) should write down, study, penetrate and practise this Śūraṃgamasamādhī.

3. Reaching Enlightenment347

175. Drḍhamati, the kulaputra or kuladuhitā who seeks

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347 The sands of Central Asia have delivered up to us the last folio of the Śgs, covering
enlightenment practises the six perfections for an hundred thousand kalpas. But whoever, hearing this Śūraṃgamasamādhi, would believe it, not be discouraged, not fear, not tremble [and not take fright], would surpass the former in merit and would even more quickly be established in supreme and perfect enlightenment. What can then be said of those who, after having heard it, would grasp, retain, repeat and expound it while applying every effort to it? (Dṛḍhamate, bodhyarthikah kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā kalpaśatasahasresu śatpāramitāḥ carati. yaś ca khalu punah śūraṃgamasya samādheḥ saha śravanenādhimucyeta nāvaliyan nottrasen na saṁtrasen na saṁtrāsam āpadyet⁴⁴⁸ sa eva bahutaraṁ punyaskandham prasavati⁴⁴⁹, kṣiprataṁ niryāty anuttarāyāṁ samyaksambodhau. kah punar vādo yaḥ śrutvodgrhiṇīyād dhārayed vācayet parebhyā uddiśed⁵⁰ bhāvanāyogam anuyuktāḥ).

4. Confident Faith

176. The bodhisattva who, having heard of the inconceivability of the Buddhas, does not want to fear and does not want to tremble, the bodhisattva who wants to know though personal experience all the Buddha attributes, without relying on the teaching of others, that bodhisattva, say I, should cultivate the Śūraṃgamasamādhi. The bodhisattva who, on hearing teachings not heard before, wants to believe them and does not want to reject them, that bodhisattva should listen to the Śūraṃgamasamādhi (bodhisattvena tathāgatācintikatāṁ śrutvānuttarasitukāmenāsamtrasitukāmena, bodhisattvena parato ghoṣam aniśritya sarvabuddhadharmānāṁ prayātmajñānam anugantukāmena śūraṃgamasamādhir bhāvayitavyāḥ. bodhisattvenāśrutapūrvān dharmān śrutvādhimoktukāmena na niksāptukāmena śūraṃgamasamādhīḥ śrotavyāḥ).

§§175-178 of the present translation. It is a mutilated folio abounding in Prakritis (duhitā for duhitā, oliyet for avaliyyet, imasmin for asmin), even mistakes (sattväni for sattvās; abhūṣit for abhūṣit or abhūt). This fragment, from which the Chinese and Tibetan versions differ considerably, has been published by A.F.R. Hoernle, Manuscript Remains I, Oxford 1916, pp.125-32. The edition is followed by a Sanskrit conjectural rendering and a translation into English based on the Tibetan version: a highly approximative translation, the inaccuracies of which result in part from a lack of familiarity with the traditional stock phrases. [† see Foreword, p.xiv sq., and R.E. Emmerick, The Khotanese Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra.]

I have tried here to reconstruct a Sanskrit text as close as possible to Kumārajiva’s Chinese version.

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. Vajracchedikā, pp.33, 20; 37, 9-10.
⁵⁰ Cf. ibid., p.43, 17-19.
[Final Conversions]

177. While the Śūraṃgamasamādhi was thus being taught, innumerable beings aroused the thought of supreme and perfect enlightenment; more numerous were those who were established in the irreversible stage; yet more numerous were those who obtained the certainty of the non-arising of dharmas. Eighteen thousand bodhisattvas acquired the Śūraṃgamasamādhi; the minds of eighteen thousand monks and nuns were, through detachment, delivered from their defilements\(^{351}\); twenty-six thousand upāsakas and upāsikās obtained the pure Dharma eye without dust or stain regarding dharmas; thirty nayutas of deities entered into the noble certainty (asmiṃ śūraṃgama-
samādhau nirdīṣyāmāne 'prameyānāṃ sattvānāṃ anuttarāyām samyak-
sambodhau cītāṇi utpannāni\(^{352}\), apramāṇatārā ye 'vaivartikabhūmau pratiśthitāḥ. apramāṇatārāḥ ca yeśām anupattikadharmaśāntiḥ pratiśabdhaḥ\(^{353}\). aṣṭādaśānām bodhisattvasahārasānām śūraṃgama-
samādhīḥ pratiśabdhaḥ. aṣṭādaśānām bhikṣubhikṣunīsahasrānām anupādāyāsravebhyāḥ cītāṇi vimuktāni\(^{354}\). śādvimśatīnām copāsako-
pāśikāsahasrānām virajō vigatamaṇḍhō dharmaśu dharmacaksur viśuddhaṃ\(^{355}\). trimsatīnām ca devanayutānāṃ niyāmāvaktantir abhūṣīt).

178. Thus spoke the Bhagavat\(^{356}\). Transported with joy, Mañjuśrī kumārabhūta, the bodhisattva Drdhāmati, the other great-being bodhisattvas, the great disciples and the world with its gods, humans, demons and gandharvas praised the words spoken by the Bhagavat (idam avocad bhagavān. āttamanā Mañjuśrīḥ kumārabhūtah sa ca Drdhamatir bodhisattvas te cānye bodhisattvā mahāsattvās te ca mahāśravakāḥ sadevamanusyaśaṣṭraṇgharvaḥ sa ca loko bhagavato bhāṣitam abhyanandann iti)\(^{357}\).

\(^{351}\) The Chinese translation adds: ‘and became arhats’, a gloss which does not belong to the traditional formula.

\(^{352}\) Cf. Sukhāvativyūha, ed. Wogihara, p.154, 5-6; Saddharmapuṇḍ., p.456, 8.

\(^{353}\) Cf. Sukhāvativyūha, p.154, 4.

\(^{354}\) Cf. ibid., p.154, 2-3; Saddharmapuṇḍ., p.179, 17.

\(^{355}\) Cf. Sukhāvativyūha, p.154, 1; Saddharmapuṇḍ., p.471, 4. Other references in Vkn, p.26 in the notes.

\(^{356}\) Before this conclusion, the Tibetan version introduces a long partly versified passage (Tib. Trip., Vol.32, pp.96-8, fols 338b 8 - 344a 1). Without a doubt, it did not belong to the original edition; see above, § 21, n.43.

\(^{357}\) This is the customary conclusion at the end of Mahāyāna sūtras; see Vkn, p.273, n.43.
SYNOPSIS OF FORMULAS AND STOCK PHRASES

Not all these formulas and stock phrases have always been translated literally and in full by Kumārajīva

atha khalu bhagavāms tam āryābhavhisamskāram (tān āryāhipādān) punar eva pratisamharati sma, 119, 233.
atha khalu buddhas tasyām velāyām mahāpurusālakṣānād bhṛūvivarāntarād ārñākośāt prabhām pramumocaa, 172.
idam avocad bhagavān, āttamanāḥ ... sadevamānuśā-suragandharvaś ca loko bhagavato bhāsitam abhy-anandann iti, 241.

utthāyāsanād ekāmsam uttarā-sangam krāvā daksīnām jānu-māṇḍalam prthivyām prati-ṣṭhāpya yena bhagavāms tenāñjaliṃ pranamya bhagavantam idam avocat, 110, 237.
udgrhnīśva tvam Ānandemām dharmapāryāyam dhāraya vācyaya parebhyāsā ca vistareṇa samprakāśaya, 233.
ekapudgalo loka utpadyamāṇa utpadyate bahujaṇahitāya bahujaṇasukhāya lokānukampāya arthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanusyānām. katama ekapudgalah. tathāgato 'rhan samyaksambuddhah, 165 n.
evam ukte bhagavāms tasya ... sādhukāram adāt, sādhu sādhu ... evam etad yathā vadasi, 117, 168, 201, 208, 211.
evamṛūpam rddhyabhisamskāram abhisamskaroti sma, 116, 161, 227.

kāh punar vādo ya imām dharmapāryāyam śrutavadhimoksyany udgrahisyaṃti dhārayisyantī vācyisyantī paryavāpsyantī parebhyo vistareṇa sampra-kāṣayisyantī bhāvanākāreṇa prayokinante (and similar formulas in the indicative and optative), 114-15, 201, 240.
grāma-nagara-nigama-janapada-rāstra-rājadhānyah, 131, 200, 208, 215, 238.

caturvidham iryāpatham kalpayati tadyathā caṅkramyate tiṣṭhāti nisidati sayyām kalpayati, 131.
tac chrṇu (tena hi śṛṇu) sādhu ca susṭhu ca manasikuru. bhāsiṣye 'ham te, 113, 199.
tatra «...» nāma tathāgato 'rhan samyaksambuddhas tiṣṭhāti dhiṛyatī yāpayati dharmān ca deśayati, 236 and n.
tathāgatasya parinirvṛtasya paścime kāle paścime samayē paścimāyāṃ paṅcaśatyaṃ vartamānāyāṃ, 178.
tuṣṭa udagra āttamanāḥ pramuditaḥ pritisuṃnamany-atatosya, 200, 232
teṣāṃ ... anuttarāyāṃ samyaksambodhau cintāy utpāditāni, 241.
teṣāṃ ... anupādāsravebhṛyaś
SYNOPSIS OF FORMULAS AND STOCK PHRASES

cittāni vimuktāni, 241.
teśāṃ ... virajō vigatamalām dharmesu dharmacaksur viśuddham, 241.
nottrasyati na samtrasyati na samtrāsāṃ āpadyate, 201, 238.
nāvaliyan nottrasen na samtrasen na samtrāsāṃ āpadyet, 240. nottrasitavyaṃ na samstrasitavyaṃ na samtrāsāṃ āpattavyaṃ, 168, 199.
pratibhāti me, bhagavan; pratibhāti me, sugata. bhagavān avocat: pratibhātā tu ... yasyedānim kālaṃ manyase, 149.
prṛchā tvam tathāgataṁ arhantam samyaksambuddham yad yad evākānksa. aham te tasya tasya praśnasya vyākaraṇena cittām ārādhayaisyे, 110.
prṛcheyam aham bhagavantam arhantam samyaksambuddham kāmciḍ eva pradeṣaṁ sa cen me bhagavān avaḵāsam kuryāt prṛṣṭaprāśnāvyākaraṇāya, 110.
bahujaṇahitāya bahujanaṁsukhāya lokānukampāyai mahato jana-kāyasyārthāya hitāya sukhāya devānaṁ ca manusyaṁāṇām ca, 112.
bhūtaṇuṛvām atīte 'dhvany asam-khyeyaiḥ kalpair asam-khyeyataraṁ vipulair apra-meyair acintyais tebhyas parena paratarena yadāsit tena kālena tena samayena « ... » nāma tathāgato 'rhan samyak-sambuddho loka udapādi vidyācaraṇasampannaḥ sugato lokavid anuttarāḥ puru-ṣadamyārathāḥ śāstā devānāṃ ca manusyaṁāṇām ca buddho bhagavān, 229, 236.
yathāham bhagavan bhagavato bhāṣitasyārtham ājānāmi, 237.
lābhā naḥ sulabdhā yad ..., 171, 216.
śatatāmīṃ api kālāṃ nopaṇī sahasrataṃ api śatasahastaratām api koṭiṣahastaratām api koṭiṣahasrataṃ api koṭīṣatasahastaratām api koṭiṇiyutasaṭasahasrataṃ api kālāṃ nopaṇī saṁkhyāṁ api kālāṃ api gaṇaṇāṁ api upaṇāṁ api upaṇiṣaadām api na kṣaṁate, 234-5 and n.
saptatālamātāṁ vaiḥāyaśas abhyudgataḥ, 189 and n., 232.
sādhu bhagavann iti ... bhagavataḥ pratyaśrauṣṭāt, 113.
syāt khalu punas te ... evam kāṅkṣā vā vimatir vā vicikitsā vāνyāḥ sa tena kālena tena samayena tasminn eva « ... » lokadhātau « ... » nāmābhūt tathāgataḥ. na khalu punas tvāyā « ... » evam draṣṭāvyam. tat kasya hetoh. sa eva « ... » tena kālena tena samayena « ... » nāmābhūt tathāgato 'rhaṇ samyaksambuddhaḥ, 231 n.
INDEX

Abbreviations: B.(s) = Buddha(s); bs(s) = bodhisattva(s); emp. = emperor; w. = worked.

abandhyacaryā, infallible career of the bs during the last 5 bhūmis, 141 n.

Abhidharma, 24, 54

abhijñā, supernormal powers, penetrations, 19, 21, 26, 28, 29, 36, 123, 127, 139 n, 140 n, 143 and n, 146 n, 161, 163, 197, 206 n, 221, 232, 239.

abhijñānābhiṣṭā (for abhijana-bhiṣṭā ?), universally known, 107, 109.

abhinīṣkramaṇaḥ-sāmpad, accomplishment of leaving the world, 148 and n; see also Great Departure

Abhirati, universe of the B. Akṣobhya, from which came the bss Vimalakirti and Matyabhimukha, 8, 47, 52, 168 and n, 170 n.

abhisamāskāra and ābhoga, activity and effort. In the first 6 bhūmis, the bs, multiplying his efforts, perceives objects (nimitta), in the 7th, ‘not without activity or effort’, he no longer perceives objects (sābhisaṃskārāḥ sābhoga nirnimittavihāraḥ), as from the 8th, his activity occurs spontaneously, without activity or effort, since it is no longer disturbed by objects (anabhisamaskāraṇābhogavihāra), 135 and n, 140 n, 141 n, 150, 188 n. 232.

abhiṣėka, consecration bestowed on a crown prince and a bs of the 10th bhūmi, 149 and n, 156 and n, 227 and n, 233; abhiṣe-kāvasthā, state of consecration, 142 n.

Acalā, immovable stage (8th bs bhūmi), 109 n, 141 n, 180 n, 185 n, 188.

A-chê-shih wang (T 626: Ajātastrakaukṛtyavinodana). tr. by Chih Ch’an, 61, 62.

A-ch’u fo kuo ching (T 313: Akṣobhyatathāgatasya vyūha), tr. by Chih Ch’an, 39, 63, 64.

acintyagunavisesa, 20 inconceivable qualities characterising the propagandists of the Śgs, 42, 238-9.

acintyārṣabha, acintyavimokṣa, inconceivable might of the bss, 122 n, 162.

adhicittavihāra, place of higher thought (3rd bhūmi), 140 n.

adhimukti, aspirations, voluntary adherence, 145 n, 200; dharma-śūnyatādhammako, adherence to the emptiness of dhammas, 226.

adhimukticaryābhūmi, stage of the practice of adherence preceding the bhūmis proper, 140 n, 142 n, 190 n.

adhiprajñāvihāra, abode of higher wisdom (bhūmis 4 to 6), 140 n.

adhiśīlavihāra, abode of higher morality (2nd bhūmi), 140 n.

adhiṣṭhāna, supportive power, supernormal action, 158 n,
167-8, 172, 174, 178, 180 n, 188, 191, 196.

adhyāśaya, high resolve to be of benefit and happiness for beings, 140 n, 142 and n, 212.
adhyayāsana, invitation to teach the Dharma (addressed by the devas to the Buddha), 157-8 n.
ādiraściaiopama, like someone whose head and clothes were on fire, 187 and n.
advayābhijñā, knowledge of non-duality, due to which the Buddha creates fictitious beings, 167.
Ajātaśatrūkṛtyavinañadanā, 52, 59, 61, 62, 63.
Ajita, 7.
ākāra, 100 aspects of the Śgs, 45, 119-27.
Ākāśa, king of the past (jātaka of Mañjuśrī), 189 n, 215 n.
ākāśasasama, like space, 123, 164.
akṣaṇa, 8 unfavourable conditions of existence, 180, 187.
akṣara, svara, nirukti, syllables, sounds and expressions: are baseless and like an echo, 167-8.
Aksobhya, 8, 52, 168, 170 n.
Aksobhyataḥgatasya vyūha, 39, 52, 63, 65.
Amidism: attested at an early date in sūtras such as the Pratyutpannasamādhi, Amitābhasūtra or Sukhāvatīvyūha, but with hardly any influence on Madhyamika-inclined Mahāyāna sūtras, 49-51.
Amitābhavyūha, 40, 50; see also under Sukhāvatīvyūha.
An-ti, emp. of the Tung Ch’in (396-419), 95.
anabhisamkāra and anābhoga, absence of effort, 47, 123, 135 n.
anāgāmin, he who is no longer born in the Kāmadhātu: the 3rd āryapudgala, 202-3 n, 205 n, 217 n, 222; occupies the Vītarāgabhūmi, 221 n.
Ānanda, disciple: 184 n, 194 n; attendant of the B, 126 n, 209 n, 227; foremost of the learned among the śrāvakas, 4, 209 n, 227; but not among the bss, 4, 209 n, 210-11 and n; questions the Buddha about his smile, 191; about the value of offerings, 193-6; congratulates Māra, 196; entrusted with disseminating the Śgs, 233-4; recognises the identity of the B’s. Śākyamuni and Vairocana, 237.
Anantagunañāratnavyūharaja, B. of the past, 190 n.
Anantagunañasmudramati, bs, 108. ānartarya, the five offences of immediate fruition: he who is blameworthy of them has more chances than the arhat of reaching sambodhi, 223.
Anāvaraṇadharmacakrapraṇavarta, bs, 108.
aṅga, the 9 or 12 limbs of the writings, 211 n.
Aniruddha, disciple: foremost of those who possess the divine eye, 227.
anulomikā kṣānti, 199 and n.
anupadiṣṭha-jñāna, untaught knowledge: part of the exclusive qualities of the bss, 110 and n.
Anupāda, universe, 189 n, 215 n.
anu-pattikadharma-kṣaṇī, see kṣaṇī, adherence, certainty. Its importance in the earliest Mahāyāna sūtras, 41.
aparāntakoti, final limit (of Samsāra), 111, 122.
apara-prāṇeṣya or aparapratyaya, independent of others, 110 and n.
apramāṇacitta, four infinite states (maitrī, etc.), also called brahmavihāras, 44, 139 n, 140 n, 142-3, 144 n, 162, 174, 226.
apratisthāna, absence of a (metaphysical) base, 166-7 and n.
apratisthitanirvāṇa, 207 n.
arha: see isvastreścārya.
arha, holy one, 18, 21 241 n; inferior to the bs, 205 n, the highest of the āryapudgalas, 217 n, 222; occupies the Kṛtāvibhūmi, 219 n, 221 n; has destroyed impurities (kṣīna-sravaka), but will never attain sambodhi, 223. arhatphalapratipannaka, candidate to the arhat fruit, 217 n.
ārūpyadhātu, 13, 18, 29.
Āryadeva, 40.
āryapudgala, 8 and 20 classes of noble individuals possessed of the four fruits of the religious life (srāmanyaphalaprāpta) or candidates to those fruits (phalapratipannaka), 216-17 n; contradictory conduct of the bss when they manifest themselves in the form of āryapudgalas, 216, 221-2.
āryavyavahāra, noble modes of speaking, 222 and n.
Āśaikṣa, 18.
asamkhyeyakalpa, incalculable periods in the bs career, 122 and n, 123, 126, 165 n, 190 n, 191, 221, 237, 238.
āśaya and prayoga, good dispositions and effort: characteristics of the level preceding entry into the bhūmis, 139-40 n, 142 and n.
āsravakṣayajñāna, knowledge of the destruction of impurities (proper to the arhat), 121 and n.
aṣṭamaka, 8th-level holy one, 37, 43; occupying the lower level in the āryapudgala scale and still designated in both Vehicles by the name of prathamaphalapratipannaka, 217-20 n, 221 and n.
ātmāmiyāgrāha, belief in a self and what belongs to a self, 134.
ātyantinirdhā, complete cessation: not sought by the bss, 111, 218 n.
avadātavasana or grha-stha, lay person, 132.
avavartika, irreversible: epithet most often applied to the bss of the 8th bhūmi (avaivartya-, avavartika-, acala-bhūmi), possessed of the irreversible certainty (avaivartikaksānti-pratilabdha), but can also be applied to the bs on his entry into the bhūmis or again at the
preparatory stage, 42, 43, 109 and n, 147 n, 180 n, 185-6 and n, 212-3 n.

avaivartikabhūmi, avaivartyabhūmi, irreversible stage (8th bhūmi), 109 n, 141 n, 185-6 n, 241.

avaivartikadhartmacakra, irreversible Wheel of the Dharma, 199, 200.
Avaivartikadharmacakrapavartaka, bs, 107.

avaropitakusalamūla, having planted good roots, 109, 112, 171, 184, 191, 201.

dvenikadharma, exclusive qualities: of the bs, 44, 110 n; of the Buddhas, 123 n.

avinipātadharman, free from falling into bad destinies (epithet used in both Vehicles), 186 n.

avivartacaryā, avivartanacaryā, irreversible career of the bs (bhūmis 8 to 10), 141 n.

bhauśruta, learned: Hinayānist definition, 208-9 n; Mahāyānist definition according to Mañjuśrī, 209-10.

bala, power. The 10 Tathāgata-balas presented as aspects (ākāra) of the Śgs, 120-2 and n; The 10 bodhisattvabalas, various lists, 224-5 and n.

bhadrakalpa, auspicious period during which 1,000 Buddhas appear, 169 and n; these have all received the great prediction, 190 and n.

Bhadrakalpika, 76.
Bhaiṣajyāraja, B., 190 n.
Bhaiṣajyāraja and Bhaiṣajya-samudgata, two bs in the Saddharmapuṇḍarika, 235 n.
Bhāvanākramas of Kamalaśila, 55, 101.

bhāvanāmārga, path of meditation, 16, 17; practised in the 2nd to 10th bhūmis, 140 n, 217 n.

bhavatrayadoṣadarśin, aware of the defects of the threefold existence, 129.

bhūmis of the bs, 10 in number. Not mentioned by certain Mahāyāna sūtras (Aṣṭasāhariṣārika p.p.; Vimalakīrtinirdeśa); the Śgs and Large Prajñās fix their number at 10, but do not give them names; the traditional titles (Pramuditā, etc.) apparently fixed by the Daśabhūmika, 43, 119 n., 144-5 n, 218 n. In the Śgs, the bhūmi teaching still lacks precision, but this sūtra posits a preliminary stage to the bhūmis, 43, 139-42. It knows that the completion of the 6 pāramītās occurs during the first 6 bhūmis, 143. It correctly attributes the perfection of skilful means (upāyakauśalya) to the 7th bhūmi, but attributes to the latter the accession of the bs to the anulomikī and anutpattikadharmakṣānti as well as the great prediction (mahāvyākaraṇa) conferred by the
Buddhas, 143-5. It attributes to the 8th bhūmi samādhīs which are commonly assigned to the 10th, but admits that the achievement of the buddha-kṣetra derives from the 8th bhūmi, 145-7. It accepts only a restricted number of perfections in the 9th bhūmi, 147-8. It considers the consecration (abhiseka) as the main characteristic of the 10th bhūmi which it calls Tathāgatabhūmi, 124, 149, 227, 233.

bhūmis common to the three Vehicles (sādhāraṇabhūmi): Śuklavidārasanabhūmi, etc. Mentioned in the Large Prajñās, 218 n. Their interpretation by Haribhadra and the moderns (E. Obermiller, E. Conze), 219 n. Their interpretation by the Upadeśa, 220-1 n.

bhūtakoṭi, limit of reality, 121.

Bhūtasvara, bs, 108.

Bodhicaryāvatārapaṇḍikā, 2.

bodhicitta, thought of enlightenment, 10, 23, 24, 34, 36, 111, 117, 155, 172, 176, 177, 189, 204, 224; differentiated according to the good dharmas with which associated, 109 n, 140 n, 142 n; enough that a single being arouses it for all to arouse it since the thought is identical among all, 177; profitable even when aroused with wrong or self-interested intention, 178-9.

bodhimanda, seat of enlightenment at Bodh-Gayā conceived as purely idealised place, 3, 112, 195-6 n, 211, 229.

bodhipākṣikadharma, 37 auxiliaries of enlightenment, 128.

Bodhisattvas, discouraged: 200 discouraged bss wish to renounce sambodhi so as to enter Nirvāṇa directly, 212-13; on Mañjuśrī’s intervention, they renew their high resolve, 223-4.

bodhivrksa, tree(s) of enlightenment, 231; they expound the Dharma, 234.

bondage and deliverance: mere mental illusion, 175.

Brahmadevas of the eastern region: some instigate the bs Śākyamuni to leave home, others consider him already a Buddha, 157-8.

brahmasvararutaravitā, marvelous Brahmā voice, 135.

brahmasvaravikridana, being at ease with sounds of Brahmā, 120 and n.

brahmavihāra, the 4 Brahmā abodes: see apramāṇacitta.

buddha: main actions in the feat of the Buddhas, 112, 126, 197-8, 231; ‘real’ B., identical to ‘fictitious’ B., 10, 117-18; not born, non-existent in the present and future, not composed of mahā-bhūtas, skandhas, āyatanas and dhātus, equal among themselves, do not swerve from universal tathatā,
117-19; great sea of knowledge, 159; Buddha attributes no different from attributes of worldlings (prthagjana), 164; no call to distinguish the bodily marks (laksanānuvyañjana) of the B’s, 165; the B’s do not go to Nīrāṇa, they are free of arising and cessation, the absence of arising, duration and destruction constitutes the appearance of the B’s, 165-6; their creative power rests on nonduality and the absence of a base (apratiṣṭhāna), 166-7; only they are able to confer the prediction, 182; the world of the B’s no different from that of Māra, 192; exploits of the B’s in the Heroic Progress, 197-8; B. sarvajña, sarvadarśin, satyavādin, tattvavādin, 214.

Buddhabhumisūtrasāstra, 38.

buddhaksetra, Buddha-field, 3, 7, 27, 107, 113 and n, 123, 130, 141 n, 147, 169, 171, 172, 182, 199, 200, 226, 229, 236.

buddhānusmṛti, recollection of the Buddhas, 14, 50, 126; can be obtained by Pratyutpānna-samādhi or direct visualisation, 146-7 n.

buddhatva, samyaksambuddhatva, Buddhahood (rendered in Chi. by fo-tao), 114 and n, 126, 155.

buddhavihāra, domain of the B’s, 138.

cakravartin, see rāja cakravarti.

caraṇotkṣepāṇe caraṇāvikṣepāṇe ... , whether the foot is raised or lowered, 137.

caryā, practice: the bs eliminates them all (samucchinnasaratvasattvacarya, sarvacaryāsamatikīrtā), 134.

caryāpariṣodhana, purification of practices, 113.

caryāpratipattibhūmi, stages of the accomplishment of the practices (bhūmis 2 to 7), 140 n.

Catalogues, Chinese, of translations of Buddhist texts, 56-7.

Caturdārasamādhi, 39.
cāturdvīpaka, universe with 4 continents, 150, 197.
caturogha (or caturyoga), fourfold flood of defilements, 133 and n.

Chandaka, Śākyamuni’s charioteer, 148 n.

Chang Fu, governor of Ch’in-chou, under the Hsi Chin, 81.

Chang Lien, cogn. Shao-an, assistant to Chih Ch’an, 59, 60, 62, 63.

Chang T’ien-hsi, prefect of Liangchou under the Ch’ien Liang: in 373, collaborated in a trans. of the Śgs which was immediately sent to Tao-an, 1, 90-3.

Chao Hsiao, functionary under the Ch’ien Liang who, in 373, brushed a trans. of the Śgs, 91.

Ch’ao jih ming ching (T 638: Suvarṇaprabhāsasamātikrānta-samādhi), tr. by Chu Fa-hu and revised by Nieh Ch’ēng-yüan, 80.

Ch’eng-ti, emp. of the Tung Chin (325-342), 68, 89, 90.
Chien-pei ching (T 285: Daśabhūmika), tr. in 297 by Chu Fa-hu and in 373 sent from Liang-chou to Tao-an, 92-3.

Chih Ch’an (Lokakṣema ?), w. between 179 and 189 under the Hou Han; in 186 made first trans. of Śgs, 1, 2, 57, 58, 59-65, 67, 68, 69, 73, 75, 81, 82, 85-8, 96.

Chih Ch’ien (Kung-ming or Chih Yüeh), w. between 223 and 253 under the Tung Wu: published between 222 and 229 a revision of the Śgs trans. by Chih Ch’an, xi, 1, 57, 58, 59, 66-72, 75, 81, 82, 85-8, 96.

Chih Liang, cogn. Chi-ming, disciple of Chih Ch’an and master of Chih Ch’ien, 67, 69, 70.


Chih Shêng (668-740), author of a ‘History of controversies between Buddhists and Taoists’, 63.

Chih Shih-lun, upāsaka who, in 373, collaborated on a trans. of the Śgs, 1, 58, 59, 90-3, 96, 100.

Chih Tun, cogn. Chih Tao-lin (314-366), Chinese śramaṇa under the Chin; author of a combined ed. of the Prajñās, 88, 90; praise of Chu Fa-hu, 77.

Chin shih tsa lu, see Chung ching lu.

Ching lun tu lu, catalogue compiled between 326-342 by Chih Min-tu, 56, 90.

ch’ing t’an, pure conversation, 89.

chinnabhājana, broken receptacle, cannot be used to transport liquids (simile), 223.

Chiu lu, ‘Old catalogue’ dating in its last form from the 5th C., 66, 81,

Chou T’i-li, assistant to Chih Ch’an, 60.

Chu Chiang-yen (or Lü-yen). Indian master under the Tung Wu, 69.

Chu Fa-ch’êng, disciple of Chu Fa-hu, 77, 78.

Chu Fa-hu, or Dharmarakṣa, w. under the Hsi Chin from 284 to 297; made a trans. of the Śgs under the title of Yung-fu-ting; certain catalogues attribute to him another Śgs trans., under the title of Shou-lêng-yen, probably in error, unless a preliminary outline, xi, 1, 2, 57, 58, 59, 74-80, 81, 82, 85-8, 96.

Chu Fa-i (307-380), specialist in the Lotus, 89.

Chu Fa-lan, śramaṇa under the Tung Wu, 69, 72.
Chu Fa-ta'i (320-387), disciple of Tao-an, 93.
Chu Fo-shuo (Chu Shuo-fo), collaborator of Chih Ch’an, 2, 59-63, 65.
Chu Shu-lan, w. between 290-307 under the Hsi Chin; in 291 made a trans. of the Šgs and, in 291 or 296, a trans. of the Vkn, 1, 57, 58, 59, 75, 81-8, 96.
Chu Tao-ch’ien, cogn. Fa-shên (286-374), specialist in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, 89, 90.
Chu Tao-tsu, disciple of Hui-yuan who in 419 completed the Chêng ching lu catalogue, 68, 73, 74.
Ch’u-tsai-huan ching ‘Sûtra dispelling calamities’, tr. between 254 and 260 by Po Yen of the Wei, 72.
Chuang-yen-p’u-t’i-hsin ching, 36.
Chung ching mu lu, collection of catalogues (Wei shih lu, Wu shih lu, Chin shih tsa lu, Hê hsi lu) begun on Mount Lu by a disciple of Hui-yüan, Tao-liu, and completed in 419 by Chu Tao-chu), 69, 73.
Chung-pên-ch’i ching (T 196), which inspired Chih Ch’ien in his Sanskrit hymns, 72.
cittotpāda, arousal of the thought of enlightenment, see bodhicitta.
Cunda the blacksmith, who offered the Buddha a meal before the Nirvāṇa, 195 n.
cūrṇa, perfumed powders: once mixed cannot be differentiated (simile), 137.
cyutypapādajñāna, knowing the succession of deaths and lives, 121 n.
dānapāramitā, perfection of giving, 128, 137, 155 n; transcendent and triply pure (tri-manḍalapariśuddhā), 206 n.
darśanamārga, path of vision of the Truths, 16, 17, 111 n, 143 n; for the bss, coincides with the 1st bhūmi, 140 n, 185 n, 217 n.
Darśaṇīya, medicinal tree healing the sick who see it, 136.
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deva, gods: various classes of, 5, 6, 9, 11, 157 n, 197.
Devakanyās, daughters of the gods. 700 converted by Māragocarāṇupalipta and, in turn, convert Māra, 6, 175-7. A group of 200 demand favours of Māragocarāṇupalipta before converting, 6, 51, 177-8. To all Śākaymuni gives the great prediction: they will be the B. Vyuḥarāja, 6, 50, 191. They make no distinction between the world of Māra and that of the B., 192.
dhāraṇī, dhāraṇīmukha, 33, 44, 107, 127, 225, 239.
Dhāraṇīśvararāja, bs, xv n, 108.
dharma, things, phenomena.
Absolutely non-existent: the same, 118; have no mark, 123; like an illusion, 124; impermanent, unstable and mutable, 129; eternally concentrated, 131; without distinctive marks, neither good nor bad, 134; consist of neither fulfilment nor changing and of a single flavour, mere perversions and free of duality, 156; non-arising, non-ceasing, like space, free of encountering, 164; essentially appealed, 166; have no sphere, place, inside, outside, or base, neither past, future nor present, 168; devoid of reverberation, avoid comparison and reconciliation, 168; cannot be gained without disadvantage, 171, neither bound nor delivered because they are eternally delivered because they are eternally delivered, 175, neither right nor wrong, neither actors nor reactors, 176; imprecise, 192; empty, unresisting, perishing from instant to instant, without aversion or affection, 226; dependent on causes and conditions, non-independent, forged at will, 232.
Dharma, Saddharma, the Good Teaching: dharmavamsa, lineage of the Dharma, 109; Dharmas of the Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas and Buddhas, 111; saddharmavipralopa, disappearance of the Good Teaching, 112, 214; saddharmaśārījāparigrahana, protection of the Good Teaching, 116; dharmamukha, exposition, religious discourse of the Dharma, 107, 123, 127, 135, 175, 198, 209, 239; dharmadeśanā, expounding of the Dharma, 121, 122, 125 and n, 136; dharmaratna, jewel of the Dharma, 159-60, 163, 234; dharmaprasāda, pure faith in the Dharma, 171.
dharmadhātu, fundamental element [or dharma-realm] (tr. in Chi. by fa-hsing), 113, 122, 123, 124, 129, 130, 131; dharmadhāturasa, flavour of the fundamental element, 156.
dharmakāya, 3, 53.
dharmānairāmya, 24, 40, 188 n.
dharmāṇusārin, pursuing the truth by means of the texts (a variety of prathamaphalapratipannaka or candidate to the srotāpanna fruit), 202 and n, 205 n, 219 n, 221.
dharmapada, phrases of the Dharma, 114.
Dharmarakṣa, see Chu Fa-hu.
Dharmasaṃgraha, 38.
dharmasūnyatā, emptiness of dharmas, 226.
dharmatā, nature of beings and things (equivalent to total non-
existence), 127 n, 192, 221.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra, cakravartin king, 190 n.

dhyāna, 10, 13, 14 sq., 27, 28 sq.
dhyānapāramitā, perfection of absorptive meditation, 131-3, 138.

dhyānavimokṣasamādhisamāpattijñāna: 7th tathāgatabala, 120 n.
divyācakṣus, divine eye, 121 and n, 146 n, 203 and n, 227.

Drḍhamati, bs: main questioner of the B. in the Śgs, xii, xv n, 6 sq., 45, 48, 108 sq.; obtains the concentration of Heroic Progress, 6, 233; goes to the Pratimāndita universe in an instant, 236-7.

Drḍhasthāna, bs, 108.

dṛṣṭa-sruta-mata-vijñāta, seen, heard, thought, known: expression denoting the whole field of experience, 175 and n.

dṛṣṭasatya, having seen the Noble Truths, 232.

dṛṣṭigata, kinds of false views, 40. 12 kinds (ātmadrṣṭi, etc.), 173. 62 kinds which, in the end, are no different than right views and are identified with deliverance, 176 and n.

dṛṣṭiprāpta, possessed of speculative views, 202 n, 205 n.

dṛṣṭisampanna, srotāpañña possessed of right view, 202 and n.

Drumakimnarājarāparicechā, 59, 61, 63.

durgati, 3 bad destinies, 171.

ekajātipratibaddha, bs of the 10th bhūmi, separated from Buddha-hood by only one existence, 34, 43, 197, 227.

ekapadodāhārena, ekavāgudāhārena, expressing everything in a single phrase, with a single vocal announcement, 123 and n. Ekapradīpa, universe, 4, 199.

Ekaratnacchattra, B. of the future, 8, 212.

Fa-chū (T 210: Dharmapada), tr. by Chih Ch’ien, 71.

Fa-hua or Chéng-fa hua (T 263: Saddharmapuṇḍarīka), tr. by Chu Fa-hu, 76, 77.

Fa-tu, grandfather of Chih Ch’ien, 69, 70.

Fa-ta, scribe at Lo-yang who copied, in 255, the Chinese trans. of the Astasahasrika p.p. made in 179 by Chih Ch’an, 60.

Fa-tao, Chinese expression translating samyaksambuddhatva; ch’èng-chiu fo-tao, anuttarā-
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Fu Chien, emp. of the Ch’ien Ch’in (357-385), 94.

Gadgadasvara, bs in the Saddharmapuṇḍarika, 235 n.
gambhiradharma, profound teachings (generally of the Great Vehicle), 107, 202, 204, 224, 233.
garbhāvākṛāntisampad, accomplishment of descent into the womb, for bs in the 9th bhūmi, 147-8 and n.
Ghaṭikāra (Tso p’ing), gods, 157 n.
ghoṣāṅuga, parato dharmaparyesin, mere repeater seeking to learn the Dharma from the lips of others (characteristic of the śrāvaka), 207.
Gopa (Gopi, Gopikā), companion or wife of Śākyamuni, 9, 53, 154-5 n; praises the cittotpāda, 9, 155; explains how she changed her female body to become the devaputra Gopaka, 9, 156-7 and n; makes known a small part of the Śgs, 9, 157-9.
gotra, clan: of the last 7 B’s, 148 n.
gotrasampad, accomplishment of the clan, for the bs of the 9th bhūmi, 147-8 and n.
Grdhrakūṭaparvata, mountain in Rājagrha, 3, 107, 193-4 n; transformed into pure earth, covered with bodhivṛkṣas sheltering bs, 9, 234.
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guḍhadharmakoṣa, secret treasures of the Dharma, 125.
Guṇaratnavyūhasamudramati, bs, 108.

Han lu of Chu Shih-hsing (220-264), a late and untrustworthy work, made to replace a lost 3rd C. original, 63, 64.
hema, rūpya, ratna, mani, muktikā, precious minerals and stones, 115.
hīnādhimuktikā, attached to inferior teachings, 109.
Ho Fang-kuang Kuang-tsan lüeh chieh ‘Brief explanation of two combined versions of the Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā (T 221 and 222)’, by Tao-an, 88, 92.
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Hsü-lai ching (T 328: Surataparipṛcchā), tr. about 256-260 by Po Yen of the Wei, 72.

Hsü-lai ching (T 329: Surataparipṛcchā), tr. in 373 by Chih Shih-lun, 92, 93.

hsüan-hsüeh, dark learning, 88.

Hsüan-tsang, 32, 33, 57.

Huan-ti, emp. of the Hou Han (146-168), 62, 63, 64, 70.

Hui-lin (737-820), Kashgarian, author of the I ch'ieh ching yin i, 230 n.

Hui-pien, śramaṇa and disciple of Tao-an, who stayed in Liang-chou in 373 and sent texts to his master, 92.

Hui-ti, emp. of the Chin (290-307), 78, 80, 81, 82, 86.

Hui-yüan (334-416), master of Lu, 68; his recollection of the B. by direct visualisation, 147 n.

hymns, in Sanskrit rhythmic phrases composed by Chih Ch’ien in praise of the bs, 72.

indriyaparāparajñāna, knowing the strength and weakness of the spiritual faculties of beings (5th tathāgatabala), 120 and n.

indriyaparāvrtti, change of sex, 121.


īśvastrācārya, master archer: trains to aim at ever smaller targets (simile), 139.

Jaladhagarjitaḥghoṣasvaramānakṣatrarājasamkṣumītābhijña, B. in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, 235 n.

janmasampad, accomplishment of the birth: for the bs in the 9th bhūmi, 147 and n.

jāti-jarā-vyādhi-maraṇa, birth, old-age, disease and death: purely fictitious for the bs, 131, 133.

jātyayandha, those blind from birth: love the stars but cannot enjoy their light (simile), 155; dream in colours which they do not see on waking, 203.

jñānapāramitā, perfection of knowledge: in the 10th bhūmi, 142 n.

Jñānaprabha, bs who bore the same name on becoming a B., 231.

Jñānaśūra, bs: received the prediction unbeknown, 190.

jñānavāsita, mastery of knowledge, 110.

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Jui-ying-pēn-ch’i (T 185: Kumārarājapūrvanimitāvadāna), tr. by Chih Ch’ien, 71.

kācīlindika, bird whose plumage could be used to make clothing, 229, 230n.

kālakāavyavalokana, distinguishing the opportune time and
the inopportune time, 121.

**kalpa**, cosmic period: reduced or increased subjectively, 121, 126; **mahākalpa** and **antara-kalpa**, long and short kalpas, 169 n; **bhadrakalpa**, auspicious period during which 1,000 B’s appear, 169, 190 n.

**kalyāṇamitrparighṛhīta**, protected by spiritual friends, 159, 201; **kalyāṇamitrasevana**, 225.

**kāmadhātu**, 9, 13 sq., 28.

**kāmagunaparicarana**, devote oneself to the 5 sense-objects, 129.

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K’ang Sèng-hui, w. from 247 to 280, under the Tung Wu, 69.

K’ang Sèng-yūan (c. 310-346), specialist in pure conversation and the characterisation of persons, 89, 90.

Kanṭhaka, Śākyamuni’s horse, 148 n.

Kao Kui-hsiang kung, emp. of the Wei (254-260), 73.

**karma jñānaprajñānuparivartti**, action in conformity with knowledge and wisdom, 123, 134-5.

**karman** and **karmavipāka**, action and fruition of action: objects of the 2nd **tathāgatabala**, 120; although the bs does not see the self-nature of actions or the self-nature of fruition, he teaches action and fruition to beings, 134.

Karunāpuṇḍarīka, 52.

**kaśāya**, 5 corruptions, 169.

Kāśyapa, see Mahākāśyapa.

Kāśyapaparivarta, 39, 62.

**kathikāvasthā**, sphere of the instructor: coincides with the 9th **bhūmi**, 142 n.

**kāyaparāvrṭti**, change of body, 156.

**kāyasākṣin**, bodily witness: a variety of **anāgāmin**, 202 and n, 205 n, 240 n.

**kāyavānmanahsamudācāra**, actions of body, speech and mind: the great bs do not perform them, 130.

**kāyavikurvanā**, bodily transformations, 122.

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kṛtacarya, having accomplished good actions, 184.


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kuśalamūla, good roots: *mokṣabhbāgiya*, leading to deliverance; *nirvedhabhbāgiya*, leading to penetration of the Truths, 140 n.

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mahābhaisajyāraja, great king of medicaments, 136.
mahābhūta, 4 great elements, 117.
Mahādharmaulkadharani, 153 n.
mahākarunācitta, thought of great compassion, 111.
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mahāvyākarana, great prediction: conferred in the 7th bhumi according to the Śgs, but in the 8th according to general opinion, 141 n. See vyākaraṇa.
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Maitrisampanna, a Brahmadeva, 10, 138.

māmsāda, carnivorous beings, 136.

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