USE OF THESES

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A Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Australian National University
August, 1979

by

Paul Harrison
This thesis is based on my own research carried out from 1976 to 1979 at the Australian National University.

[Signature]

Paula Harris
ABSTRACT

The present work consists of a study of the Pratyutpanna-buddha-sammukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra (hereafter: PraS), a relatively early example of Mahāyāna Buddhist canonical literature. After a brief Introduction (pp. xxi-xli), which attempts to place the PraS in its historical context, the major portion of the work (pp. 1-186) is devoted to an annotated English translation of the Tibetan version of the sūtra, with detailed reference to the three main Chinese translations.

Appendix A (pp. 187-252) then attempts a resolution of some of the many problems surrounding the various Chinese versions of the PraS. These are examined both from the point of view of internal evidence and on the basis of bibliographical information furnished by the Chinese Buddhist scripture-catalogues. Some tentative conclusions are advanced concerning the textual history of the PraS in China.

Appendix B (pp. 253-279) contains a study of the sole surviving fragment of the 'original' Sanskrit text of the PraS. This fragment is edited, translated, and compared with the corresponding portions of the Chinese and Tibetan versions.

Appendix C (pp. 280-327) consists of a Glossary of selected terms found in the PraS, and contains material drawn from all available translations of the work—the Tibetan, the three Chinese versions, and my own English rendering of the Tibetan—arranged according to Sanskrit equivalents and in Sanskrit alphabetical order. This Glossary is intended partly to act as an index to the text, and partly to facilitate further study of the Chinese translations.
TO JULIET
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For more than three years I have been the guest of the Australian National University and the Australian Government. The dissertation which follows is, as it were, the song that I have sung for my supper; I must therefore make it clear that its occasional lack of tunefulness is no reflection upon the generosity of my hosts.

My first personal vote of thanks must go to my supervisor at A.N.U., Prof. J.W. de Jong. He has constantly assisted and advised me, and has freely given me the benefit of his vast erudition. It is to him that I owe the suggestion that I should do research on the Pratyutpanna-buddha-sammukhāvasthitā-samādhi-sūtra, a text which, despite its unhealthily distended title, has certainly repaid all the effort I have spent upon it. Prof. de Jong has also looked over several drafts of this thesis, and has made many profitable suggestions and comments.

My joint-supervisor, Dr Tissa Rajapatirana, has been of great help to me, not least because he exemplifies many of the virtues which my sūtra with the monstrous title requires of householder-bodhisattvas. Having gone through the penultimate draft of the present work with a fine-tooth comb, Tissa then—with devotion above and beyond the call of duty—volunteered to proof-read the final copy. As the deadline drew near and my patience grew unreasonably short, he bore my agitated pestering with his invariable good humour, finishing the job as meticulously as he began it. He has been a good friend.

I regard it as one of the greatest pieces of good fortune in my life that my term here in Canberra coincided with that of Gregory Schopen, the well-known nightwatchman. At all stages in the preparation of this work he provided me with liberal amounts of advice and encouragement, and he has inspired me with his own critical approach to various aspects of Buddhist studies. I might also note that it was he who introduced me to the Tibetan language, and thus turned me loose on this branch of the discipline. I thank Greg for the generosity with which he always shared his ideas with me, despite the great difference in our ages and, of course, the language-barrier. With his original cast of thought and his backwoods turn of phrase, he offered me an amusing and stimulating friendship that is now sorely missed. Among the many things which I owe to his liberality are an appreciation of the range and suppleness of the word 'indeed', and the remarkably simple equianal system of character-analysis, which, I understand, is in constant
use among the natives of outback America. I have no doubt that Greg's moccasin-shod feet will make a great mark on the field of Buddhist studies, and that when he emerges from his present provincial obscurity he will do so trailing clouds of glory—and sawdust.

Wives are usually thanked at the end of acknowledgements as a kind of formal afterthought, although this is hardly fair. Throughout my three years in Canberra, especially during the last desperate dash for the finish line, Juliet has sustained me, repeatedly pulled me out of the slough of despond (only to see me stumble back in again), and even gone so far as to give up her chosen role of 'friend' to become more like a 'wife'. The present work is gratefully dedicated to her.

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Mention must be made of Miss Betty Kat, the guiding spirit of the Department of South Asian and Buddhist Studies. Combining the offices of secretary, go-between, keeper of the peace, mailman, confidante, and opponent on the tennis court, she has to an extraordinary degree smoothed the way for me and for many others. In my case she has had the added burden of witnessing that most distressing of human disappointments: the unfulfilled desire to receive mail.

I must also thank Mr John Minford, who, in proof-reading this thesis, exposed himself to dangerously high concentrations of my prose without a murmur of complaint or any apparent ill-effects.

For occasional help with various enquiries thanks are due to Prof. Liu Ts'un-yan, Dr Rafe de Crespigny, Dr Igor de Rachewiltz, Dr Ken Gardiner, Prof. Fujita Kōtatsu, Mr Tso Sze-bong, and Mr. Matsumura Hisashi.
PREFACE

It is in the second century of our era that we can discern the beginnings of a process which was to have a considerable effect on the subsequent history of East Asia, for it was around this time that India and China, the two great civilisations of Asia, first met and joined in a way that was culturally significant. The force which effected this conjunction, and which was later, for a time at least, to provide Asia with a semblance of cultural unity was, of course, Buddhism.

Originating in the Gangetic plain in the sixth century B.C., Buddhism had developed and diversified as it spread over India in succeeding centuries; by the beginning of the Christian era or perhaps even earlier it had given rise to a movement called the Mahāyāna, as well as many other schools or sects. In view of its later predominance in Tibet, China, and Japan, the Mahāyāna is nowadays accorded an importance which it may never have enjoyed in India. Nevertheless its rise and early history constitute one of the most significant riddles of man's religious past. It is difficult, for instance, to know whether it was a radical re-orientation of Buddhism, or whether it merely re-emphasised elements that the faith had possessed since the beginning. Some have even suggested a foreign origin for many of its distinctive ideas and practices. It is possible, however, that some of the questions raised by the Mahāyāna's development may be answered by reference to its first emergence in written records, namely, the appearance of its literature in China in the second and third centuries A.D.

It is not known when the first Buddhists reached China: Chinese history has preserved almost no mention of what must have been for a long time just another strange cult practised by a handful of foreigners, although there is naturally no lack of fanciful and pious legend to compensate for this silence. Only towards the end of the second century A.D. do real figures emerge from the mist. At this time the Kuśāṇa Empire held sway over Central Asia, and Buddhists of all persuasions had established themselves in the area. From settlements on the fertile rim of the Tarim Basin and from regions further west came increasingly greater numbers of missionaries to China, as the religion slowly spread from the small community of foreign merchants and envoys to the native Chinese themselves. The first Buddhist scriptures began to be translated into Chinese; what was at the outset no more than a trickle was later to turn
into a veritable flood. Although this tidal wave of religious writings bore with it very little of strictly literary worth, its effect in the end was to alter the face of Chinese culture beyond recognition. Nor was its influence confined to China: the cultural history of both Korea and Japan bears its unmistakable imprint.

Our concern here, however, is with the early period, during which some ten foreign missionaries—Parthians, Sogdians, Indians, and Indo-scythians—are known to have been working in the Chinese capital of Lo-yang towards the end of the second century, in the turbulent and bloody years preceding the final collapse of the Han dynasty. In this small group two figures stand out: the Parthian An Shih-kao, who arrived in Lo-yang in 148 and spent more than twenty years there translating works belonging to the Hinayana tradition; and the Indo-scythian Lokakṣema, who came to the capital around the year 167 and who is generally credited with the introduction of the Mahayana into China. As far as we can tell, Lokakṣema did indeed translate only Mahayana sūtras—about a dozen, according to the earliest sources. And to our great good fortune, nine of them appear to have survived—nine works which are undoubtedly some of the oldest surviving examples of Mahayana sūtra-literature, and which could conceivably provide us with a valuable means of investigating the early development of that important Buddhist movement.

A critical study of Lokakṣema's works with that end in view would have to begin with the authentication of those translations currently attributed to him, the touchstone for this operation being that work which is definitely his, viz. his rendering of the Astasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra, which can be used to determine the distinguishing characteristics of his style. The next step would be to understand Lokakṣema's translations, not at all an easy task, given the fact that the original obscurities of his works have been compounded by the vagaries of centuries of scribal transmission. For this purpose we would have to press into service the most intelligible surviving versions of the sūtras in question, in effect the Tibetan translations, since for all Lokakṣema's works except two the Sanskrit has been lost. For most texts, however, later Chinese versions also exist. In many cases it would be desirable to translate into English these later Tibetan or Chinese versions, which would have the side-effect of broadening the textual basis of current studies of the Mahayana. At the same time one ought to look at those sūtras known to have been translated by Lokakṣema but for which his translations have not survived. Relying where possible on other Chinese versions translated in the early period, one would still have to be
circumspect in their use, since we have no way of knowing how much a
given text might have changed, even in the short space of a hundred years.
Yet these texts cannot entirely be left out of account.

Having determined Lokakṣema's total œuvre and rendered it accessible
and comprehensible, one could then proceed to an analysis of its contents.
Here many questions suggest themselves. What kind of ideas do these
sūtras articulate? Which aspects of religious theory and practice do
they emphasise, and which do they presuppose? Are they doctrinally ho­
genous, or do they address themselves to a wide range of different or
even unrelated concerns? Do they permit us to draw any conclusions about
the ideas prevalent in Lokakṣema's own milieu, i.e. in the Mahāyāna
Buddhist communities of the Kuśāṇa Empire, or do they rather reflect the
pre-occupations of nascent Chinese Buddhism? Can one in fact distinguish
any of the factors influencing the selection of texts for translation
into Chinese? In what way do Lokakṣema's translations differ from later
versions of the same texts? Are there certain elements which consistent­
ly reveal themselves as later accretions?

In answering questions of this kind an examination of Lokakṣema's
translations is likely to yield much interesting information concerning
the early development of the Mahāyāna, but such a study should also bear
fruit in several other areas. In the first place, although the texts in
question were among the first Mahāyāna works to be translated into Chin­
ese, it does not necessarily follow that they were the first to be pro­
duced. An appreciation of the doctrinal content or even the structural
form of Lokakṣema's sūtras might enable us to see whether they presuppose
the existence of other works known to us, and whether other works in turn
presuppose their existence. If we were to succeed in discovering such
relationships between a given number of texts on the basis of internal
evidence, we would, it is to be hoped, be on the way to a clearer idea of
the chronology of Mahāyāna sūtra-literature—which hitherto has been de­
erved exclusively from Chinese translation-dates—and this in turn might
enable us to discern definite shifts and developments within the Mahāyāna
in general. Further, we might also be nearer to understanding the origin
and development of the Mahāyāna sūtra as a sacred literary form.

In addition, the linguistic aspects of the texts are far from un­
important. Recent work has shown that they contain a wealth of informa­tion
on the grammatical features of Late Han Chinese, and are far closer
to the spoken language than almost all the other surviving literature of
the period. To move in another direction, Lokakṣema's heavy use of trans­
literated proper names and technical terms should enable us to reconstruct, at least partially, the pronunciation of the original language of his texts, presumably some form of Sanskrit. On preliminary indications it is highly likely that they were written (or transmitted orally) in 'Gândhārī', the name given to the language of the Prākṛt Dharmapada found in Central Asia.

These are some of the many implications of an examination of Lokakṣema's translations for the study of the development of the Mahāyāna, its literary history, and the linguistic aspects of its propagation. It goes without saying that the project briefly outlined here would be attended by many difficulties and complicated by all sorts of obscure factors, but nevertheless one would hope to disengage from the surviving material at least some information that could confer on a largely disembodied set of ideas some semblance of historical development and evolution, and reveal Mahāyāna Buddhism as a growing and changing organism at an early stage of its life.

It is as a tentative first step in this direction that the present work has been conceived and put forward, for it contains an annotated English translation of the Tibetan text of the Pratyutpanna-buddha-sammu-khāvasthita-samāchī-sūtra (hereafter abbreviated PrāS), which was translated into Chinese by Lokakṣema in A.D. 179. Although Lokakṣema's version of the Aṣṭasāhasrika-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra is often referred to as 'the oldest Mahāyāna sūtra', it must at least share this honour with his version of the PrāS, since it is recorded that the two texts were translated, or more probably published, on the same day. Also the PrāS is the only other sūtra apart from the Aṣṭa of which a translation is unhesitatingly ascribed to Lokakṣema by Tao-an, earliest and most reliable of the Chinese Buddhist bibliographers. Therefore it must occupy a key position in any study of the Indo-scythian master's œuvre.

Except for one small fragment discovered in Central Asia, no complete Sanskrit text of the PrāS has come down to us—although it is not impossible that tomorrow the sands of Central Asia or the hills of Nepal may deliver up a complete manuscript. However, besides the version attributed to Lokakṣema we have three other Chinese renderings (two of them partial only) and a Tibetan translation dating from the early ninth century. Given the problematical and frequently obscure nature of Lokakṣema's early version, it is imperative that the substance of the work be made available to a wider scholarly public by means of an English translation of the Tibetan version. That is the basic purpose of the present work.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABBREVIATIONS AND WORKS CITED</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CORRECTIONS AND EMENDATIONS to The Tibetan Text of the</td>
<td>xx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratyutpanna-Buddha-Sammukhāvasthita-Samādhi-Sūtra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>xxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. TEXTUAL SURVEY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. GENERAL REMARKS ON THE CONTENT AND HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE</td>
<td>xxiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PraS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. THE STRUCTURE OF THE PraS</td>
<td>xxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. INTRODUCTION TO THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION</td>
<td>xxxvii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**THE PRATYUTPANNA-BUDDHA-SAMMUKHĀVASTHITA-SAMĀDHI-SŪTRA:**

**AN ANNOTATED ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE TIBETAN VERSION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 22 ........................................ 153
Chapter 23 ........................................ 156
Chapter 24 ........................................ 173
Chapter 25 ........................................ 180
Chapter 26 ........................................ 184

I. INTRODUCTORY ...................................... 188
II. THE TA-FANG-TENG TA-CHI-CHING HSIEIEN-HU-PEN (T.416) .................. 191
III. THE PA-P'O PU-SA CHING (T.419) .................. 195
IV. THE TWO REDACTIONS OF THE PAN-CHOU SAN-MEI CHING IN THREE CHUĀN ...................................... 200
1. Preamble: The Pan-chou san-mei ching in Three Chūān and the Pan-chou san-mei ching in One Chūān ...................................... 200
2. The Two Versions of the Pan-chou san-mei ching in Three Chūān: General Remarks ...................................... 203
3. Variant Readings Between the Two Versions ...................................... 204
4. The Nidāna ...................................... 208
5. The Gāthās ...................................... 209
6. The Two Redactions ...................................... 212
V. THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE PAN-CHOU SAN-MEI CHING IN THREE CHUĀN ...................................... 216
1. Introductory ...................................... 216
2. The Terminology of the Pan-chou san-mei ching and the Tao-hsing pan-jo ching Compared ...................................... 217
3. Conclusions ...................................... 228
VI. THE PAN-CHOU SAN-MEI CHING IN ONE CHUĀN (T.417) ...................................... 231
VII. THE TESTIMONY OF THE CATALOGUES ...................................... 236
VIII. TRANSLATIONS POSSIBLY RELATED TO THE PRATYUTPANNA-BUDDHA-SAMMUKHĀVASTHITA-SAMĀDHI-SŪTRA ...................................... 248
IX. CONCLUDING REMARKS ...................................... 250

APPENDIX B: THE SANSKRIT FRAGMENT OF THE PRATYUTPANNA-BUDDHA-SAMMUKHĀVASTHITA-SAMĀDHI-SŪTRA ...................................... 253

APPENDIX C: GLOSSARY ...................................... 280
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BHSG = ----, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar (New Haven: 1953).


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D = Derge (Sde dge) edition of the Tibetan Kanjur.


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KP = von Staël-Holstein, A., ed. The Kācyapaparipṛśa (Shanghai: 1926)


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L / Lhasa / Lhasa Kanjur = The Xerox Copy of the Lhasa Kanjur (Copy in the Library of the Australian National University).
Ligeti, L., Catalogue du Kanjur Mongol Imprimé (Budapest: 1942-44).
M = Majjima-Nikāya.
Mochizuki Shinkō, 望月信行, Jōdokyō no kigen oyobi hattatsu 菩土教の
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N = Narthang (Snar than) edition of the Tibetan Kanjur.
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P / Peking = Suzuki Daisetz T., ed. The Peking Edition of the Tibetan
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Honor of Herbert V. Guenther on His Sixtieth Birthday (Emeryville:
PCSMC = Pan-chou san-mei ching (i.e. T.418; the abbreviation PCSMC by
itself never refers to T.417)
PraS = Pratyutpanna-buddha-sammākhāvasathita-samādihī-sūtra.
---, Hanjuzaamakyo-ki (Kyoto: 1975).
---, 'Nembutsu to samma' bunkakyo, Okuda Jiro sensei kijun kinen Bukkyō shiso ronshū (Kyoto: 1976), pp. 889-896.
SCPPSL = Shih-chu p'i-p'o-sha lun (T.1521).
Sgs = Sūrāngama-saṁādhi-sūtra.
Shiio Benkyō, Bukkyō kyōten gaisetsu (Tokyo: 1933).
---, 'Hanjuzaamai to jōdōkyō', Hanjuzaamakyo no seiritsu (Kyoto: 1964), pp. 174-177.
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---, Shoki daijō bukkyō no seiritsukai (Kyoto: 1974).
Sukh = Ashikaga Atsuji 悔, ed. Sukhāvatīvyūha (Kyoto: 1965).
SYM = 'Three Editions', i.e. the printed editions of the Chinese Tripitaka of the Sung, Yüan and Ming dynasties.
T'ang Yung-t'ung 湯用彤, Han wei liang-chin nan-peī ch'ao fo-chiao 仏敎 南北朝佛教史 (Shanghai: 1938).
TCTL = Ta-chih-t'u lun (T.1509).
THC = Tao-hsing ching or Tao-hsing pan-jo ching (T.224).
Tib. = Tibetan.
Uryūzu Takao 羊毛隆雄 et al., Daizōkyō 大藏經 (Kyoto: 1964).
VKN = Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra.
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CORRECTIONS AND EMENDATIONS

to

The Tibetan Text of the
Pratyutpanna-Buddha-Sammukhavasthita-Samādhī-Sūtra

p.14, 1.26: 'jig rten pa---prefer reading of NPL (n.4): 'jig rten.
p.15, 1.27: 'jig rten pa---prefer reading of NPL (n.1): 'jig rten.
p.16, 1.1: 'jig rten pa---emend to 'jig rten (?)
p.21, 1.19: gnas pa dañ---prefer reading of NPL (n.1): gnas pa

p.30, 1.3: mñon gyi mtshan ma---prefer reading of N (n.14): mñon gyi

mtshan ma.
p.36, 1.28: 'byuñ ba---prefer reading of D (n.3): byuñ ba.
p.49, 1.20: 'chan bar---prefer reading of NPL (n.7): 'chad par.
p.49, 1.29: 'chan bar---prefer reading of NP (n.13): 'chad par.
p.50, 1.17: 'chan bar---prefer reading of NPL (n.4): 'chad par.
p.50, 1.18: de dag ni---prefer reading of NPL (n.6): de dag ni.
p.53, 1.18: noted noted---correct to 'not noted'.
p.60, 1.24: rtog pa mañ pa---correct to rtog pa mañ ba.
p.66, 1.6: byas pas 'gyur---correct to byas par 'gyur.
p.76, 1.25: med pa'i---prefer reading of NPL (n.4): med pa rnams kyi (?)
p.80, 1.19: tshol---emend to tshul (cf. n.23).
p.88, 1.16: sñam du---correct to sñam du.
p.103, 1.26: bcom ldan 'das la---emend to bcom ldan 'das las.
p.113, 1.5: bye ba khrag---correct to bye ba phrag.
p.113, 1.19: bskal pa bya ba---correct to bskal pa bya ba.
p.122, 1.23: rnams kyañ---emend to nam kyañ.
p.123, 1.23: pa spu---correct to ba spu.
p.151, 1.18: khyod kyis---correct to khyed kyis.
p.162, 1.15: nam mkha' la---correct to nam mkha' la ni.
p.170, 1.19: nus pa'i 'khor lo---correct to nus pa'i tshañs pa'i 'khor lo.
p.178, 1.3: between bar 'gyur ba'i and rgyu insert rgyu yañ dag par rjes

su mi mthoñ ste /.
p.189, 1.22: rnam grañs 'di---correct to rnam grañs 'dis.
p.193, 1.9: de dag lhan---correct to de dag dañ lhan.
p.193, 1.11: skyes ba---correct to skye ba.
p.199, 1.9: brgya---emend to brgyad.
p.221, 1.23: bstad do---correct to bstod do.
p.234 (Concordance) For T.416 24A correct 877a23 to 897a23, for 24B

correct 877b4 to 897b4.
INTRODUCTION

A. TEXTUAL SURVEY

The Praś, an early Mahāyāna sūtra first rendered into Chinese by the Indo-scythian Lokakṣema in A.D. 179, survives at present, either partially or in its entirety, in the following versions:

1. The Tibetan translation, made—or at least revised—circa A.D. 800 by Śākyaprabha and Ratnakṛṣita, and entitled 'Phags pa da ltar gyi saṅg rgyas mñon sum du bzugs pa'i tiṅ 'de 'dzin ces bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (=Ārya-pratyutpanna-buddha-sammukhāvasthita-samādhi-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra). It is found in the various editions of the Tibetan Kanjur (Bka' 'gyur), e.g.
   - Derge (Sde dge) Mdo Na 1 - 70b2
   - Narthang (Snar than) Mdo Tha 1 - 115a6
   - Peking Mdo Du 1 - 73a5
   - Lhasa Mdo Tha 1 - 106b4
   A critical edition of this Tibetan translation has been made by me and is now available as The Tibetan Text of the Pratyutpanna-Buddha-Sammu-khāvasthita-Samādhi-Sūtra, Critically Edited from the Derge, Narthang, Peking and Lhasa Editions of the Tibetan Kanjur and Accompanied by a Concordance and Comparative Table of Chapters of the Tibetan and Chinese Versions (Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series I)(Tokyo: 1978); hereafter referred to as Text.

2. T.14: Ta-fang-teng ta-chi-ching hsien-hu-fen 大方等大集經賢護分 (=Mahāvaipulya-mahāsāṃnipāta-sūtra-bhadrapāla-parivarta) in five chūan (Taishō Vol. XIII, pp. 872a-897c), translated by Jñanagupta et al. in 595 A.D.

3. T.17: Pan-chou san-mei ching 般舟三昧經 (=Pratyutpanna-samādhi-sūtra) in one chūan (ibid. pp. 897c-902c), falsely attributed to Lokakṣema. As this is a secondary abridgement of Redaction B of the following, it is generally not referred to in the notes to the translation. See Appendix A.VI.

4. T.18: Pan-chou san-mei ching 般舟三昧經 (=Pratyutpanna-samādhi-sūtra) in three chūan (ibid. pp. 902c-919c), to be ascribed to Lokakṣema with certain reservations. Two redactions exist: A, which is partial only, and is found in the Korean edition of the Chinese Canon, and B,
which is complete, and is found both in the 'Three Editions' and (in part only) in the Korean edition. The complicated relationship between these two redactions is discussed in Appendix A.

5. T.419: Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching (Bhadrapala-bodhisattva-sūtra) in one chüan (ibid. pp. 920a-924b). Anonymous, possibly Later Han or soon after. Partial translation only.


7. The Mongolian version, entitled Qutu-edüged-ün burgan ilede saysesamadi kemegdekü yeke kölgen sudur, appearing as No. 890 in the Mongolian Kanjur, Vol. 72 (Sūtra 13), 1-94a (see L. Ligeti, Catalogue du Kanjur Mongol Imprimé, p. 234). This version was made on the basis of the Tibetan translation. Although it would conceivably assist in understanding the Tibetan text, I have been unable to consult it.


9. A Japanese translation of T.417 appears in Sakurabe Hajime, Hanjuzanmaikyö-ki, pp. 47-71, accompanied by an edition of the text, pp. 73-98. This translation is also in the kundoku style.
B. GENERAL REMARKS ON THE CONTENT AND HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PraS

The PraS resembles the general run of Mahāyāna sūtras in being anonymous and of uncertain date. As is customary, it uses the traditional opening formula evam mayā स्रुतम्, etc., to establish itself as the authentic word of the Buddha as relayed through the prodigious memory of Ānanda. In the body of the text, however, this standard claim to authenticity is reinforced by an additional claim, namely, that Sākyamuni entrusts the Sūtra to a faithful core of five hundred followers headed by eight lay bodhisattvas under the leadership of Bhadrapāla (see Chap. 13). These five hundred stalwarts undertake to ensure that the Sūtra re-appears and is propagated in the world during the 'last five hundred years', a fact which probably places the publication of the PraS in the first century A.D. at the earliest. Since the text was first translated into Chinese in A.D. 179, we can tentatively date it sometime between then and the beginning of the Christian era; it is impossible to be any more precise.

The action of the Sūtra takes place at the Veputana in Rājagha during the reign of Ajātaśatru: the PraS is thus represented as a teaching delivered during the latter part of the Buddha's ministry. Elsewhere 1 I have already dealt with the principal ideas and practices featured in the text, relating them to some of the key themes of the Prajñāpāramitā literature. Since our Sūtra will be well able to speak for itself in the pages which follow, I do not intend to repeat myself unduly describing in detail the many ideas it contains. It will be enough to note here that in the PraS the Mahāyāna appears as a fully-developed movement, and as a set of concepts needing no special justification or defence; and this in what is supposed to be one of the earliest Mahāyāna sūtras! Although the Sūtra devotes precious little energy to criticising the old dispensation (i.e. the Hinayāna, a term which—significantly—is completely absent, although other less pejorative designations are found), what it is at pains to get across to its readers and hearers is the same attitude to phenomena that we find emphasised in the Prajñāpāramitā literature—namely, that all phenomena, or rather all dharmas (the basic factors of which phenomena are constituted) are empty (śūnya), that is, devoid of independent existence or 'own-being' (svabhāva). Since this is so, there is nothing which can provide a basis for 'apprehension' (upalambha), by which term is intend-

1 Harrison, 'Buddhānusmṛti'.

---xxiii---
ed that process of the mind which seizes on the objects of experience as existing things (bhāva), and regards them as possessing an independent and objective reality. The perception of existing things (bhāva-samjñā) is thus seen as the gravest of errors, in that it leads us to fixate on, and become attached to that which, as a mere construct of our own minds, should not form the basis of any sort of attachment whatsoever. And from this attachment springs all the suffering that characterises the existence of unawakened beings.

This emphasis on the emptiness or the unreality of all dharmas (sometimes referred to as the doctrine of dharma-nairatmya, literally, the 'selflessness of dharmas') is one of the principal thrusts of the Prajñā-paramitā, and of the Mahāyāna in general, and is often held to have been a reaction against the Abhidharma theories of the powerful Sarvāstivādin school. Unlike the Asta (now held to represent the earliest form of the Prajñāparamitā), which tends to articulate the theory of emptiness or Śūnyatā as a received truth, as something which needs only to be stated, not proved or demonstrated, the Praś approaches the question from the point of view of meditation-experience. It first underlines the fundamental unreality of the entities experienced during the Samādhi by comparing them with those things perceived in dreams or in the course of the 'meditation on the repulsive' (asubha-bhāvanā, here understood as a purely imaginary exercise), and then---often without any shift of focus being made explicit ---proceeds to emphasise the emptiness of all dharmas, i.e. those factors which supposedly constitute the basis of our experience in the waking state. The process, then, is one of generalisation, in which meditative discipline fosters an awareness of the emptiness of appearances which extends to all phenomena. In this regard we should, I think, note the important place occupied in our Sūtra by the four 'applications of mindfulness' (smṛtyupasthāna; see Chaps. 15 and 18), which suggests that, within the framework of Mahāyāna meditation, this traditional discipline played a key role in the actual development of the understanding that all dharmas are empty. One might also point out that this process of generalisation, when pushed to its logical conclusion, brings us to the so-called 'Buddhist idealism' of the Yogācārinās, i.e. the view that all appearances are purely the products of mind (citta-mātra), which is to be distinguished from the previous theory of emptiness, which is more in the nature of an epistemological scepticism. A trace of this 'idealist' view---in fact, one of its

---xxiv---

2 See particularly L. Schmithausen, 'Die vier Konzentrationen der Aufmerksamkeit', pp. 259-263, for the use of this practice by the Mahāyāna.
earliest formulations—is indeed to be found in the PraS (in the well-known statement of section 3L, q.v.), but it is not representative of the general tenor of the work. Rather, the attitude to phenomena propounded throughout the Sūtra is one that we might characterise as essentially Śūnyavādin, in that all its more philosophical passages are given over to arguments in favour of the understanding of emptiness; although the word 'philosophical' might lead us into error if we forget that here we have before us no mere exercise in sophistry, but rather a practical endeavour with a clearly defined soteriological purpose.

Turning now from these more general considerations, it is perhaps from this view of the equal nature of all phenomena, in whatever state they may occur, that the PraS arrives at what I believe to be one of its major concerns. As I have pointed out elsewhere, one of the main aims of the Samādhi that gives our Sūtra its name is to provide the practitioner with a means of translating himself into the presence of this or that particular manifestation of the Buddha-principle for the purpose of hearing the Dharma, which he subsequently remembers and propagates. It is difficult not to see this as a theoretical justification for the continuing production of Mahāyāna sūtras (or 'dharmas hitherto unheard'), and a bold one at that, in that it attempts to remove the necessity for claims to strict historical authenticity; further, there is certainly more than a suggestion here that meditation played a large part in the composition of Mahāyāna sūtras. But whatever the precise function of the pratyutpanna-samādhi itself, throughout the Sūtra we find a continuing emphasis on the related concepts of bahu-srutiya and dharma-bhānaka. In my translation I have given maḥ du thos pa (=bahu-srutiya) as 'great learning', even though this does not satisfactorily render the aural nature of the term. Strictly speaking, bahu-srutiya refers to the state of having heard much, or, more specifically, to having received a large amount of oral instruction from a teacher—often in the form of memorised texts. The term is quite traditional, but in the PraS, and possibly in other Mahāyāna works as well, the bahu-sruti (or 'one who has heard much', the 'greatly learned') denotes, I believe, particularly the one who has received and memorised Mahāyāna teachings. Insofar as he is bahu-sruti his passive aspect is emphasised;

3 Harrison, 'Buddhanusmrti', esp. pp. 52-54.

4 In this work the pratyutpanna-buddha-sammukhavasthita-samādhi is referred to as the pratyutpanna-samādhi, or just 'the Samādhi', and is thereby distinguished from the PraS as the text which propounds that samādhi. It should be noted that no such distinction is maintained in the Sūtra itself.
the term *dharma-bḥānaka* shifts the focus to his active function, i.e. as a transmitter of these teachings. *Dharma-bḥānaka* ('preacher of the Dharma') is an expression which occurs very frequently in Mahāyāna sūtras, in contexts which make it clear that the Dharma that is being preached is something that is new, not generally accepted, and subject to ridicule and abuse from other supposed followers of the Buddha. References in the Praś to precisely this state of affairs, and its repeated injunctions to respect and follow the *dharma-bḥānaka*, even to regard him with the reverence due to a Buddha, point to a period in the development of the Mahāyāna when the new teaching's credentials were not fully established. 

Along with the Śūnyavādin attitude to experience and those ideas relating to the revelation and propagation of new teachings, the third main element of the content of the Praś is that concerned with ethics. Much space is devoted to prescriptions for correct behaviour, with attention being given to the differing requirements of monks and nuns, laymen and laywomen. In fact this Sūtra, like certain others (e.g. the *Ugra-paripṛčchā*) is noteworthy for the importance it accords to lay followers of the Dharma. But at the same time 'going forth from the household life', i.e. entry into the Order as a bhikṣu or bhikṣuṇī, is also strongly emphasised, and in addition we find occasional mention of the spiritual advantages of life as a solitary recluse. In these discussions of the more outward aspects of behaviour, and elsewhere in the text as well, one comes across indications of the religious practices obtaining at the time of the composition of the Praś: for example, the worship of stūpas, the cult of *Amitābha*, the making of images of the Buddha, and the enshrinement of sacred writings. All these aspects of Buddhist practice appear even in the earliest form of the text, and reveal the Praś as a rich mine of inform-

5 On the role of the *dharma-bḥānaka* see Shizutani Masao, 'Hosshi ni tsuite' and 'Shoki no daijo kyōdan ni tsuite'.

6 In this connection see Yoshimura Shūki, 'The People of the Early Mahāyānistic Order'.

7 See Hirakawa Akira, 'The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism And Its Relationship to the Worship of Stupas'.

8 The Praś is well-known for containing the earliest mention of the Buddha *Amitābha/*Amitāyus; however, because of the later history of the text in China and Japan its Pure Land aspect has often been over-emphasised. For a lucid discussion of the relation of the Praś to traditional Pure Land ideas and the ways in which it differs from them, see Kagawa Takao, 'Hanjuzanmakiyō ni okeru jōdōkyō shisō'.

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-xxvi-
ation on the Mahāyāna in its initial phase.

The Praṣūtpanna-samādhi is, of course, a samādhi-sūtra, and as such belongs to the large group of Mahāyāna sūtras which purport to deal with various aspects of meditation-practice. Our Sūtra is perhaps one of the oldest examples of this type of literature, but despite its venerability there is no hard evidence that it ever enjoyed any great popularity in India. Although the Praṣūtpanna-samādhi is mentioned by name or referred to obliquely in a number of primary works, some of which are preserved in Sanskrit, the Sūtra itself is not, to the best of my knowledge, cited in any of the surviving Sanskrit compendia or treatises such as the Mahāyāna-sūtrālāṃkāra attributed to Asaṅga, Sāntideva's Śikṣā-samuccaya, or the first Bhāvanākrama of Kamalaśīla. However, several commentarial works which are ostensibly of Indian origin but are preserved only in Chinese refer to or quote from the Praṣūtpanna-samādhi—namely, the Ta-chih-tu lun

9 On the meditation-sūtras see in particular Akanuma Chizen, 'Sho-sanmai-kyōten', Chap. III of his Bukkyō kyōten shiron, pp. 388-422. A useful discussion of 'visualisation' texts, a sub-category of meditation-sūtras, can be found in Julian Pas, 'The Kuan-wu-liang-shou Fo-ching: Its Origin and Literary Criticism'. On the amalgamation of buddhanusmrti and samādhi characteristic of the Praṣūtpanna-samādhi and of visualisation-sūtras in general, see Sakurabe Hajime, 'Nembutsu to sanmai'.

10 See e.g. the Daśabhūmika-sūtra, p. 82, where we find the bodhisattva's samādhi called the pratyutpanna-sarva-buddha-sammukhāvasthita listed as one of the various samādhis realised by the bodhisattva who has attained the tenth bhūmi. According to the Sūtramantramu, however, the pratyutpanna-samādhi is obtained by the bodhisattva when he reaches the eighth bhūmi (see Lamotte, Marche Héroïque, p. 163).

11 The Ta-chih-tu lun (T.1509), ascribed to Nāgārjuna and translated by Kumarajīva in 404 or 405, is a voluminous commentary on the Pāṇचavimśati-sāhasrīkā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra. Part of it has been rendered into French by E. Lamotte under the title of Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse. In this massive compendium of the Mahāyāna, the pratyutpanna-samādhi is referred to several times, either directly as the pan-chou(-pan)-san-mei or indirectly as the buddhanusmrti-samādhi. The appearance of the Praṣūtpanna's chief character, the bodhisattva Bhadrapāla (Pa-t'o-po-lo-fo), also indicates that material from the Sūtra underlies the discussion. See e.g. 86c3-4 (cf. Traité I, p. 215); 110b9-19 (ibid. pp. 425-426; refers to section 3D of the Praṣūtpanna-samādhi is linked with anutpattika-dharma-ksanti).
and the Shih-chu p’i-p’o-sha lun 十住異楽沙論, both attributed to Nāgārjuna, and a commentary on the Sukhāvatī-vyūha-sūtra commonly known as the Ching-t’u lun 澤土論 or the Wang-sheng lun 往生論 (T.1524), attributed to Vasubandhu. But given the fact that these works are of doubtful provenance, they cannot be used to demonstrate conclusively that the PraS was ever known or used to any great extent in India, although they do indicate that it was accorded an important place somewhere in the Buddhist world—possibly in Central Asia.

The Shih-chu p’i-p’o-sha lun (T.1521), also ascribed to Nāgārjuna and also translated by Kumārajīva, is a 17-fascicle commentary on the Daśabhūmika which contains huge chunks of the PraS (and also much of the Ugra-paripṛcchā, another important early work). It first mentions the pratyutpanna-samādhi at 25c3-10 (where it is described as the 'father' of the Buddhas, mahākārūṇā being the mother in this instance); then at 54al; in the chapter on buddhanusmṛti (XX) at 68c8-2b, where the title of the PraS is explained; in the key chapter on buddhanusmṛti-samādhi (XXV), where much of the PraS is alluded to, paraphrased, or quoted directly—in particular: sections 3K (6b3-6), 3O (b6-15), 1A (b15-25), unidentified (b25-29), 1B (b29-c4), 1C (c4-6), 4D (c7-10), unidentified (c11-13), 16L-16P (c13-20), 16Q-U (c20-28), 11B-C (87a2-13), 9D (a13-18), 9B (a18-22), 9D (a22-b3), 9H (b3-17), 2D (b19-22), 2E (b22-26), 2F (b26-c3), 2G (c3-8), 2H (c8-13), 2I (c13-15), 7E-F (c18-68a2), 14C-I (a2-24), 23E-F (a24-b12; see also b12ff.); also at 109b7ff.; and at 116a10-26 (where sections 5A and 9F-G are quoted).

On the place of the pratyutpanna-samādhi in the thought of the author of the SCPPSL— whoever he may have been—see Haseoka Kazuya, Ryuju no jōdōkyō shiso, pp. 117-133; and for a detailed analysis of the actual material from the PraS cited in the SCPPSL see Shikii Shujo, 'Ryuju iyō no Hanjuzanmai-kyō'. Shikii found that the version of the PraS used by the author of the SCPPSL was very close to T.146, less close to T.149, and at quite some variance with the text as preserved by T.148. This confirms the tentative conclusion I arrived at in my discussion of the textual history of the PraS in China (see Appendix A) concerning the sequence of the Chinese translations. Much more work, however, needs to be done on the text of the PraS as it appears in the TCTL and the SCPPSL.

Note, however, Hirakawa's article on the authorship of the SCPPSL—'Jūjūbībasharon no chōsha ni tsuite'—in which he attempts to show that it and the TCTL were not composed by the same author.

It might be pointed out here that the PraS, or at least Jñānagupta's version of it (T.146), forms part of the great sūtra-collection called the Mahāsaṃnipāta. It is difficult to determine what significance this fact has, since so little is known of the compilation of the Mahāsaṃnipāta (as is also the case with the Natnakūta), but a Central Asian origin for these collections has been postulated. At any rate the PraS is certainly one of the oldest texts in the Mahāsaṃnipāta, and probably predates its formation by several centuries.
On the other hand, the PraS has certainly enjoyed considerable prestige in the Far East. Not only was it translated into Chinese several times, but many commentaries on it were composed, both in China and Japan; unfortunately nothing has survived of this secondary literature that goes back to the first millennium, with the sole exception of the Pan-chou tsan (T.1981), a poetic rhapsody on the PraS composed by Shan-tao (613-681) which has itself spawned a whole range of commentaries but which is of little use for reconstructing the early history of the Sutra. But despite the loss of the literature devoted specifically to the exegesis of the text, the PraS’s popularity amongst devotees of Amitābha and practitioners of meditation is well attested; particularly important in this regard is its explicit statement that the vision of the Buddhas can be accomplished without the possession of the 'divine eye' and other supernormal faculties (see sections 1Y and 3C): thus the benefits of the pratyutpanna-samādhi are available even to laymen who do not have the time to acquire such rare powers. Accordingly the first record of the PraS in use in China relates to Hui-yuān’s community on Mt. Lu around the beginning of the fifth century; there its teachings played a prominent part in the activities of the White Lotus Society, formed by Hui-yuān on Sept. 11, 402. This society comprised both monks and laymen, and was dedicated primarily to the worship of Amitābha and to rebirth in Sukhāvatī.

It is not my intention here to go into the subsequent history of the PraS in the Far East, its influence on religious practice, and its many appearances in treatises on meditation and Pure Land theory by such luminaries as Chih-i (538-597), Tao-ch’o (562-645), Shan-tao, Chia-ts’ai (floruit c. 627-649), Genshin (942-1017), and Hōnen (1133-1212). Others have dealt with various aspects of these thinkers’ use of the Sutra in their writings, and I refer the reader to...


16 See Zürcher, Buddhist Conquest, pp. 219-221. In Hui-yuān’s famous exchange of letters with Kumārajīva, the Ta-sheng ta-i chang 大乘大義章 (T.1856), the eleventh question-and-answer concerns the practice of the pratyutpanna-samādhi, with reference mainly to matters raised in Chap. 3 of the PraS—see Kimura Eiichi, ed. Eon kenkyū, Ibum-hen, pp. 34-36 (Chinese text) and pp. 164-169 (Japanese translation). See also Kenkyū-hen, esp. pp. 258-267, for a discussion of Hui-yuān’s approach to the pratyutpanna-samādhi and to buddhanusmrti.
their works\textsuperscript{17}. But before we return to the text itself it is worth noting that the Praś continues to be studied by Buddhists, and that the pratyutpanna-samādhi is still practised in the twentieth century.

C. THE STRUCTURE OF THE Praś

Despite the process of accretion and alteration which it has undergone, the Praś in its present form exhibits a certain coherence, and is better organised than many other examples of Mahāyāna sūtra-literature. As far as the overall structure of the Sūtra is concerned, there are two recensions, one represented by the Tibetan text, and presumably later, and the other represented by the Chinese versions (which themselves differ from each other in important respects), therefore presumably earlier. The two recensions diverge substantially only after Chap. 19, and where this occurs in the outline of the content of the text which now follows, the Tibetan recension is given on the left-hand side of the page, the Chinese on the right.

The Sūtra opens with a long nidāna (1A-I) describing the assembling of the Buddha's audience in the Venuvana outside Rājagṛha; pride of place is given to eight lay bodhisattvas, who arrive each from one of the eight major cities of the Buddha's world—first comes their leader, the householder Bhadrapāla from Rājagṛha, followed by Ratnakara from Vaiśālī, Guhagupta from Campė, Naladatta from Vārāṇasī, Susīma from Kapilavastu, Mahāsūrathavāha from Śrāvasti, Indradatta from Kauśāmbī, and Varuṇadeva from Śāketa. This neat narrative device serves both to confer a kind of universal validity on the Sūtra's teachings and to earmark them as especially significant for lay people.

\textsuperscript{17} For a general survey see Kawajiri Kösaī, 'Hanjuzanmaikyō ni tsuite (shutoshite jōdokyō ni okeru honkyō no ryūden)'; additional references may be found in Sakurabe Hajime, Hanjuzanmaikyō-ki, p. 1, n. 1. On the Praś in Chih-i's Mo-ho chih-kuan, see Kodama Daien, 'Hanjuzanmaikyō to Jūjūbibalakaron—Chigi no hanjuzanmai-setsu e no ichi-shikō', and Andō Toshio, 'Tendai Chigi no jōdokyō-hanjuzanmai kyōgaku no kansei to bann no kumon '. For the use of the Sūtra in Tao-ch'o's An-lo-chi, see Izumi Esō, 'Anarakushū-nembutsugi to Hanjuzanmaikyō'; for Shan-tao's Kuan-nien fa-men 観念法門, see Naruse Takazumi, Kannennémon ni inyō-sareta Hanjuzanmaikyō'; and for Genshin's Ōjōyōshū 往生要集, see Fugen Kōju, 'Ōjōyōshū ni okeru hanjuzanmai no tenkai'.
When everyone is present Bhadrapāla rises from his seat and, reciting a long list of personal attributes and abilities, asks the Buddha which samādhi a bodhisattva should practise in order to acquire them (1J-Y). After praising Bhadrapāla for asking the question (2A), the Buddha states that the samādhi required is the pratyutpanna-samādhi, which he defines as entailing a second long list of attributes and attitudes (2B-J). In Chapter 3 the Buddha goes on to give specific instructions for the practice of the Samādhi, while at the same time describing its nature by means of a number of similes relating mainly to dream-experiences; the vividness and yet the complete unreality of that which is perceived during the Samādhi are emphasised (3A-O). In Chapter 4 the Buddha outlines some of the practical and ethical prerequisites for the practice of the Samādhi (4A-E), while in Chapter 5 he stresses the need for reverence for the preacher of Dharma (5A), and describes the great efficacy of the pratyutpanna-samādhi, in terms both of its own results and of the other spiritual benefits which it makes possible (5B-E).

Chapter 6 deals with the considerable loss to be suffered by those future followers of the Buddha who will refuse to accept and practise the Samādhi (both the practice and the Sūtra-text itself, a customary ambiguity). Their immorality, their perversity in repudiating the Sūtra, and their maliciousness in deprecating it to others are described and illustrated by various similes, and they are unfavourably contrasted with the wise and virtuous elect, who will of course take up the teaching with joyful alacrity. Great is the merit to be derived from believing in this teaching, the Buddha solemnly avows to his audience (6A-J).

The Buddha continues to praise in the most fulsome terms the excellence of those who take up the Samādhi (7A-C), before returning in Chapter 8 to the practice of the Samādhi itself. Some quite philosophical or theoretical passages deal with various points of doctrine—relating mainly to the perception of phenomena—which the bodhisattva should attempt to internalise in his practice of the Samādhi (8A-K). Following this the Buddha outlines the qualities—moral, attitudinal, practical, social—required of the bodhisattva who has given up the household life (i.e. the Mahāyāna bhikṣu) and who wishes to cultivate the pratyutpanna-samādhi. Particularly emphasised are respect and affection for the preacher of Dharma (dharma-bhāṇaka) or 'good friend' (kalyāṇa-mitra) from whom the bodhisattva hears the Samādhi in the first place (9A-M). Subsequently the Buddha deals in turn with those things
required of the Mahāyāna bhikṣuṇī (10A-C), the householder bodhisattva, i.e. the Mahāyāna upāsaka (11A-D), and the Mahāyāna upāsikā (12A-C).

Bhadrapāla expresses his admiration for the Buddha's munificence in making such a profound teaching available, and asks if it will continue to circulate in Jambudvīpa after the Buddha's demise (13A). The Buddha replies that the Samādhi will disappear sometime after his Parinirvāṇa, but that it will re-appear in the 'last five hundred years' to be taken up and propagated by a few faithful souls (13B). Moved to tears of joy by this revelation, Bhadrapāla and his seven bodhisattva companions undertake to preach the Samādhi in the terrible 'last five hundred years' (13C-F). They are joined by five hundred other followers, who vow to assist them in this task and beseech the Buddha to entrust the Samādhi to the eight bodhisattvas (13G-H). The Buddha responds with one of his winning smiles (13I), and Ānanda, on cue as ever, asks in verse what the reason is for this (13J). By way of reply the Buddha recapitulates in verse, with certain elaborations, what he has just said in prose concerning the future of the Samādhi (13K). The eight bodhisattvas and their five hundred followers rejoice over these revelations, and show their appreciation to the Buddha, who regales them with a religious discourse, presumably for their ears only (14A).

Bhadrapāla then enquires after further prerequisites for correct practice, and the Buddha enumerates four (14B), after which he goes on to detail the many worldly advantages to be derived from the Samādhi, including the capacity to acquire, even in one's dreams, hitherto-unknown teachings (14C-J). Here follows the avadāna of the merchant's son Sudatta, who first heard the Samādhi from the lips of the Tathāgata Kṣemarāja and subsequently pursued it for many incarnations (15A-E). Sudatta is identified with the Tathāgata Dīpaṃkara (15F). Once again the Buddha solemnly advises his listeners to strive for the Samādhi, whose excellence, pre-eminence, and efficacy are underlined (15G-I). Further 'philosophical' passages follow, in which the correct practice of the four smṛtyupasthānas is related to that of the Samādhi, and various statements are made concerning the nature of phenomena and the proper attitude to them (15J-N). Before the verses which restate all this (15P) we find a 'false ending' to the text, in which the Buddha entrusts the Samādhi to the world and various beings realise various attainments (15O—-not found in the early Chinese translation).
In Chapter 16 the Sutra is enlivened by a dramatic interlude, in which the bodhisattva Bhadrapāla invites the Buddha and all his followers to lunch the next day at his house in Rāja-grha (16A-C), and then goes back into town with his seven companions to spend the night making the necessary preparations (16D-E). The next morning Bhadrapāla comes out to the Veṇu-vana to inform the Buddha that all is in readiness, whereupon the whole congregation makes its way into the city (16F). By magic the Buddha makes Bhadrapāla's house both big enough to accommodate everyone and transparent so that all the people of Rāja-grha can see in (16G). Lunch is consumed (16H), the Buddha delivers the customary after-dinner speech, and everybody returns to the Veṇu-vana (16I-J).

Bhadrapāla next asks the Buddha what things will enable the bodhisattva to acquire the Samādhi successfully (16K). The Buddha details another series of attributes, attitudes, practices, etc. (16L-V), and then recalls the prediction of his own awakening during the time of Dipamkara, the traditional story being considerably altered by the important place occupied in it by the pratyutpanna-samādhi (17A-B). Thus a kind of 'apostolic succession' is established for the teaching.

Bhadrapāla again asks how the bodhisattva should cultivate the Samādhi, and the Buddha in reply discusses the required understanding of 'all dharmas' and the proper attitude to them, with reference to the correct practice of the smṛtyupasthānas (18A-F). He also describes how the Buddhas are to be seen by the bodhisattvas (18G-K).

Chapter 19 contains further instructions on correct practice (19A-B), and lists eight dharmas which the bodhisattva engaged in the Samādhi will acquire (19C). All this is recapitulated in verse (19D).

In addition to these eight dharmas, the bodhisattva will acquire the ten powers of a Tathāgata (20A-K), the four assurances (21A-E), and the eighteen dharmas exclusive to a Buddha (22A-B).

At the beginning of Chapter 23 the Buddha propounds four acts of 'rejoicing' which a bodhisattva should formally rehearse with regard to the Samādhi (23A-D). The merit from this, which is to be 'turned over' to others for the sake of perfect awakening, is described as very great indeed (23E-F).
Another avadāna follows to illustrate the preceding material. King Viśeṣagāmin hears the Samādhi from the Tathāgata Simhamati and rejoices over it. After Simhamati's demise Viśeṣagāmin is reborn as Prince Brahmadatta, who hears the Samādhi again from the Tathāgata's disciple Ratna. Having heard it once only Brahmadatta becomes a bhikṣu and follows Ratna for many years, eventually becoming a Tathāgata himself; Brahmadatta's followers also become Buddhas. Such is the merit of their former act of rejoicing under Simhamati (23H-O).

The Buddha follows this tale with a solemn injunction to his listeners to go to any lengths to hear and practise the Samādhi, and once again emphasises the respect and obedience due to the preacher of Dharma, the good friend (23P-U). The avadāna of Brahmadatta is recapitulated in verse (23V).

A second avadāna, similar to that of Brahmadatta, is told, in which Śākyamuni appears as an unnamed king who attempts to hear the Samādhi from the bhikṣu Varuṇa after the demise of Varuṇa's master, the Tathāgata Satyanāma, but is thwarted by Māra. The Buddha then dwells on the supreme value of devotion to one's teacher, and the great merit to be derived from accepting such a Samādhi (23W).

The avadāna of the king who attempts to hear the Samādhi from the bhikṣu is recapitulated in verse, together with the accompanying material on devotion to the teacher and the value of the Samādhi (23X).

The Buddha then tells how the Samādhi should be preserved for future believers by being copied out and stored away. It is also to be sealed with the 'seal of the Tathāgatas', the figurative nature of which is explained (24A-B).

Further instructions on behaviour and attitude are given (24C-E; 24H-J; 25A-B), interspersed with more glorification of the greatness
and value of the Samādhi (24F-G; 25C-E; 26A).

Finally, the Buddha addresses himself to Bhadrapāla and his seven companions, their five hundred followers, and the rest of his listeners (26B). He entrusts the teaching to them twice (26C). He tells Bhadrapāla that the Samādhi is to be mastered and taught to others so that it will endure (26D).

As a result of the Buddha's preaching, various beings realise various attainments (26E). The Buddha addresses himself to Bhadrapāla and his seven companions, their five hundred followers, and the rest of his listeners (26B). He entrusts the teaching to them twice (26C).

He tells Bhadrapāla that the Samādhi is to be mastered and taught to others so that it will endure (26D).

When the Buddha has finished speaking, Bhadrapāla and the rest of the audience rejoice in the usual manner (26F).

In attempting to characterise in more general terms the way in which the Praś organises its material, three structural categories can, I believe, be erected. The first is historical, or, more accurately, pseudo-historical, and includes the description of events which take place before, during, or after the delivery of the teaching. The nidāna and parindanā may be placed in this category, as can the description of the future course of events. Such passages serve of course to provide the framework within which other material may be arranged, and as dramatic elements they also relieve the monotony of the work.

In the second category falls all that material whose basic purpose is advertisement, i.e. the glorification of the teachings themselves. This covers, by virtue of their general intent, all discussions of the perverseness of detractors and opponents and of the fate in store for them, all exhortations to accept, cultivate, realise, and pass on the teachings, all rhapsodies on the great merit to be derived from doing so, all injunctions to respect and worship the source of the teachings, and all avadānas which give past instances of these very things.

Thirdly we have the didactic category, which refers to the message of the text itself, e.g. specific directions for meditational or other practices, descriptions of the required moral behaviour, advice on how to relate to others, statements on the correct way of viewing things,
and general discussions of the nature of phenomena, etc.

These categories are never hard-and-fast, and many instances of overlapping and intermingling can be pointed out. Nor would it ever be sound practice to attempt to isolate the didactic elements in a given work and ignore the other categories, for such works often get their message across in various unexpected ways. Nevertheless, when these categories are applied to the content of the PraS the work's organisation is thrown into high relief, and the symmetry of its composition is revealed: historical elements stand at beginning and end (Chaps. 1 and 26), and also break the text in the middle (Chaps. 13 and 16A–J), while the rest of the text displays a regular alternation of didactic and 'advertising' material.
D. INTRODUCTION TO THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

As mentioned above in the Preface, the main part of the present work consists of an annotated English translation of the Tibetan version of the Praś, the text of which was established by me and published as *The Tibetan Text of the Pratyutpanna-Buddha-Sammukhāvasthita-Samādhi-Sūtra*, (Tokyo, 1978). For general remarks on this Tibetan version I refer the reader to Text, Introduction, pp. ix-xix. Suffice it to say here that it was probably made around the beginning of the ninth century, and that the original text on which it was based, which we may presume to have been written in Sanskrit, is for the moment almost entirely lost.

Now, when we refer to an 'original Sanskrit text', we must realise from the outset that we are adopting a convention, and a potentially misleading one at that. For there is, or was, no such thing as a single original Sanskrit text of the Praś, compiled around the beginning of our era and remaining unchanged while various translations, Chinese and Tibetan, were made from it. We know that in general Mahāyāna sūtras underwent some degree of change in the course of the many centuries during which they were in use, being amplified (possibly the most common pattern), shortened, re-arranged, or subject to the introduction or modification of various doctrinal terms. The surviving translations of the Praś exhibit this 'textual fluidity' to a marked degree, and its grosser lineaments (in the form of omissions or insertions of whole sections of text) can easily be seen in the Concordance (Text, pp.225-235). Given the complexities and obscurities of the early Chinese translations, however, it is not always so easy to determine the precise scope of the changes in content, as opposed to structure, which the Sūtra has undergone. An attempt will be made later to sketch the broad outlines of the textual history of the Praś, in as far as they can be discovered.

We must therefore realise that when we speak of 'the original' of the Praś, we are in effect talking about its changing Sanskrit textual tradition, and not about any one entity. This fact will have important implications for our approach to the Tibetan text, in that we must regard
it as not necessarily, or not in all respects based on the same Sanskrit text that underlies the Chinese translations.

Why then have we elected to translate the Tibetan version, in preference, say, to T.418, which being of greater antiquity is possibly of greater historical interest? The answer is simply that the Tibetan is the easiest version to translate, mainly because of the standardised terminology employed by the Tibetan scholars and their Indian colleagues who rendered Sanskrit Buddhist works into Tibetan, or who revised the versions already made by their predecessors. In a sense, our text is not Tibetan at all, but a Tibetan 'translationese' in which many of the terms used are comprehensible only if one has recourse to their Sanskrit referents. And what is often the case at a terminological level is sometimes true at the syntactical level also. Therefore, when I say translation of the Tibetan text, I must admit frankly that what follows is often not a translation of the Tibetan at all, but rather a translation of the Sanskrit that can be supposed to underlie the Tibetan. While this may offend the linguistic purists, my intention here was to furnish the reader with the best indication possible of the meaning of the Sanskrit text at one stage in its long history, rather than show how the Tibetans of the 9th century A.D. understood (or sometimes misunderstood) and expressed that meaning, or, in other words, I had it in mind to remove the Tibetan covering to reveal the meaning of the Sanskrit beneath it. In the attempt to do that, however, I feel that my translation has often, and perhaps inevitably, fallen between two stools.

I have not attempted a reconstruction of the Sanskrit text on the basis of the Tibetan. This kind of activity is, I believe, methodologically unsound, given our present limited knowledge of the finer mechanics of the Tibetan translation process, and has rightly been called a 'rather useless amusement'. In my use of Tibetan-Sanskrit equivalents, I was interested only in probabilities which could be legitimately used to construct an English version, and I would not have wished to produce an ersatz Sanskrit text of the Praś and see it acquire an undeserved life of its own. I might make the same observation for the Sanskrit-Tibetan-Chinese-English Glossary that can be found as Appendix C. It is intended for certain purposes only, and should be used with caution. I do not believe, for example, that material from reconstructions of lost Sanskrit texts on the basis of their Tibetan translations should
be incorporated in general lexicons, the main point being here that we are dealing with probabilities, not certainties: where, for instance, we find chos in the Tibetan we can deduce that dharma most probably stood in the Sanskrit, but we can never be absolutely sure of it while the Sanskrit remains lost. The reader should therefore note that the Sanskrit equivalents which I give in my translation (always to be found within parentheses) are always put forward with a greater or lesser degree of uncertainty, but only those accompanied by the greater degree of uncertainty are distinguished by a question-mark. This does not mean that those not so distinguished are any the less tentative from an over-all point of view.

Throughout my translation I have aimed at reasonable fidelity both to the Tibetan text (or rather to its probable Sanskrit original wherever this could be discerned) and to the English language, thus providing myself with two additional stools to fall between! On the syntactical level I have observed the requirements of English grammatical usage as closely as possible in an attempt to produce a readable translation, but often the extreme length of the Tibetan sentence has militated against clarity. On a terminological level the reader will find many examples of an awkward literalness, especially where terms of technical or semi-technical application have been involved. A definite case can be made for the standardisation of terminology in translating Buddhist works, and I have accordingly done my best to standardise my renderings, although the use in all cases of the same English for the same Tibetan is clearly undesirable, if not impossible. My guides in this regard have been Edward Conze (especially in his Materials) and, to a lesser extent, Franklin Edgerton (BHSD); in some instances, however, I have preferred to find my own way. In the Glossary the reader may acquaint himself with some of my standard English renderings, which are given along with their Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese counterparts.

My main objective has been to make the PraS accessible to the scholarly public in a readable and accurate translation, and this end would have been served neither by slavish adherence to the grammatical and phraseological peculiarities of the Tibetan nor by the use of the turgid esoteric translationese favoured by certain translators these days. Whether my objective has been realised or not, the reader may best judge for himself.
My translation, then, is of the Tibetan text of the PraS. The length of the work has made me disinclined to attempt anything more than that, and I make only passing reference to the Chinese versions, except where they preserve whole sections of text not found in Tibetan: these passages then appear in the body of the translation. Thus my work falls short of the ideal propounded by Constantin Regamey (The Bhadramayākāravyākaraṇa, pp. 10-11), that of the 'critical translation', since it does not include all the Chinese variae versiones. Differences between the Chinese and the Tibetan versions are indeed often quite considerable, but to draw attention to them at every point would have made the work intolerably long and tedious. Therefore I have confined myself to noting only the more striking and important variants, and to giving the Chinese readings in those rare places where an obscurity in the Tibetan is clarified by the Chinese text - rather than matched by an equal or worse obscurity! Each of the Chinese translations deserves a full study of its own; this is especially true with regard to T.418 and T.419. What I have tried to do, in my Concordance (see Text), Glossary, and notes, has been to facilitate the future investigation of these Chinese versions. In addition, the translation of the Tibetan text itself will contribute to the elucidation of many of the obscurities which bedevil the early Chinese versions. Despite the limited scope of this study, however, the reader will find in Appendix A a brief preliminary discussion of the Chinese translations, based on internal evidence and on the testimony of the Chinese scripture-catalogues.

To turn now to matters of presentation, the translation is divided up into chapters (arabic numerals) and sections (capital letters) in accordance with the published Tibetan text, e.g. 1A, 3B, 26C, etc. Reference to the text will always be to these chapters and sections, never to page numbers. In this way the reader may easily follow up a reference in the Text, in the translation, or (with the help of the Concordance) in any of the Chinese versions.

As pointed out above, probable Sanskrit equivalents appear within parentheses, the more doubtful among them being indicated by a question-mark. One exception to this is proper names: the Sanskrit is given in the translation, and only discussed in the notes when the restoration involves some uncertainty; such cases are always indicated in the text by a preceding asterisk, e.g. *Vidyuddeva. The Sanskrit equivalents
given do not necessarily possess the form (i.e. number, person, case, tense, etc.) they may have had in the original; and they have been taken, for the most part, from Lokesh Chandra's Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary, although I have tried to be as critical as possible in my use of this, as it includes lexical material derived from reconstructions (e.g. the Sanskrit-nirmocana) or otherwise insufficiently supported (e.g. from Das). For equivalents of individual terms Conze's Materials has also been most useful, while for the Sanskrit wording of the longer formulae so common in sūtra-literature I have had recourse to Lamotte's handy list of these in his L'Enseignement, pp. 481-483 ('Relevé des formules et des clichés'), such borrowings on my part being always indicated thus: (*...*).

Notes to the translation are numbered by chapter, and are referred to as follows: n. 1.20 (=Chap. 1, n. 20); n. 13.5 (=Chap. 13, n. 5); and so on. Verses are denoted thus: 11Dv (=Chap. 11, Section D, Verse 1); 23Vv6-9 (=Chap. 23, Section V, Verses 6 to 9); and so forth.

The system used for representing Chinese is that of Mathew's Chinese English Dictionary, except that certain unnecessary diacritical marks have been eliminated.

My own additions to the text I have tried to keep to a minimum, but where the Tibetan is obscure I have inserted explanatory material within square brackets, in conformity with the normal practice. Also within square brackets are to be found translations of chapter titles taken from two Chinese translations, T.418 and T.416. The Chinese originals for these may be found in the Comparative Table of Chapters (Text, pp. 238-239); T.417 and T.419 do not feature because the former merely adopts the chapter titles of T.418 while the latter has none at all.

Finally, square brackets enclosing a question-mark signal those unfortunate places where the Tibetan has successfully resisted my attempts to understand it. They are both sobering indications of the text's victory over its translator and invitations to others to see what I have missed. Although as a newcomer to the field I am keenly aware of all the imperfections of the following translation, I nevertheless hope that it removes more difficulties than it creates, and therefore succeeds in making the PraS better known to a wider public.

ADDENDUM: Since completing this work my attention has been drawn to the fact that the PraS is mentioned by name in the third Bhāvanākrama of Kamalaśīla (see Giuseppe Tucci, Minor Buddhist Texts, Part III (Rome: 1971), p. 5); Kamalaśīla does not cite any passages from the Sūtra, but it is clear from the context that he was familiar with its content.
THE

PRATYUTPANNA-BUDDHA-SAMUKHĀVASTHITA-SAMĀDHI-SŪTRA

AN

ANNOTATED ENGLISH TRANSLATION

OF THE

TIBETAN VERSION
CHAPTER ONE

In Sanskrit:
Ārya-pratyutpanna-buddha-sammukha-
avasthita-samādhi-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra

In Tibetan:
The Holy Mahāyāna Sūtra
called the
Samādhi of the One who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present.¹

BAMPO ONE
[T.418: Chapter One, The Enquiry
T.416: Chapter One, Meditation]

Thus have I heard at one time (evam mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye):
the Lord (bhagavat) was staying at Rāja-gha, in the Haunt of the Kalanda-

¹ The translation of the title of the Samādhi poses a problem, namely, should we construe it as pratyutpanna-buddhānām samāmukham avasthitasya
samādhi, 'the Samādhi of the One who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present', or as pratyutpanna-buddhānām [bodhisattvasya] samāmukham
avasthitānām samādhi, 'the Samādhi of the Present Buddhas Standing Face to Face [with the Bodhisattva]'? From a grammatical point of view the
latter is less likely, since samāmukham is left hanging unconnected, but Lokākṣema (T.418) appears to have understood the compound in this sense:
his standard equivalent is samādhi of All the Buddhas of the Present Standing in Front' (e.g. 2B, 3A, 15N, 16K), which could hardly be construed as 'the Samādhi of Standing in Front of All the Buddhas of the Present'. T.419, on the other hand, has saṃmukham avasthitānām samādhi, 'the Concentration of the Abiding of the Buddhas of the Present' (2J, 3A); it gives the title of the Samādhi elsewhere (2B, 2C, 3E, 5D), but the text appears to be corrupt; e.g. 5D has (read: saṃmukham avasthitānām samādhi). T.416 provides a more explicitly interpretative rendering of the title, usually given as 'the Samādhi of the Bodhisattva who Meditates on the Buddhas Appearing Before Chīm'. Many variations on this are found, e.g. the substitution of in front of (e.g. 2B), or the insertion of a note for (e.g. 3E), but the standard abbreviation is samādhi in front of, literally 'manifest in front samādhi'. However, since also means 'present' T.416 may be using it, even in its full translation of the title, to render pratyutpanna and not saṃmukhāvasthitā at all. If this is so, then Jñānagupta has avoided the problem, i.e. who is it that stands face to face with whom?
kas in the Bamboo Wood (venuvane kalandaka-nivāse)\(^2\), together with a great assembly (mahā-bhikṣu-samgha) of five hundred bhikṣus, all of them Arhats, whose outflows were exhausted (kṣīnāsrava), who were free of the defilements (nihkleśa), had attained mastery (vaśībhūta), had done their duty (krta-kṛtya), performed their tasks (krta-karaniya), laid down their burdens (apahrta-bhāra), obtained their own goal (anuprāpta-svakārtha), destroyed the fetters of existence (pariksīna-bhavasamyojana), whose minds

Given that pratyutpanna-buddhānām sammukham avasthitasya samādhi is slightly more probable from the point of view of Sanskrit grammar, we might then be entitled to translate.datar gyi sans rgyas mnon sum du bzugs pa'i byaṅ chub sens dpal tiṅ ne 'dzin (commonly found in the Tib. text) as 'the Samādhi of the Bodhisattva who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present' (pratyutpanna-buddha-sammukhāvasthita-bodhisattva-samādhi), although we cannot deny that 'the Bodhisattvas' Samādhi of the Buddhas of the Present Standing Face to Face' is also possible, especially in view of the use of the honorific bzugs pa.

The whole question can perhaps be answered by reference to the contents of the Sūtra, for it is stated quite clearly at several points (e.g. 3C) that although no actual movement takes place, the bodhisattva who practises the Samādhi perceives himself transported to the buddha-ksetra of his choice, there to see the resident Buddha and hear the Dharma expounded by him: i.e. the bodhisattva goes to stand face to face with the Buddha, rather than the Buddha coming to stand before the bodhisattva. In view of this I have tentatively adopted the translation 'the Samādhi of the One (or: of the Bodhisattva) who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present' for pratyutpanna-buddha-sammukhāvasthita-samādhi, as being the most likely rendering of the Sanskrit, even though this runs counter to the traditional interpretation, as presented, for example, by Haseoka Kazuya in his Ryuju no jōdōkyō shiso, pp. 128-129; but see also Mvy No. 745, and L. Schmithausen's translation of the title as 'Lehrrede über die Versenkung, in der [sich der Yogin den] derzeit existierenden Buddhas von Angesicht zu Angesicht gegenüber [sieht]' in 'Spirituelle Praxis und Philosophische Theorie', p. 175, n. 43.

From available indications it appears that the Sūtra was generally referred to either by an abbreviation of its Sanskrit title as given by the Tibetan (viz. Pratyutpanna-samadhi-sūtra) or by a short alternative title containing the name of its most important character (next to Sākyamuni), i.e. the householder bodhisattva from Rājagṛha, Bhadrapāla. To take the latter first, this usage is attested by the title of T.419, Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching ( = Bhadrapāla-bodhisattva-sūtra); by one of the titles of T.416, Hsien-hu p'u-sa ching ( = Bhadrapāla-bodhisattva-sūtra); and by the title found at the termination of each chapter of the Tibetan text: bzaṅ skyon gis ęs pa'i tiṅ ne 'dzin ( = Bhadrapāla-paripṛcchā-samādhi). As for the abbreviated title, Pratyutpanna-samādhi-sūtra, it provides the basis for the title of T.418, Pan-chou san-mei ching, in which san-mei is of course samādhi, while pan-chou represents the first two syllables of the Sanskrit pratyutpanna, possibly in some Central Asian dialect form of the word like the Prakrit pacchanna. One also finds occasionally the fuller form pan-chou-pan san-mei, as for example in the TCTL (262a21) or in the Korean edition of the Ch'u san-tsang chi chi (T.2145, 6b12). Cf., however, Takasaki Masayoshi's long but unconvincing attempt to demonstrate that pan-chou does not represent pratyut(panna) at all, in 'Bukkyō bunken no jakkan no onshōgo ni tsuite'.

The Tibetan text always refers to the Samādhi by its full title---
were fully liberated by perfect knowledge (śamyagājñā-suvidmukta-citta), who had attained the excellent supremacy of complete mastery over their minds (sarva-cetovāśi-parama-pārami-prāpta), and obtained the Eight Emancipations (aṣṭavimokṣa)\(^3\)--with the exception of one man, namely, the Venerable (āyusmat) Ānanda.\(^4\)

with or without the insertion of bya chub sems dpa'is—if it refers to it by its title at all, except perhaps for one instance, at 23C, where da ltar gyi tiṅ ne 'dzin may stand for pratyutpanna-samādhī.

It is certain, however, that the Chinese were most familiar with the title Pan-chou san-meś ching (Pratyutpanna-samādhi-sūtra), which some of them came to understand as 'the Sūtra of the Standing Samādhi'—pratyutpanna = 'arisen', 'stood up', rather than 'present'! This fanciful misconstruction has its origins in the text itself (see 45) and in the actual practice of the Samādhi, but is none the less erroneous. Thus, while the pratyutpanna-samādhi was known as the ch’ang-li san-meś (常立三昧) ('Ever-standing Samādhi') in the works of Chih-i, Shan-tao, the author of the Pan-chou san-meś tsan (T.1981), is able to inform us in the prologue to that work that:

The Sanskrit pratyutpanna (般舟) is translated by 'constantly walking in the Way' (常行道), or is a general term for walking continuously for seven days or ninety days; because the three activities [of body, speech, and thought] are uninterrupted it is called pratyutpanna... (448b18-20)

2 On the 'Bamboo Wood' (Skt. venuvana; Pāli veluvana) see DPPN II, s.v. Veļuvana (I). Tib. bya ka lań da ka gnas pa suggests kalandaka-nivāsa (dwelling-place of the Kalandakas) rather than the more usual kalandaka-nivāpa ('food-offering' or 'feeding-ground' of the Kalandakas), for which see DPPN I, p. 534; BHSD, p. 171. Kalandakas are generally thought to be squirrels, but Tib. and T.419 (q.v. 920a7) obviously understood them to be a kind of bird.

3 T.419 (920a10), 僧伽度八禪, suggests an original aṣṭā-vimokṣa-dhyāvin, 'absorbed in the Eight Emancipations'.

4 Similar lists of śrāvaka-guna (qualities of the Disciples) are found at the beginning of most Mahāyāna sūtras. For a discussion of them, see Traité I, pp. 203-219. The different Chinese versions of this opening paragraph will be discussed below (see Appendix A).
At that time the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla had left the
great city of Rājagrha and, in order to hear the Dharma, had become a
follower of the Lord's, along with five hundred bodhisattvas all of whom
were householders (grhaṇātha) and upholders of the Five Rules of Training
(paṇcā-śikṣāpāda). Thereupon the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla,

Bhadrapāla, a lay bodhisattva from Rājagrha, is the principal charac-
ter (after the Buddha) of the Praś, and has given his name to the Sūtra
(see above, n. 1.1). He appears in many Mahāyāna sūtras as the leader of
a group known as the 'sixteen good men' (sodāsa satpurusāh), all of them
eminent lay followers of the Buddha (although we do not know if any of
them had any historical basis). The group is listed, for example, in SP
(p. 2), where the Buddha is described as being in the company of (among
others) 'the sixteen good men led by Bhadrapāla, namely, Bhadrapāla,
Ratnākara, Susārthavāha, Naradatta, Guhyagupta, Varuṇadatta, Indradatta,
Uttaramati, Viśeṣamati, Vardhamānanīmati, Amoghadarsin, Susamprasthitā,
Suvikrantavikrāmin, Anupamamati, Sūryagarbha, and Dharapāṇḍhara, and the
80,000 bodhisattvas led by them (evampramukhair).' The sixteen satpurusās
are thus also bodhisattvas; further, the SP mentions Bhadrapāla again at
p. 227 as being at the head of 500 bodhisattvas, as he indeed appears in
the Praś. Similar lists of the satpurusās, with certain variations, are
found elsewhere (see Traité I, p. 428, n. 1).

Why Bhadrapāla is regarded as the foremost of these satpurusās/bodhi-
sattvas is difficult to say. The question is discussed by the TCTL (see
Traité I, p. 430) but its answer is based in large part on the Praś itself.
I suspect that his later eminence, as recorded here by the TCTL,
does spring largely from the important part he plays in the Praś, but
this does not of course explain why the author of the Praś chose him for
the part in the first place.

It is, however, likely that the tradition of a set number of sat-
purusa was current at the time of the composition of the Praś. Bhadra-
pāla appears with seven companions, lay bodhisattvas whose names corre-
pond closely enough to the standard list as found in the SP. We have
Ratnākara (for the Tib. and Chinese equivalents see Appendix C, and the
notes accompanying their first appearance in the text), (Maha-)Susārtha-
vāha, Naradatta (probably a variant of Naradatta), Guhyagupta (or Guhya-
gupta), Varuṇadatta (a variant of Varuṇadatta), Indradatta, and an extra
figure who does not feature in the traditional list, Susima. These eight
are referred to in the text (e.g. at 13H) as skyes bu dam pa (= sat-
purusa); they are the ones described in Chap. 13 as being primarily
responsible for the preservation of the Sūtra and its propagation in the
'Latter Days'; their role is cardinal. The Praś was thus composed either
in a milieu in which the contribution of Buddhist laymen was thought to
be of great importance or, at the very least, by someone who sought to
accord laymen a higher status.

The same list of eight bodhisattvas also appears in the Aṣṭabuddhaka-
sūtra, which is preserved in one Tibetan translation (Peking No. 937, Vol.
37, 91-3-7 to 93-1-5; Lhasa Vol. 68, Mdo Za 75b4-80b6) and five Chinese
translations (T.427-431). This sūtra describes the merits of hearing the
names of eight Buddhas who have their Buddha-fields in the east. The list
of eight bodhisattvas is found only at the end of the earliest two Chinese
translations, T.427 (ascribed to Chih Ch'ien) and T.428 (ascribed to
after emerging towards evening from secluded meditation (sāyāna-kāla-
samaya pratisamlayāṇād vyutthāya), went to the place where the Lord was,
and having on his arrival (upasamkramaṇa) prostrated himself at the Lord's
feet (bhagavatāh pāda śīrāsā vandītvā) and circumambulated him seven
times (saptakrtvāh pradaksinīkṛtya), he sat down to one side in the

Dharmarakṣa); it is absent from the later Chinese versions and from the
Tibetan.
Chih Ch'ien's text runs as follows (73al7-23):

Then the bodhisattvas—the bodhisattva Bhadrapāla,
the bodhisattva Ratnākara, the bodhisattva Guhagupta,
the bodhisattva Naradatta, the bodhisattva Susīma,
the bodhisattva Mahāsusūrathavāha, the bodhisattva
Indradatta and the bodhisattva Varunadeva—these
eight men, having pursued the Way for innumerable
dayi and still not having accepted Buddhahood,
took a vow to make all men of the world in the ten
directions attain Buddhahood: 'All those who are in
peril should call on the names of us eight men, then
they will be saved; and when the hour of death draws
nigh, we eight men shall then fly to meet them.

It is impossible to determine at this stage what the relationship is
between the list of eight bodhisattvas in this text and the same list in
the Praśā. A connection is implied, but the whole tradition of the eight
(or sixteen) satpurussa/bodhisattvas remains to be clarified. (For addi-
tional information, see Mochizuki, Bukkyō dai jiten, pp. 2411-2412; for the
eight bodhisattvas, ibid. p. 4218; see also Akanuma Chizen, Bukkyō kyō-
ten shiron, pp. 419-420.)
Lord's presence.
Those five hundred bodhisattvas too, after emerging towards evening from secluded meditation, came to the place where the Lord was, and having on their arrival prostrated themselves at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord seven times, they sat down to one side in the Lord's presence.

[1C] Those five hundred bhikṣus also, after emerging towards evening from secluded meditation, came to the place where the Lord was, and having on their arrival prostrated themselves at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord seven times, they sat down to one side in the Lord's presence.

At that time also the Venerable Śāriputra and the Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana, after spending the rainy season (varṣā) in the great city of Śrāvastī, journeyed in due course through the land with five hundred bhikṣus, and came to the great city of Rājagṛha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on their arrival prostrated themselves at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, they sat down to one side in the Lord's presence.

[1D] Then at that time the Lord performed such a working of magic (rddhy-abhisamskāram abhisamskr-) that all those bhikṣus staying and living in different regions came to the great city of Rājagṛha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on their arrival prostrated themselves at the Lord's feet and circum-

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7 T.416 has placed this section after 1D, although all other versions agree with the Tib. The intention of the author of Jñāna-gupta's exemplar may have been to revise the text so as to put Bhadrapāla and his lay bodhisattvas in their place, i.e. after the bhikṣus and the bhikṣunīs. But this runs counter to the whole tenor of the Praś, in which Bhadrapāla and his fellow lay bodhisattvas occupy pride of place; it is thus natural that he should be first to arrive in the presence of the Buddha. Further, I think it is to be understood from 1B and 1C that Bhadrapāla, along with the 500 bodhisattvas and the 500 bhikṣus, is already in the Venuvana, although not in the same part of it as the Buddha. This alteration to the text as it appears in T.416 may be connected with other textual changes; see below, n. 9.3.

8 The arrival of Śāriputra and Mahāmaudgalyāyana does not appear in either T.418 or T.419.
ambulated the Lord three times, they sat down to one side in the Lord's presence, such was the working of magic that he performed. And at that time one hundred thousand bhiksus had gathered together and seated themselves in the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood.

Then at that time the Lord performed such a working of magic that thirty thousand bhiksus headed by Mahāprajāpatī Gautami came to the great city of Rājagaha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on their arrival prostrated themselves at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord seven times, they sat down to one side in the Lord's presence, such was the working of magic that he performed.

Then at that time the Lord performed such a working of magic that:

- the bodhisattva mahāsattva Ratnakara set out from the great city of Vaiśālī, accompanied (parivṛta) and followed (puraskṛta) by 28,000 Licchavi youths (licchavi-kumāra), and came to the great city of Rājagaha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and circumambulated him three times, he sat down to one side in the Lord's presence;

- the bodhisattva mahāsattva Guhagupta also set out from the great city of Campā, accompanied and followed by 28,000 beings (prānīn), and came to the great city of Rājagaha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, he sat down to one side in the Lord's presence;

9 T.416 sets Mahāprajāpatī's retinue at 20,000 bhiksus.

10 On Mahāprajāpatī Gautami, the Buddha's aunt and foster-mother, see DPPN, s.v. Mahāprajāpatī Gotami.

11 On Ratnakara, the licchavi-kumāra of Vaiśālī, see in particular Lamotte, L'Enseignement, p. 103, n. 38. The translation of his name given here (dkon mchog 'byun gnas) is at odds with that found in the rest of the work (rin chen 'byun gnas); in addition, yaṇs pa for Vaiśālī is at variance with the standard yaṇs pa can (as found at 3D). This may point to an imperfectly realised attempt to revise and standardise previous translations not in accordance with the 'new terminology' (see Text, pp. x-xi).

12 Guhagupta (alternatively, Guhyagupta) from Campā is elsewhere described as the son of a merchant (śresthiputra); see e.g. 13E, and also Traité I, p. 429. Subhagupta is also found in certain texts (Traité I, p. 428), in reference to the same person.
the bodhisattva mahāsattva Naladatta [Naradatta?] also set out from the great city of Vārānasi, accompanied and followed by 28,000 beings, and came to the great city of Rājagṛha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, he sat down to one side in the Lord's presence;

the bodhisattva mahāsattva Susīma also set out from the great city of Kapilavastu, accompanied and followed by 28,000 beings, and came to the great city of Rājagṛha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, he sat down to one side in the Lord's presence;

the bodhisattva mahāsattva Mahāsusārthavāha and the householder grhapati Anāthapiṇḍada also set out from the great city of Śrāvasti, and came to the great city of Rājagṛha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, he sat down to one side in the Lord's presence;

the bodhisattva mahāsattva Mahāsusārthavāha and the householder grhapati Anāthapiṇḍada also set out from the great city of Śrāvasti, and came to the great city of Rājagṛha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, he sat down to one side in the Lord's presence;

13 Tib. 'dam bus byin, 'reed-given', implies a Sanskrit original such as Naladatta, Nālada, etc., but confusion with the satpurusa-bodhisattva Naradatta is almost certain (see BHSD, s.v. Naradatta, Nālaka, Nālada). In any case I find no Naladatta in BHSD, etc., although -datta is definitely the last element in the name, as shown by the transliterations of T.419 and T.418. It is impossible to tell from the Chinese whether Nara- or Nala- was the original form of the first element, but given the regular occurrence of the name Naradatta in the lists of the satpurusa I feel it is more likely than Naladatta here. Nevertheless, on the basis of the Tib. the form Naladatta will be maintained in the translation. Naradatta/Naladatta is said to be a young brahman from Vārānasi, but the TCTL gives his provenance as Mithilā (Traité I, p. 429).

14 N,P,L: '25,000 beings', but no Chinese version supports this.

15 Susīma, the bodhisattva from Kapilavastu, is the only figure who does not occur regularly in the traditional lists of the satpurusa, but cf. n. 1.5 above for his appearance in the Aṣṭabuddhakā. His arrival at the Bamboo Wood is not given in T.416. He is not to be confused with the Devaputra of the same name who also appears in the Praś (see Glossary).

16 Mahāsusārthavāha, or Susārthavāha, is one of the traditional satpurusa (see n. 1.5 above) and a merchant (śresthin) of Śrāvasti like his companion Anāthapiṇḍada (Traité I, p. 429). Elsewhere in the Praś (e.g. 13E) he is designated as a householder. The usual equivalent for his name is Ded dpon che bzaṅ, rather than the Ded dpon chen po of 1G (see also above, n. 1.11).

17 Anāthapiṇḍada or Anāthapiṇḍika was a famous wealthy lay supporter of the Buddha in Śrāvasti. See BHSD, p. 22; DFFN I, pp. 67-72. He is not one of the eight lay bodhisattvas, but merely accompanies Susārthavāha from Śrāvasti.
accompanied and followed by 28,000 beings, and came to the great city of Rājagṛha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on their arrival prostrated themselves at the Lord’s feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, they sat down to one side in the Lord’s presence;

the bodhisattva mahāsattva Indradatta also set out from the great city of Kauśāmbī, accompanied and followed by 28,000 beings, and came to the great city of Rājagṛha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord’s feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, he sat down to one side in the Lord’s presence;

the bodhisattva mahāsattva Varunadeva also set out from the great city of Sāketa, accompanied and followed by 28,000 beings, and came to the great city of Rājagṛha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord’s feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, he sat down to one side in the Lord’s presence;

18 Indradatta is not mentioned at this point in T.416.

19 This reconstruction is made on the basis of T.418--- and T.419---. In T.418 water-god stands for Varuṇa (cf. Glossary, s.v.) while at that time commonly did duty for deva or devī—see e.g. Uj Nakuju, Yakkyōshi kenkyū, pp. 498 (s.v. Gaṅgādevi) and 539 (deva). Thus the given name of the Chinese monk Yen Fo-t’iao (who worked around the same time as Lokakṣema and translated the Ugra-paripṛcchā-sūtra) is generally Sanskritised as Buddhadeva (see Zürcher, Buddhist Conquest, p. 34 and n. 86). The testimony of T.416 and the Tib. is equivocal. T.416’s 水天 (‘water-god’) could simply denote Varuṇa, but also renders Varuṇadatta (see Mochizuki, Bukkyō daijiten, p. 2412a) and, I suspect, Varunadeva, since 水天 would be clumsy. The Tib. chu lha similarly suggests only Varuṇa, while chu lha'i lha for Varuṇadatta is in fact attested (see TSP, s.v.); this could imply that in the copy of the Praś used by the Tibetan translators the bodhisattva in question was known simply as Varuṇa, but the evidence is not conclusive. Further, the Varunadeva who appears in the Sb at 6.10 (along with other bodhisattvas including Bhadrapāla, Ratnakara (sic), Susārthavāha, Naradatta, Guhagupta, and Indradeva) is translated by the Tibetans as Chu bang lha, which indicates a lack of standardisation (see P. Ghosh, ed. Ses rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stōh pīrag brgya pa, pp. 4-5). At any rate the passage in the Sb demonstrates the existence of the name Varunadeva as opposed to the more common form Varuṇadatta (see e.g. SP, p. 2), and also exemplifies the confusion between -datta and -deva, for instead of Indradatta we find Indradeva, who nevertheless appears in the Tib. translation as Dbaṅ pos byin!

T.416 gives Rājagṛha as the hometown of Varunadeva, but this is not supported by the other versions.
King Ajātaśatru also set out from the great city of Rājağrha, accompanied and followed by 30,000 beings, and came to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, he sat down to one side in the Lord's presence;

the Four Great Kings; Śakra, Lord of the Devas (śakra devānām indra); Brahmā Sahāmpati; and the Devaputra Śrīthadra also, accompanied and followed by many hundred thousand koṭinayutas of Devas, came to the place where the Lord was, and having on their arrival prostrated themselves at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, they sat down to one side in the Lord's presence;

the Devaputra Maheśvara also, accompanied and followed by many thousands of Devapatras from the Realm of the Pure Abodes (suddhāvāsakāyika-devaputra), came to the place where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, he sat down to one side in the Lord's presence;

the four Asura Lords also, with many hundred thousand koṭinayutas of Asuras; the Nāga Kings Nanda and Upananda also, with many hundred thousand koṭinayutas of Nāgas; the Nāga King Anavatapta also, with many hundred thousand koṭinayutas of Nāgas; the Nāga King Manasvin also, with many hundred thousand koṭinayutas of Nāgas; and the Nāga King Elapatra also, with many hundred thousand koṭinayutas of Nāgas came to the place where the Lord was, and having on their arrival prostrated themselves at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, they sat down to one side:

such was the working of magic that he performed.

And at that time in this Trichiliomegachiliocosm (trisahasra-mahā-sāhasra-lokadhātu), from here on up as far as the Brahmaloka, there was no space that was not so filled with highly exalted (maheśākhyamahēśākhyā)
Devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, Gandharvas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaras and Mahoragas that not even the point of a staff could be inserted in it.

[1JH] Then the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla, having risen from his seat and arranged his upper garment on one shoulder, put his right knee to the ground, extended his joined palms towards the Lord, and said to the Lord (*atha khalu bhadrapālo bodhisattvo mahāsattva utthāyasānād ekāṃsam uttarāsaṅgam kṛtvā daksinam jānumandalam prthivyām pratisthāpya yena bhagavāṃs tenājālim praṇāmya bhagavantam idam vocāt*):

'Your Reverence (bhadanta), if the Lord would give me the opportunity to have the questions I ask elucidated, then I would question the Lord, the Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha on a certain matter (*prccheyam aham bhagavantam tathāgataṃ arhantam sāmyaksambuddham kumcid eva pradeśam sacen me bhagavān avakāsam kuryāt prṣṭapraṣṇavyākaranaṃ*).'

When this was said (evam ukte), the Lord said to the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla:

'Bhadrapāla, question the Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha on whatever you wish, and by elucidating those questions I shall delight your mind (*prccha tvam tathāgataṃ arhantam sāmyaksambuddham yad yad evākāṅksasi. aham te tasya tasya prāṇasya vyākaranaṃ cittam ārādhyisyase*).'

[1K] When this was said, the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla said to the Lord:

'Lord, established in which samādhi do bodhisattvas mahāsattvas (1) become those whose learning (śruti) is like the sea, who have an

24 The formal structure of sections 1J-Y (including the standard clichés found in 1J) bears a close resemblance to that passage in the Śrī (see Lamotte, Marche Héroïque 6-7, pp. 120-123) in which the bodhisattva Drāhmāti asks the Buddha which samādhi will produce a certain range of qualities. Here in the Praś Bhadrapāla also enumerates a long list of qualities desirable for bodhisattvas (bodhisattva-gunas), each one ending with the words rnaṃ su 'gyur pa daṅ (except for the first, which has gyur pa instead of 'gyur ba). I have numbered these units 1 to 146 in order to facilitate any possible future study of the Chinese versions. It should be noted that T.418 and T.419 make no such formal distinction between one quality and the next, but that T.416 begins each quality with the words 云何常得 ('How shall they obtain/succeed in...?') and ends each with a subordinate clause terminating with 'by', 'through', 'because of'), which corresponds to the frequent use of the instrumental clause or phrase in the Tib. This is despite the fact that the subordinate clause or phrase does not always have an instrumental or causal significance. The Sanskrit prototype for this construction is possibly to be identified as the instrumental case either of ordinary nouns or of the -tā suffix appended to (usually verbal) nouns. A similar list of gunas, for instance, is to be found in Sukh, pp. 51-54, with examples of this construction (e.g. p. 52, lines 13ff.).
accumulation of learning (śruta-samnicaya); (2) become free of doubt (kāṅksā), free of uncertainty (samśaya), and free of perplexity (vimati); (3) become those who are not deficient (ahīna) and not defective (aparihīna) in supreme and perfect awakening (anuttara-samyak-sambodhi); (4) become those who are not born in an inopportune birth (aksana), and who remember their births (jaṭi-smara); (5) become those who, even in their dreams, are not deprived of the vision of the Tathāgatas; (6) become fair of form (abhirupa), beautiful (prāśadika), handsome (darśanīya), and endowed with the highest excellence of splendour and beauty (paramayā Subha-varna-puskarataya samanvāgata); (7) become those who are of high birth (ucca-kula) and noble birth (mahā-kula); (8) become those whose following (parivāra) is numerous, whose following is indivisible (abheda-parivāra);

(9) become endowed with understanding (gati); (10) become endowed with mindfulness (smṛti); (11) become endowed with intellect (māti); (12) become endowed with illustriousness (śrī); (13) become endowed with steadfastness (dṛṣṭi); (14) become endowed with magic power (rddhi); (15) become endowed with wisdom (prajñā); (16) become endowed with modesty (hrī) and bashfulness (apa-trāpya); (17) become those who have destroyed pride (māna); (18) become dwellers in friendliness (maitrīvihārin); (19) become endowed with cognition (jñāna); (20) become endowed with intelligence (buddhi); (21) become endowed with energy (vīrya); (22) become intrepid (alīna);

(23) become pursuers of meaning (artha); (25) become pursuers of Dharma; (26) become pursuers of quietude (śamatha); (27) become pursuers of insight (vipaśyanā); (28) become pursuers of trance (dhyāna); (29) become pursuers of samādhi; (30) become pursuers of wisdom (prajñā); (31) become those who are neither frightened nor afraid nor fearful (nottras-yanti na samtrasyanti na samtrāsān āpadyante) of the dharmas of emptiness, signlessness and wishlessness (śūnyatānimittāpranīhita-dharma); (32) become keepers of the Dharma (dharma-dhara) and great preachers of the Dharma (dharma-bhanaka), as well as not falling into the great abyss (mahāprapāta); (33) become those who are born in whatever Buddha-field (buddha-ksetra) they wish to be born in, those who are not trapped (parighīta) by all the abodes of the heretics (tīrthikāvasatha);

25 For the eight aksanas see BHSD, p. 2.
(34) become endowed with the power of causes (hetu-bala) but not endowed with the power of conditions (pratyaya-bala); (35) become endowed with the power of resolve (āśaya-bala); (36) become endowed with the power of application (prayoga-bala); (37) become endowed with the power of the organs of sense (indriya-bala); (38) become endowed with the power of the objects of sense (ārambana-bala); (39) become endowed with the power of profound thought (nidhyapti-bala); (40) become endowed with the power of quietude (samatha-bala); (41) become endowed with the power of insight (vipaśyanā-bala); (42) become endowed with the power of strong inclination (adhimukti-bala); (43) become endowed with the power of vows (pranidhāna-bala).

(44) become inexhaustible in resolve (apariksinasaya); (45) become those who resemble the ocean, receptacle of water (jala-nidhi), in that their learning is like the ocean; (46) become like the moon in their perfection of the pure white dharmas (sukla-dharma); (47) become like the sun in dispelling the darkness of ignorance; (48) become like a lamp in shedding light; (49) become like the sky in being unobstructed (anupalāpta); (50) become those who are not fixed, in that their thoughts resemble space (ākāśa); (51) become like vajra in their penetration of all dharmas; (52) become like a mountain in the firmness of their might; (53) become characterised by firmness through their unshakeability; (54) become like a threshold-stone in their steadfastness; (55) become like a catskin-bag (bidāla-bhastrā) in their mental flexibility (citta-karmayā); (56) become untrammelled (nisparigrha) by going wherever they wish like a bird; (57) become those whose pride is destroyed, like the son of an outcast (candāla); (58) become those who

26 For rnam par lta ba one would expect vilokana ('observation') or vyavalokana ('examination'), but in view of the preceding ūj gnas (samatha) I have conjectured vipaśyanā, even though this is usually translated lhag mthoṅ (cf. 1M).

27 A list of ten powers (bala) peculiar to bodhisattvas is also to be found in Myv 759—769, but it has only three items in common with our list, viz. āśaya-bala, prayoga-bala, and pranidhāna-bala. Another list of ten, to be found in Dharmas 75, has only one item in common, i.e. adhimukti-bala. See also Lamotte, Marche Héroïque, pp. 254—255; Traité III, pp. 1605—1612; and Mochizuki, Bukkyō dai jiten, pp. 2605—2612, where the various lists of bodhisattva-balas are given in full. None of them resembles the Praś. This list of ten balas (we count hetu-bala/pratyaya-bala as one) is unfortunately not found in T.416, while its appearance in T.418 and T.419 is marked by obscurities. Both seem to begin with a punya-bala, or perhaps kuśalamūla-bala (T.418; 本功德力; T.419; 本 徳力). T.419 also appears to have taken most of the terms (original Sanskrit probably X-balavat) in the sense of 'possessing an X that is powerful', rather than 'possessing the power of X'. 
enjoy forest-life (aranya) like wild animals and monkeys, and take no pleasure in villages, cities, market-towns, royal cities, and royal capitals (prāma-nagara-nigama-rāstra-rājadānī); (59) become unsullied through consorting neither with householders nor with renunciants (pra-vrajita); (60) become those who teach a gathering after they have convoked it; (61) become those who cannot be shaken (aksobhya) by all beings (sarva-sattva); (62) become those whom all Māras find difficult to subdue (duspradhārṣa); (63) become obtainers of the special knowledges (pratisamvid) through their certainty (sunīścaya) with regard to all dharmas; (64) become those who cannot be led astray by others (apara-praneya) with regard to all Buddha-dharmas;

(65) become those who are insuperable (durabhīkhava) and have a resolve which is steadfast (drdhāsaya) through the imperturbability of their great friendliness (mahāmaitri); (66) become those who have a high resolve which is profound (gambhirādhyāsaya) in that they course in the unapprehended (anupalambha-carin) and have the ineffable as their range (anabhilāpya-gocara); (67) become those who are fully conscientious (apramāda) and have a resolve which is agreeable (madhurāsaya? snigdha­āsaya?) through rejoicing because of the impact (vega) of Dharma; (68) become those who have a high resolve which is ample (vipulādhyāsaya?) through performing acts of worship and veneration to all Buddhas; (69) become those who have a high resolve which is diverse (vicitrādhyāsaya) through fulfilling diverse roots of goodness (kuśāla-mūla); (70) become those who have a high resolve which is good (kalyānādhyāsaya) through the purity of their adornment with adornments (alamkārālampka); (71) become those who have a resolve which is virtuous (bhadrasaya?) through their rejection of the faults of falsehood and anger; (72) become those who have a high resolve which is pure (parisuddhadhyāsaya) through...

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28 The terms asaya (bsam pa) and adhyāsaya (lhaṅ pa'i bsem pa) are difficult to translate (see BHSD, s.v.); although I have tried to adopt standard renderings---'resolve' (= asaya) and 'high resolve' (= adhyāsaya) are in fact little more than formal 'translation-markers'---I have not been able to adhere to them in every context (whenever a new rendering is employed the Sanskrit will be given in parentheses).

A list of adhyāsayas, with verse definitions, is also given in Mv i.85.3ff. (Bagchi ed., pp. 63-66). Although the definitions bear no relation to the wording of the Praś, some of the adhyāsayas are common to both texts. The twenty in the Mv are kalyāna, snigdha, madhura, tīkṣṇa, vipula, vicitra, gambhirā, aparyādīna, anupahāta, asādharana, unnata, akṛpana, anivarta, akṣṛtrima, śuddha, drāhā, svabhāva, trpta, pudgala, and ananta. Where in IQ one Tib. word permits of several Sanskrit equivalents, I have made a choice on the basis of the list in the Mv.

On the meaning of asaya and adhyāsaya see also Lamotte, L'Enseig­nement, pp. 405-407.
obtaining the radiance of omniscient cognition (sarvajña-jñāna); (73) become those who have a high resolve which is cheerful (saumanasyādhyāśaya) through embracing extensive wisdom and having thoughts which are pure (prasanna) and devoid of harshness (khila); (74) become those who have a high resolve to take part in the great display (mahāvyūha) through the purity of their adorning with adornments all world-spheres (loka-dhātu);

(75) become pure in morality (śīla) by being free of the habits of thought (manasikāra) of Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas; (76) become firm in their vows (drjha-samādāna) through perseverance (āsthiti-kriyā) in all undertakings (ārambha); (77) become those who lead all beings in the pursuit of wholesome dharmas (kuśala-dharma); (78) become fearless in the rules of training (śīkṣā) and the perfections (pāramitā) of all bodhisattvas; (79) become irreversible (avaivartika) in relation to all Buddha-dharmas; (80) become those who are unvanquished (anabhibhūta) by all Māras, heretics (paratīrthika) and rival teachers (parapravādī); (81) become those who apply themselves to all dharmas (sarva-dharmadhimukta) by directing their intent reflections (manasikāra) to the Buddha-dharmas; (82) become those who have a perception (samādā) of all Buddhas as their father; (83) become those who are sustained (adhisthita) by all Buddhas through throwing light on all dharmas (??); (84) become those whose cognition is free from obstructions (anāvarana-jñāna) through all Buddha-dharmas being immediately manifested (āmukhi-bhūta?);

(85) become like an illusory man (maya-purusa) in their lack of vain thought (manyana) with regard to all dharmas; (86) become like phantoms (nirmāna/nirmitaka) in having dharmas which are unproduced (ajāta), do not come into existence (anagatika) and do not pass away (agatika); (87)

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29 Cf. T.416 (873c7-8): 'How should they manage to be sustained by the Buddha's power, through being born amidst the radiance of all the Buddha-dharmas?'

30 This 'quality' contains two points worthy of note. Firstly, maya-purusa appears to have been translated as 'illusionist' by both T.416 (幻師, 'master of illusion') and T.419 (作幻人, 'the man who creates illusions'); this then would yield the sense that the bodhisattva becomes like a magician who is not fooled by the apparitions which he himself creates.

The second point concerns riom sens (Sanskrit manyanā), translated here as 'vain thought'. The word has two senses, one being 'vain imagining', 'erroneous notion', the other being 'pride', 'conceit'. 'Vain thought' only imperfectly covers these two meanings, and the full sense of the Sanskrit should be kept in mind whenever it is encountered hereafter in the translation.
become like [men in] a dream (svapnāntaragata?) in their understanding of the Three Times; (88) become like reflections (pratibimba) in manifesting their own bodies in all world-spheres (lokadhatu); (89) become like echoes (pratīrūtka) in possessing the dharma which neither passes on (asamkranti) nor abides, yet is unlocalised (aniketa); (90) become like shadows (chāyā) in all their deaths and births; (91) become those who abide in the cognition of non-existence (abhāva-jñāna) by eliminating the perception of existing things (bhāva-samjñā); (92) become those who resort to the dharma of marklessness (alakṣaṇa-dharma-parāyana) by the habitual absence of duality (dvayāsamudācāratā); (93) become those whose thought of awakening (bodhi-citta) is so measureless that the dharma-realm (dharma-dhatu) is their ultimate end (paryanta-nistha); (94) become those who are unshakeable in all world-spheres through the unshakeability of their mental processes (citta-saṁtati); (95) become those whose range is unattached (asaṅga-gocara) in all Buddha-fields; (96) become those who have entered the Dhāraṇī-doors (dhāraṇī-mukha) through proficiency in the analysis of all Dharma-words (sarvadharma-pada-prabheda); (97) become vessels of Dharma (dharma-bhājana) through having become vessels of all the Buddha-dharmas; (98) become those who are sustained (adhisthita) by all Tathāgatas by being steadfast through the majesty (tejas) of the Buddha; (99) become fearless (acchāmbin) in that they roar the roar of the bull and the lion; (100) become unafraid through delighting all the world; (101) become undeluded (amoha) by being similar to all Buddhas; (102) become those who understand Suchness (tathatā) by being free of doubt and unable to be led astray by others (aparaprāṇeya) as far as all dharmas are concerned; (103) become those who are capable of elucidating all questions and are able to teach the Three Periods of Time (tryādha); (104) become those who desire the welfare of others (hitaisin) through obtaining great compassion (mahākarunā); (105) become indefatigable in teaching Dharma;

31 I.e. not differentiating between past, present, and future. Cf. T.416 (873cc11): 'How should they become like a dream, by observing the Three Times as without coming or going?'

32 T.418 provides a more explanatory translation: '...divide themselves and travel to all buddha-ksetras everywhere, as the reflection of the sun shining in water is visible everywhere.'
(apramāna?) in all the Triple World (tridhātu); (110) become those who dwell in peace (arana-vihārin) through the examination (vicāra) of mere conventional expression (vyavahāra-mātra); (111) become those who dwell in an unsullied state through joy in the absence of attachment (anālaya); (112) become those who dwell at the reality limit (bhūta-koti) by possessing the characteristic of non-discrimination (avikalpa-dharmin?); (113) become those who teach the discourses of the omniscient by establishing all beings in the Mahāyāna; (114) become those who have attained fearlessness through being free of all fear and horror (roma-harsa); (115) become familiar with the esoteric utterances (sandhā-bhāsita) of the Tathāgatas in all the discourses on Dharma in the sūtras (sarva-sūtra-dharma-paryaya); (116) become those who show their faces (mukha-darśana) everywhere by entering into all assemblies; (117) become those who, in the Mahāyāna, are worshipped by all the world, and are lords of merit like the omniscient; (118) become those who, being worthy of the offerings (daksinīya) of all the world, have inexhaustible qualities; (119) become those who experience great joy and faith at the feet of the Tathāgata; (120) become those who have able eloquence (kuśala-pratibhāna) in asking questions concerning all Buddh-dharman; (121) become those who, in eliminating fear and terror in assemblies, are not disheartened (anavasāda); (122) become those who are like roaring tigers in overthrowing all rival teachers (parapravādin); (123) become those who, in defeating all rival sects (parapaksa), do not violate their pledge (anupahata-pratijñā); (124) become those who with the sanction of all Buddhas frequently utter the Lion Roar (simha-nāda) and occupy the Lion Throne (simhāsana) with a view to the exposition (upadeśa) and elegant discussion (paurī-sāmkathya) of the Dharma; (125) become those who in being aware of all entering into communication do not teach all materialists (lokāyatika)?; (126) become preachers of

33 'Unlimited', 'immeasurable' (tshad med pa) = 'incomparable'? There seems to be some original confusion between apramāna and apamāna here, or so two Chinese versions suggest. T.416 (87ha2-3) has: 'How should they become unable to be despised, through surpassing all the Triple World?', while T.419 (92al-2) reads: '...and no-one in the whole Triple World can take them lightly.'

34 Cf. T.416 (87ha19-21): 'How should they manage to avoid all senseless worldly words, by understanding all true teachings?' T.418 and T.419 are very obscure. The former (90al3) has: 'they know fully the Buddha's ten thousand varieties of words, and enter completely into the ten thousand kōtis of sounds...'; while the latter (92al0) reads: '...they do not fall among all those in the world (lo kāyatika?); with all actions of speech they abide in the knowledge of entrances [?].' All this hardly serves to elucidate the Tibetan.
the True Dharma (saddharma-bhāṇaka) by being established in the causes of Buddhahood (buddha-hetu?); (127) become those who in following the Tathāgata aspire to the Dharma; (128) become those who are indefatigable in doing honour to good friends (kalyāṇa-mitra); (129) become those who in wandering in the ten directions have no abode; (130) become those who take the vow (pranidhāna) to bring all beings to maturity;

[1W] (131) become those who, in their skill in giving repose in the most excellent of jewels, have plunged into the sea of Dharma; (132) become those who, in adorning all world-spheres in various ways, are unshakeable in all world-spheres; (133) become those who experience the great miracle (mahāpratīhārya) through the Buddha's use of the easy mastery (vīkṛdītī) of miraculous power (pratīhārya); (134) become those who need only one instant of thought (eka-citta-kṣaṇa) for a vision of the Buddhas;

[1X] (135) become those who, in having respect (gaurava) for the Dharma, are filled with cognition (jñāna-parivrata); (136) become those who resemble space (ākāśa) in their understanding similar to the Body of Dharma (dharma-kāya); (137) become those who, in ensuring that the lineage of the Buddha (buddha-vamsa) is not cut off, are inspirers (samādāpaka) of bodhisattvas; (138) become those who never discontinue

35  Tib. rin po che'i mchog la ēal sos par bgyid pa la mkhas pas, 'through skill in giving repose in jewels', makes little sense; it is likely here that viśṛṇānana, 'gift', 'donation', has been misread as viśramana, 'causing to rest' (cf. BHSD, s.v. viśramayati), especially in light of the Chinese versions, e.g. T.416: 'How should they enter the sea of dharmas, through being able to give the treasure of the most excellent Dharma?'.

It should be noted here that in all Chinese versions 1W comes after 1X.

36  This quality is open to more than one explanation, and one can even accept the variant of N and P (see Text, 1W, n. 1) and hypothesise an original buddhasya (or: buddha-) prātiḥārya-vikurvan-vikriḍitā-caryā, 'the Buddha's use of his easy mastery of miracles and works of magic'. Unfortunately the Chinese versions are not instructive in this regard.

37  The Tib. is by no means clear to me. T.418 has 'attain the body of the treasure of Dharma (經藏身), signless (無有想) like empty space (虛空).' T.419: '[become] like the sky (天 = ākāśa) through the formlessness (無形) of the body of Dharma (法身).' T.416: 'How should they become like space, through the signlessness (無得相) of all dharmas?' For all their obscurities, the Chinese versions confirm the presence in the original of the terms 'signless' (animitta; not found in Tib.), 'body of Dharma' (dharma-kāya), and space (ākāśa). The most likely combination of these elements seems to me to be: 'become those who understand the Body of Dharma to be signless like space', but a question-mark must remain over this.
all the practices of a bodhisattva (sarva-bodhisattva-caryā); (139) be­come those who, being well-formed (susthita?), swift, and thoroughbred (ājaneya), are armed with the great armour (mahāsamāhā-samnaddha)38; (140) become those who are consecrated by consecration in omniscience (sarvajñatā) on the level (bhūmi) of the ten powers (daśabala) of the Tathāgata [...]; (141) become those who, by knowing the method and the way of computation (gananā), understand all things subject to perception (sarva-samjñā-gata)39; (142) become those who, through the investigation (upaparīksana) of all things subject to calculation (sarva-samkhya-gata?), are skilled in all dissolution and formation; (143) become those who, through the practice (pratipatti) of complete liberality (sarva-tyāga), are neither fixated nor grasping; (144) become those who, being great masters of giving (dānapati) without regrets (avipratisārin), are skilled in liberality (tyāga);

(145) become those who do not aspire to opportunities for rebirth (jāti-sthāna?) in any of the states of being (sarva-bhava-gati); (146) which samādhi is it whereby they become those who see the Buddha-fields of Buddhas and Lords resident in other world-spheres, and hear the Dharma, retaining it and not forgetting it---without it being [due to the operation of] the five super-knowledges (abhijñā), and without it being [due to the operation of] the six super-knowledges, and without those bodhisattvas being in those Buddha-fields after passing away from this world-sphere---whereby those bodhisattvas, while staying in this very world-sphere, see the Buddhas and hear the Dharma, and retain it all, so that just as I am free of any doubt or uncertainty as I stand in the Lord's presence now, so too those bodhisattvas will never be deprived of the sight of the Buddhas or the hearing of the Dharma, even in their dreams?41

CHAPTER ONE OF THE SAMĀDHI ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRAPĀLA

38 Perhaps 'harnessed with the great harness' is more apt here.

39 Sarva-samjñā-gata (Mvy 6705) indicated by Chinese: T.419 has 一切 想去, in which 一切 must equal -gata. Cf. T.418, T.416: 一切所想, 'all conceived things'.

40 It appears that T.416 has incorporated an erroneous gloss on 'I', since it has: 'Just as now the Reverend Ānanda...'. The 'I', however, is Bhadrapāla, not Ānanda.

41 The length of this last sentence, its clumsy wording so structurally dissimilar from the foregoing material, and its anticipation of later elements in the text could suggest the interpolation of a gloss of some sort. If this is so, it must have taken place very early, since even the earliest Chinese translations have it.
Thus addressed, the Lord said to the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla:

'Good, good, Bhadrapāla. You, Bhadrapāla, have set out for the benefit of many beings (bahu-jana-hitāya), for the happiness of many beings (bahu-jana-sukhāya), out of compassion for the world (lokānukampā-yai), for the welfare, the benefit, and the happiness of the great body of beings, of Devas and of Men (*mahato janakāyasārthāya hitāya sukhaṁ devānāṁ ca manusyaṁ ca*); it is good, Bhadrapāla, that you have thought to question the Tathāgata thus on this matter.'

'You, Bhadrapāla, have done your duty under former Jinas and planted the roots of goodness (avaropita-kusala-mula); you have worshipped many hundred thousand kotinayutas of Buddhas; you aspire to the Dharma (dharma-mārtha); you desire the Dharma (dharma-kāma); you lead the holy life (brahma-carya) without any apprehension of a basis (anupalambha)'; you

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1 Cf. Conze, Materials, p. 36: anupalambha-ciracarita-brahmacarya. Upalamba and upalabdhi are difficult terms to render into English, yet occur frequently in the Praśā, usually in negative form, i.e. in Tib. mi dmigs pa and dmigs su med pa. I have followed Conze (q.v.) in using 'apprehension' or 'apprehension of a basis' as renderings; in fact, wherever a form of the verb 'apprehend' occurs in the translation, the reader may be sure that the Tibetan text has some form of the verb dmigs pa. One must note, however, that the use of dmigs pa by the Tibetan translators was by no means confined to rendering the derived forms of upalambh-

In this particular instance only the Derge text, by using the terminative construction mi dmigs par, indicates that the term is connected with tshans par spyod pa. N, P, and L (mi dmigs pa) represent anupalambha as a separate adjective referring to Bhadrapāla, as does T.419 (921b3): 弊所 are without any desire to grasp'. I have chosen the reading of D as more faithful to the sense of what was probably the original Sanskrit compound. T.416 and T.418 do not have any equivalent for mi dmigs par, but T.416 contains an almost complete list of the dhūta-gunas ('qualities of the ascetic'), preceded by the words 'You now, by means of the practices taught by Mahākāśyapa, have few desires, know contentment, etc...' (874b28-c3). The appearance of Mahākāśyapa at this point, not found in any other version, is more comprehensible when we remember that he is traditionally closely associated with the dhūta-gunas (see BHṣD, s.v. Kāśyapa (2)). As for the dhūta-gunas themselves, their appearance in the text could represent the inclusion of what was originally a gloss on brahmacarya, but note that their presence is also attested by the SCPPSL (68c16-17): 'Bhadrapāla is a householder-bodhisattva who is able to practise ās al dhūta; the Buddha expounded the Pratyutpanna-samādhi-sūtra to this bodhisattva...'. This is yet another example of the close relationship of Jñānagupta's text and that used by the author of the SCPPSL.
train bodhisattvas, delight bodhisattvas, teach (samdarṣayasi) bodhisattvas, inspire (samādāpayasi) bodhisattvas, inflame (samuttējayasi) bodhisattvas, instruct (upadiśasi) bodhisattvas, bring bodhisattvas to fulfilment (sādha-
vasi); you desire the welfare of bodhisattvas, you have great compassion,
you have equanimity towards all beings, possess the excellent perfection
of complete mastery of the mind (sarva-cetovasitā-parama-pāramitā); possess
the vision of the Buddhas, are great in vows (pranidhāna), have the pro-
found as your range of activity (gambhīra-gocara), have the thought of om-
niscience (sarvajñatā-citta), uphold awakening (bodhi), teach the lineage
of the Tathāgata (tathāgata-vamsa), possess a thought of awakening (bodhi-
citta) like, similar, and comparable to vajra; are expert in the resolves
(āśaya) and behaviour (samudacara) of all beings, dwell in the presence of
all Buddhas---Bhadrapāla, if one were to recount your qualities, one would
never come to an end.'

[2B] 'Bhadrapāla, there is a samādhi called the One who Stands Face to
Face with the Buddhas of the Present (pratyutpanna-buddha-sammukhāvasthi-
ta); if one preserves that Samādhi without forgetting it, if one listens
to it attentively (avahita-srotra) and succeeds in being mentally undis-
tracted (avikṣipta-citta), then those excellent qualities (guna-viśeṣa) will
not be difficult to obtain.'

Then the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla said to the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, would the Tathāgata therefore please expound that
Samādhi, which would be for the benefit of many beings, for the happiness
of many beings, out of compassion for the world, and for the welfare, the
benefit, and the happiness of the great body of beings, of Devas and of
Men; and which would shed a great light for future bodhisattvas mahā-
sattvas.'

Then the Lord said to the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla:

' İn that case, Bhadrapāla, listen well and consider it carefully,
and I shall expound it to you (*tena hi śrū sa śādu ca susūtē ca maṇasi-
kuru. bhāṣīyē 'ham te').'

2 I.e. the qualities enumerated by Bhadrapāla in Chapter 1 (1K-Y).

3 T.416 contains a considerably amplified version of this speech of
Bhadrapāla's (874c16-27).
the bodhisattva mahâsattva Bhadrapâla and the world with its Devas, Men, Asuras and Gandharvas listened to the Lord, and the Lord then said:

'Bhadrapâla, if one dharma is practised (āsevita), cultivated (ni-śevita), developed (bhâvita), much rehearsed (bahlîkrta), mastered (yânîkrta), actively pursued (vastu-kîrta), made to arise (samutthâpita), made familiar (paricita), fully purified (suparyavadâta), fully concentrated on (susamâhita), and fully undertaken (susamârabdha), then one will become distinguished by all qualities (sarva-guna-visîsta). What is the one dharma? Namely, the Samâdhi called the One who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present, which brings to fulfilment the qualities of which the first is great learning (bâhuśrutya-pûrvaka-dharma).

[B.418: Chapter Two, Practice] [2D] Bhadrapâla, what then is the Samâdhi called the One who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present? Namely, (1) intent reflection on thoughts which have the Buddha as their object (buddhârâmbana-citta-manasikâra); (2) the absence of mental distraction (aviksipta-citta); (3) the presence of mindfulness (upasthita-smrti?); (4) the obtaining of wisdom (prajñâ); (5) not renouncing energy (vîrya); (6) attending on good friends (kâlyânamitropasthana); (7) practising, developing, and rehearsing emptiness (sûnyatâ); (8) the elimination of the obstructions (nîvarana); (9) the elimination of torpor and drowsiness (styâna-middha); (10) the avoidance of talk; (11) shunning bad friends (pâpa-mitra); (12) keeping company (nîsevana) with good friends; (13) undistracted faculties (aviksiptendriya?); (14) moderation in eating (bhojana-mîtrajñâta); (15) having the energy not to sleep during the first or the last watch of the night; (16) the absence of attachment to robes, food, beds and seats, medicine to cure the sick, and personal belongings (cîvara-pinda-pâta-sayanâsana-gînepratyayabhaipsajya-parîskâra); (17) not giving up living the forest-life (aranya-vâsa); (18) not attaching any importance to one's person; (19) disregarding one's own life (jîvita); (20) the renunciation of oneself (âtma-parîtyaga); (21) being of service to beings;

4 See n. 2.2.
(22) renouncing kin; (23) keeping away from one's birthplace (janmant-bhumi); (24) practising (āșevana) friendliness (maitrī); (25) obtaining compassion (karunā); (26) abiding in sympathetic joy (muditā); (27) developing disinterestedness (upeksā); (28) the elimination of the afflictions (upakleśa); (29) the perfection of the trances (dhyāna) without indulging in them (an-āsvādanatā); (30) the meditational undevelopment (vibhāvanā) of the perception of form (rūpa-samjña); (31) gaining the perception of repulsiveness (asubha-samjña); (32) unwavering mindfulness (samrti); (33) not grasping the aggregates (skandha); (34) the absence of vain thought with regard to the elements (dhātu); (35) being unattached to the sense-fields (āyatana); (36) not boasting of one's high birth; (37) the annihilation of pride; (38) being without envy (īrsya) of the possessions of others; (39) being a basis for the welfare of beings; (40) equanimity (sama-citta) towards all beings; (41) not forsaking all beings; (42) emancipating all beings;

(43) the perception (samjña) of all beings as oneself; (44) the perception of all beings as one's mother; (45) the perception of them as one's father; (46) the perception of them as one's son; (47) the perception of them as one's kin; (48) the perception of all beings as undefiled (nihkleśa); (49) not grasping at all existing things (bhāva); (50) the absence of undue attachment to morality (a-sīla-parāmarśa); (51) the cultivation (nīsevana) of samādhī; (52) desiring great learning (bāhuśrutya) yet not being made conceited by it; (53) flawlessness (acchidra) in the constituent of morality (śīla-skandha); (54) immovability in the constituent of samādhī (samādhi-skandha); (55) not doubting the dharmas; (56) being in harmony with the Buddha; (57) not rejecting the Dharma; (58) not causing schism in the Saṅgha; (59) the avoidance of slanderous talk (pāśunya); (60) entering the presence of the Holy Ones (ārya) and attending upon them; (61) the avoidance of fools; (62) not enjoying, taking no pleasure in, and keeping away from worldly talk (lau-kika-katha); (63) enjoying, taking pleasure in, liking, and employing talk which transcends the world (lokottara-katha); (64) the rejection of what is not tradition (anākhyaṇa)?[3]5

5 Gtarm gsyud is given as ākhyaṇa ('communication', 'tradition') by Mvy 7128, but I am by no means sure what is intended here by gtarm gsyud ma yin pa. The Chinese versions are puzzling, to say the least:
The practice of the six agreeable dharmas (?); pleasant speech (priya-vacana); the elimination of the five obstructions (nivarana); the practice of the five stages of emancipation (vimo-ksayatana); the comprehension (parijhana) of the five aggregates (skandha); the rejection of the ten bad ways of action (asa-kuśala-karmapatha); the development of the ten good ways of action (asa-kuśala-karmapatha); the perfecting of the ten powers (bala); the clearing away of the nine bases of ill-will (āghāta-vastu); the [meditational] undevelopment (vibhavana) of the nine perceptions (samjña); the elimination of the eight bases of sloth (ālasyavastu?); the cultivation of the eight bases of exertion (ārambha-vastu); practising the eight stages of sovereignty (abhibhvayatana); the development of the eight emancipations (vimoksa); the obtaining of the eight reflections of the Great Man (mahapurusa-vitarka); being in harmony with the Holy Eightfold Path (aryāstānga-marga); being unattached to trance (dhyāna); the absence of conceit (manyanā) in learning (śruti); the suppression of pride; the desire to hear the Dharma; desiring the Dharma; aspiring to the Dharma; longing for the Dharma; being bent upon the Dharma (dharma-nimna); being intent upon the Dharma (dharma-pravana);

T.416 (875a22): 'although hearing words spoken, the mind does not like listening to them.'

That T.418 and T.419 both mention animals should provide some clue to the Sanskrit original, but I for one am unable to arrive at it.

Here we strike a disagreeable problem. The Chinese versions read as follows:

T.418 (904c10): 'studying the six tastes (六味);'
T.419 (921c5): 'studying the six firm dharmas (六堅法);'
T.416 (875a23): 'not becoming attached to the six tastes of the world (世間六味)' [The translation appears to be defective around this point.]

The exact relationship between the six agreeable dharmas, the six firm dharmas, and the six tastes eludes me at present, but what is probably intended here is the group of six (in Pāli) saraniya dhamma, in BHS sarayanlya-dharma/s amranj anlya-dharma, i.e. the six sociable or agreeable rules of conduct (for which see Mochizuki, Bukkyō dajiten, p. 5080b-c). Perhaps T.419 has confused sarayanlya with some form of sara (adj.), 'hard', 'firm', 'solid'. Note that the SCPPSL (87c3) has: 'cultivate the six dharmas of deference (和敬)'.
(90) being inclined to the Dharma (dharma-prāgbhāra); (91) applying oneself to the Dharma (dharma-bhiyukta);

(92) freedom from vain thought due to the perception of self (ātma-samjñā); (93) the rejection of the perception of a being (sattva-samjñā); (94) not apprehending the perception of a life (jīvita-samjñā); (95) the elimination of the perception of a person (pudgala-samjñā); (96) the removal of the perception of aggregates (skandha-samjñā); (97) not abiding in the perception of existing things (bhāva-samjñā); (98) not desiring Nirvāṇa; (99) not desiring the aggregates; (100) the perception of transmigration (samsāra) as a dreadful horror; (101) the perception of the aggregates as executioners; (102) the perception of the elements (dhatu) as poisonous snakes; (103) the perception of the sense-fields (ayatana) as an empty village; (104) the perception of the Triple World (tridhaṭu) as unhappiness; (105) seeing Nirvāṇa as a blessing (anusamsā); (106) the perception of desires as something to be got rid of like a lump of phlegm (kheta-pinda); (107) the perception of food as disagreeable; (108) being intent on retiring from the world (abhiniskramana); (109) taking no pleasure in the household life; (110) the perception of sons and daughters as enemies; (111) the perception of one's wife as a demoness (rākṣasī);

(112) unbroken faith (abheda-prasāda) in the Buddha's teaching; (113) not being antagonistic (vipratyanika) towards all beings; (114) being homeless (aniketa) in all world-spheres; (115) being face to face with all Buddhas (sarva-buddha-sammukhi-bhūta); (116) being properly ordained (sūpasampanna) and leading the holy life (brahma-carya) well; (117) understanding all bodies; (118) being pure in inclination (adhimukti); (119) being virtuous in high resolve (adhyāśaya); (120) mental flexibility (citta-karmaniya); (121) the renunciation of improper endeavours (ayuktārmbha); (122) exerting oneself in proper endeavours (yuktārmbha); (123) the removal of all signs (nimitta); (124) the sameness of the Three Times (tryadhva-samatā); (125) the calling to mind of all the Buddhas (sarva-buddhānusmrīti); (126) the engendering of all the roots of goodness (kuśalamūla); (127) the sustaining power (adhīsthāna) of all Buddhas; (128) the mastery of all samādhis; (129) the absence of attachment to the Buddha's bodily marks (laksāna); (130) the sameness

10 All Chinese versions add: 'as resembling a dream'.
of all dharmas (sarvā-dharma-samatā); (131) not disputing (avivāda) with the world; (132) not being averse (apratikula) to one's duties; (133) the understanding of conditioned co-production (pratītya-samutpāda); (134) the acquisition of patient acceptance (ksānti) of the stage of the Tathāgata on the road to deliverance (nīryāna-mārga-tathāgata-bhūmi?); (135) the entrance to the dharma-realm (dharma-dhātu); (136) the comprehension of the element of space (ākāśa-dhātu); (137) the absence of fixation (anabhiniveṣa) to the realm of beings (sattva-dhātu); (138) the unproduced (ajāta), the unstopped (aniruddha), and the unabiding (āsthitā); (139) coming face to face with the realm of Nirvāṇa (nirvāṇa-dhātu); (140) the purification of the eye of wisdom (prajñā-caksus); (141) the absence of duality in all dharmas (sarvā-dharma-advaya); (142) a thought of awakening which has no ends and no middle (anantamadhyabhodhicitta); (143) concentration of mind (cetasa ekottābha); (144) the entrance into unobstructed cognition (apratihata-jñāna) with (?) all the Buddhas; (145) cognition free of the obstructions (anāvarana?); (146) a mind ripe for awakening; (147) the independent cognition of a Buddha (a-parapratyaya-buddha-jñāna); (148) the perception of good friends as the Teacher (śāstr-samjñā); (149) not causing schisms among bodhisattvas; (150) the rejection of the deeds of Mara (māra-karma); (151) the similarity of all the world (sarvā-jagati) to an apparition (nirmita?); (152) the similarity to a reflection (pratibhāsa) in [of?] the vision of the Tathāgatas (tathāgata-darśana); (153) the search for the thought of awakening (bodhicitta); (154) equanimity (citta-samatā) towards the perfections (pāramitā); (155) the sameness of the vision of the Tathāgatas and the reality limit (bhūta-koṭi); (156) the sameness for all Buddhas of all virtuous qualities (sarvā-guna-dharma-samatā)—this, Bhadrapāla, is the Samādhi called the One who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present.'

### Chapter Two of the Samādhi Enquired of by Bhadrapāla

11 Or perhaps 'cognition not inimical (apratihata) to all the Buddhas.' The problem here is the significance of sans rgyas thams cad dañ. The Chinese translations all appear to have taken sarva-buddha as connected with the preceding cetasa ekotībhāva, which we might then interpret loosely as 'mental identification with all the Buddhas' or perhaps 'the mental concentration of all Buddhas'. However, the wording of the Chinese is rather obscure; see T.416 (875b13), T.418 (904c27), and T.419 (921c23-24).
CHAPTER THREE

' Bhadrapāla, since those dharmas will produce that Samādhi, what then, Bhadrapāla, is the Samādhi produced by those dharmas? Namely, the Samādhi called the One who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present.'

'And what, Bhadrapāla, is the Samādhi called the One who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present? In this regard, Bhadrapāla, a bhikṣu or a bhikṣunī, an upāsaka or an upāsikā who observes the moral precepts (śīla) in their entirety, having gone alone to a secluded spot and sat down, should conceive the thought (cittam utpādayati): "In what direction does the Lord, the Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha Amitāyus live, dwell, reside, and teach the Dharma (tiṣṭhati dhriyate āpayaṁ dharmam ca deśayati)?" In accordance with what he has heard (yathaśrutam) he reflects intently (manasikaroti): "One hundred thousand kotis of Buddha-fields to the west of this Buddha-field, in the world-sphere Sukhāvatī, that Lord, the Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha Amitāyus now resides, lives, dwells, and teaches the Dharma, surrounded (parivṛta) and attended (puraskṛta) by a host of bodhisattvas;" and he reflects intently on the Tathāgata with an undistracted mind (avikṣipta-cittena).

1 As I have pointed out elsewhere (Harrison, 'Buddhanusmrīti'), the pratyutpanna-samādhi is not devoted exclusively to Amitāyus; rather, he appears as an example, as one of the many possible objects of the Samādhi. His employment here, however, does suggest that at the time when the Praś was composed he was thought of as the pratyutpanna-buddha par excellence, and that his cult was well-developed.

2 Sukhāvatī, Tib. Bde ba can, the Western Paradise of the Buddha Amitābha, is described at length in the Mahāyāna sūtra devoted to its glorification, the Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha. For parallels with the brief description of Sukhāvatī's location given here, see Sukh, p. 26, lines 15-18, or Smaller Sukh (Vaidya's edition), p. 254, lines 11-16. T.416 (87562) translates Sukhāvatī by (hsū-mo-t'i), common in early Chinese translations, which is to be reconstructed as Sukhāvatī (see Mochizuki, Bukkyo daijiten, p. 94a-b, and p. 1157b-c; see also Brough, Gāndhārī Dharmapada, pp. 88-90).
'Bhadrapāla, just as for example (tadyathāpi nāma) some man or woman in a dream while sleeping sees the appearance of forms (rupākāra), sees silver, or gold, or friends, or kinsmen, or maternal relations, or companions, things which are pleasing (manojña), dear (priya), not disagreeable (apratikūla), and in that dream he dreams of playing (krīdāti), dallying (ramati), and amusing himself (paricārayati) with them, of speaking and conversing with them; when he wakes up he relates to others all those things which he saw, heard, thought, was conscious of, spoke and conversed about; and through remembering (anusmṛ-) the features (nimitta) of the dream he sheds tears—-in the same manner (evam eva), Bhadrapāla, a bodhisattva, whether he is a householder (grhaṇa) or a renunciant (pravrajita), goes alone to a secluded place and seats himself, and in accordance with what he has heard reflects intently on the Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha Amitāyus; flawless in the constituent of morality (śīla-skandha) and unwavering in mindfulness (smṛti) he should reflect intently on him for a day and a night, or for two, or three, or four, or five, or six, or seven days and nights. If he reflects intently with an undistracted mind on the Tathāgata Amitāyus for seven days and nights, then, when a full seven days and nights have elapsed, he sees the Lord, the Tathāgata Amitāyus. Should he not see that Lord during the daytime, then the Lord, the Tathāgata Amitāyus will show his face to him in a dream while he sleeps.'

'Bhadrapāla, just as for example a man or a woman in a dream while sleeping neither knows if he is at home nor knows if he is abroad, and his organ of vision is not obstructed by walls, nor is it darkened or obscured---in the same manner, Bhadrapāla, that bodhisattva mahāsattva too conceives a thought in such a way that the spaces between worlds do not obstruct him, that Sumeru, King of Mountains, the Cakravāda and the Greater Cakravāda, Kings of Mountains (sumeru-parvatarāja-cakravāda-mahācakravāda-parvatarāja), and similarly the Black Mountains cannot obstruct his organ of sight; though that bodhisattva does not see the Tathāgata through obtaining the divine eye (divya-caksus), does not hear the True Dharma (saddharma) through obtaining the divine faculty of hearing (divya-śrotra-dhātu), and does not travel instantaneously to that world-sphere through obtaining magic power (rddhi-bala), yet, Bhadrapāla,
while remaining in this very world-sphere that bodhisattva perceives (jānāti) himself as being in that world-sphere and seeing that Lord, the Tathāgata Amītāyuṣ, and he also hears the Dharma. And he retains (ādhārayati), masters (paryavāpnoti), and preserves (dhārayati) those dharmas after hearing them expounded. He honours (satkaroti), reveres (gurukaroti), venerates (mānayati), and worships (pūjayati) that Lord, the Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha Amītāyuṣ. And on emerging from that Samādhi the bodhisattva expounds at length (vistarena) to others those dharmas, such as he has heard, retained, and mastered.'

'Bhadrapāla, it is just as, for example, one man living in the great city of Rājagṛha heard that there was a courtesan in the city of Vaśāḷī called Śumanā; a second man heard that there was a courtesan called Āmrapālī; and a third man heard that there was a former courtesan called Utpalavārṇa. Having heard of them they fell in love with them, each with each; without those men ever having seen those courtesans, through simply hearing of their names, appearance, and beauty, they conceived thoughts of passion. While repeatedly (bhūyo bhūyas) reflecting

Because of the importance of the content of 3C and the occasionally difficult wording of the Tibetan, it might be helpful to give one of the early Chinese versions of this passage. T.419 (922a17-27) reads:

Just as the above-mentioned dreaming man, who thinks of himself as dwelling in space, does not think 'night' and does not think 'day', and his organ of sight is not obstructed by walls nor obscured by darkness—Bhadrapāla, so it is with the bodhisattva, who performs an act of thought like this, and thus in the spaces between Buddha-fields, although there are Mt. Sumeru, and there are Cakravāda and Mahācakravāda Mountains as well as other Black Mountains, they cannot obstruct his eyesight, nor can they obstruct his thought. Without having obtained the divine eye, the bodhisattva sees the Buddha Amītābha; without having obtained the divine ear, he hears the sūtras/dharma expounded by the Buddha Amītābha; without having obtained magic power, he succeeds in going to Amītābha's Buddha-field. The bodhisattva also does not die from here to go to be born there. Simply staying in this world as before he sees the Buddha, the Tathāgata Amītābha, and hears him expounding the Dharma. As he has heard it he takes it up. The bodhisattva then wakes from this concentration, and then expounds widely to others the Dharma as he has heard it.

Note the absence in the Tib. text of the statement denying the fact that the bodhisattva has to die before he can see Amītābha; this occurs, however, in all Chinese versions (cf. 1Y). T.418 is as usual very close to T.419, while T.416 is simply more detailed, and also mentions the 'worshipping' of the Buddha (which is not found in the two early versions).
intently on them, they went to sleep, and in their dreams they perceived themselves visiting those courtesans, so that just as those men conceived such and such thoughts of passion while they were awake in the great city of Rājagrha, so then when they fell asleep those men dreamt in a dream that they saw those courtesans, consorted with them, indulged in sexual intercourse (maithuna-dharma), and were relieved of their sexual desire. On waking up they remembered what they had seen, heard, known, perceived and experienced in their dreams, Bhadrapāla, and coming to where you were you were related those things to you. Having heard those things you taught the Dharma to them by means of this very teaching, in such a way that they became irreversible from supreme and perfect awakening. I too predict (vyākaromi) that at a future time those men shall become Tathāgatas Arhats Sanyaksambuddhas named *Suvibuddha*. Obtaining patient acceptance (ksānti) those men today see and remember (anusmr-) those previous signs (pūrva-nimitta)."
'In the same manner, Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva who possesses this Samādhi of the One who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present hears of the Lord, the Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha Amitāyus, while staying in this very world-sphere. Having simply heard of that Tathāgata’s name, appearance, and qualities, with undistracted thoughts he calls to mind (samanusmarati) the Lord, the Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha Amitāyus. By repeatedly reflecting intently on him he sees that Tathāgata. Established in that Samādhi of the Bodhisattva who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present, when he sees that Tathāgata, he asks the question:

"Lord, what dharmas must the bodhisattva mahāsattva possess to be reborn in this world-sphere?"

In this way whenever one wishes to be reborn in any Buddha-field whatsoever, one asks the Tathāgata.'

Thus questioned, the Lord, the Tathāgata Amitāyus says to that bodhisattva:

"Son of good family (kula-putra), if the calling to mind of the Buddha (buddhanusmṛti) is practised (āsevita), cultivated (niśevita), developed (bhāvita), and rehearsed (bahlīkṛta), then one is reborn in this world-sphere. If the calling to mind of the Buddha is practised, cultivated, developed, and rehearsed, then one will be reborn in this Buddha-field.

the realisation which the three men experience because of their dream, and the way in which Bhadrapāla interprets their experience for them. The key term in this passage is ksānti, i.e. anutpattika-dharma-ksānti. The three dreamers of Rājagrha are represented as generalising the unreality of their dream-experience into an appreciation of the fundamental unreality of all phenomena, the realisation, in other words, of the fact that no dharma is ever 'produced'. Anutpattika-dharma-ksānti is thus an important concept in the Praś (see Glossary, also s.v. ksānti, for other occurrences of the term), and the fact that its attainment is coupled with the practice of the Samādhi was no doubt one of the principal reasons why Mahāyāna theorists assigned the prayutpanna-samādhi to the eighth bhūmi (see Introduction, p. xxvii, nn. 10, 11)—the bhūmi traditionally distinguished by the concepts of anutpattika-dharma-ksānti, vyākaraṇa, and avaivartika (see Lamotte, Marche Héroïque, p. 157; also p. 208, n. 209). And here in section 3D we do indeed have all these three elements.

Another point of interest in the TCTL passage is that whereas all versions of the Praś mention only Vaśālī in connection with Sumana, it names a city for each courtesan (see Lamotte’s translation above). Although Āmrapālī is traditionally associated with Vaśālī (see DPN, s.v. Ambapālī), the other two courtesans are otherwise unknown.

See also Lamotte, ibid. n, l, for citations of similar passages concerning dream-experiences in the Pitrputrasamāgama-sūtra and the Bhava-samkrānti-sūtra.
What then, son of good family, is the calling to mind of the Buddha? Namely, when one reflects intently on the Tathāgata thus: 'He is the Tathāgata Arhat Sanyaksambuddha, Endowed with Knowledge and Conduct, the Sugata, the Knower of the World, the Leader of Men to be Tamed, the Supreme, the Teacher of Devas and Men, the Buddha and Lord (*tathāgato *rhan sanyaksambuddho vidyācaranasampannah sugato lokavid anuttarāh purusadamyasārathih sāstā devānām ca manusyānām ca buddho bhagavān*) 7, endowed with the thirty-two marks of the Great Man (dvātrimsan-mahāpurasā-laksana) and a body with a colour like gold, resembling a bright, shining, and well-formed (susthita?) golden image (suvarna-rūpa?), well adorned like a bejewelled pillar (ratna-stambha?), and teaching the Dharma in the midst of an assembly of disciples (śrāvaka-saṅgha), teaching whatever is in accordance with imperishability (yathāvipraṇāṣam tathā samdarśayati?). What is imperishable (avipraṇāṣita)? Earth is imperishable. Water, fire, air, creatures (or: demons) (bhūta), the Devas, brahmins, and Prajāpati are imperishable. Form (rūpa) is imperishable. Feelings (vedanā), perception (samjñā), predispositions (samskāra), and consciousness (vijñāna) are imperishable.'---when one does not think vainly about (manyate), does not apprehend (upalabhate), does not fixate on (abhinivisate), does not falsely perceive (samjñātī), does not falsely imagine (kalpayati), does not falsely discriminate (vikalpayati), and does not review (samanupasyati) the Tathāgata, when one obtains the Samādhi of emptiness (śūnyata-samādhi) by so reflecting intently on the Tathāgata without apprehension of a basis, that is known as the calling to mind of the Buddha.'"
[3G] 'After he has developed that Samādhi and concentrated (samāhita) upon that Samādhi, that bodhisattva, when he emerges from that Samādhi, will come to where you are, Bhadrapāla, and arriving there will tell you of that Samādhi. Then, Bhadrapāla, you teach the Dharma so that that bodhisattva becomes irreversible from supreme and perfect awakening. Then I also predict that at a future time that man shall become a Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha by the name of *Pratibhanaprapta.*'  

'Bhadrapāla, you yourself, the Elder (sthavira) Mahākāśyapa, the bodhisattva Indradatta, the bodhisattva Susīma¹⁰, and other bodhisattvas who have obtained this Samādhi, have gained mastery (vasībhūta) in this Samādhi.'  

[3H] 'Bhadrapāla, formerly (bhūtapūrva), in the past¹¹, a certain man travelled into a deserted wilderness, and having become hungry and thirsty was overcome by torpor and lethargy; he fell asleep, and in a dream obtained much food and drink. On obtaining it he ate his fill, and his hunger and thirst vanished. Since, when he awoke, neither his body nor his provisions had grown any larger, he thought: "In this way, as a dream, so is a dharma," and understanding that to be so he obtained the patient acceptance of the fact that dharmas are not produced (anuttattikadharma-ksānti); and he also became irreversible from supreme and perfect awakening.'  

'In the same manner, Bhadrapāla, if a bodhisattva, whether he is a householder or a renunciant, hears that a Tathāgata resides in such and such a direction, and reflects intently on that Tathāgata in that direction, he will obtain a vision of the Buddha. He should not have any perception of an existing thing (bhāva-samjñā), but should have the

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9 This reconstruction is hypothetical. However, spobs most often renders pratibhāna ('brilliance', 'eloquence', 'presence of mind'), while T.416 (876c7), which has , suggests the same word taken in its meaning of 'brilliance', 'radiance'. T.418 and T.419 do not have this vyākarana.

10 All Chinese versions: the Devaputra Susīma.

11 So also T.419, but T.418 (905b24) and T.416 (876cl12-12) differ. E.g. T.416: 'Bhadrapāla, I remember that of old there was a Buddha, a Lord called Hsū-po-jih; at that time a certain man, etc...' T.418 has the same characters for the past Buddha's name, which could be regarded as a suspicious co-incidence, given the fact that T.416 usually translates names in preference to transliterating them.
perception of empty space (ākāsa-samjñā); by being properly established in the perception of empty space and by reflecting intently on the perception of a Buddha (buddha-samjñā), that bodhisattva will see the Tathāgata face to face, beautiful (subha) and resembling an image of beryl (vaidūrya-pratimā)12; that bodhisattva will see such a Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha.'

[Bhadrapāla, it is just as if, for example, some man or other travels from his native land to another country, and arriving there he calls to mind his native land; after reflecting intently on things as he used to see, hear, know, and perceive them he is overcome by torpor and lethargy, and falls asleep; in a dream he travels to his native land and perceives himself to be there, and he sees those things just as he formerly used to see, hear, perceive and be aware of them; he both goes there and comes back. Waking up, he tells of those things among his relatives, friends, kinsmen, and maternal relations13, saying:

"Thus did I go, these things I saw, these things I experienced in that place."

'In the same manner, Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva, whether he is a householder or a renunciant, when he hears that a Tathāgata resides in such and such a direction should reflect intently on the Tathāgata in that direction with mindfulness and undistracted thoughts, in order to obtain a vision of the Buddha. In that way the bodhisattva will see the Tathāgata as a beryl image standing beautifully [?].'

12 It is difficult to know what is intended here. Sku gzugs, 'image', suggests pratimā, but vaidūrya-pratimā could equally well mean 'like beryl'. Certainly the Chinese versions do not speak of images:
T.418 (905c2-3): 'like a gem placed upon beryl, thus the bodhisattva sees in the ten directions countless Buddhas clearly.'
T.416 (876c22): 'he succeeds in seeing that Buddha, whose brilliance is as translucent as clear beryl.'
T.419 (922c4-5): 'clear [or: pure] as beryl, chief among gems, thus he reflects and then sees the Tathāgatas.'

While allowing the sense of the Tibetan to stand, we must admit the possibility that the Sanskrit merely likened the clarity of the vision of the Buddha to that of beryl, a gem renowned for its brilliance and transparency (see below, l6G). For the identification of vaidūrya (Pāli veluriya) with beryl, see A. Masters, 'Indo-Aryan and Dravidian', pp. 304ff.

13 On the basis of the Tib. one could quite justifiably construe gānen 'dag...snag gi gānen mthsams rnams kyi nañ du as part of the speech of the man who travels in his dreams; all Chinese versions, however, support the paragraphing as I have given it in the Text.

14 Or perhaps 'as standing in splendour similar to beryl'. Cf. n. 3.12; the Chinese is much the same as for 3H, except for T.416 (877a3-4): 'will
Bhadrapāla, it is just as if, for example, when a bhikṣu performing the meditation on the repulsive (āsubha-bhāvanā) sees in front of him bloated corpses (vyādhamātaka), when he sees in front of him corpses that have turned blue (vinilaka), that are putrefied (vipuyaka), that are bloody (viloḥitaka), that are eaten (vikhāditaka), that the flesh has gone from (udgata?), or that have no flesh or blood, or are white, or the colour of shells, or those that are skeletons (asthi), then those things—from the blue corpse to the skeleton—have come from nowhere, and have gone nowhere. They are not made by anyone, nor are they stopped (niruddha) by anyone, yet, Bhadrapāla, by that bhikṣu's mastery of mental one-pointedness (ekāgratā) he sees the skeleton lying in front of him.

In the same manner, Bhadrapāla, whatever direction Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas might dwell in, those bodhisattvas supported (parigrhitā) by the Buddha who are established in this Samādhi reflect intently (manasikaronti) on that direction, in order to obtain a vision of the Buddhas. By reflecting intently on that direction they see the Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas in that direction. Why is that? Namely, Bhadrapāla, this obtaining of a vision of the Buddhas is the natural outcome (nisyanda) of this Samādhi. The bodhisattva who is established in this Samādhi sees the Tathāgatas, and they appear to him, through the combination and concurrence of these three things: the might of the Buddha (buddhanubhāva), the power of the roots of goodness (kusala-mula) engendered by himself, and the fact of obtaining the Samādhi.

Bhadrapāla, it is just as if, for example, there is a man or a woman naturally disposed (svabhāva) towards washing his head and putting on ornaments, and he has a mind to look at himself in a vessel of clear oil, or a vessel of clear water, or a well-polished round mirror (ādarsamandala), or a piece of ground painted with indigo [?] If he sees see that Buddha, whose image (形像) is either like beryl or like a pure golden colour.'

15 On the āsubha-bhāvanā see Traité III, pp. 1311ff.
16 I do not know what is meant by mthiṅ bus bskus pa'i sa phyogs (below: sa chen po). All Chinese versions have 水精, i.e. 'crystal', e.g. T.418 (905c20): 無瑕水精, 'flawless crystal'. Mthiṅ in the compound mthiṅ īn (Mvy 5921) can denote rājapatta, which according to MW is 'a kind of precious stone or diamond of inferior quality', but in the absence of better evidence we had better take it here as = nilā or nilī, 'dark blue' or 'indigo dye'. 
there his own form (rupa), Bhadrapāla, what do you think (tat kim man-
vase)? Does the appearance of the form of the man or woman in that
vessel of clear oil, or vessel of clear water, or well-polished round
mirror, or piece of ground painted with indigo—does it mean that the
man or the woman has gone inside them or entered them?

Bhadrapāla said:

'Reverend Lord, that is not the case. Reverend Lord, because that
oil and water are clear and undisturbed, or that round mirror is well-
polished, or that large piece of ground painted with indigo is clean, the
reflection (pratibimba) stands forth; the body of the man or woman does
not arise from that water, oil, mirror, or large piece of ground, it has
not come from anywhere nor gone anywhere, it has not been produced from
anywhere, nor has it been stopped (niruddha) anywhere.'

[3L] The Lord said:

'Good, good, Bhadrapāla. You are right, Bhadrapāla. So it is,
Bhadrapāla. As you have said, when the forms (rupa) are good and clear
(suparisauddha) the reflections (pratibimba) appear. In the same manner,
when the bodhisattva develops this Samādhi properly, that bodhisattva
sees the Tathāgatas with little difficulty (alpa-kṛccchreṇa). Having
seen them he asks questions, and is delighted by the elucidation of
those questions. After thinking: "Did these Tathāgatas come from
somewhere? Did I go anywhere?" he understands (prajanati) that the
Tathāgatas did not come from anywhere. Having comprehended (sampra-
jna-) that his own body also did not go anywhere, he thinks: "Whatever
belongs to this Triple World (traidhatuka) is nothing but thought (citta-
mātra) 17. Why is that? Namely, however I discriminate things (vikalpa-
yati), so they appear."

[3M] 'That thought is not apprehended as interior, or as exterior, or as

of this statement in the historical development of Mahāyāna 'idealism',
see L. Schmithausen, 'Spirituelle Praxis und philosophische Theorie',
neither of the two, it arises conditionally upon (pratītya) apprehending it in a different way (anyathā)[]. That which is produced conditionally (pratītya-samutpāna) has no existence (abhava). That which has no existence is unborn (ajata). That which is unborn cannot be apprehended (anupalambha). That which cannot be apprehended is empty of own-being (svabhāva-sūnya). That which is empty of own-being is indefinable (aprajñāpani). That which is indefinable is unable to be seen, discerned (vijñāta), fixated upon (sakta), demonstrated (desita), destroyed (viprapāta), or revealed (prabhāvita).

[3N] [APPEARS IN CHINESE ONLY; T.418 GIVEN]

'Thought creates the Buddhas, thought itself sees them. The Buddhas are thought, thought the Tathāgatas. Thought is my body, thought sees the Buddhas. Thought cannot itself know thought, thought cannot itself see thought. Thought with [false] perceptions (samjñā) is stupidity; thought without [false] perceptions is Nirvāna. These dharmas are not enjoyable. They are all produced by thinking (manyanā). Since thinking is empty (śūnya), then whatever is thought is thus ultimately non-existent. Bhadrapāla, such is the vision of the bodhisattva established in the Samādhi.'

18 Cf. the parallel expression in KP 143: na te ādhyātmena na bahirdhā nobhayam antareṇapalabhyante; Tib. de dag ni naḥ na yaḥ med / phyi rol na yaḥ med / gā gi ga med pa la yaḥ mi dmigs te.... It can be seen that the Tibetans have construed na ubhayam antarefa not as 'not between the two' but as 'not in the absence of the two', cf. MW, s.v. antarena. Certainly 'neither inside nor outside' makes more sense than 'between inside and outside'. The same expression also occurs in the VKN (see Lamotte, L'Enseignement, p. 273).

This section of the Praś (3M) is not found in any Chinese version, so we may regard it as a probable later accretion. There is no indication as to whether it is spoken by the Buddha, or is a continuation of the bodhisattva's reflections begun in 3M. I have taken it as spoken by the Buddha, and have done the same for the verses of 30, even though in the original form of the Praś these verses were prose and did indeed represent a continuation of the bodhisattva's reflection (see Appendix A).

19 ishikōikyō, literally: 'no-one can enjoy these dharmas'. However, the Tibetan equivalent (30v4) is chos 'di dag ni sīṇ po med, 'these dharmas are insubstantial', sīṇ po med translating Skt. asāra(ka), 'without pith', 'insubstantial', 'worthless'. This is indicated by the other Chinese versions, e.g. T.419 (923a6) has yin, 'without firmness'. Therefore how does asāra become 'not enjoyable'? Cf. n. 2.6 for another example of what appears to be the same problem; see also Appendix A.

20 So also, with minor differences, T.419 and T.416. As can be seen, this section presents in prose the material which is taken up in verse in 30. The complete sequence (3N-0) raises special text-historical problems which will be discussed below in Appendix A.
Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses (atha khalu bhaga-vāms tasyām velāyām imā gāthā abhāsata):

1. 'By thought is the Buddha produced;
   And by thought alone (cittenaiva) is he seen.  
   For me the Buddha is only thought,  
   Only thought is the Tathāgata.

2. My body is only thought,  
   And the Buddha is seen by thought.  
   For me awakening (bodhi) is only thought;  
   Thought only is without own-being (svabhāva).

3. Thought does not know thought,  
   Thought does not see thought.  
   The perception of thought (citta-samjñā) is ignorance,  
   The non-perception of thought (a-citta-samjñā) is Nirvāna.

4. These dharmas are insubstantial (asāra),  
   They all arise from vain thinking (manyanā).  
   Whatever is vainly thought (manyita) is from emptiness (śunyata),  
   That vain thinking (manyanā) is empty here.'

CHAPTER THREE OF THE SAMĀDHĪ ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRĀPĀLA

21 Tib. sems ūdi na yi sans rgyas te is probably not 'Thought only is my Buddha'. T.419 and T.416 clearly take the me in Sanskrit as referring to citta, i.e. 'The Buddhas are only my thought.'

22 The last two pādas of 30v2 are not represented in the prose of the Chinese versions.

23 I have understood the Tibetan as a contraction of sems su mi 'du ūses, in accordance with the Chinese.
Such, Bhadrapāla, is the cognition (jñāna) of that bodhisattva who is established in this Samādhi. 1

Further, Bhadrapāla, if he possesses four dharmas a bodhisattva mahāsattva obtains this Samādhi of the One who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present. What are the four? Namely, (1) inalienable faith (asamhārya-śraddhā); (2) irreversible energy (avaivartika-vīrya); (3) wisdom that others cannot lead astray (aparapraneya-prajñā); and (4) attendance upon (upasthāna) good friends. If he possesses those four dharmas, Bhadrapāla, a bodhisattva mahāsattva obtains this Samādhi of the Bodhisattva who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present.'

Further, Bhadrapāla, if he possesses four dharmas a bodhisattva mahāsattva obtains this Samādhi. What are the four? Namely, (1) for three months not giving rise to the perception of a self (atma-samjñā) even for the time it takes to snap the fingers (antāsa acchatā-samghatamātram); (2) for three months not being overcome by sloth and torpor (styāna-middha) even for the time it takes to snap the fingers; (3) having put forth energy (vīryam ārāhhyā) and set oneself to walking up and down (cānkrama), not sitting down on the ground for three months, except to defecate and urinate; (4) giving extensively to others the gift of the Dharma (dharma-dāna) and, in addition (upari), not expecting gain, honour or praise (lābha-satkāra-sloka). If he possesses those four dharmas, Bhadrapāla, a bodhisattva mahāsattva obtains this Samādhi.'

Further, Bhadrapāla, if he possesses four dharmas a bodhisattva mahāsattva obtains this Samādhi. What are the four? Namely, (1) exhorting beings to see the Buddha; (2) exhorting beings to hear the Dharma; (3) exhorting beings to produce the thought of awakening; and (4) being free of envy (īryā). If he possesses those four dharmas, Bhadrapāla, a bodhisattva mahāsattva obtains this Samādhi.'

1  This sentence, or a variant of it, is to be found in all Chinese versions at the end of 3N.
'Further, Bhadrapāla, if he possesses four dharmas a bodhisattva maḥāsattva obtains this Samādhi. What are the four? Namely, (1) through desire for this Samādhi having an image (pratīma) of the Tathā-gata made, or even just having a picture painted; (2) through desire for this Samādhi, for the sake of making this Samādhi endure for a long time (cīra-sthiti-hetor) and in order that this Samādhi be preserved, copying it well and presenting it as a book (pustaka); (3) establishing conceited persons (abhimaṇika-pudgala) in the Dharma which is free of conceitedness (abhimaṇa), namely, in supreme and perfect awakening; (4) being devoted to the protection, preservation, and maintenance of the Tathāgata's teaching. If he possesses those four dharmas, Bhadrapāla, a bodhisattva maḥāsattva obtains this Samādhi.'

Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:

1. 'Have faith in the teaching of the Sugata,  
   Do not disparage the exposition of the dharma of emptiness;  
   Having put forth energy and eliminated torpor,  
   Do not once sit down for a full three months.

2. Without attachment to gain, honour, or praise  
   You should expound the Dharma spoken by the Sugata;  
   You should spread the peerless teaching.  
   If you are without attachment, you will obtain this Dharma.

3. Free of envy, you should not give way to anger.  
   With desires eliminated, and thoughts liberated,  
   Concentrated (samāhita), and delighting in trance (āhyāna),  
   If you make an effort (prayuj-), you will obtain this Dharma.

4. Call to mind the Buddha with the excellent marks of merit (vāra-punya-laksana),  
   Who possesses a golden colour and the hundred-merit marks (śata-punya-laksana),  
   Is beautiful, everywhere suffused [with light],  
   And as pleasing to look upon (dārśanīya) as a figure of gold.

1 Twelve gāthās follow. The same verses in the same order are to be found in T.416 (see Concordance), while T.419 omits only Verse 3. As for T.418, K has preserved a prose translation of Verses 1-12 (again omitting only Verse 3), while SYM has a verse translation of all twelve gāthās.

2 Tib. kun nas yoṅs su rgyas par gyur, 'become everywhere very extensive/full/spreading'. The Sanskrit original was probably some form of (pari)spharati, perhaps parisphuta (for which see BHSD, p. 613), meaning

3 Tib. kun nas yoṅs su rgyas par gyur, 'become everywhere very extensive/full/spreading'. The Sanskrit original was probably some form of (pari)spharati, perhaps parisphuta (for which see BHSD, p. 613), meaning
5. Making obeisance (kṛtāṅjali), call to mind
Past Buddhas, or those yet to come;
And call to mind the Sugata, in order to worship
Those Best of Men (narottama) who exist at present.

6. With thoughts full of faith (prasanna-citta) worship the Sugata
With flowers (puspa), garlands (mālya),
Pure ointments (vilepana), food and drink;
This Samādhi will not be hard to obtain.

7. Since you desire this most excellent of samādhis,
With glad thoughts and joy incomparable
Make music for the matchless relics (dhātuv?)
With the music (vāḍya) of drums (dundubhi), conches (śamkha),
and tabours (mrdanga).

8. Since you desire the most excellent of samādhis,
Paint pictures (citra) well, and construct incomparable (atulya)
images (pratimā),
Which have the marks (laksana) complete, resemble the colour
of gold,
Are large, and flawless.

9. Having put to the fore (puraskṛtya) the agreeable dharmas
(sārayaniya-dharma?),
If you are pure in morality (śīla), seek learning (śruti),
And have eliminated the bases of sloth (ālasya-vastu?),
You shall obtain this Samādhi before long (na cirena).

10. Harbour no ill-will (āghata) towards anyone;
If you abide in friendliness (maitri) and abide in compassion,
And regard the sense-qualities (kāma-guna) with disinterestedness (upeksā),
You shall obtain this Samādhi before long.

'pervaded', 'filled', 'suffused' (with light). Cf. T.419 (923a28);
'radiance shining everywhere'. T.416 (877c10) suggests parisphuta
taken in the sense of 'fully developed': 'perfect like a flower in bloom'; the simile of the flower would appear to be Jñānagupta's own addition.

Cf. n. 2.6 and n. 3.19.
11. So towards the preacher of Dharma (dharma-bhānaka) also foster friendliness,
And always evoke (upasthāpayati) the perception of Teacher (śāstr-samjñā);
Be not proud, eliminate craving,
Never be miserly with the gift of the Dharma (dharma-dāna).

12. Acquire these excellent blessings (anusamsa);
The item of instruction (upadeśa-pada?) is taught by the Sugata;
This is the teaching of many Buddhas;
This Samādhi will not be hard to obtain.'

CHAPTER FOUR OF THE SAMĀDHĪ ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRĀPĀLA
Further, Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva mahāsattva who desires this Samādhi should have respect and reverence for the bhikṣu who preaches the Dharma (dharma-bhānaka-bhikṣu), he should apply himself to this Samādhi when he has conceived towards him the perception of Teacher, without any intention of finding fault (na upārambhābhiprayena). If, Bhadrapāla, that bodhisattva harbours thoughts of ill-will (āghāta-citta), or harbours harsh thoughts (khila-citta), or harbours thoughts devoid of faith (aprasanna-citta) towards that bhikṣu who preaches the Dharma, then, Bhadrapāla, there is no possibility or chance (asthānam anavakāsa) of that bodhisattva obtaining this Samādhi. And there is no such possibility if he does not conceive the perception of Teacher with regard to that bhikṣu who preaches the Dharma.

'Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Because through disrespect the True Dharma (saddharma) disappears.'

Bhadrapāla, it is as if, for example, a man endowed with sight (caksusmat) were to look upwards into the midnight sky on a clear and cloudless night and see there many stars (tāraka-rūpa).

In the same manner, Bhadrapāla, a bodhisattva mahāsattva who, supported by the Buddha, is established in this Samādhi, because he has the perception of space properly established (sūpasthita-ākāsa-samjñā?) and the perception of the Buddha properly controlled (svadhiṣṭhita-buddha-samjñā?), and by means of the might (anubhāva) of the Buddha and the development (bhāvanā) of this Samādhi, if he looks east to other world-spheres, then with little difficulty many Buddhas will appear to his organ of sight. With little difficulty many hundred Buddhas, many thousand Buddhas, many hundred thousand Buddhas, many koṭis of Buddhas, many hundred koṭis of Buddhas, many thousand koṭis of Buddhas, many hundred thousand koṭis of Buddhas, many hundred thousand koṭinayutas of Buddhas will with little difficulty appear to his organ of sight.

In the same manner he should cover the south, the west, the north, the four intermediate points, the nadir and the zenith, and if in that way he looks in the ten directions, that bodhisattva mahāsattva will with little difficulty have many Buddhas appear to his organ of sight. With little difficulty many hundred Buddhas, many thousand Buddhas, many hundred thousand Buddhas, many koṭis of Buddhas, many hundred koṭis of
Buddhas, many thousand koṭis of Buddhas, many hundred thousand koṭis of Buddhas, many hundred thousand koṭinayutas of Buddhas will with little difficulty appear to his organ of vision.'

[5C] 'Thus, Bhadrapāla, bodhisattvas mahāsattvas who, supported by the Buddha, are established in this Samādhi of the Bodhisattva who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present will with little difficulty have many Buddhas appear to their organ of sight. With little difficulty many hundred Buddhas, many thousand Buddhas, many hundred thousand Buddhas, many koṭis of Buddhas, many hundred koṭis of Buddhas, many thousand koṭis of Buddhas, many hundred thousand koṭis of Buddhas, many hundred thousand koṭinayutas of Buddhas will with little difficulty appear to their organ of sight. ¹

Section 5C presents a number of problems. It is not found in either T.1+18 or T.1+19, although the gāthā which relates to it, 5Ev6, is found in both translations (see below). T.1+16, however, contains an expanded version of the section (878al9-27):

Further, Bhadrapāla, just as, in the world-sphere of that Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha Amitāyus, the bodhisattvas who are reborn in that land look towards the east on the first day and see many Buddhas, see many hundred Buddhas, up to: see many hundred thousand koṭinayutas of Buddhas; and therefore on the second day they look towards the south in the same way, up to: all the ten directions in this fashion---in the same manner, Bhadrapāla, bodhisattvas mahāsattvas who have perfected the Samādhi of the Bodhisattva who Meditates on the Buddhas Manifesting, such bodhisattvas in their own country look in the ten directions and see many Buddhas, see many hundred Buddhas, up to: see many hundred thousand koṭinayutas of Buddhas.

If this reference to the Buddha Amitāyus and the bodhisattvas of Sukhāvatī (cf. Sukh, p. 11, Vow No. 7) was indeed part of the original Sanskrit text, it must have made its way into the text after the second century (T.418 and T.419). The de ltar with which 5C begins in the Tib. text could imply the existence of a preceding point of comparison (tad yathāpi nāma...evam eva...), but this is not necessarily the case; and usually evam eva in this context is rendered by de bzin du. Such a comparison, however, is certainly to be found in the gāthā which relates to this section, viz. 5Ev6:

If I have translated the first pada 'Just as a bodhisattva with an unlimited life-span (āmitāyus/aparimitāyus), once born...', but T.418 (K and SYM) and T.416 have understood the āmitāyus as a proper name:

T.418 (K: 906c13-907a1): 'The Buddha said: As the bodhisattvas of the buddha-ksetra of the Buddha Amitāyus constantly see innumerable Buddhas...'

T.416 (SYM: 906, n. 19): 'As the bodhisattvas of Amitāyus' land /
In the same manner, Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattvas mahāsattvas who, supported by the Buddha, are established in this Samādhi of the One who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present with little difficulty fully accomplish (paripūrayanti) great learning (bāhu-śrutya). They fully accomplish the perfection (pāramitā) of giving (dāna), the perfection of morality (śīla), the perfection of patient acceptance (ksānti), the perfection of energy (vīrya), the perfection of trance (dhyāna), and the perfection of wisdom (prajñā). They fully accomplish morality, samadhi, wisdom, emancipation, and the cognition and vision of emancipation (śīla-samādhi-prajñā-vimukti-vimuktijñānadarśana). They fully accomplish all qualities (guna) of bodhisattvas. They fully accomplish the faculty (indriya) of supreme wisdom, and supreme and perfect awakening.

Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:

1. 'As for example a man endowed with sight, when he is alone at night, Gets up at midnight, and in the clear sky (ākāśa)
Sees many hundred thousand stars;
Having memory, if he thinks of them, he recalls them by day also;

2. In the same manner a bodhisattva, having obtained this Samādhi,
Sees many hundred thousand Buddhas, Heroes (vīra);
He remembers them even when he emerges from it,
And declares to the assembly: "The Lords of the World (lokanātha)
are like this."

See countless hundred thousand Buddhas...
T.416 (678b16): 'As those bodhisattvas of Sukhāvatī / See many incalculable Buddhas, Lords...'
Only T.419 stands apart, albeit obscurely (923c11):
'As incalculable (= amita?) bodhisattva-forms (/Ek = ?)/ See Buddha-lands by the kotis and ten thousands...'
In view of the nature of the evidence we have no way of determining whether an original verse reference to the Buddha Amitāyus has been passed over by the Tibetans and possibly T.419, or whether on the other hand the Chinese have misread an ordinary bahuvrīhi---a(pari)mitāyus---as a proper name and in addition (in the case of T.416 or its exemplar) have interpolated a prose passage on the strength of it.

The following eight gāthās appear in T.416, T.419, and the 'Three Editions' text of T.418 in the same order; but in the Korean edition of T.418 Verse 6 appears between Verses 7 and 8.
3. Just as my eye, the pure, undimmed (vitimira),
   And clear Buddha-eye sees the world,
   So the eye of the sons of the Jina, the bodhisattvas,
   Is this spotless (viraja) Samādhi, which sees the Lords of Men (narendra).

4. When they see the Daśabalas, Lords of the Two-footed (dvipadendra),
   Lords of the World,
   Sages (muni) never conceive the perception of existing things.
   Hear the excellent qualities of the foremost bodhisattvas,
   Who have destroyed the poisons, are pure, and free of the
   perception of existing things.

5. Hear also those excellent and cool (sitala) dharmas.
   Quickly call to mind the felicitous dharma of emptiness.
   I also, having obtained the awakening of a Jina, shall expound
   This felicitous dharma to mankind, to many men.

6. Just as a bodhisattva with an unlimited life-span, once born,
   Sees many hundred thousand Lords of the World,
   So if one obtains this bodhisattvas' Samādhi,
   One will see many hundred thousand Buddhas, Heroes.

7. Just as the good bhikṣu Ānanda, endowed with memory (smrtimat),
   Accepts and retains what he hears from me,
   So the bodhisattva, if he obtains this Samādhi,
   Hears many dharmas and retains them all.

8. On hearing this Samādhi, experience joy,
   And discard all the various spells (mantra) of the world;
   Be quick to have faith, and give the gift of the Dharma;
   That way you shall attain this stage (bhūmi) of purity and calm.'

CHAPTER FIVE OF THE SAMĀDHI ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRĀPĀLA

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3 The second pāda of this verse in the Tib. has two syllables too many, pointing to some interference with the text.

4 See n. 5.1.
"Therefore, Bhadrapāla, a bodhisattva should obtain this Samādhi, and he should produce great enthusiasm (utsāha) and energy so as to perfect it."

'Bhadrapāla, it is as if, for example, an ocean-going ship laden with jewels, after sailing across the ocean and avoiding all perils, were to break up on the hither shore; then the men of Jambudvīpa would send up a great cry, a great clamour, and a wailing. Through great affliction they would also lament, saying:

"We have lost (hīna) these jewels!"

"In the same manner, Bhadrapāla, any son of good family, or daughter of good family, or bhikṣu, or bhikṣuṇī, or upāsaka, or upāsikā, to whose hearing such a precious Samādhi (samādhi-ratna) as this has come (sṛvad-ṇapatham āgaṇchati), if on hearing it they do not copy it in book form (pustakagatam likhanti), teach it (deśayanti), recite it (vācayanti), preserve it (dhārayanti), read it (pathanti), expound it (uddiṣanti), develop it (bhāvayanti), or put it into practice (pratipattyā sampādayanti), then, Bhadrapāla, the world with its Devas will send up a great cry, a great clamour and a wailing. Through great affliction they will also lament, saying:

"After hearing such a profound and precious Samādhi (gambhirā-samādhi-ratna) as this, praised by the Buddha, extolled by the Buddha, glorified by the Buddha, which leads to the attainment of all Buddha-qualities, those beings who do not copy (likhanti), teach (deśayanti), recite (vācayanti), preserve (dhārayanti), read (pathanti), expound (uddiṣanti), develop (bhāvayanti), or put it into practice (pratipattyā sampādayanti), who are overcome by pride, are ignorant, and do not hold to the complete accomplishment of great learning, they have lost (parihiṇa) such a precious Samādhi as this!"

'Bhadrapāla, those beings who do not wish to hear this Samādhi, and who will not accept this Samādhi, they, Bhadrapāla, have been described by me as being subject to loss (parihiṇi-dharmin). Bhadrapāla, those beings who on hearing such a precious Samādhi as this do not copy, teach, recite, preserve, read, expound, develop, or put it into practice, see how great their loss is! Bhadrapāla, I have said that to beings of that
kind such dharmas as those are of little importance. ¹

[6C] 'Bhadrapāla, it is as if, for example, some naturally foolish (bala-jātiya) and naturally stupid (dusprajñā-jātiya) man is given some fresh red sandalwood (candana), yet conceives the notion that it is impure, and conceives the notion that it is dirty. A naturally clever man, a sandalwood merchant, says to him:

"Sir, do not conceive the notion that this fresh sandalwood is impure, do not conceive the notion that it is dirty. Sir, just smell how delightful its fragrance is. And see, sir, how attractive its colour is."

But the naturally foolish and naturally stupid man, on seeing that red sandalwood, does not himself take hold of it, because he does not wish to smell it, and he shuts his eyes, because he does not wish to see it.'

[6D] 'In the same manner, Bhadrapāla, at a future time bhikṣus who falsely think themselves to be bodhisattvas (bodhisattva-mānī)², who are undeveloped in body (abhāvita-kāya), undeveloped in mind, undeveloped in morality, undeveloped in wisdom, immoral, not accepting the precious definitive meaning of the True Dharma (saddharma-nītārtha-ratna), rejecting the precious definitive meaning of the True Dharma, stupid, deficient in wisdom, overproud of their attainments of trance (dhyāna), attached to person (pudgala), holding the view of a person (pudgala-dṛṣṭi), established in person, fixated on the apprehension of a basis (upalambha) in dharmas, and frightened by the exposition of emptiness—when they hear this Samādhi of the One who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present expounded, if they will not give ear or listen to it, will not have faith in, nor accept (udgrahisyanti), master (paryavapsyanti), keep (dharayisyanti), or read it, how much less (kah punar vādah) will they expound it in full to others (parebhyo vistareṇa samprakāśasyisyanti)? If they on its account do not experience great friendliness and joy, how much less will they put it into practice in accordance with thusness (tathātva-pratipatsyanti); and on top of that (uttari) when they hear it they will reject it, not have faith in it, not accept it, and not apply themselves (adhimoksyante) to it.'

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¹ This section (6b) is not found in T.418 or T.419.

² Dge slōṅ byaṅ chub sems dpā' rloṅ sems can permits of several interpretations. No indication is given by the Chinese; e.g. T.416 has simply 'evil bhikṣus'.
"With the intention of belittling it, with the intention of deriding it, and with the intention of reviling it they will say:

"The blazing forth \(^3\) \(^3\) of these scriptures (pravacana), the appearance in the world thus of the likes of the bhikṣu Ānanda, and the appearance of such sūtras as these are indeed great wonders!"

and going to a secret place they will revile it, saying to each other:

"Such sūtras as these they made themselves, they are poetic inventions; they were not spoken by the Buddha, nor were they authorised (anujñāta) by the Buddha!"

but such stupid men as those are to be known as those who have lost (parihina) the precious True Dharma, as those who have rejected the precious True Dharma.'

'Bhadrapāla, just as, for example, that naturally foolish man, on seeing that red sandalwood, blocks his nose so as not to smell it and closes his eyes so as not to see it, in the same manner, Bhadrapāla, those stupid men too, on hearing of such a precious Samādhi as this, will not wish to hear more and more of it, and will not wish to accept, master, keep, or read it, and on top of that when they hear it they will go away from that place, simply because they do not wish to listen to it.'

'Bhadrapāla, it is as if, for example, some man who sells jewels was to think of showing a priceless gem of beryl (anargha-vaidūrya-maniratna) to those naturally stupid men, and those naturally stupid men, on seeing that gem (maniratna), then said to him:

"Sir, how much is this gem worth?"

The jewel-seller said to them:

"Give me, covered in all four directions with the seven precious things (saptaratna), that area of ground which is lit up by the radiance of this gem. Why is that? That is the full value of this gem."

Hearing from him the value of that gem those naturally stupid beings laugh at him, abuse and deride him, and measure that gem by [the area covered by] two hands\(^4\).\(^5\)

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3 'bar ba, translated literally as 'to blaze forth', 'to blossom', I take here to mean 'sudden appearance'. The Chinese versions of this passage are hardly helpful, but T.419 (92ba9) has: 'This sūtra is like a fire in a brazier', which may point to a Sanskrit expression also meaning 'to flame up (suddenly)'.

4 Lag pa gnis, literally 'two hands', is also used to translate the Sanskrit paniṭa, 'palm of the hand', which is, among other things, a unit of weight and value (see e.g. the Tib. translation of Sukh in Jōdo sanbu-kyō, p. 262, l. 3, corresponding to Ashikaga ed., p. 26, l. 1);
In the same manner, Bhadrapāla, at a future time those bhiksus who are very understanding (?), have done their duty under former Jinas, and have planted the roots of goodness, when they hear this Samādhi of the One who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present, in order to propagate it they will take up, master, copy, cause to be copied, keep, read, and expound it in full to others, they will have faith, be very understanding (?), full of zealous application (adhimukti), pure in the modes of deportment (Iryāpatha), endowed with modesty (hrī) and contrition (kaukṛtya), they will desire training (sīkṣā), be strongly inclined to the profound (gambhiradhimukta), be endowed with wisdom, be greatly learned (bahūsruta), abide in friendliness and obtain compassion; because they have heard this Samādhi, wherever they go they will teach and demonstrate it. They will generate the thought: "May such a bodhisattvas' Samādhi as this, spoken by the Buddha, by all means endure for a long time! May it spread!"

Then too, Bhadrapāla, there will be certain other beings who have scant merit (punya), have not planted the roots of goodness, have not done their duty under former Jinas, are tormented (pīdita?) by pride, are tormented by envy, are tormented by gain, honour, and praise, are impure in morality, have not obtained the samādhis, have not obtained the wisdoms, have scant learning (alpa-sruta), do not associate with a teacher (ācārya), have the view of a person (pudgala-drṣṭi), hold to person, abide in person, and are fixated on the apprehension of a basis (upa-lambha) in dhammas, and are frightened by the exposition of emptiness; and when they hear this Samādhi of the One who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present, they will not understand, have faith in, believe, or incline strongly towards it, and on top of that, when they...

we cannot ascertain, of course, whether or not pānītala was used here. As usual, the Chinese versions compound the problem; both early versions have the unappreciative simpletons comparing the gem's value in some way with the price of an ox. E.g. T.419 (924a14-15): '... then they weigh the gem, and say to the merchant: "Barter this gem for one ox; as for the jewel, we will then regard this as its value (?.)"' T.418 (907b6-9) runs along similar lines: 'Those men do not at all understand its value; they deride this gem, saying: "Is its value not equal to one ox? Could you barter it for one ox, we think it would not be excessive. If you give it to us, good; if you are unwilling, so be it."' Both translations from the Chinese here are partially conjectural.

T.418 and T.416 add another sentence to the end of 6F; e.g. T.416 (879a21-23): 'So in this way, Bhadrapāla, those evil bhiksus of future times, on hearing of the most excellent and precious Samādhi in this Sūtra, will be without thoughts of faith, will deride it greatly, and will slander it.' T.418 is similar.
hear it they will laugh at it, deride and revile it. Going to a secret place they will abuse and reject it among themselves, saying:

"These bhikṣus are arrogant (pragalbha). These bhikṣus are garrulous (mukhara). It is a great wonder indeed that they should give the name of 'sūtra' to that which was not spoken by the Buddha, that which they made themselves and is a poetic invention, that which is a motley of words and syllables (padākṣara-nānātva) and which was uttered in mere conversation!"

And saying:

"These sūtras were not spoken by the Buddha," they will make other men believe so too. In that way those men who are stupid, have scant merit, have not planted the roots of goodness, have not done their duty under former Jinas, have rejected the supreme and precious Dharma (anuttara-dharma-ratna), and are excluded (bahirbhūta) from the precious Dharma, they will cultivate (niṣey-), develop, and increase (bahulikr-) the paucity of their merit (alpa-punyatā?).

[6I] 'Bhadrapāla, in the presence of these assemblies with their Devas, Men and Asuras I announce to you, I inform you 6: should a son or daughter of good family fill this Trichiliomegachiliocosm (trisahasra-mahāsahasra-lokadhātu) with the seven precious things (saptaratna) and offer it to the Tathāgata Arhat Sanyaksambuddha; and should a son or daughter of good family listen to this Samadhi of the Bodhisattva who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present, and, having heard it, understand, have faith in, and give credence to it, firmly believe "This is the truth," and also declare: "It was spoken by the Buddha," then the merit of the latter son or daughter of good family will be more greatly increased [than that of the former].'

[6J] Then at that time, in order to clarify that very matter, the Lord uttered these verses 7:

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6 This expression is common in sūtra-literature. Khyod mos par bya'o // khyod kyis kho du chud par bya'o is the usual equivalent for Sanskrit arocayati vah prativedayāmi vah (see e.g. Sukh p. 62, 1. 23, and its Tib. version, J5do sanbu-kyo, p. 316, 11. 15-16). See also BHSD, s.v. arocayati.

7 Of the ten gathās which follow in Tib., eight appear in the Chinese versions, nos. 6 and 7 being omitted. The order of verses in the Chinese is as follows:

T.418 (K: 907b24-c7): 1,2,3,4,5,10,8,9.
T.418 (SYM: 907, n. 18): 1,2,3,4,5,10(?),8,9.
T.419 (92b1-16): 1,2,3,4,5,10,8,9.
T.416 (879b29-c15): 3,4,5,10,8,9,1,2.
1. 'Compared with the one who fills with precious things
   The entire Trichiliocosm (trisahasra)
   And offers it to the Lord of the World,
   In order to win supreme awakening,

2. If someone, on hearing a Sūtra-Samādhi like this,
   Commended by the Buddha,
   Believes strongly in it,
   His merit is superior (viśista).

3. Fraudulent, deceitful, and dishonest,
   Haughty (uddhata), with uncollected faculties (indriya),
   Fallen into the clutches of bad friends,
   The evil-minded do not have faith.

4. Immoral (duhsīla), evil in nature (pāpa-dharmin),
   Firmly fixed in pride, saying "I",
   When they have gathered together
   They laugh at the Jina's teaching.

5. Those unrestrained (asamvṛta) people
   Also say such words as:
   "Those sūtras were not spoken
   By the King of Dharma, the Buddha."

6. Whoever, on hearing this Samādhi-sūtra,
   Does not understand it
   Is wicked (visama?), lost (vinasta), and ignorant,
   Pernicious in views (kudrṣṭi), and apprehending a basis.

7. Those who have scant merit and are established in apprehension
   Will not be able to have faith
   In sūtras of this sort,
   Which were spoken by the Buddha.

8. Whoever hears such a sūtra as this
   And rejoices in it,
   Do not doubt
   That he will become a Supreme Man (narottama).

9. Whoever is pure in morality,
   Ever righteous in his views (drṣṭi),
   And respectful towards this Dharma---
   For him have I expounded the Dharma.
10. Those who have seen the Great Hero (mahāvīra),
The Lord of the World, the Light-bringer (prabhākara)---
For their sake it has been expounded;
May they also take up the Dharma.'

CHAPTER SIX,
THE CONCEITED ONES (ADHIMĀNIKA),
OF THE SAMĀDHĪ ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRĀPĀLA
CHAPTER SEVEN

[T.416: Chapter Five, Acceptance]

BAMPO THREE

'Bhadrapāla, as for those who encounter (ārāgayanti) me now as I expound this Samādhi, there is no possibility or chance (asthānam anavakāśo) of their rejecting or reviling this Samādhi when they hear it in the last time, in the last age, in the final five hundred years (paścime kāle paścime samaye paścimāyām paścāsatyām vartamānāyām), unless they fall into the hands of bad friends (pāpa-mitra), or are separated from good friends (kalyāna-mitra).

'In this respect, Bhadrapāla, if certain stupid men on hearing this Samādhi do not have faith in, believe, or incline strongly towards it even after falling into the hands of good friends, then how much less so will those who have fallen into the hands of bad friends? Why is that, Bhadrapāla? That great learning is so difficult to perfect. That vision of the Buddha is so difficult to obtain. Bhadrapāla, it is so difficult to apply oneself (adhimucyate) to the Buddha-dharmas. Bhadrapāla, this Samādhi of the Bodhisattva who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present, which produces all Buddha-dharmas, is also so difficult to perfect.'

1 The Praś makes much of the idea of the 'last age', a common theme in Buddhist literature. For a résumé of the subject, see in particular Lamotte, Histoire, pp. 210-222. Various schemes are found, usually involving multiples of 500 years. Since the Praś represents itself as being actually rediscovered and propagated during the last 500 years (see Chap. 13), and since it was first translated into Chinese in A.D. 179, it would not, I think, be out of order to assume that its compiler subscribed to the scheme involving two 500-year periods, i.e. the earliest form of the idea (Lamotte, Histoire, pp. 211-212). What distinguishes the Praś from most other sūtras which discuss their own propagation in the 'last age' is its claim that it will disappear until the 'last age', and then re-appear. This refinement is an unusual one, and allows us, in my opinion, to settle upon a rough terminus post quem for the composition of the Praś (or of that part of it which includes Chap. 13) of approximately 500 years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, i.e. c. 1⁴ A.D. if one adopts the standard 'long chronology' (placing the Nirvāṇa in about 486 B.C.), or c. A.D. 132 if one opts for the 'short chronology' (Nirvāṇa c. 368 B.C.). Whichever chronology one chooses to follow, they both make it unlikely that the Praś was composed before the first century A.D., and naturally A.D. 179 stands as the terminus ante quem.
"Bhadrapāla, any bodhisattva, whether householder or renunciant, who on hearing a Samādhi such as this is not afraid, is not frightened, and is not fearful (nottrasyati na samtrasyati na samtrāsam āpadyate), who does not laugh at, revile, abuse, or reject it, but further, on hearing it rejoices at, has faith in, believes, and aspires to it, and conceives the desire to teach, take up, master, keep, read, copy, expound and develop this Samādhi—Bhadrapāla, all such sons or daughters of good family are seen by the Tathāgata; they are known to the Tathāgata."

"How, Bhadrapāla, are such good men (satpuruṣa) as those seen by the Tathāgata, and how are they known to the Tathāgata? Such good men as those, who will take up, master, keep, read, copy, teach, and develop this Samādhi, Bhadrapāla, they are not immoral (duhīla), are not without faith, are not those who do not desire the Dharma, do not hold wrong views (mithyā-drṣṭi), and are not fixated on the apprehension of a basis (upalambha); Bhadrapāla, such sons or daughters of good family as those have faith. That is, such sons and daughters of good family as those who accept dharmas like these have great understanding, have great application (adhimukti), are believing, desire the Dharma, and are strongly inclined to the profound (gambhiradhimukta). Bhadrapāla, such sons or daughters of good family as those are not poor in merit (alpa-puṇya), nor poor in the roots of goodness (alpa-kuśalamūla), but, Bhadrapāla, such sons or daughters of good family as those have done their duty under former Jinas and have purified the roots of goodness (uttaptakuśalamūla)."

"Bhadrapāla, such sons or daughters of good family as those have not worshipped one Buddha, nor have they planted the roots of goodness under one, two, or three Buddhas; Bhadrapāla, such sons of good family as those have worshipped a hundred Buddhas. Such sons of good family as those have planted the roots of goodness under a hundred Buddhas. On hearing this Samādhi from those Tathāgatas such sons or daughters of good family as those have rejoiced at it and inclined strongly towards it. In the last age, the last time, in the final five hundred years also, when they hear this Samādhi they will not reject it, but rather when they hear it they will rejoice at it, applaud it (sādhukāram da-), keep, read, instruct, expound, and exert themselves in the endeavour to develop it."

2 This section (7C) does not appear in T.418.
'Bhadrapāla, if any sons or daughters of good family, on hearing this Samādhi of the Bodhisattva who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present, are not afraid or frightened or fearful, and do not reject it, but rather on hearing it rejoice, have faith, believe, and incline strongly to it, applaud it, and on hearing it accept, master, keep, read, copy, cause to be copied, teach, and exert themselves in the endeavour to develop it even if only for a day and a night, then, Bhadrapāla, those sons or daughters of good family will on that basis engender considerable merit. They will engender an immeasurable, incalculable mass of merit (punya-skandha). Those sons and daughters of good family will become irreversible (avaivartika) from supreme and perfect awakening. They will also obtain fulfilment in accordance with their resolve (yathāsā-yam).'

However, Bhadrapāla, in order to make this very matter particularly complete I shall teach you a simile. Bhadrapāla, if, for example, a certain man, having appeared, should smash this Trichiliomegachiliocosm into atoms of dust (paramāṇu-rajas), and should smash into atoms of dust all the grasses, branches, foliage and leaves, even those as much as four inches long, of this Trichiliomegachiliocosm; and should that man then take therefrom a single atom of dust, and split it into as many parts as there are those atoms of dust altogether, in that fashion splitting all those atoms of dust into that many parts, then, Bhadrapāla, what do you think? Would those atoms of dust be many?'

The bodhisattva Bhadrapāla said:

'Reverend Lord, they would be many. Reverend Sugata, they would be many.'

The Lord said:

'Bhadrapāla, if some son or daughter of good family were to fill with the seven precious things (sapta-ratna) as many Buddha-fields as there are parts of those atoms of dust, and give them as a gift to the Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksaṃbuddhas, would he on that basis produce much merit?'

He replied:

'Reverend Lord, it would be much. Reverend Sugata, it would be much.'

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3 The version of this section presented by T.416 is more amplified and differs somewhat in organisation.
The Lord said:

'Bhadrapāla, I announce to you, I inform you. Bhadrapāla, compared with a son or daughter of good family who fills that many Buddha-fields with the seven precious things and gives them as a gift to the Tathāgatas, if, Bhadrapāla, a son or daughter of good family, on hearing this Samādhi of the Bodhisattva who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present, understands, has faith in, believes in, and inclines strongly to it, and having understood, had faith in, believed in, and inclined strongly to it then accepts, masters, keeps, reads, copies, expounds in full to others, teaches, and proclaims it---if a mass of merit greater than the former root of goodness is produced for this son or daughter of good family, then how much more will it be so (kah punar vādah) for the one who continues to exert himself in the endeavour to develop [this Samādhi] even if only for the length of time it takes to milk a cow (go-doha-mātram)?'

'Bhadrapāla, I cannot describe the extent of the mass of merit of those sons or daughters of good family who, on hearing this Samādhi, accept, master, keep, read, copy, explain (gamayante), teach and proclaim it to others in full, how much less (kah punar vādah) of those sons or daughters of good family, Bhadrapāla, who perfect it, train (śikṣanti) in it in accordance with thusness (tathatvāya), and put it into practice in accordance with thusness (tathatvāya pratipadyante)?'

Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:

1. 'He who filled these Megachiliocosms
   With precious things and gave them as a gift,
   I would describe his fruit as small,
   Compared with him who heard a dharma like this.

2. The bodhisattva desiring much merit
   Who keeps and reads this Samādhi,
   And, having heard it, teaches it indefatigably
   Becomes possessed of an infinite mass of merit.

Cf. n. 6.6.

T.418 and T.416 both reproduce the following seventeen gāthās in the same order as the Tibetan, omitting only Verse 12.
3. Compared with him who broke and split this world-system
   into atoms (paramānu), reducing it to dust,
   and filling that many world-systems
   with precious things, gave them as a gift,

4. He who masters a single four-line verse (gāthā)
   from this Samādhi bestowed by the Buddha
   and commended by the Sugata
   has merit which is beyond comparison;

5. Not to mention him who for an instant,
   or even for the time it takes to milk a cow,
   masters it, or preserves and reads it—
   his merit is immeasurable beyond even that.

6. If all beings became Sugatas
   pure in knowledge and proficient in the ultimate truth (paramārtha),
   and if they for a great many kotis of kalpas
   or more were to exalt the merit of expounding one verse;

7. If they were to attain Nirvāṇa
   after having taught many kotis of dhammas for that long,
   the merit of him who keeps a verse from this Samādhi
   would not be easy to measure.

8. Compared with filling with precious things
   as many world-systems as there are in the four directions, the
   nadir, and likewise the zenith,
   and giving them as a gift to the Knower of the World (lokavid)
   out of a desire for merit,

9. The merit of him who develops well
   and teaches to others this peaceful, spotless Samādhi—
   the world-system, in its extent,
   does not approach a fraction or a comparison of it (kalam apy
   upamāṃ nopaiti).

6 Cf. Sukh, p. 41, 11. 4ff. Although the gist of these two verses (6 and 7) is commonplace in sūtra-literature, the wording of the Tibetan is not clear to me. I have translated in light of the Chinese, which is more readily comprehensible. E.g. T.418 (908a20-23):
   if everyone became Buddhas
   pure in noble knowledge, foremost in wisdom,
   and all for a kōṭi of kalpas and beyond that number
   were to expound the merit of one gāthā,
10. He who develops this peaceful Samādhi
Is never unsure or uncertain;
He never has fear of calamity (vinīpāta),
Nor does it occur to him to doubt the Dharma.

11. By developing this Samādhi, spoken by the Buddha,
He has worshipped me as well;
He has also acquired vast and inconceivable (acintya) merit;
The bodhisattva becomes distinguished (viśīṣṭa) for his learning.

12. He who on hearing this Samādhi preserves it
In the last age, in the time of great terror,
He will have worshipped me,
The Buddhas of the past, and those of the future as well.

13. I announce to you, I inform you:
Apply energy with vigilance (apramāda).
Exert yourselves strongly with joyful thoughts.
This Samādhi will not be hard to obtain.

14. If one enquires about this Samādhi,
He has propitiated (ārāgayati) a hundred Jinas,
He who in the last age, in the time of great terror,
On hearing the Samādhi has faith in it.

15. He who relates to others, with thoughts of faith,
This holy, peaceful Samādhi,
He sees me, these bhiksus,
And you too, Bhadrapāla, the householder.

16. If he has obtained this great Samādhi,
The bodhisattva is known as greatly learned (bahuśruta).
This [dhāraṇī?] is extolled by all Buddhas together;
Learning (śruti) also produces the awakening of all Buddhas.

Were to extol that merit up until their Nirvāṇa,
All praising it for numberless kotis of kalpas,
They would not be able to exhaust that merit
From one gāthā of this Samādhi.

T.416 (880c9-12) has substantially the same sense.

7 Both Chinese versions have words for dhāraṇī in their version of this pāda (see T.418, 908b10; T.416, 880c28). I am at a loss to square this with the Tibetan—unless perhaps bṣags was originally shags.
17. If one has studied well (su-abhyas-) this Samādhi
Authorised by the Buddha and extolled by the Wise,
Then one hears (pratiṣṭhānita?) the lineage of learning (śruti-
kula?)
As it is authorised and extolled by the Sugata.'

CHAPTER SEVEN OF THE SAMĀDHI ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRAFĀLA

8 Thos pa'i rigs: thos pa can be śruti or śruta, rigs most probably kula, or perhaps gotra or vamśa. Since thos pa'i rigs seems to be equated with the Samādhi (both are 'authorised and extolled by the Buddha(s)'), the sense may be that the Samādhi constitutes the framework whereby learning is perpetuated, i.e. the 'family-line' of learning. The Chinese is not very helpful—T.418 (909b12) has: 'Hearing his lineage ( = śruti-kula?) he obtains sambodhi!', while T.416 (861a1) has: 'He shall obtain lineage and great learning', also indicating the presence of the compound śruti-kula ( or something similar), taken by Jñānagupta as a dvandva. 'Obtain' in both Chinese versions also suggests that Tib. rab tu thos par 'gyur is a misreading for rab tu thob par 'gyur ( = prā-
myoti), in which case the original sense might have been 'He attains [i.e. enters among] the lineage of the learned'. Thos pa'i rigs occurs also at 15H.
Ch. 5: Chapter Five, Non-attachment; Ch. 6: Chapter Six, Contemplation

'...Bhadrapāla, how then is this Samādhi of bodhisattvas mahāsattvas to be developed? Bhadrapāla, just as, for example, I am at present sitting before you and teaching the Dharma, in the same manner, Bhadrapāla, should the bodhisattva reflect intently (manasi-kr̥-) on the Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas as sitting on the Buddha-throne and teaching the Dharma. He should reflect intently on the Tathāgatas as being endowed with all the finest aspects (sarvākāravaropeta), handsome, beautiful, good-looking, and endowed with bodily perfection (kāya-parinniṣpatti). He should see that each one of the Marks of the Great Man (mahāpurusa-laksana) belonging to the Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas has been produced by a hundred merits. He should also single out the features (nimitta). Without looking down on the top of the head (anavalokita-mūrdhata), he should ask questions. Having asked questions he should also single out the features (nimitta) of the Marks of the Great Man. Having singled them out he should train in this way:

"O how marvellous the beauty of those Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas! I too at a future time shall be endowed with such bodily perfection. I shall perfect such marks. I too shall be endowed with such morality (śīla). I shall be endowed thus with samādhi, thus with wisdom, thus with emancipation, and thus with the cognition and vision of emancipation. I too shall in the same way be fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening (anuttarām samyak-sambodhim abhisambhotsyāmi). And being fully awakened I shall expound the Dharma to the four assemblies and the world with its Devas!"

---thus should he train.'

Ch. 8: Chapter Eight

[8A] 'Hadhrapāla, having so reflected intently upon them as being endowed with all the finest aspects (sarvākāravaropeta), he should also train in this way:

"What is that dharma called 'I'? What too is that dharma called 'mine'? What too is that awakening (bodhi)? And who is it that is

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fully awakened to awakening? Does one become fully awakened to awakening through the body, or does one become fully awakened to awakening through the mind (citta)?"

"If it is said that one is fully awakened to awakening through the body, then since the body is senseless (jāda), immobile (acala?), inactive (niścesta), unthinking (acetana?), and similar to grass, trees, stones, walls, and reflections (pratibhāsa), whilst awakening is formless (arūpin/arūpya), incommunicable (anidarśana), non-apparent (anābhāsa), and indefinable (avijnaptika), then how can one be fully awakened to formless, incommunicable, non-apparent, and indefinable awakening by means of a senseless, immobile, inactive, and unthinking body?"

"If, however, it is said that one is fully awakened to awakening through the mind, then since the mind is formless, incommunicable, non-apparent, indefinable, and like an illusion (māyopama), whilst awakening is formless, incommunicable, non-apparent, and indefinable, then how can one be fully awakened to formless, incommunicable, non-apparent, and indefinable awakening by means of a formless, incommunicable, non-apparent, indefinable, and illusory mind?"

---thus should he train."

[8C] 'Bhadrapāla, then the bodhisattva should train in this way:

"One is not fully awakened to awakening through the body. One is not fully awakened to awakening through the mind. That which is devoid of mind (acitta) is not fully awakened to awakening through mind. That which is formless (arūpin) is not fully awakened to awakening through form (rupa). Mind is not fully awakened to awakening through mind. Form is not fully awakened to awakening through form."

---thus should he train."

"Why is that, Bhadrapāla? The body of the Tathāgata (tathāgata-kāya) has rejected all holding to extremes (anta-grāha), and consequently the Tathāgata proceeds observing the body as the body (kāye kāyānu-paśyī carati); he proceeds observing the mind as the mind (citte cittānu-paśyī carati)."

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2 Cf. KP 56, 96*. See also BHSD, s.v. anābhāsa. The terms are not precisely clear to me; cf. Weller's translation of them (Zum Kāṣyapa-parivarta, Heft 2, pp. 96-97): '...das Gestaltlose, das nicht Aufzuzeigende, das nicht Erscheinende, das ohne Ausdrucksgebarde des Wollens.'

3 This latter paragraph of 8C is not found in Chinese.
'Bhadrapāla, even the wisdom (prajñā) which makes known (prajñapayo) all dharmas, the formless, incommunicable, non-apparent, indefinable, and outflow-free (anāsrava) wisdom is not fully awakened; nor is it not fully awakened. Why is that? Namely, if the Tathāgatas' body is free of the outflows; if the Tathāgatas' mind is free of the outflows; if the form (rūpa) of the Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas is also free of the outflows; and if the feelings, perception, predispositions, and consciousness (vedanā-samjñā-samskāra-vijñāna) of the Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas are also free of the outflows, then how much more free of the outflows are the morality, the samādhi, the wisdom, the emancipation, or the cognition and vision of emancipation of the Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas? Bhadrapāla, all dharmas of the Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas are also free of the outflows. Whatever True Dharma has been, is being, or will be expounded by the Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas is also free of the outflows; and while this is unknown to the foolish and unwise, it is understood by the wise.'

'Bhadrapāla, at that time the bodhisattva should train in this way: "Is one fully awakened to awakening through the body, or is one fully awakened to awakening through wisdom?" ---thus should he train. Then, Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva should train thus:

"One is fully awakened to awakening neither through the body, nor through wisdom."

Why is that? Because that wisdom is free of the outflows, and even if [he] searches for it in every [possible] way [he] cannot apprehend it; for that reason he becomes disinterested (upeksaka) in the search for awakening. Why is that? Because that awakening is also free of the outflows, and even if [he] searches for it in every [possible] way [he] cannot apprehend it. Even if he searches for his own body and his own mind he cannot apprehend them. In the same way, even if he searches for all dharmas he cannot apprehend them. [He] cannot apprehend either anyone who is fully awakened to awakening, nor can [he] apprehend that through which one is fully awakened to awakening, nor can [he] apprehend or see anything that is to be fully awakened to awakening. If he discerns all dharmas in that way then he does not see them correctly. Even though he does not review (samanupādyati) all dharmas as being by their own-being calmed (svabhāvena sānta), they are not by their
own-being calmed. Why is that? Because what is unproduced (ajāta) is not calmed (aśānta). He understands all uncalmed dharmas to be calmed dharmas. He understands all calmed dharmas to be devoid of calming. Having so understood, he should not understand that dharmas are calmed, nor should he understand that they are not calmed. Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Because all dharmas are unproduced (ajāta) and uncompleted (aparinnippanna).

[Bhagavad Gita] Bhadrapāla, if, for example, a certain man should say of a fire that has not been lit and is not burning: "I shall extinguish (śamayati) this fire," then, Bhadrapāla, what do you think? Would that man be speaking correctly (samyag-vādaya vadet)?

Bhadrapāla said:
'Reverend Lord, he would not.'
The Lord said:
'So it is, Bhadrapāla, because all dharmas cannot be apprehended. If someone were to say:
"Setting worldly convention aside (sthāpayitvā loka-samvṛttim) I shall know all dharmas. I shall reject all dharmas. I shall realise (sāksat-kr-) all dharmas. I shall develop all dharmas. I shall make all dharmas calm (śamayati). I shall obtain all dharmas. I shall obtain the fruit of Stream-entering (srota-āpatti-phala). I shall obtain the fruit of the Once-returning (sakrāgāmi-phala). I shall obtain the fruit of the Never-returning (anāgāmi-phala). I shall obtain Arhatship. I shall obtain self-awakening (pratyeka-bodhi). I shall be fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening. Having been fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening I shall teach the Dharma. I shall deliver beings from transmigration (samsāra)," then would he be speaking correctly (samyag-vādaya vadet)?

Bhadrapāla said:
'Reverend Lord, he would not.'

4 It is difficult to find a satisfactory English equivalent for śānta (Tib. ʒi ba) and other forms of the verbal root śam-. When a dharma is referred to as śānta, I take it to mean that it is finished, extinguished, spent, that its potential is exhausted, that its activity has ceased. Obviously 'calmed' does not do full justice to the sense.

5 I.e. 'in a real sense', 'not simply as a matter of verbal convention'. Although generally anything which follows a 'di skad du is quoted material, an alternative interpretation would be not to include this expression in the following speech, i.e. (roughly) 'If someone were to say the following, in any sense but that of worldly convention: "I shall..." In either case the essential meaning of the passage is unchanged: it is perfectly alright to say such things from the point of view of convention, but not other-
The Lord said:

'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, the sons or daughters of good family who desire perfect awakening, and the sons or daughters of good family who desire self-awakening (pratyeka-bodhi) and who desire Arhatship should understand those dharmas in that way. Having understood those dharmas in that way they should not understand that dharmas are calmed, nor should they understand that dharmas are not calmed.'

'Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Namely, if with regard to all dharmas which are nothing (akimcana?), unproduced (ajāta) and uncompleted (aparinispanna) someone were to understand: "All dharmas are calmed", this would be one extreme. If one were to understand: "All dharmas are not calmed", this would be the other extreme. Bhadrapāla, when one does not apprehend, understand, fabricate (vithapayati), reflect on, and practise (samudācarati) these two extremes of 'calmed' and 'not-calmed', this is known as the middle way (madhyama pratipad) in the manner of reckoning (ganana) according to the teaching of worldly convention (loka-samaṃvṛti), but as far as the ultimate truth (paramārtha) is concerned, neither extreme nor middle can be apprehended here.'

[68] 'Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Namely, all dharmas are similar to empty space (ākāśa) and equal to Nirvāna; they are uninterrupted (anuccheda), imperishable (akūthita?), impermanent (anītya), not unchangeable (akūta-stha), unlocated (adeśastha), unlocalised (apradesastha), signless (animitta), and incalculable (asamkhyeya), and since even wise men cannot apprehend them or get near them by calculation (sāmkhya), all dharmas are known as incalculable (asamkhyeya). Bhadrapāla, when the bodhisattva has seen those Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas in that way, he should not fixate (abhinivisate) on them. Why is that, Bhadrapāla? All dharmas are free of fixation (anabhiniveśa), and, there being no fixation to them, they are called severed at the roots (ucchinnamūla?), devoid of roots (vīgata-mūla?), and unsupported. Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva should develop this Samādhi of the Bodhisattva who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present in such a way that, if he sees those Buddhas and Lords, he will be free of clinging (parāmarśa), apprehension of a

wise, i.e. not if one believes that one is talking about entities that have real existence.

For the construction samyag-vadamano vadet, see Conze, Materials, s.v.

6 8F is not found in T.418.
basis, and wrong attachment. Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Because the Tathāgata has said that all dharmas are ungraspable (agraḥya), quite calm, similar to empty space, and equal to Nirvāṇa.'

[81] 'For example, Bhadrapāla, wise men do not take hold of a lump of gold which has been heated and made red-hot, like an iron ball. Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Namely, it is essentially hot, Bhadrapāla, and even though it is gold, the best of precious substances, nevertheless, Bhadrapāla, they will not take hold of it, precisely because it is very hot. In the same manner, Bhadrapāla, if the bodhisattva mahāsattva sees those Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas he should not fixate (abhinivisate) on them. Nor should he fixate on (their) form, feelings, perception, predispositions, or consciousness. Nor should he fixate on (their) morality, samādhi, wisdom, emancipation, or cognition and vision of emancipation. He should also not fixate on all the Buddha-dharmas; and he should not fixate on all the aspects (sarvakāra). Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Namely, fixation (abhinivesa) engenders all the dharmas of suffering which characterise transmigration (samsāratmaka-duḥkha-dharma?).'

[82] 'However, Bhadrapāla, if the bodhisattva mahāsattva sees those Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas, then thinking thus: "How marvellous (āscarya) are the Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas who are endowed with wonderful dharmas of quality (adbhuta-guna-dharma), namely, great cognition, Buddha-cognition, Tathāgata-cognition, Self-existent cognition (svayambhū-jñāna), cognition equal to the unequalled (asama-samajñāna), cognition more excellent than all the Triple World (trai-lokya)!", he should desire in that way the excellent dharmas of quality (viśiṣṭa-guna-dharma). The bodhisattva mahāsattva should not fixate on that cognition which is to be desired here. Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva mahāsattva should not fixate on this Samādhi either. Why is that, Bhadrapāla? These dharmas become manifest (āmukhi-bhavati) to those who are free of fixation (anabhinivesa)?'.

[83] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses: 7

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7 Of the following 23 gathās, all are to be found in T.416 (882a18-c5) in the same order, except only that Verses 21 and 22 are transposed. The same is true of T.418 (908c26-909b11), which, however, omits Verse 5.
1. 'A woman, having adorned herself, observes her face
   In a polished mirror or a vessel of oil,
   And having conceived a passion for it
   Rushes around seeking her desire.

2. The woman, deluded (viparyāsta) with regard to a non-existent dharma,
   Is horribly tormented and afflicted by desire;
   The woman, beguiled by her own body,
   Does not know that these dharmas are void (tuccha); similarly---

3. "I shall be awakened to awakening, taste its nectar,
   And deliver beings afflicted by suffering!"
The bodhisattva whose thoughts run thus
   Is called a [mere] being because of his ignorance.

4. From the standpoint of ultimate truth no being is apprehended
   Who is born, dies, and attains Nirvāṇa;
   Dharmas are ungraspable, like the moon in space;
   Even when sought, awakening cannot be found.

5. Like a reflection (pratibimba), like the moon in space,
   Like an illusion, empty, like a mirage (marīci),
   Dharmas are without existence (abhāva), and empty of own-being;
   With regard to them fools always have the notion that they exist.

6. If he who is proficient in awakening knows
   That in this world men are free of any defilement (kleśa),
   And knows the ultimate truth, that the world is a delusion (bhṛānti?),
   He becomes a Buddha, a Chief in the World (loka-jyeṣṭha).

7. The awakening of a Buddha is discerned (?) by mind (citta),
   And mind is pure and luminous (prabhāsvara) by its own-being,
   Unpolluted (anāvila) and unsullied (asamārṣṭa) by all
   destinies (sarva-gati)---
   He who knows that will be awakened to the highest awakening.

8. All dharmas are free of the outflows (anāsrava) and formless,
   Isolated (vivikta), empty, and free of discrimination (avikalpa)---
   He who, devoid of desire and liberated in mind,
   Knows this, obtains this Samādhi.
9. Having made the Jina's body the basis of attention (ārambhanikṛtya),
Listen to the Dharma which is pure in its own-being.
Without doing here any development or undevelopment (bhāvanā-vibhāvanā) at all,
This Samādhi will not be hard to obtain.

10. If one has established oneself in the perception of space (ākāsa-samjñā),
The perception of atoms (paramāṇu) will be suppressed.
He obtains this Samādhi, who knows
That [things are] unconstructed (akalpa), uncreated (akṛta), and
undestroyed (avināśita).

11. Knowing that all forms are unconstructed (akalpa),
Wherever he looks his vision is unattached (asaṅga),
And so he will see the Buddhas
Like seven suns rising on this world.

12. He whose vision is pure and whose hearing is pure,
Who has put forth energy, is mindful and fully conscious (sam-prajāna),
And has developed this Samādhi well,
Receives inconceivable (acintya) great learning.

13. That which is the Samādhi of not seeing,
And that which is the Samādhi of all beings,
Unseen by anyone, and undiscerned by anyone [?],
With regard to this many heretics (paratīrthika) come to grief.

14. If he has cleared away perceptions of sign (nimitta-samjñā),
He sees the Buddhas, pure in mind (viśuddha-citta);
Having seen them he does not see them again;
He becomes a Buddha, a Chief in the World (loka-jyestha).

15. Before him neither earth nor water exists,
Nor fire, nor air, nor space exists,
But he will apprehend the Buddhas
Sitting and expounding the True Dharma.

16. Just as those who desire the Dharma
See me sitting and expounding the Dharma now,
So for him no other apprehension will arise
Except of the Buddhas and likewise the highest Dharma.
17. For those who are endowed with such,
No other sight or sound (sravana-darśana) will be apprehended,
Except for this spotless Samādhi, well-perfected (susamāpta),
And expounded by many Buddhas.

18. No Buddha has appeared in the past,
And no future one exists anywhere
Who has not expounded and will not expound
This peaceful, holy Samādhi.

19. I also, who have appeared in the world in the present
As the Supreme Man (narottama), for the benefit of beings,
Having called to mind these Buddhas and Guides (nāyaka),
Expound this peaceful Samādhi, difficult to behold.

20. When one has established oneself in this Samādhi
Out of the wish to seek the qualities of the Buddha,
Without regard for one's person or similarly one's life,
The awakening of a Buddha is not difficult to obtain.

21. If he sees many Supreme Men, whose nature is one,
The wise man wishes to question them;
Quickly, quickly, with all haste
He should develop the spotless, pure Samādhi.

22. He who has set out for the benefit of beings
And seeks great learning of inconceivable extent,
Quickly, quickly, with all haste
He should develop the spotless, pure Samādhi.

23. Herein there is no desire and no hatred,
Herein there is no delusion and no envy,
Herein there is neither knowledge nor ignorance,
Therefore know this peaceful Samādhi.'

CHAPTER EIGHT OF THE SAMĀDHI ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRAPĀLA
[9A] This having been said, the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla said to the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, how marvellous is this profound Samādhi thus expounded by the Lord! Reverend Lord, if bodhisattvas mahāsattvas who have gone forth (abhinīskṛanta) from the household life wish, when they hear this Samādhi, to receive instruction in it or develop it, then, Lord, established in which dharmas should those bodhisattvas receive instruction in or develop this Samādhi?'

This having been said, the Lord said to the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla:

'Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva who has gone forth from the household life and who wishes, on hearing this Samādhi, to receive instruction in it or develop it should be pure in morality; he should be flawless (acchidra? nīrdoṣa?) in morality.'

[9B] The bodhisattva Bhadrapāla said:

'Reverend Lord, in what way is the bodhisattva who has gone forth from the household life pure in morality and flawless in morality?'

The Lord said:

'Bhadrapāla, a bodhisattva who has gone forth from the household life who, on hearing this Samādhi, wishes to receive instruction in it or develop it, that bodhisattva should be restrained by the restraints of the Prātimokṣa (prātimokṣa-samvara-samvrta); he should be perfect in his conduct and associations (ācāra-gocara-sampanna), should see even the slightest blameworthiness as a danger (anumātṛesv avadyesu bhayadarśin), and be pure in deportment (līypathā); taking them upon himself (samādāya) he should train himself in the rules of training (śikṣāpada); he should incline strongly to the profound and have patient acceptance (ksānti) of the absence of apprehension (anupalambha); when he hears the dharmas of emptiness, signlessness, and wishlessness (sūnyatānimitāpranihita) he should not be afraid, nor frightened, nor fearful. In that way, Bhadrapāla, a bodhisattva who has gone forth from the household life is pure in morality and flawless in morality.'

1 Cf. KP 134, which has many elements in common with this section.
The bodhisattva Bhadrapāla said:

'Reverend Lord, in what way is the bodhisattva who has gone forth from the household life impure in morality, flawed in morality?'

The Lord said:

'Bhadrapāla, whenever a bodhisattva who has gone forth from the household life leads the holy life (brahmaçarīya carati) established in form, leads the holy life established in feelings, perception, predispositions, and consciousness, and says: "By virtue of this morality, austerity (tapas), and holy life of mine may I become a Deva or any Deva whatsoever (kaścid deva?)", this, Bhadrapāla, is impure morality, this is flawed morality on the part of a bodhisattva who has gone forth from the household life. That is, he is impure in morality because, being attached (parāmpṛtyā) to the perception of existing things (bhavasaṃjñā), he wishes to cultivate (sevā?) desire (kāma), and he wishes to get an opportunity for rebirth (upapatti-sthāna) in existence.'

Therefore, Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva who has gone forth from the household life and who wishes, on hearing this Samādhi, to expound or develop it should be pure in morality; he should be flawless in morality; he should be unsullied in morality; he should be unimpaired (anupahata) in morality; he should be uncontaminated (?) in morality. He should be one whose morality is unsupported, whose morality is free of clinging (parāmpṛṣṭi), whose morality is free of apprehension of a basis, whose morality is incorruptible (akūṭīta?), whose morality is praised by the Wise, and whose morality is praised by the Holy. He should rejoice in the giving of gifts (dāna), that is, he should put forth energy with regard to the highest gift, the supreme gift, the gift of the Dharma. He should station himself in mindfulness. He should be endowed with faith. He should possess gentleness (sauratya) and modesty (hri), and be endowed with bashfulness (apatrapya-sampāṇna). He should be unattached to gain, honour, and praise (lābha-satkāra-sloka). He should be free of meanness (mātsarya) and jealousy (īrṣyā), and have the ascetic qualities and frugality (dhūtaguna-sampāṭhā). He should not aspire to worldly discourse (laukika-kathā), but, rejecting that discourse, should aspire to supramundane discourse (lokottara-kathā). He should be grateful (kṛta-2)

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2 I do not understand what the Tib. means by lha 'am lha la la žig tu gyur cig. T.418 (909b23-24?) has: 'May I in a later life be born either as a Deva or as a Cakravartin King;' while T.416 (883a3-4) reads: 'May I in the future obtain rebirth in heaven, or be born to power among men, having rebirth and receiving rewards.'
and appreciative (krtavedin). He should keep his voice down and his speech to a minimum. He should be endowed with respect and reverence. That is, because of the rarity (durlabha) of good friends, he should be enthusiastic in (utsahate) doing honour to teachers and preceptors (ācāryopādhyaṇa). That person from whom he will hear, accept, and copy in book-form such dharmas as these, and whom he will rely upon for the elucidation of words, and that person from whom he masters or will master, copies in book-form or will copy in book-form such a Sūtra as this, towards him he should engender the perception of father; he should engender the perception of good friend; and he should engender the perception of Teacher. For the sake of such dharmas as these and for the purpose of bringing awakening to ripeness he should engender towards him great joy, faith, and respect.'

[9E] 'If, Bhadrapāla, sons or daughters of good family who are adherents of the Bodhisattvayāna (bodhisattvayanika), or adherents of the Śrāvakayāna, or adherents of the Pratyekabuddhayāna, do not engender joy, faith, and respect towards the bhikṣu who preaches the Dharma of such dharmas as these, and if they do not engender the perception of good friend and engender the perception of Teacher, then, Bhadrapāla, there will be no possibility or chance that those sons or daughters of good family, who are adherents of the Bodhisattvayāna or adherents of the Śrāvakayāna or adherents of the Pratyekabuddhayāna, will master such dharmas as these, dharmas that they have not [already] mastered, or that the dharmas that they have mastered will remain, not be lost (vijanasyanti?), and not vanish. Nor will there be any possibility of that son of good family who is an adherent of the Bodhisattvayāna obtaining this Samādhi. Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Namely, because the True Dharma disappears through lack of respect.'

[9F] 'If, Bhadrapāla, those sons or daughters of good family who are adherents of the Bodhisattvayāna or those sons or daughters of good family who are adherents of the Śrāvakayāna or Pratyekabuddhayānas engender joy, faith and respect, and also evoke the perception of good friend and the perception of Teacher towards the bhikṣus who teach such dharmas as these and towards those from whom they master, have mastered, and have copied in book-form such a discourse on Dharma (dharma-paryaya) as this, then, Bhadrapāla, the possibility will exist, it will be possible that those sons or daughters of good family who are adherents of the Bodhisattvayāna, or adherents of the Śrāvakayāna, or adherents of the Pratyekabuddhayāna, will master dharmas that they have not [already] mastered,
and that the dharmas that they have mastered will remain, not be lost, and not vanish.'

[96] 'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, I announce to you, I inform you (ārocayāmi vah prativedayāmi vah): one should engender in this way joy, faith, and respect towards the bhikṣus who teach such dharmas, one should engender the perception of good friend, and the perception of Teacher---this is my admonition (anuśāsanā).'

[97] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, that bodhisattva who has gone forth from the household life and who wishes to receive instruction in and develop this Samādhi should be free of troubles of conscience (kaukṛtya). He should enjoy forest-life (aranyā), be inclined to forest-life (aranyā-nimna), bent upon forest-life (aranyā-pravāna), set upon forest-life (aranyā-prāgbhāra). He should take no pleasure in inhabited regions (janapada). By not wishing for the houses of friends or the houses of givers of food he should have no regard for [his own] life. Through renouncing the body he should be unattached to the body and obtain the perception of forest-life (aranyā-samjñā?). He should not hold to gain, honour, or praise, and should hold fast to the True Dharma. He should not be attached to, or hoard up bowls or robes (pāṭra-cīvara). He should beg for alms without requiring invitations (upanimantrana). He should have shame and be remorseful (vipratisarīn?). He should not appropriate gold. Through being without obsession (paryutthāna) he should be free of troubles of conscience (kaukṛtya). Through eliminating anger he should abide in friendliness. Through eliminating harmfulness (himsā) he should abide in compassion. Through eliminating joylessness he should abide in sympathetic joy. Through eliminating all signs (nimitta) he should abide in disinterestedness. Through putting forth energy he should desire training (śikṣā). Unconquered by sloth or torpor he should take to walking up and down (caṇkrama). Therefore, Bhadrapāla, that bodhisattva who has gone forth from the household life and who wishes, on hearing this Samādhi, to receive instruction in it and develop it, he should receive instruction in, and develop this Samādhi established in those dharmas.'

[97] When this was said, the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla said to the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, how wonderful are these dharmas so great and excellent, which are taught and spoken by the Tathāgata!' 'Reverend Lord, those lazy bodhisattvas who appear will be afraid,
frightened, and fearful when they hear this Samādhi. They will not feel great joy, gladness, and faith with regard to those who expound those dharmas so excellent. They will think: "We shall perfect this Samādhi under other Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas. At present we are physically feeble and have many infirmities," and when they hear this Samādhi of the One who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present they will be discouraged and dismayed, and they will not put forth the energy to perfect this Samādhi of the One who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present.

[9J] 'Reverend Lord, those bodhisattvas mahāsattvas who appear—who will have put forth energy (Ārabha-vīrya), be established in mindfulness, seek the Dharma, respect the Dharma, teach the Dharma, preach the Dharma, take up the Dharma, pursue the dharmas concomitant with Dharma (dharmanudharma-cārin), renounce person and life, not be dependent on gain, honour or praise, not seek renown for their qualities, be unattached to bowls and robes, take no pleasure in villages, cities, market-towns, inhabited regions, kingdoms, realms, and royal capitals, be inclined to the forest-life, be set upon the forest-life, and be bent upon the forest-life—when they hear this Samādhi of the Bodhisattva who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present, they will not be discouraged or dismayed, or afraid, or frightened, or fearful, but rather (uttari) they will feel great joy, gladness, and faith. And they will put forth great energy in order to accept, master, keep, read, copy, teach, and develop this Samādhi.'

[9K] 'Reverend Lord, these sons or daughters of good family will not seek great learning from future Buddhas, nor will they exert themselves for the sake of attaining formulas (mantra), qualities, or excellent dharmas (dharma-viśeṣa). Since that is so, Reverend Lord, at a future time those sons or daughters of good family who will appear having done their duty under former Jīnas and put forth energy, they will, on hearing such a Samādhi as this spoken by the Tathāgata, think: "We would rather that in this very place our body, skin, flesh, blood, bone, sinew and marrow should dry and shrivel up than that we should thus die having grown lazy, or that we should reject energy without having mastered, expounded, and developed such great and excellent dharmas as these!"; and so they will put forth energy. Such good men (satpurusa) as those, ever putting forth energy, on hearing such sūtras as these spoken by the Tathāgata, will, as soon as they hear them, feel very great joy, gladness, and faith.'
[9L] When this was said, the Lord said to the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla:

'Well done, well done, Bhadrapāla! Your exposition, Bhadrapāla, of the concomitant dharmas (anudharma) is without error (aviparyasa), just so, correct, and well done. I also rejoice (anumodami) at it, and whatever I rejoice at, at that the Buddhas and Lords of the past, future, and present also rejoice.'

[9M] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:

1. 'If one trains in all those items of training (śikṣā) of the Prātimokṣa

Expounded by me, keeps to the forest-life,

And always pursues the ascetic qualities (dhūta-guna),

This Samādhi is not difficult to obtain.

3 The five gāthās which follow are not found in this position in T.416, but the first four of them do appear at a later stage (885c12-19), in a collection of verses which I have designated as 13L, which follows the verse portion proper of Chap. 13 (see 13L, n. 13.21). In T.416 the prose sections of Chaps. 11 and 13 succeed the prose of Chap. 9 without any indication of a formal break, the prose parts of Chap. 10 and Chap. 12 being omitted in their entirety (along with the gāthās of 12; the verse section of Chap. 10 is also included in 13L, together with some of the verses of Chap. 11). All this notwithstanding, Chaps. 9-12 appear in T.418 basically as they do in the Tibetan.

Leaving the question of the verses for the time being (once again, see n. 13.21), what we have here is a substantial re-organisation of the text. The absence from Jñānaguptā's translation of most of the material dealing with female followers of the Mahāyāna (Chap. 10 with bhikṣuṇīs, Chap. 12 with upāsikās) should, I believe, justify our assuming the existence of a separate redaction of the Praśā (which we might conveniently label the 'Misogynist Redaction'!). Of course, we cannot be absolutely sure that the removal of these chapters was not at the discretion of Jñānaguptā himself, but we might point out here that the SCPPSl, in which the quotations from the Praśā are clearly based on a text very close to that used by Jñānaguptā, contains a good deal of the prose of Chaps. 9 and 11 (bhikṣus and upāsakas), yet shows no trace of Chaps. 10 and 12. Naturally we cannot place too much weight on an argument ex silentio, but a separate Sanskrit redaction of the Praśā does appear to be indicated here. As has been pointed out elsewhere, T.416 does in general represent a slightly more amplified or developed form of the text by contrast with the Tib. version, and it may well be that the process which effected that amplification also accomplished the omission of certain portions of the text; in any case an examination of T.418 shows that these chapters on women followers of the Mahāyāna were included in an early form of the Praśā, and we must admit that it is more likely that in this case original material has dropped out of the text, rather than that T.416 represents an even earlier form of the work than T.418.

To return to the matter of the gāthās, T.418 preserves---in the 'proper' place---six verses (910a3-14) of which only the first two correspond with any closeness to the Tibetan; the last four run as

---
2. Having rejected all invitations,  
And having eliminated all desire for tastes,  
Have the perception of Teacher towards him from whom it is heard,  
Evoke the perception of sameness and equality.

3. Having eliminated envy, desire, and pride,  
And having eliminated lust, hatred, and delusion,  
And having fostered thought connected with trance (dhyāna-
samprayuktacitta?),  
One should enter into this Samādhi.

4. Being free of envy, having eliminated lust,  
Being well restrained, and having eliminated anger,  
And having purified one's object of attention (ārambana), the  
Jina's body (?),  
One should enter into this Samādhi.

follows:

3. He who recites and practises this Samādhi  
Must be energetic, and not lazy;  
Not grudging with the sutra-dharma,  
He does not seek offerings, yet gives the Dharma.

4. He who accepts this Samādhi,  
He is then a son of this Buddha;  
He who studies and practises it thus  
Will obtain the Samādhi before long.

5. Constantly exert strength, do not be lazy,  
Eliminate torpor, liberate the mind;  
You should shun evil companions,  
Then pursue the practice of this dharma.

6. Discarding indulgence, not resting,  
Ever avoiding the meetings of the multitude,  
The bhiksu seeking this Samādhi  
Should do this, following the Buddha's teaching.

However, at 13L T.416 also has four verses, like T.416, which  
correspond with the first four verses of 9M (see 912a23-b1). As for  
the fifth verse in the Tib., it could possibly be a contraction of the  
last two verses given above from T.416, utilising those phrases which  
I have underlined. It does not appear in T.416. See n. 13.21 for a  
further discussion of the possibilities involved; see also 13L for a  
translation of the verses found in T.416.
5. Without discarding energy or being overcome by torpor,
   Without associating with relatives and friends,
   Walking up and down (sacánkrama?), reject the multitude
   and companions [?],
   And develop that spotless (viraja) Samādhi.'

CHAPTER NINE OF THE SAMĀDHI ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRAPĀLA
When this was said, the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla said to the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, if any bhikṣuṇī who has set out in the Mahāyāna (mahāyāna-samprasthita) wishes, when she hears this Samādhi of the One who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present, to receive instruction in it or develop it, then, Reverend Lord, established in which dharmas should she receive instruction in and develop this Samādhi?'

When this was said, the Lord said to the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla:

'Bhadrapāla, any bhikṣuṇī who has set out in the Mahāyāna who wishes, when she hears this Samādhi, to receive instruction in it or to develop it should always be respectful. She should always be free of envy, and not be angry. She should have conquered pride, be free of arrogance, and put forth energy. She should be free of laziness, and eliminate sloth and torpor. She should exert herself in the endeavour not to sleep, and eliminate all striving after gain, honour, and praise (lābha-satkāra-śloka), robes, food, beds and seats, medicine to cure the sick, and personal belongings (cīvara-pindapāta-sayanāsana-glānapratyaya-bhaisaṭṭha-parishthita). She should be pure in her living, and unattached to her person or her life. She should always desire the Dharma, and exert herself in the quest for great learning. She should have thoughts which are free of lust, hatred, and delusion. She should reject the followers of Mara (māra-pakṣa). She should do away with massaging, ornamentation, and bodily decoration. She should not be attached to bowls or robes. She should not hanker after fame, she should be free of slander (paisundra) and eliminate fickleness.'

Therefore, Bhadrapāla, the bhikṣuṇī who has set out in the Mahāyāna who wishes, when she hears this Samādhi, to receive instruction in it or to develop it should receive instruction in this Samādhi while evoking the perception of Teacher with regard to her teacher (ācārya); she should develop this Samādhi when she is established in those dharmas.'
Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:

1. 'If any bhikṣuṇī, through desire for this Samādhi, has shown respect and eliminated envy, anger, pride, and likewise arrogance, this Samādhi will not be difficult to obtain.

2. If she has come to seek this Samādhi, when she has put forth energy, eliminated torpor, and eliminated all striving, let her desire the Dharma without attachment even to life.

3. She who wishes to take up this Samādhi should not remain with thoughts of lust and hatred, afflicted by the defilements (kleśa); and let her never be caught in Māra's snare.

4. She who wishes to take up this Samādhi should not conduct herself with deceit (māyā), and should reject all massaging, ornamentation, slander, and fickleness.

5. She takes no thought, not even for an instant, for the sake of bowls and for the sake of praises; having the perception of Teacher towards him from whom it is heard, let her evoke the perception of sameness and equality.'

CHAPTER TEN OF THE SAMĀDHI ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRĀPĀLA

T.418 (910a27-b9) has these five gāthās, plus an extra one which appears between (Tib.) Verses 4 and 5. It runs:

Rejecting small friendliness, ever greatly friendly,
Honouring the good friend unceasingly,
She should avoid all evils,
Thus she should seek the Samādhi.

A variant translation of Verses 1, 2, 3, and 5 may be found in T.418 at 13L (912b6-15). As mentioned above, T.416 contains no prose version of Chapter 10, but does preserve its gāthās at 13L (886al-10), to which I refer the reader for its translation of them.
[11A] When this was said, the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla said to the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, if a householder bodhisattva wearing the white garb and living in a household should wish, on hearing this Samādhi, to receive instruction in it or develop it even for one or two days, then, Reverend Lord, established in which dharmas should he receive instruction in and develop this Samādhi?'

[11B] The Lord said:

'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, if a householder bodhisattva wearing the white garb and living in a household should wish, on hearing this Samādhi, to receive instruction in it or develop it even for one or two days, or even for the length of time it takes to milk a cow, then that householder bodhisattva wearing the white garb and living in a household should be possessed of faith. He should be free of avarice, and be free in his liberality (mukta-tyāga). He should delight in distributing gifts, and should give away all of his wealth without expecting recompense (vipākāpratikāṅksin). He should take refuge in the Buddha. He should take refuge in the Dharma. He should take refuge in the Saṅgha. He should be pure in morality. He should undertake the Five Rules of Training (pañca-śikṣā-pada). He should have no other gods, and his resolve should be to follow the Buddha. He should be faultless in morality, and when he has taken up and fulfilled the Ten Good Ways of Action (daśa-kuśala-karma-patha) he should inspire others to them also; and he should turn away from the drinking of intoxicants. He should not tempt others to it. He should describe to others the unpleasantness of intoxicants and not give intoxicants to others; he should disparage desire to others and live the holy life (brahmacarya). He should be without envy. He should be pure in his living.'

[11C] 'He should not covet sons. He does not covet daughters. Let him not covet his wife. He should not covet wealth. He should not covet a household. He should delight in going forth (pravrajya), and have his

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1 Tib. lha gzan med par bya, probably from Sanskrit ananyadeva. Cf. BHSD, s.v. ananyadeva; but 'not having other gods' is hardly 'implausible' here (see also 12B and 12Cv2).
mind bent on going forth. He should be intent on this Samādhi of [while observing?] the Eightfold Fast (astāṅgopavāsa), and he should stay in the vihāra. He should possess shame and modesty, have his mind bent upon awakening, and not desire any other vehicle (yāna). He should not abuse bhikṣus who are endowed with morality. He should have respect and reverence for those who lead the holy life. Towards that teacher (ācārya) from whom he has received instruction in this Samādhi he should have the thought that he is very dear, he should have faith and respect; he should also evoke the perception of good friend; he should also evoke the perception of Teacher. He should provide him with all things needful for comfort (sukhopadhāna). He should continue to be grateful, appreciative, and respectful—in that way, Bhadrapāla, the householder bodhisattva living in a household should apply himself to this Samādhi; and established in the dharmas he should develop this Samādhi.'

11D] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:

1. 'A bodhisattva living in a household
   Who, having wished to take up this Samādhi,
   Has become always pure in morality,
   And has fostered the firm thought of going forth,

2. When he has undertaken the Five Rules of Training
   And performed the Eightfold Uposatha (astāṅga-posadha),
   Staying in the vihāra without renouncing his household,
   He should enter upon this Samādhi.

2 Mention of the Samādhi at this point by the Tib. is a little puzzling, and it is not found in the Chinese (nor in the SCPPSL). T.416 (884a14) has: 'He observes the Eightfold Fast, staying constantly in the monastery (saṅghārāma), usual rendering of saṅghārāma).' T.418 (910b18) is more specific: 'He always upholds the Eightfold Fast, and at the time of the Fast he should always fast in the Buddha-monastery.' What the Tib. implies is that the lay bodhisattva is to practise the Samādhi while observing the Upasatha within the confines of the monastery (cf. 11Dv2); but 'samādhi' here may be an interpolation, since no other version supports it. However, note that N, P, and L omit 'di (Text, p. 96, 1. 15, n. 1), thereby suggesting that one ought merely to practise samādhi, or meditation in general, during the Upavāsa.

3 Six gāthās appear in T.418 at this point; they contain most of the subject matter found in the Tibetan, but it is differently organised, and there is seldom the one-to-one correspondence between verses which we usually encounter. T.418 also preserves separate translations of Verses 4 and 5 in 13L (912b2-5). T.416 has four verses of Chap. 11 (1, 2, 4 and 5) at 13L (885c20-27), but nothing at this point.
3. He should not give anyone intoxicants to drink,
And having rejected all beverages not commended by the Buddha
And established himself in these items of training,
He should receive instruction in this Samādhi.

4. Not desiring sons, not desiring daughters,
Not desiring wife, nor desiring household,
When the upāsaka is endowed with shame
He should enter upon this Samādhi.

5. He should be healthy (aṛoga?), and not consort
Or speak with anyone, rejecting all the multitude ;
Having established himself in faultlessness and patient acceptance
He should enter upon this Samādhi.

6. If one enters upon this holy Samādhi,
Let him always be respectful to the Buddha and the Dharma,
And let him, with thoughts faithful, unshakeable, and free of envy,
Be willing to do honour to the Saṅgha.

CHAPTER ELEVEN OF THE SAMĀDHI ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRAPĀLA

4 Very doubtful translation on my part. For mi bsān mi brjod one
could conceivably understand mi sān mi brjod, i.e. negative of mi sān
brjod pa, Skt. avadhyāyati, 'to revile', 'to slight'. This at least is
what is suggested by T.41b (in 13L, 912b4) for this pāda: 'He takes no
pleasure in abusing [others], and eliminates all evils.' The Chinese
also suggests that in the first pāda nad means 'harm' or 'injury'
rather than 'sickness'; see T.41b, 13Lv8: 'He should not evoke the
thought of harm towards any other.'
When this was said, the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla addressed the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, if an upāsikā who has set out in the Mahāyāna (mahāyāna-samprasthita) should wish, on hearing this Samādhi, to receive instruction in it or to develop it, then, Reverend Lord, established in which dharmas should she receive instruction in and develop this Samādhi?'

When this was said, the Lord said to the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla:

'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, an upāsikā who has set out in the Mahāyāna who wishes, on hearing this Samādhi, to receive instruction in it or develop it should undertake the Five Rules of Training. Bhadrapāla, the upāsikā should go to the Three for refuge, and not have any other gods. Bhadrapāla, the upāsikā should reject marvels and omens (kutūhala-maṅgala), and be free of deception (māyā). Bhadrapāla, the upāsikā should be without pretence in the modes of deportment (īryā-patha), and be free of avarice. Bhadrapāla, the upāsikā should rejoice in the distribution of gifts, and desire the Dharma. Bhadrapāla, the upāsikā should be given to questioning (paripṛcchā-jātiya), and be respectful and reverent. If she sees bhikṣus or bhikṣunīs she should offer them a seat.'

'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, if an upāsikā who has set out in the Mahāyāna should wish, on hearing this Samādhi, to receive instruction in it or to develop it, then that upāsikā should receive instruction in and develop this Samādhi while being established in dharmas of that sort.'

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1 T.418 defines the 'Triple Refuge' at this point (910c10-11).
2 Cf. n. 11.1.
3 Doubtful rendering. Dge mtshan dan _ltas could perhaps stand for kautuka-maṅgala (cf. TSP, s.v. dge mtshan: gzigs mo dan dge mtshan), 'an auspicious ceremony (esp. the ceremony with the marriage-thread preceding a marriage)'—MW, s.v. kautuka. Cf. T.418 (910c12): 'She does not obtain omens (示) and lucky days (良日).'
Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:

1. 'The upāsikā who aspires to this Samādhi
   Authorised (anujñāta) by the Buddha and praised by the Sugata,
   Should enter upon this Samādhi
   Having undertaken the Five Rules of Training.

2. Respectful, and having no other gods
   Apart from the Buddha, the Dharma, and likewise the Saṅgha,
   Having rejected all wrong paths,
   She should enter upon this Samādhi.

3. Not killing living things, not taking what is not given,
   And not uttering falsehoods,
   Never committing sexual misconduct,
   She should receive instruction in this Samādhi.

4. Free of avarice, not expecting recompense,
   Having done away with all affectations of deportment,
   Eliminating envy, pride, and anger,
   She should receive instruction in this Samādhi.

5. If she sees bhiksus and likewise bhikṣunīs,
   She should rise respectfully and offer them a seat;
   Desiring the Dharma, and asking: "What is beneficial?"[?],
   She should receive instruction in this Samādhi.'

CHAPTER TWELVE,

THE UPĀSIKĀ,

OF THE SAMĀDHI ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRĀPALA

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4 Six gāthās appear in T.418 (910c18-29), which correspond roughly in order and sense to their Tibetan counterparts. Verse 2 in Tib. is expanded into two verses in T.418. As noted before, this chapter is totally unrepresented in T.416.
ET.1+18: Chapter Seven, The Prediction]

[13A] When this was said, the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla said to the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, how marvellous it is that for the sake of bodhisattvas who have gone forth from the household life, for the sake of bodhisattvas of great desire (?), those endowed with high resolve (adyāśaya-sampānna), those who have put forth energy, those who do not give up exertion, and those who have set out for supreme and perfect awakening, the Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha has thus described the great and excellent dharmas established in which they should receive instruction in and develop this Samādhi!'

'Reverend Lord, at a future time, in that age after the Nirvāṇa of the Tathāgata, will this Samādhi circulate (pracarati) and spread here in Jambudvīpa?'

[13B] The Lord said:

'Bhadrapāla, for four thousand years 1 after my Parinirvāṇa this

1 Despite the fact that the Tibetan text definitely has 'four thousand years', there are several good reasons for believing that this represents a later form of the Pātañjali Sūtra, and that earlier forms of the text had 'forty years'.

First of all, the scenario that is put forward in the gāthās of this chapter (see esp. 13Kv8-11) is that of a band of 500 faithful followers who undertake responsibility for the preservation of the Sūtra. After the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa they write the Sūtra down and conceal it in various places before their own demise and subsequent rebirth in one of the Devas-worlds. There they remain until the 'last time', when they are once more born in the world of men, rediscover the Sūtra, and proclaim it to others. To assert then that the Sūtra circulates for four thousand years after the Parinirvāṇa before disappearing underground would be to assign an excessive life-span to these 500 followers of the Buddha. Forty years, on the other hand, is a reasonable length of time for them to survive their master and to deposit the text in the various locations suggested by 13Kv9.

The second reason for assuming an original reading of 'forty years' is the fact that it is supported by two Chinese versions, namely T.418 and the SYM text of T.416. Because of the importance of the passage, the rendering of section 13B in these two versions is here given in full: T.418 (91a5-10):

The Buddha said to the bodhisattva Bhadrapāla: 'After my Parinirvāṇa this Samādhi will appear for forty years; thereafter it will no longer appear. Then, in the latter age of confusion, at the time when the Buddhadharmā is about to perish, when bhikṣus no longer accept the Buddha's teaching, at the time of the latter age of confusion, when kingdom
Samādhi will circulate and spread in Jambudvīpa. Thereafter it will go into a cave in the ground. Further, when the last five hundred years, the last time, the last age, the last five centuries occur, when the ruin of the True Dharma occurs, the ruin of śramaṇas occurs, the rejection of the True Dharma occurs, the ruin of beings occurs, the state is in dis-

takes up arms against kingdom, at that time this Samādhi will again appear in Jambudvīpa; because of the Buddha's might, this Samādhi will again emerge.'

The Buddha said to the bodhisattva Bhadrapāla: 'Bhadrapāla, after my Nirvāṇa this Samādhisūtra will circulate widely in the world, in Jambudvīpa, for forty [K: four thousand] years; then, during the last hundred years of the last five hundred years [!!] when the True Dharma perishes, when the conduct of bhikṣus is bad, when the True Dharma is reviled, when the True Dharma is destroyed, when those who uphold morality decrease, when those who violate morality are numerous, when kingdoms take up arms against each other, at this time there will be a few beings with purified roots of goodness, who have formerly attended upon Buddhas, made offerings, cultivated themselves, and planted good seeds, and so that these heroes may obtain this Sūtra, this Samādhisūtra will again circulate in Jambudvīpa, that is, by virtue of the Buddha's might, so that they, after my Nirvāṇa, may on hearing this Sūtra rejoice and copy it, read it, take it up, meditate on its meaning, expound it to others, and practise it as expounded.'

Lastly, a reading of 'four thousand years' would, when taken with the traditional notion of the last five hundred years, produce a date for the final disappearance of the True Dharma of 4,500 years after the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa, more if we take into account the unspecified period of time the Sūtra spends 'underground'. Such an exaggerated chronology is hardly to be expected in a sūtra in circulation by the end of the second century A.D. (see Lamotte, Histoire, pp. 211-217, esp. pp. 215ff. for examples of the longer chronologies which became current at quite a late date, i.e. 5th and 6th centuries).

We ought also to consider the intentions of the composer of the PraS. The scenario outlined above constitutes an authenticating device that both explains the sudden appearance of the Sūtra in the world and vindicates those who champion it by identifying them with Bhadrapāla and his 500 followers (see e.g. 13Kv13-15). The composer of the PraS is therefore likely to have regarded himself as living in the last age (possibly the second of two 500-year periods, which would have begun sometime around the first century of our era). However, as the horizon of the Buddhist apocalypse receded and longer and longer chronologies began to gain currency, thereby pushing the event into the distant future, the actual historical existence of the PraS in the world became a problem which could only be explained away by extending the initial 40-year period of its circulation. This is conceivably the reason why in later forms of the text of the PraS 'forty years' became 'four thousand years'.
order, when the time comes when the party of the moral ones dwindles, when the time comes when the party of the immoral ones increases, when the time comes when the party of the True Dharma dwindles, when the time comes when the dharma of the party of untruth increases, when the time of destruction (kṣaya-kāla) comes, a few beings will appear who, for the sake of obtaining such a sūtra as this, will have purified the roots of goodness (uttapta-kuśalamūla), done their duty under former Jinas, planted the roots of goodness, ripened the roots of goodness, and planted seeds, and for the benefit of such beings as those, that is, by the might of the Buddha (buddhānubhāvena), this Samādhi will circulate and spread in Jambudvīpa.

'And they, on hearing this Samādhi, will feel great joy, gladness, and faith. Having heard it they will accept, keep, read, master, copy, expound, spread, and exert themselves in the endeavour to develop it; they will even copy it in book-form and keep it.'

[13C] Thereupon the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva mahāsattva Ratnākara, and the Licchavi youths (licchavi-kumāra)², on hearing from the Lord that in the last time this True Dharma would change E?H and be destroyed, wept and shed tears through the impact of Dharma (dharma-vega); thereupon the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva mahāsattva Ratnākara, and the Licchavi youths wiped away their tears, and having risen from their seats and arranged their upper garments on one shoulder, they put their right knees to the ground, extended their joined palms towards the Lord, and said to the Lord:

2 Both Chinese versions and later indications in the Tibetan itself (e.g. mention of the eight satpurusa in 13Kv13) show that the Tibetan translation at this point—byan chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po rin chen 'byun gnas dañ / li tsa bi gzon nus—is in error: Ratnākara is both a Licchavi and a bodhisattva, and there is no question here of more than one person. But I have rendered the Tibetan as it stands, since the original translation (and possibly even the Sanskrit text on which it was based) undoubtedly did not understand licchavi-kumāra here to be an epithet of Ratnākara. In this case as in others, I consider myself entitled to emend the Tibetan text only when its errors are transmissional.

3 I have translated the Tib.—dam pa'i chos 'di 'gyur ba dañ / rnam par 'lig pa—literally here. It is difficult to know the precise significance of 'gyur ba, but what may underly the Tib. is some nominal phrase derived from the usual saddharmavipralopa vartamāne, 'when the ruin of the True Dharma occurs' (e.g. SP, p. 169.24), perhaps saddharma-vipralopan vartamānān. Otherwise 'gyur ba could represent some Sanskrit word for 'change', e.g. viparināma. See also 13E, 130.
"Reverend Lord, even when the last five hundred years after the Tathāgata's Nirvāṇa occur, when the last time, the last age, the last five centuries occur, and when the True Dharma is rejected, we shall accept, master, copy, preserve, read, propagate, and exert ourselves in the endeavour to develop such sūtras as these. Why is that? Reverend Lord, we never tire of hearing, copying, accepting, mastering, preserving, reading, expounding, propagating, and developing such profound sūtras as these, spoken by the Tathāgata.'

Thereupon the bodhisattva mahāsattva, the householder (grhapati) Mahāsusārthavāha; the bodhisattva mahāsattva, the merchant's son (śresthi-putra) Guhagupta; the bodhisattva mahāsattva, the brahman youth (mānavaka) Naladatta; the bodhisattva mahāsattva Susīma; the bodhisattva mahāsattva Indradatta; and the bodhisattva mahāsattva Varunadeva, on hearing from the Lord that in the last five hundred years, in the last time, the last age, in the last five centuries this True Dharma would change and be destroyed, wept and shed tears through the impact of Dharma. Thereupon the bodhisattva mahāsattva, the householder Mahāsusārthavāha; the merchant's son Guhagupta; the brahman youth Naladatta; the son of good family Susīma; Indradatta; and the bodhisattva mahāsattva Varunadeva wiped away their tears, and having risen from their seats and arranged their upper garments on one shoulder, they put their right knees to the ground, extended their joined palms towards the Lord, and said to the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, at a future time, even when the last five hundred years after the Tathāgata's Nirvāṇa occur, when the last time, the last age, the last five centuries occur, and when the True Dharma is rejected, we shall also accept, master, copy, preserve, read, expound widely to others, and develop such sūtras as these.'

'Reverend Lord, we shall perpetuate, magnify, and spread this supreme and perfect awakening which has been achieved by Tathāgatas Arhats Samyak-saṃbuddhas over hundreds and thousands of koṭinayutas of kalpas. Why is that, Reverend Lord? We accept and proclaim dharmas which have never before been heard (asrutapūrvadharma).'

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4 Cf. T.416 (884b10-14), where the full formula is rehearsed (as in 13B).
5 See n. 1.13.
6 See n. 1.19.
'Reverend Lord, we shall develop and teach the profound Dharma in which all the world will not believe.'

Thereupon from those assemblies five hundred beings—bhikṣus, bhikṣunis, upāsakas, and upāsikās—rose from their seats, and being respectful and reverent, when they heard from the Lord of the time during which the True Dharma would be destroyed and the True Dharma would not be accepted, when the last five hundred years had occurred, when the last time, the last age, the last five centuries had occurred, they wept and shed tears through the impact of the transformation (viparītā?) of the True Dharma.

Thereupon those five hundred beings wiped away their tears, and having arranged their upper garments on one shoulder and put their right knees to the ground, they extended their joined palms towards the Lord and said to the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, when the last five hundred years after the Tathāgata's Parinirvāṇa occur, when the last time, the last age, the last five centuries occur, we shall accept, develop, and proclaim widely to others such sūtras as these. We shall also perform personal service (vaiyavrtya) to these good men. At that time we shall also listen to such a sūtra as this, spoken by the Tathāgata. There too we shall take up the True Dharma. With this jewel of the True Dharma we shall also serve others who are fit vessels (bhajana-bhūta) of the True Dharma. Lord, we request you to entrust this Samādhi to these good men. Lord, we request you to impart this Samādhi to these good men.'

Thereupon at that time the Lord smiled a smile the colour of gold, which filled infinite world-systems with light; after mounting right up to the Brahmaloka it surpassed even the light of the sun and moon; on returning, it circled the Lord three times from the right side, and vanished into the parting (sīman) of the Lord's top-knot (usnīsā).

Thereupon the Venerable Ānanda, having risen from his seat and arranged his upper garment on one shoulder, put his right knee to the ground, extended his joined palms towards the Lord, and praised the Lord with these appropriate verses:

Six verses appear in both T.418 and T.416 (see Concordance), although the last three gathās in both versions exhibit considerable variation in the arrangement of the material.
1. 'Pure in morality, pure in range (gocara),
   Great in magic power even among those of great might,
   Most excellent of all beings,
   Fair as the spotless sun,

2. Endowed with unattached cognition, with mind thoroughly liberated,
   Endowed with the voice of the Kalaviṅka, O Deva of Devas,
   Unperturbed by all rival teachers (parapravādin),
   What is the reason for smiling this smile?

3. Out of concern (hitāya), O compassionate (anukampaka) Lord of
   the Two-footed (dvipadendra),
   I request you to teach with the luminous ultimate truth;
   If one hears your delightful voice,
   One obtains holy and spiritual (nirāmisa) joy.

4. Since the Best of Jinas, the Guide, the Supreme Person
   Does not smile without a reason,
   Out of concern for the world I ask you, compassionate one:
   What is the reason for smiling this smile?

5. Lord of the World, since you have smiled,
   To whose great advantage will it be today?
   Who will be firmly established in Buddha-cognition?
   Who today will obtain the highest kingship?

6. Who today will be firmly established in merit?
   Who will take up this treasury of the Dharma?
   Who today will put on the great diadem (mukuta),
   Setting it on their own head with their own hands?'

   Thereupon the Lord replied to Ānanda with these verses:

1. 'Ānanda, behold these five hundred companions assembled,
   Standing before me with joyful thoughts
   And declaring:
   "Let us obtain this Dharma!"

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8 Here follow in the Tibetan 34 verses. T.418 has them all, but transposes Verses 6 and 7 and features one extra verse (912all-12) between Verses 29 and 30. T.416 follows the Tibetan exactly.
2. They also look at me,  
Saying: "When shall we become like this?"
"We accept this highest awakening,"  
They declare, standing before me.

3. In order to proclaim these sūtras  
In the future, the last time, when such things have come to pass,  
These five hundred have stood forward  
Headed by these eight wise men.

4. I announce to you, I inform you:  
In this my cognition is unchecked (asaṅga);  
These men have not stood forward  
After making obeisance (añjali) to [only] one Jina.

5. I remember them of old, when, in previous births,  
Full eighty thousand Buddhas appeared;  
Before them also these men, led by the eight, stood forth  
In order to proclaim these dharmas.

6. Much longer ago even than that  
There appeared eighty thousand koṭinayutas  
Of those pure in morality, great in renown,  
And from them also they accepted this extensive (vipula?) dharma.  

7. Aspiring to and taking up  
My great teachings (pravacana) as well,  
With joyful thoughts and incomparable gladness  
They urge many to the thought of awakening (bodhi-citta).

8. In the last time, after I have entered Nirvāṇa,  
And all the relics (śarīra) have been distributed,  
They, having taken up well this Buddha-awakening,  
Having copied it and placed it in a casket (piṭaka?).

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9 In T.418 the order of Verses 6 and 7 is reversed (see 911b21-24).

10 Text has byaṅ chub 'di dag; 'these awakenings' (i.e. these texts which embody awakening) is possible, but dag here is more likely to be a metric filler; see Hahn, Lehrbuch, pp. 45, 206.
9. And having put the sūtra in a stūpa,
   In the earth, and rocks, and mountains,
   And into the hands of Devas and likewise Nāgas,
   They proceed to a state of association (sahavrata) with the Devas.11

10. In the last time and age, in different families
   Having descended again, giving up everything,
   They, taking up well this awakening12 of a Buddha,
   Will act in accordance with their resolve (yathāsaya).

11. Through the desire for this dharma they will proceed
   Hither and thither (deṣe deṣe), and obtain this excellent sūtra;
   Having obtained it, with minds rejoicing
   They will bestow it on many men without attachment.

12. Having renounced their persons and likewise their lives
   Those wise ones, with their insatiable desire for the Dharma,
   Will not agree with any rival teachers,
   And will give the Dharma which is excellent (prāṇīta) and
   extensive (vipula?).

13. Apart from all these five hundred
   Who have stood forth in my presence,
   No-one else will accept,
   Preserve, or read this sūtra.

14. The eight bhiksus and likewise, in the north (uttare),
   Many who accept and rejoice in preserving the Dharma,
   And who desire the Dharma, compassionate and concerned for the
   world,
   Will appear, in order to accept it.13

11 I.e. are reborn in the Devaloka, as both Chinese versions make
   quite clear. On sahavrata, see BhSD, s.v.

12 Cf. n. 13.10.

13 This is a difficult verse to translate, as the relationship of its
   terms is not exactly clear. T.416 (911c8-9) is of no assistance at all,
   apart from suggesting that the 'eight bhiksus' of the Tib. should be
   taken as referring to the eight bodhisattvas:
   These eight bodhisattvas---Bhadrapāla,
   Ratnākara, Naladatta,
   Mahāsusārthavāha, Varuṇadeva,
   Indradatta, Susīma, and Guhagupta---
   T.416 (885a28-29) has something closer to the Tibetan:
15. They who shall appear there, unattached to praise and gain,
And preserve the Expanded Texts (vaipulya)
Will comprise all of these
Five hundred bhikṣus, headed by the eight.

16. These wise and unavaricious bhikṣus,
Bhikṣunīs, upāsakas, and upāsikās
Who have stood forth as upholders of the Dharma in the last time—
They shall all become Supreme Men, Jinas.

17. Endowed with all inconceivable qualities,
Golden colour, and the marks of a hundred merits (sata-punya-lakṣana),
Being concerned and compassionate, they shall deliver many beings,
Dispense happiness and remove all defilements (kleśa).

18. When they have passed away from here they shall after that
Never go to a state of downfall (vinipāta-bhūmi?);
Meeting together in all their rebirths
They shall encounter (ārāgayati) the Supreme Men.

19. They have done away with the eight untimely rebirths (aksana),
They have done away with all states of woe (āpāya),
They have acquired so much immeasurable merit
That one cannot describe the extent of their qualities.

Then these eight bodhisattvas
Will come to Northern India and impart this Dharma;
Constantly rejoicing in spreading it for the benefit of many,
They magnify this very profound sūtra.

We may assume that the Sanskrit text originally had uttare, which the
Tib. has taken as 'in the north' (byan phyogs su), as has T.416: 'northern India' (北部). However, it seems to me just as likely that uttare was intended in another sense (for which see BHSD, s.v. uttari), but we must translate in accordance with the Tib., and remember to exercise care when it comes to speculation concerning the place of origin of the Praś. It is to be noted here that Verses 14-16 in T.418 (911c8-13) display an arrangement of the material different from that found in T.416 and the Tib.

I translate ārāgayati (mñes par byed pa) here, as elsewhere, in its sense of 'to meet' rather than 'to propitiate' (cf. BHSD, s.v. ārāgayati); not so the Chinese, who have understood it as meaning 'to attain'; e.g. T.418 (911c17): 'Afterwards they shall attain the supreme awakening.' T.416 (885b8) has a similar sense: 'The bodhi that they attain (遍: 'meet with') will be most excellent.' Cf. 13Kv22,24.

For other occurrences of ārāgayati in our text see Glossary; note that the Chinese versions almost always translate it as 'to encounter'.
20. The Buddha that they shall encounter (āragayati)
Having met together in this Buddha-field,
They shall venerate, seeking the supreme path of peace (śānti-patha?)
Out of concern and compassion (for others).  

21. Being at one in their manner of acting, having met together
And worshipped the Lord of the Two-footed,
They shall obtain holy and spiritual (nirāmiṣa) acceptance (ksānti)
For the sake of supreme, spotless awakening.

22. They also, as upholders of the Dharma,
Having pursued this holy course (brahmācarya) there
In the last time and likewise the intermediate time
Shall encounter (āragayati) the Buddha of unlimited life-span
(apparimītyus?).

23. However many Benefactors of the World and Illuminators
Appear in this Bhadrakalpa,
Their rule of Dharma (dharma-netri) they also uphold,
As heroes who abide in the Three Times.

24. When they have performed great worship
To those many kotis of future Buddhas,
Who are inconceivable and immeasurable,
They shall attain (āragayati) the awakening of a Buddha.

25. They shall experience peaceful awakening;
Having arrived at that, they shall be revered (?). 
When many nayutas of kalpas have elapsed,
During that time the seeds will become substance (?).

15 Translation very doubtful, but from the Chinese it is clear that
the Buddha they will meet in this Buddha-field is, as we would expect,
Maitreya. E.g. T.418 (911c20-21):
They shall then encounter the Buddha Maitreya,
And they shall all of one accord take refuge in him;
Worshipping him together, equally compassionate,
They shall attain to the supreme station ( = pada) of peace.

16 Tib. bskal pa gcig la, almost certainly eka-kalpa, but hardly to be
understood as 'in one kalpa'. I have based my translation on the Chinese;
see e.g. T.418 (911c22). Another possibility is that the Tib. originally
had skal ba gcig la, 'in a common destiny'.

17 In both Chinese versions named as Maitreya; cf. n. 5.1.
26. This householder Bhadrapāla,  
And Ratnākara, mine of jewels,  
Susārthavāha, and the brahman youth Guhagupta  
Shall see as many Buddhas as there are sands in the Ganges.

27. They will uphold the Dharma of them  
And many koṭis of Buddhas besides [],  
Whose numbers I might describe for many koṭis of kalpas  
And still not come to an end.

28. Those great beings (mahāsattva) who, even in a dream,  
Hear the names and the means (upāya) of these Heroes  
Shall become great Jinas.  

29. If those who, after having seen or even heard them,  
Desire them or have faith in them  
Will doubtless all reach awakening—  
How much more so will those who worship them?  

30. They take up this inconceivable Dharma;  
Inconceivable [its? their?] name and likewise life-span;  
Inconceivable radiance, inconceivable qualities,  
Wisdom and cognition likewise inconceivable.

31. Seeking supreme awakening  
They have also given great gifts  
To former Buddhas, pure in morality,  
Who have appeared, as inconceivable as the sands of the Ganges.

32. Even expounded by many koṭis of Buddhas,  
Their merit would not at all be measurable;  
There is no doubt that such sons and friends as they  
Shall attain awakening.

18 One pāda of this verse has dropped out. Cf. T.416 (885b27-28):  
If certain beings hear the name,  
Either while awake or in a dream,  
And can utter the heroic Lion Roar,  
They shall all become honoured by Devas and Men.

19 At this point T.418 has a verse not found elsewhere (see 912all-12),  
which reads, if I understand it correctly:  
If people who become angry with them, and abuse them,  
And having evil intent beat them  
Through the grace and might (anubhāva) of these eight men  
Are made to become Buddhas, how much more so those who honour them?
33. Ananda, rejoice in him who
Accepts or preserves or reads this sūtra,
Without doubting
Those five hundred people [?].

34. Ananda, whoever strengthens his zeal
For the purpose of seeking this sūtra
And puts forth energy after eliminating sloth,
Shall easily obtain this Samādhi.

Or perhaps lha brgya tshaṅ ba po ni de dag la / the tshom med par
is to be understood as 'without doubting [that he is one] of those full
five hundred people'? The Chinese seems to support this (cf. T.416,
885c8-9; 912a19-20).

Here follows in Tibetan one verse only, but T.416 has fourteen before
that one, while in T.418 eleven verses intervene. I have designated
these intervening verses as 13L, and the last verse (which is common to
all three extant versions of the Praś) as 13M. Although somewhat arti­
ficial from the point of view of the Tibetan text alone, this seemed to
me the best way of handling substantial passages which appear in Chinese
but are not represented in Tibetan. The question that confronts us in
relation to such passages is: were they originally parts of the Sūtra
which dropped out of the text before it was translated into Tib. (this
is an essentially linear view of the text's history)? Or did the Sūtra
originally lack them, and were they subsequently incorporated by one
strand of the textual tradition (i.e. that one represented in China)?
Such questions do not admit of an easy answer.

To return to 13L, the problem is further compounded when we realise
that these 'extra' verses in Chinese (14 in T.416, 11 in T.418) are
nearly all of them verses that we have encountered before, namely,
gāthās from Chaps. 9, 10, and 11, dealing with the behavioural require­
ments for Mahāyāna bhikṣus, upāsakas, and bhikṣunis. If we number the
verses from 1 to 14 according to the order in which they appear in T.416
(and in my translation), we can set out the correspondences in the
following fashion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.416</th>
<th>T.418</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 (885c12-13)</td>
<td>1* (912a23-24)</td>
<td>9Mv1 bhikṣus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (c14-15)</td>
<td>2* (a25-26)</td>
<td>9Mv2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (c16-17)</td>
<td>3 (a27-28)</td>
<td>9Mv3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (c18-19)</td>
<td>4 (a29-b1)</td>
<td>9Mv4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 (c20-21)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11Dv1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 (c22-23)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11Dv2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 (c24-25)</td>
<td>7 (b2-3)</td>
<td>11Dv4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 (c26-27)</td>
<td>8 (b4-5)</td>
<td>11Dv5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 (c28-29)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>No correspondence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 (886a1-2)</td>
<td>10* (b6-7)</td>
<td>10Cv1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 (a3-4)</td>
<td>11* (b8-9)</td>
<td>10Cv2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 (a5-6)</td>
<td>12* (b10-11)</td>
<td>10Cv3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 (a7-8)</td>
<td>13? (b12-13)</td>
<td>10Cv4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 (a9-10)</td>
<td>14* (a14-15)</td>
<td>10Cv5 bhikṣunis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* denotes those verses previously translated by T.418. It will be re­
membered that in Lokaksema's version of Chaps. 9-12 not all of the
1. 'According to the Prātimokṣa expounded by me in the Vinaya, Bhiksus study living in the aranya;
If they are capable of the non-rejection of the dhūta[-guna]s,
They shall doubtless obtain this Samādhi. [ = GMv1]

gāthās corresponded to those in the Tibetan.

It is not easy to describe what has happened here, far less explain it. In T.416 the prose parts of Chaps. 9, 11, and 13 are run together, to be followed by the verse portion of Chap. 13, most of the gāthās of Chap. 9, most of the gāthās of Chap. 11, and all of the gāthās of Chap. 10 (the verses of Chap. 12, dealing with the upāsikā, are not to be found). All this is designated as one chapter, the seventh, called 'The Completion of the Practice of Morality' (或行具足). In T.418 the situation is much more confused. Chaps. 9, 10, 11, and 12 appear in their 'proper' order, each followed by its own set of gāthās (many of which correspond with those found in the Tibetan version), and all this is designated as the sixth chapter, 'The Four Classes' (四衆 = catuḥ-pariṣad). Then follows Chap. 13—in T.418, Chap. 7, 'The prediction' (論決 = vyākarana)—the verse section of which ends similarly to T.416, i.e. with a collection of verses relating to (Tib.) Chaps. 9, 10, and 11.

One way of explaining this mess is to regard T.418 as representing the text as it was at an early stage of its history, when it contained, for one reason or another, chunks of verse material in one chapter which either repeated verses found in earlier chapters or related specifically to the prose passages of those chapters. Given this, one might then consider T.416 and the Tib. as embodying two different later attempts to rationalise this state of affairs. That is, T.416 represents the removal of the earlier occurrences of the verse material (along with some of the prose, for reasons which might possibly be described as monastic and misogynist; see above, n. 9.3), while the Tibetan shows the removal of the later occurrence of the verse material, with the subsequent use of some of the verses removed to replace those originally found in Chaps. 9-12. This would explain why the Tib. verses for these chapters do not always correspond with the verses of T.418; for example, in the case of Chap. 9, Tib. (i.e. its exemplar) has taken 13Lwl-4 as they appear in T.418 and T.416, and telescoped the last two verses as they appear in T.418's version of the gāthās of Chap. 9 to produce the five verses we now have in Tibetan.

It may be objected that this is an unnecessarily linear view of the textual history of the Praś, i.e. that it is not necessarily the case that T.416 and the Tib. are both direct descendants of the text that Lokakṣema had in front of him—-that there may be three or more separate strands of textual tradition rather than one which later split into two. The validity of this objection cannot be denied, especially since the explanation given above is far from satisfactory. It must be admitted too that in dealing with the text-historical problems of Buddhist sūtra-literature we are for the most part groping in the dark, as no methodology has as yet been established for this particular branch of study.

An alternative solution to the problem under consideration turns on the possibility of T.418 being a conflation of two translations, one by Lokakṣema and the other by a later hand. Thus Lokakṣema's text may have resembled the Tibetan in not having the extra verses at 13L, while
2. Being able to reject completely all special invitations,  
Doing away with all fine tastes,  
Always evoking the thought of Buddha with regard to their teacher—  
Who can say they will not realise this Samādhi?  

3. First understanding the afflictions of lust, anger, and delusion,  
Avoiding both arrogance and envy,  
With feelings free of impure attachment, reflecting on the unconditioned (asamskṛta)\(^{22}\),  
They recite and develop the excellent Samādhi.  

4. Their thoughts pure, they abide in non-attachment;  
They control their faculties (indriya) and put a stop to hatred;  
Singlemindedly they reflect upon the Tathāgata's body\(^{23}\);  
They recite and accept the true (∫) Samādhi.  

5. If a bodhisattva lives in a household,  
His thoughts are always firmly set on leaving the household-life;  
Accepting and reciting [it], accomplished in word and deed,  
His mind always thinks of studying this Samādhi.\(^{24}\)  

the later text might have belonged to the same tradition as T.416 (the 'Misogynist Redaction'). When conflated, the two translations representing two redactions may have been combined without any attempt to resolve anomalies like the one we are faced with here. The advantage of this hypothesis is that it explains why the same verses translated in two different places in T.418 can have so little resemblance to each other.

For 13L I have translated the verses as they appear in T.416 in the light of their Tibetan counterparts in earlier chapters. Occasional references are made to T.418, which is generally closer to the Tibetan than T.416 is. Considering the difficulties of Buddhist Chinese, the translation of these verses is put forward as a tentative effort only; I cannot pretend to have done full justice to their obscurities!

22 Cf. T.418 (912a29): 'They evoke the thought of awakening (心 = bodhicitta) and are free of doubt'; and Tib. (9Mv3): bsam gtan stbyor sms yah dag bskyed byas te.

23 Cf. T.418 (912b1): 'With energy they uphold the teaching of the Buddha's Dharma.'

24 Verses 5 and 6 are not found in T.418.
6. Constantly he should cultivate the five-fold moral precepts, 
   And frequently undertake the eight-precept fast (uposatha); 
   Ever staying in the monastery and rejecting property, 
   He recites and develops this Samādhi.  \[C = 11Dv2\]

7. He should not be attached to wives and concubines, 
   Nor love sons and daughters or possessions; 
   The upāsaka should practise shame; 
   He should bear in mind only this Samādhi.  \[C = 11Dv\]

8. He should not evoke the thought of harm with regard to another, 
   And only think of eliminating all flirtatiousness; 
   Without abiding in attachment, he is established in patient 
   acceptance; 
   He should only consider developing this Samādhi.  \[C = 11Dv5\]

9. He should have no attachment to material possessions, 
   To flowers, perfumes, unguents, powders, or garlands; 
   Without abiding in attachment, he is established in that 
   patient acceptance; 
   He should only accept this Samādhi.  \[C = ?\]

10. If a bhiksuni seeks this sūtra, 
    She should be reverent and eliminate envy, 
    Flirtatiousness, arrogance, and pride, 
    And it will not be difficult to realise that bodhi.  \[C = 10Cv1\]

11. She should put forth energy and destroy torpor, 
    Cutting off all striving; 
    Her mind rejoicing in Dharma, pure in her living, 
    She should only recite this Samādhi.  \[C = 10Cv2\]

12. Her thoughts should not be accompanied by desire; 
    She should not give rise to anger, but be free of affliction; 
    She should not ensnare beings with Māra's bonds; 
    She should only accept this Samādhi.  \[C = 10Cv3\]

13. She should not do anything with deception; 
    She should not desire fine robes or cosmetics; 
    She should not be a liar, and should avoid others; 
    She should only accept this Samādhi.  \[C = 10Cv4\]
14. Taking no thought for the sensual pleasures of men and women, Ever calmed, free of all wrong thoughts; Evoking the perception of Buddha with regard to her teacher, She should only accept this Samādhi.'

[13M]

1. 'Having accepted such sūtras as these, They become those who have gained a true gain, eliminated the evil destinies, Who are unfailing (amogha) in the Sugata's teaching, And have done away with all untimely rebirths (aksana).'

CHAPTER THIRTEEN,

THE EVOCATION OF ENTHUSIASM (AUTSUUKYA?),

OF THE SAMĀDHI ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRAPĀLA
Thereupon the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla; the bodhisattva mahāsattva Ratnākara, the Licchavi youth; the bodhisattva mahāsattva Guhagupta, the merchant’s son; the bodhisattva mahāsattva Naladatta, the brahman youth; the bodhisattva mahāsattva Susīma, the son of good family; the bodhisattva mahāsattva Susārthavāha, the householder; the bodhisattva mahāsattva Indrādatta; and the bodhisattva mahāsattva Varunādeva, together with those five hundred bodhisattvas, because he had spoken well, covered the Lord’s body with five hundred double pieces of cotton cloth (dūṣya-yuga); they also scattered jewels over the Lord; and they asked the Lord if they could perform service to him.

Then, by means of a discourse on Dharma, the Lord delighted, inspired, inflamed, and gladdened those five hundred bodhisattvas mahāsattvas led by Bhadrapāla. And they made obeisance and sat down in the Lord’s presence with joyful thoughts, faultless thoughts, tender thoughts, desirable thoughts, faithful thoughts, and unobstructed (nirāvarana) thoughts.

1. The Tibetan appears to have omitted 'rejoiced' here; cf. T.418 (912b22) and T.416 (886a22), which both have something to that effect.

2. T.416 (886a25): 'five hundred outer garments', but T.418 (912b22): 'five hundred karpāśika-cotton robes' ( reading 棉, 'cotton', for 钥, 'brocade'). On 劫波青 = karpāśika, see Nakamura, Bukkyōgo daijiten, p. 393a, s.v. कोनाइक्ये, which he cites from T.417, 901c2.

3. Both Chinese versions of this paragraph differ from the Tibetan; e.g. T.416 (886a24-29) has:

   Thereupon the Lord said to Ānanda: 'This bodhisattva Bhadrapāla will be for this assembly of five hundred disciples the teacher of doctrine and he will expound the essentials of the Dharma, will teach, comfort, and make them rejoice; and by that rejoicing they shall then obtain a mind of obedience, a mind of truth, a mind of purity, a mind free of desires, they shall eliminate the afflictions (kleśa) and be free of the coverings (nīvarana?).'

   Then the five hundred made obeisance with one mind, paid their respects, prostrated themselves, withdrew and remained on one side. T.418 (912b23-27) is similar.
Thereupon the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla said to the Lord:

'Lord, how many dharmas must a bodhisattva mahāsattva possess to obtain this Samādhi?'

When this was said, the Lord said to the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla:

'Bhadrapāla, a bodhisattva mahāsattva obtains this Samādhi if he possesses four dharmas. What are the four? Namely, not relying on the magic formulae (mantra) of the heretics (anya-tīrthika); not being attached to the sense-qualities (kāma-guna); not being defeated (ajita) by the ascetic qualities and frugality (dhūta-guna-samlekha)? and disparaging opportunities for rebirth (upapatti-sthāna) in the states of existence (bhava-gati). If he possesses those four dharmas, Bhadrapāla, a bodhisattva mahāsattva obtains this Samādhi.'

'Bhadrapāla, if any bodhisattva keeps, reads, copies, preserves, masters, or expounds widely to others this Samādhi, then it should be known, Bhadrapāla, that there are five hundred qualities for that bodhisattva which he will acquire in this very life (drśṭadharme). What are the five hundred? Bhadrapāla, just as, for example, the body of a dweller in friendliness (maitrī-vihārin) is unharmed by poison, is unharmed by weapons, does not drown, is not burned by fire, and kings seeking to get at him (avatāra-prekṣin) cannot find a weak spot (na avatāram labh-), in the same way, Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva who preserves this Samādhi is also unharmed by poison, is unharmed by weapons, does not drown, is not burned by fire, and kings seeking to get at him cannot find a weak spot.'

'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, if, when the kalpa goes up in flames, the bodhisattva who preserves this Samādhi were to leap into the midst of that mass of fire (agni-skandha), then that mass of fire would be extinguished, just as, for example, a large pitcher of water extinguishes a [small] mass of fire.'

'Bhadrapāla, as for that bodhisattva who preserves this Samādhi, if kings, or robbers, or fire, or water, or living beings, or Nāgas, or Vetalas, or Yakṣas, or Rākṣasas, or lions, or tigers, or dogs, or foxes,'
or wolves, or humans, or Amanuysas, or Pretas, or Kumbhāṇḍas [attempt to] interfere with him, there is no possibility or chance, it is impossible that they should interfere with his person, or his life, or his alms-bowl, or his robes, or his holy life, or his preaching, or his memorisation (svādhyāya), or his trance (dhyāna), or his fundamental intent reflection (yonisū-manasikāra)---except as retribution for former acts (pūrva-karma-vipākaṃ sthāpayitvā).

'Bhadrapāla, as for that bhikṣu who preserves this Samādhi, there is no possibility or chance, it is impossible that he should suffer any malady of the eyes, or suffer any malady of the ears, or suffer any malady of the nose, or suffer any malady of the tongue, or suffer any malady of the body, or suffer any malady of the mind, or that that bodhisattva's life should cease through any other form of malady besides those---except as retribution for former acts.6

[14E] 'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, the Devas also protect (raksāṃ kr-) the bodhisattva who preserves this Samādhi. The Nāgas also protect him. The Yakṣas also protect him. The Gandharvas also protect him. Men also protect him. The Amanuysas also protect him. The Asuras also protect him. The Garuḍas also protect him. The Kinnaras also protect him. The Mahoragas also protect him. The Four Great Kings, Śakra, Lord of the Devas, Brahmā Sahampati, and the Devaputra Susīma also protect him. Other very mighty Devaputras besides these also protect him. Bodhisattvas mahāsattvas also protect him. Buddhas, Lords also protect the bodhisattva who preserves this Samādhi.'

[14F] 'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, that bodhisattva mahāsattva becomes one who is dear (priya) to the Devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, Mahoragas, to Śakra, to the Brahmās, to the Great Kings, to bodhisattvas, and to Buddhas, Lords.'

6 T.416 (886c6-10) adds the following passage, not found elsewhere:

Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, if those young men or women have obtained this Sūtra, have thus heard it, thus seen it, thus come to know it, thus accomplished it, it is not possible that they should not encounter a Buddha, or abuse the True Dharma, or destroy the community of bhikṣus, or reject Buddha-bodhi. You should know, Bhadrapāla, that those young men and women who hold to the Sūtra cannot be impeded by any of the above things, except for the irreversable misfortune due to past acts.

7 There is no mention of any lha'i bu mtshams bzaṅ ( = Devaputra Susīma) in either of the Chinese versions of this passage. For the Sanskrit text of this section, see Appendix B.
Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, the Devas also sing the praises (varnam bhāṣante) of that bodhisattva mahāsattva. The Nāgas also sing his praises. The Yakṣas also sing his praises. Men also sing his praises. The Amanuṣyas also sing his praises. The Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, and Mahoragas also sing his praises. Śakra, Brahmā, and the Great Kings also sing his praises. Bodhisattvas and Buddhas, Lords also sing the praises of that bodhisattva mahāsattva.

Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, the Devas also wish to see that bodhisattva who preserves this Samādhi. The Nāgas also wish to see him. The Yakṣas also wish to see him. The Gandharvas also wish to see him. The Kinnaras also wish to see him. Men also wish to see him. The Amanuṣyas also wish to see him. The Asuras, Garuḍas, and Mahoragas also wish to see him. The bodhisattvas and the Buddhas, Lords also, even in a dream, show their countenances to that bodhisattva who preserves this Samādhi, and they declare their names.

Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattvas also wish to see that bodhisattva who preserves this Samādhi. The Buddhas, Lords also desire to behold him.

Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, the Devas also go to see the bodhisattva who preserves this Samādhi. The Nāgas also go to see him. The Yakṣas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, Mahoragas, and men also go to see him. Śakra, Lord of the Devas, Brahmā Sahāmpati, and the Devaputra Susīma also go to see him.

Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, to that bodhisattva who preserves this Samādhi, sūtras unexpounded to and unheard by him will be spoken and their uttering heard even in dreams.

Bhadrapāla, if I could sing the praises and proclaim the qualities for a kalpa or more than a kalpa of the bodhisattva who preserves this Samādhi, who takes up, masters, keeps, reads, copies, or expounds this Samādhi, then how much more [could I] of those who accomplish it?

Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:

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8 For the Sanskrit and Chinese versions of 14H and 14I, see Appendix B.

9 The Sanskrit fragment of the Praś preserves 15 of the following 16 verses, while both Chinese versions have all 16, in the same order as the Tibetan. See Appendix B for translations of all these. It will be noted that the Tibetan text is not by any means an exact rendition of the Sanskrit as we have it.
1. 'To describe the qualities
   Of the bodhisattva who expounds
   This Samādhi spoken by the Sugata
   Would be like taking one [grain of sand] from all the sands
   of the Ganges.

2. He who expounds this Samādhi,
   Fire and weapons do not harm him,
   Robbers do not injure him,
   Kings show him no unkindness.

3. If venomous snakes, enraged and terrible,
   Beset men with evil intent,
   They become venomless through the power
   Of him who embarks upon this Samādhi.

4. Men, Nāgas, Yakṣas, and Rākṣasas,
   Enemies enraged and terrible,
   Cannot ever endure the power
   Of him who embarks upon this Samādhi.

5. Whatever fierce wild beasts of the forest there are—
   Wolves, jackals, and likewise lions and tigers—
   They also become the companions and servants
   Of him who lives in a forest retreat.

6. If Yakṣas and Pīśācas, terrible snatchers of vital force,
   Beset men with evil intent,
   They become downcast because of the power
   Of him who embarks upon this Samādhi.

7. He who expounds this Samādhi
   Is free of any malady of the ear or malady of the body;
   His organ of sight is never impaired;
   His words are lucid, and he speaks with inspired eloquence.

8. For him who embarks upon this Samādhi
   There is never hell or evil destiny;
   Disease does not afflict his body;
   For him there is never fear of a downfall.
9. If, having recited it by heart, he teaches it to others, Devas, Nāgas, Kumbhāndas, Asuras, and Mahoragas protect him; Even those of evil intent become gracious towards him.

10. If, having recited it, he teaches it to others, Devas, Men, Nāgas, and Asuras, Yakṣas and Kinnaras sing his praises greatly; The Buddhas also extol him as if he were an only son.

11. If, having recited it, he teaches it to others, Doubt as to the dharmas does not occur to him; Doubt as to awakening does not occur to him; And no-one appears who is his equal in beauty.

12. To him who recites this Samādhi Harm and hunger do not come, Even when kings are in turmoil and likewise beings are in turmoil, And famine and desolation have come to pass.

13. He who recites this Samādhi, Even when Māra stands over beings, He fears not, nor does the hair of his body stand on end; His qualities are inconceivable.

14. As many torments, calamities, and afflictions As have been described by me, They cannot injure his person, Except as retribution for former acts.

15. Those into whose hands these great sūtras pass At the time of the final destruction, Placed to the fore as [my] eldest sons Are they lauded, extolled, and their praises sung.

16. With vigilance put forth energy. Practise the Dharma also in conformity (?). Those who preserve, read, and teach it, For your sake are these things expounded.'

CHAPTER FOURTEEN,
IN PRAISE OF THE PREACHER OF DHARMA,
OF THE SAMĀDHI ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRAPĀLA
And the Lord said to the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla:

'Bhadrapāla, I remember (abhijānāmi) that in the past, in an age and a time incalculable, vast, immeasurable, inconceivable, and infinite kalpas ago, there appeared in the world a Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha named *Kṣemarāja¹, Endowed with Knowledge and Conduct, a Sugata, a Knower of the World, a Leader of Men to be Tamed, a Supreme One, a Teacher of Devas and Men, a Buddha and Lord.'

'Bhadrapāla, at that time there was a merchant's son (śresthiputra) named Sudatta², who, accompanied (parivrta) and followed (puras-krta) by twenty thousand beings, went to the place where the Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha *Kṣemarāja was; and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the feet of the Lord, the Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha *Kṣemarāja and circumambulated him three times, he sat down to one side. And having sat down to one side, the merchant's son Sudatta questioned the Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha *Kṣemarāja about this Samādhi.'

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¹ As usual Tib. and T.18 translate the name, while T.16 transliterates it and thus provides us with the means of reconstructing it. The name consists of two elements, and there can be no doubt that -raja is the second (for raja, see also n. 15.7). When we refer to the TSD, we find that the most common Sanskrit equivalent for bde ba is sukha, but that another equivalent, kṣema, is much nearer ch'an in pronunciation, especially in its Prākṛt form khema. If Kṣemarāja was the original form, then it would appear that Jñanagupta understood kṣema as 'safe', 'secure' (so 無畏, literally 'fearless') rather than as 'happy'. To my knowledge sukha cannot be interpreted in this way. Interestingly, the name of the translator of T.16, Lou-chia-ch'an, has been reconstructed either as Lokakṣema or Lokarakṣa. The fact that  and 詩 are homophones, while here is fairly certainly kṣema, would tend to support the former reconstruction.

² There can be little doubt about the reconstruction of this name as Sudatta.
Thereupon, Bhadrapāla, that Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksaṃbuddha Kṣemarāja too, knowing the high resolve (adhyāśaya) of the merchant’s son Sudatta, taught and expounded this Samādhi in full (vistārena).

Then, Bhadrapāla, on hearing this Samādhi, the merchant’s son Sudatta retained it. Having retained it he developed it. Having developed it he shaved off his hair and beard, donned dyed robes (kāśya-vasana), went forth from the household life into the homeless state, and pursued the holy life under that Lord, the Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksaṃbuddha Kṣemarāja. For 80,000 years he continued to develop this Samādhi. Having retained everything he heard from that Lord, the Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksaṃbuddha Kṣemarāja, and having also retained everything he heard from [subsequent?] past Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksaṃbuddhas, he became possessed of inconceivable (acintya) great learning (bāhu-srutiya).

At a later time (apareṇa kālena) he passed on (jāti-vyavita), his body perished and he died, and he was reborn to the same lot (sa-bhāgata) as the Devas of the Thirty-three (trāyastriṃśa-deva) in a heaven, a happy state (sugati-svargaloka). And having been reborn, in that very world-sphere he encountered (ārāgayati) a second Tathāgata called *Vidyuddeva. In that very kalpa he was born into a great kṣatriya family (kṣatriya-mahāsālakula), and having gone forth from that great kṣatriya family he went forth under that Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksaṃbuddha *Vidyuddeva, and for 80,000 years he developed this Samādhi and lived the holy life.

I.e. those Tathāgatas who appeared in the world after Kṣemarāja, according to T.416 (887c17). Are these perhaps to be equated with the second and third Tathāgatas whom Sudatta is said to encounter in 15D-E?

2 elements are involved, as usual. The first is a word for ‘lightning’, vidyut is the most common, and may have been pronounced by Lokakṣema in its Prakṛti form vi[ju]. If this is so, then  in T.410 may be explained thus: is to be read she (= jju) rather than tu; while may be a miscopy for wei (= vi). As to the second element, there is little doubt that it is deva (Tib. lha). Jñanagupta is notably promiscuous in his use of to translate all and everything (see Glossary, s.v. Ratnakara, Susima, etc.), and in copying a careless scribe might have inverted the characters ; a standard Chinese transliteration of deva. However, only a complete study of Lokakṣema’s transliterations will enable us to restore this and other names found in the PraS with any certainty.

5 T.416 (887c23): ‘84,000 years’.

6 The Tib. translation appears to be faulty. Both Chinese versions
He encountered (āragayati) a third Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha called *Raśmirāja.

In that very kalpa he was born into a great brahman family (urāhmana-mahāsālaśakula), and having gone forth from that great brahman family he went forth under that Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha *Raśmirāja, and for 84,000 years he developed this Samādhi and lived the holy life. And eight kalpas later that merchant's son Sudatta became fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening.

Bhadrapāla, if you entertain any doubt, uncertainty, or suspicion that the merchant's son named Sudatta who appeared in that time, in that age was any other, then, Bhadrapāla, you should not see it so (*syāt khālu punas te Bhadrapālaivaṃ kāṅkṣā vā vimatir vā vicīkṣitsā vānāh sa tena kālena tena samayena Sudatto nāma śreṣṭhiputro 'bhūt na khalu punas tvayaivaṃ draśṭavyam*). Why is that? Because the Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha Dipamkara was in that time, in that age the merchant's son named Sudatta (*tat kasya hetoh? ayam eva sa Dipamkaraś tathāgato 'rahaṃ samyaksambuddhas tena kālena tena samayena Sudatto nāma śreṣṭhiputro 'bhūt*).

See, Bhadrapāla, how that merchant's son Sudatta strove for the Dharma, desired the Dharma, and was zealous for the Dharma, and for that reason quickly became fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening! See, Bhadrapāla, how very beneficial this Samādhi of the Bodhisattva who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present is for bodhisattvas mahāsattvas to engender Buddha-cognition and become similar to the sea in their learning!

make it clear that the Tathāgata *Vidyuddeva is the one who 'goes forth' from the kṣatriya family (see especially T.416, 887c20-24). If this is so, perhaps we could correct the Tib. so that we could translate: 'And having been reborn, in that very world-sphere he [Sudatta] encountered a second Tathāgata called *Vidyuddeva, who in a very kalpa had been born into a great kṣatriya family and had gone forth from that great kṣatriya family. He [Sudatta] went forth under that Tathāgata...'

Tib. 'Od zer gyi rgyal po; T.416光王; T.418頑毘羅耶 羅耶 = rāja (rgyal po,王), so the problem lies only with the first element. According to TSD, 'od zer usually stands for raśmi, and indeed the name 'Od zer rgyal po ( = Raśmirāja) is given (cited from the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra, No. 519; see Weller, Tausend Buddhanamen, pp. 62-63). Could T.418's頑毘 (lai-p'i) conceivably stand for raśmi (perhaps in its Prākṛṭ form rassi)?

As in 15D, the Tib. translation is at odds with the Chinese versions, who have the Tathāgata *Raśmirāja being born in, and going forth from, the great brahman family. Cf. n. 15.6.

A common formula of identification of characters appearing in such jātakas; see e.g. Lamotte, L'Enseignement, p. 385, n.28.
Therefore, Bhadrapāla, you should take up, master, copy, preserve, and read this Samādhi. Having taken it up and mastered it, you should expound, teach, and proclaim it in full to others, and you should exert yourself in the endeavour to develop it. Why is that, Bhadrapāla? It is thus: if one cultivates, develops and rehearses this Samādhi more and more (bhūyo bhūyas), one obtains Buddha-cognition, one obtains Tathāgata-cognition, Self-existent cognition (svayambhū-ṛśāna), omniscient cognition, inconceivable cognition (acintya-ṛśāna), cognition which equals the unequalled (asamasama-ṛśāna), supreme cognition, and unexcelled cognition— one does not obtain any other dharma apart from that. 

Further, Bhadrapāla, when those who speak correctly (samyagvada-māna) say of something: "It is an eye. It produces bodhisattvas. It produces the Buddha-dharmas," it is of this Samādhi, Bhadrapāla, that they are speaking correctly. 

Further, Bhadrapāla, when those who speak correctly say of something: "It is the lineage of the Buddhas (buddha-vamsa). It is the lineage of the Dharma. It is the lineage of the Saṅgha. It is the level of a Buddha (buddha-bhūmi). It is the lineage of learning. It is the ocean of learning. It is an accumulation of learning. It is the basis of learning. It is an accumulation of qualities. It is the production of patient acceptance (ksānti). It is the production of friendliness. It is the acquisition of compassion. It is the dharma which produces awakening," it is of this Samādhi, Bhadrapāla, that they are speaking correctly. 

Further, Bhadrapāla, when those who speak correctly say of something: "It is a dharma which dispels the darkness of the world with its Devas, Men, and Asuras. It is a dharma which emits a great light," it is of this Samādhi, Bhadrapāla, that they are speaking correctly. 

Further, Bhadrapāla, when those who speak correctly say of something: "It is the dharma which produces the ten powers of a Tathāgata, the four Assurances (vaśārādya) of a Tathāgata, the four special knowledge (pratisamvid) and the eighteen dharmas exclusive to a Buddha (āve-ṇika-buddha-dharma)." it is of this Samādhi, Bhadrapāla, that they are speaking correctly. 

See, Bhadrapāla, how great this Samādhi of the Bodhisattva who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present is, which thus enables

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10 For this construction cf. ṢF. I have rendered it only approximately in English.
bodhisattvas mahāsattvas, while seated right here, to see the Buddhas of other world-spheres, to hear the Dharma, and to see the Saṅgha also!'

[15J] 'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva mahāsattva who wishes to perfect this precious Samādhi (samādhi-ratna) should consolidate the practice of the four Applications of Mindfulness (smrtyupasthāna). Bhadrapāla, how should a bodhisattva mahāsattva consolidate the practice of the four Applications of Mindfulness? In this regard, Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva mahāsattva should observe the body in the body, but should not think any discursive thoughts connected with the body (kāye kāyanudarśī viharati, na ca kāyasahagatān vitarkān vitarkayati?). He should observe feelings in feelings, but should not think any discursive thoughts connected with feelings (vedanāsu vedanāndarśī viharati, na ca vedanāsahagatān vitarkān vitarkayati?). He should observe thought (citta) in thought, but should not think any discursive thoughts connected with thought. He should observe dharmas in dharmas, but should not think any discursive thoughts connected with dharmas.'

[15K] 'Bhadrapāla, who can have faith in this Samādhi, apart from Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas, irreversible (avaivartika) bodhisattvas mahāsattvas, and Śrāvakas who are direct witnesses (kāya-saksin)? Why is that, Bhadrapāla? All foolish common people (bala-prthag-jana) are in error as regards this Samādhi of the Bodhisattva who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present. Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Although one should reflect intently on those very dharmas, and should see those very dharmas, and should reflect intently on the Buddhas, Lords, and should see the Tathāgatas, and should hear the Dharma, one should not fixate (abhinivisate) on them.'

11 T.418 preserves a fuller form of the formula for the four smrty-upasthāna: 'What are the four Stations (jāla) of Mindfulness? The first is that one observes one's own body and observes the bodies of others, but although one observes one's own body and observes the bodies of others, there is originally no body...(and similarly for feelings, thought, and dharmas).'

Cf. the formula as it is found in the Śsp, fasc. XV, p. 1427 (I have corrected several inconsistencies in the text): iha...bodhisattvo mahāsattvo 'dhyātmakāye kāyanudarśī viharati / na ca kāyasahagatān vitarkān vitarkayati...bahirdhā kāye kāyanudarśī viharati / na ca kāyasahagatān vitarkān vitarkayati... (see also Conze, Large Sutra, p. 153; the Satipaṭṭhānasutta, Majjhima Nikāya 10).

12 T.418 (914all) simply: 'Arhats'; T.416 (888b10): 'those Arhats whose outflows are exhausted.'
C15LD 'Why is that, Bhadrapāla? All these dharmas are empty by own-being (svabhāvena śūnya), pure (pariśuddha) by own-being, and calmed from the very beginning (ādyupāśānta). Bhadrapāla, all these dharmas, being subject to apprehension (upalabdhi?), are [themselves?] without apprehension (anupalambha)? All these dharmas are isolated (vi-vikta) through the very act of intent reflection (manasikāra). All these dharmas are ungraspable (agrahya) because by their own-being they cannot be apprehended. All these dharmas are unattached (alipta?) because they are similar to space. All these dharmas are utterly pure (svuśuddha) because they are devoid of perceptions of a self (ātman) and a being (sattva). All these dharmas are undefiled (nihklesa) because they have appeared on account of causes (hetu-vasāt?). All these dharmas are incalculable (asamkhyeya) because neither a life (jīvita) nor a person (pudgala) is apprehended. All these dharmas are equal to Nirvāṇa through being by their own-being luminous. All these dharmas are near at hand (āsannī-bhūta?) because no existing thing (bhāva) is apprehended.'

[15L] 'Bhadrapāla, if any son or daughter of good family wishes to develop this Samādhi, he should enter the entrance of signlessness (animitta-mukha) by entering by means of various signs, in such a way that he sees the Buddhas, Lords and develops the awakening-factor of mindfulness (smṛti-sambodhyāga) connected with the calling to mind of the Buddha (buddhanusmṛti), that he hears the Dharma and develops the awakening-factor of discrimination of Dharma (dharma-pravicaya-sambodhyāga) with regard to the Dharma, without either apprehending a self or becoming arrogant with the Dharma.'

[15M] 'Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Namely, he who has a perception of existing things (bhāva-samjña) will not see the Buddha. He who has a perception of dharmas [or: Dharma?] will not see dharmas. He who expects recompense (vipāka-pratikāṅkṣin) will not become perfect in liberality (tyāga). He who delights in meditational development (bhāvana) will not become pure in morality. He who is miserly with the Dharma will not become greatly learned (bahuśruta). He who adheres to a 'person' (pudgala) will not attain Parinirvāṇa. He who delights in worthless chatter (pralāpa) will not see solitude (viveka). He who takes pleasure in dwellings will not obtain the fruit. He who has

13 On the seven (sam)bodhyaṅga, 'factors of awakening', see Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, pp. 149-155.
attachments (anunaya) will not see [his] fault. He who delights in malice (vyāpāda) will not attain to patient acceptance and gentleness (ksānti-sauratyā). He who harbours hatred and enmity will see no blessing (anusamsa). A son or daughter of good family who is a follower of the Śrāvakayāna will not realise this Samādhi of the Bodhisattva who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present, on account of which one obtains patient acceptance. In a bodhisattva miserliness (mātsarya) does not arise. He who apprehends a basis (aupalambha) will not develop emptiness. He who is lazy will not obtain intuitive comprehension (abhisamaya). Those who adhere to desire will not attain to quietude (samatha). Those who are attached will not perfect meditational development.'

[150] 'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, so that the Samādhi will not disappear I entrust it to the world with its Devas.'

'As [I,] the Lord expounded this discourse on Dharma (dharma-paryāya), eighteen nayutas of Devaputras of the Realm of Desire (kamavacara) and the Realm of Form (rupavacara) conceived the thought of supreme and perfect awakening (anuttara-samya-sambodhi-citta). And eight thousand beings, comprising Devas, Men, and Asuras, also conceived the thought of supreme and perfect awakening.'

'If they who have conceived the first thought of supreme awakening, after becoming liberated in thought (vimukta-citta) under Tathāgatas as numerous as the sands of the River Ganges, shall all become fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening under different names but with the one life-span, then, Bhadrapāla, how much more so will they who propitiated me when formerly I was pursuing the bodhisattva-course? How much more so shall they who befriended me when formerly I was pursuing the bodhisattva-course? They shall quickly become fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening.'

'Bhadrapāla, during the exposition of this dharma innumerable beings have also engendered cognition and vision (jnana-darsana); and eight hundred bhiksus have had their minds freed from the outflows, without further clinging (anupādaya āsravebhyām cittāni vimuktāni).'

14 Not so T.416 (888c16): 'Then, in the future, after kalpas exceeding the sands of the Ganges, they shall all completely attain anuttarasamya-sambodhi; they shall all share the one name, being called the Tathāgata Arhat Sāmyaksaṃbuddha Suvimukta (正鮮名)...' It is difficult to determine from T.416 or from the Tibetan whether all of this section is actually spoken by the Buddha or not; unfortunately, T.418 lacks 150.
Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:

1. "They who have preserved this Samādhi,
   Their wisdom is utterly immeasurable;
   Their morality is measureless, spotless, and immaculate (vimala);
   Their morality is pure, pure also their thought.

2. They who have preserved this Samādhi,
   Their wisdom is never deficient;
   Having heard the Samādhi they are never deficient;
   They display all qualities like the moon.

3. They who have preserved this Samādhi
   Will extol inconceivable Buddhas;
   They will also see inconceivable Dharmas;
   Inconceivable Devas will protect them.

4. Inconceivable former Buddhas have appeared
   Expounding inconceivable Dharmas;
   He who has preserved this Samādhi
   Has seen them and worshipped them all.

5. He who has preserved this Samādhi
   Has revered those Jinas
   Who, as saviours from all suffering,
   Have appeared and do abide for the sake of the world.

6. The bodhisattva who wishes to see
   The many inconceivable Buddhas of the future,
   In order to worship them with thoughts of faith---
   Let him preserve this most excellent Samādhi.

7. They who have preserved this Samādhi,
   Those men have an inconceivable gain;
   They are welcome (svāgata) in the world of men;
   They have performed the going-forth well, they have eaten their
   alms-food (pindapāta) well.

15 The following eight gāthās appear in the same order in both T.418 and T.416 (see Concordance). There are, as usual, certain variations in content.
8. They into whose hands will pass
This most excellent Samādhi in the last age,
Will gain very well a goodly possession,
And will also receive inconceivable dharmas.'

CHAPTER FIFTEEN OF THE SAMĀDHI ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRĀPĀLA
Thereupon the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla, having risen from his seat and arranged his upper garment on one shoulder, put his right knee to the ground, extended his joined palms towards the Lord, and said to the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, will you, out of compassion (anukampāṃ upādāya), accept my invitation to dinner tomorrow together with the community of bhikṣus?'

Out of compassion the Lord showed his acceptance to the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla by remaining silent (tusnīṃbhāvena).

Thereupon the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla, knowing that by remaining silent the Lord had accepted, prostrated himself at the Lord’s feet, circumambulated him three times, and left the Lord’s presence; he went to where the bhikṣuṇī Mahāprajāpatī was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the feet of the bhikṣuṇī Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī he sat down to one side. And having sat down to one side, the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla said to the bhikṣuṇī Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī:

'Noble lady (āryā), will you, out of compassion, accept my invitation to dinner tomorrow together with the community of bhikṣuṇīs (bhikṣuṇī-ṣaṅgha)?'

Out of compassion the bhikṣuṇī Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī showed her acceptance to the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla by remaining silent.

Thereupon the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla, knowing that by saying nothing the bhikṣuṇī Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī had accepted, prostrated himself at the bhikṣuṇī Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī’s feet, circumambulated her three times, and went away. And having gone away he went to where the Licchavi youth Ratnākara was, and on his arrival said to the Licchavi youth Ratnākara:

'Kinsman (jñāti), as many upāsakas from here in Rājagṛha or from other regions as have assembled here in Rājagṛha, in the Bamboo Wood, in the Haunt of the Kalandakas, together with their retinues, please invite them all in my name (mama vacanena) to dinner at noon tomorrow.'

Then the Licchavi youth Ratnākara said to all those upāsakas who had assembled in that congregation:

'The bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla has invited you to dinner
tomorrow, along with your retinues.'

[16D] Then the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla, the Licchavi youth Ratnākara, the householder Mahāsusārthavāha, the merchant's son Guhagupta, the brahman Naladatta, the householder Varuṇadeva, the householder Indradatta¹, and other householders as well, after rising each from his own seat, prostrated themselves at the Lord's feet, circumambulated the Lord three times, and prostrated themselves also at the feet of the community of bhikṣus; leaving the Bamboo Wood they made their way to the great city of Rājagrha, to the house of Bhadrapāla², and on their arrival there they prepared that very evening many pleasing drinks, foods, savouries, and delicacies; they prepared and made ready food of a hundred flavours (ṣata-rasa-bhojanam) for all of them, and even for the beggars. Why is that? Bodhisattvas mahāsattvas are established in magnanimity (udāraśaya?) and the absence of disdain, and have attained to equanimity with regard to all beings.

[16E] Thereupon Śakra, Lord of the Devas, Brahmā Sahāṃpati, the Devaputra Susīma, and the Four Great Kings³, conjuring up (abhinirmāya) many men, exerted themselves in one incarnate guise or another to assist and ripen the awakening of those householders.

Then the bodhisattva Bhadrapāla, the Licchavi youth Ratnākara, and the other householders, each with his own relatives, cleaned well what had to be cleaned throughout the great city of Rājagrha, draped it with silken streamers (dāman), perfumed it with censers of incense, and strewed it with loose flowers (mukta-puspa).

[16F] Then, after the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla with his relatives had both decorated the great city of Rājagrha and prepared a meal of a hundred flavours, when that night had passed he made his way, accompanied and followed by his relatives, to where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, he informed him that it was noon, saying:

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¹ T.418 (914c9-11) mentions all eight bodhisattvas, including Susīma; while T.416 has only the first five of the Tibetan list. Susīma is similarly omitted in the Tib. at 16H and 16I.
² Most of what follows here appears in T.418 after section 16E, at 914c18.
³ T.416 (889b9-10): 'the four Great Deva-kings, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and the others...' This is not found elsewhere.
'Reverend Lord, the time for the meal has come. Reverend Lord, the meal-hour has come. The meal has been prepared, and I wish you to know that the time for it has now come.'

Thereupon in the forenoon (puṟvāhna-kāla) the Lord put on his robe (cīvāra) and undergarment (nīvāsaṇa), took up his bowl, and accompanied and followed by the community of bhikṣus, the community of bhikṣūṇis, and the assemblies of upāsakas and upāsikās, he made his way to the house of the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla.

[16G] Then the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla thought:

'It would be good if the Lord could perform such a working of magic (ṛddhyabhisamskāram abhisamskr-) that, by his performing that working of magic, my house would become extensive, large, and like blue beryl (vaiḍūrya), so that all the men of the town could see [in] and that these numerous assemblies could also be seated as they pleased (yathestam).'</n

Thereupon the Lord, knowing in his mind the drift of that bodhisattva mahāsattva's thought, performed such a working of magic that, by his performing that working of magic, the house of the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla became extensive, large, and like blue beryl, so that all the men of the town could see [in] and all those assemblies could be seated as they pleased.

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4 I.e. transparent. The Chinese versions of this passage (see Concordance) are more explicit than the Tibetan.

A similar reference to a transparent building made out of beryl occurs in the Mv (i, p. 32), where Sudharmā, the assembly hall of Sudarśana, the city of the Devas of the Thirty-three, is described as sarvavaiḍūryamayī. There the text appears to be saying that Śakra and the Devas can be seen from outside in conclave, and that they themselves can also look out over the whole of Sudarśana:

\[
yatra devā trayāstrimśah śakro ca devānām indro sannīṣanā sannipatitā devakaraṇīyengu vāhyato devasabhāyām dṛṣyantī deva pi trayāstrimśa sudharmāye devasabhāye nisanāh sarvam sudarśanam devanagaram paśyantī
\]

(see also Jones' translation, Vol. I, p. 27).

Stories of magical transformations of the kind we have here in the Praś were obviously popular narrative elements in Mahāyāna sūtras; see e.g. the Ch'eng-chü kuang-ming ting-i ching 成具光明定意經 (attributed to Chih Yao 慧耀, a near-contemporary of Lokakṣema, who himself is also supposed to have made a translation of this text), in which the lay bodhisattva Shan-ming 世间 ( = Suprabha?) invites the Buddha and his followers to dinner, fears that his house is too small to accommodate his guests, and then has it miraculously enlarged and transformed so that everyone can dine in comfort (T.630, 452all-b23).
Thereupon the Lord entered the house of the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla. And having entered he seated himself on the seat prepared, together with the communities of bhiksus and bhikṣunīs and the assemblies of upāsakas and upāsikās.

Then the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla, the Licchāvi youth Ratnākara, the householder Mahāsusārthavāha, the merchant’s son Guhagupta, the brahman Naladatta, the householder Indradatta, and the householder Varuṇadeva, perceiving that the Lord had seated himself, and perceiving that the community of bhiksus, the community of bhikṣunīs, and the assemblies of upāsakas and upāsikās had also seated themselves, with their own hands they fed and satisfied with the many pleasing drinks, foods, savouries, and food of a hundred flavours the community of bhiksus, the community of bhikṣunīs, and the assemblies of upāsakas and upāsikās, beginning with the Buddha.

When they had with their own hands fed and satisfied them with many pleasing foods, drinks, savouries, and food of a hundred flavours, they perceived that the Lord had finished his meal, washed his hand and put away [?] his bowl; fetching suitable (yathāyogam) seats, they sat down in front of the Lord, in the Lord’s presence.

Thereupon with a discourse on Dharma (dharma-kathā) the Lord delighted, inspired, inflamed, and gladdened the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla, the Licchāvi youth Ratnākara, the householder Mahāsusārthavāha, the merchant’s son Guhagupta, the brahman Naladatta, the householder Indradatta, the householder Varuṇadeva, and those four assemblies. And after he had delighted, inspired, inflamed, and gladdened them with a discourse on Dharma he rose, and in the company of the community of bhiksus made his way back.

For bcabs as the past tense of the verb 'chab pa, 'to wash' (resp.), see Walter Simon, 'Vowel Alteration in Tibetan', p. 94, n.36. I cannot find the verb gyu ba in the lexicons, but what underlies the Tibetan here must be a stock Sanskrit phrase related to the Pāli onīta-pattapāṇi (see PTSD, s.v. onīta). Such a phrase is indeed found several times in the Mv, e.g. at i, 325.13: atha khalu krki kāśirājā bhagavantam kāśyapam bhuktāvim dhautapānim apanītapātram viditvā; at iii, 142.4: atha khalu bhagavām bhuktāvī dhautahasto apanītapātro...; and at iii, 257.10: bhagavām...bhuktadhautapānir apanītapātro. Here the meaning is that the Lord has eaten, washed his hand, and put away his bowl, and no doubt our text—bcam ldan ‘das bsos gsal phyag bcabs / lhun bzed gyu ba signifies something similar. The discovery of some parallel passages in Sanskrit (with Tibetan translations) should resolve the difficulty.
Thereupon, after finishing the meal (bhaktakṛtyam kṛtvā), the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla, together with his own friends, relatives, and kinsmen, and accompanied and followed by a full 100,000 beings, made his way to where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and circumambulated him three times, he sat down to one side.

The bodhisattva mahāsattva Ratnakara, Mahāsusārthavāha, Guhagupta, Naladatta, Susīma, Indradatta, and the bodhisattva mahāsattva Varunadeva, having prostrated themselves at the Lord's feet together, and having circumambulated him three times, sat down to one side.

Then the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla, perceiving that all the assembly was seated, said to the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, how many dharmas must the bodhisattva mahāsattva possess in order to obtain this Samādhi of the Bodhisattva who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present, to listen to it and hear it, to take it in by virtue of an undistracted mind (avikṣipta-citta), to not forget it, and, having taken it in, to obtain it?'

This having been said, the Lord said to the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla:

'Bhadrapāla, if the bodhisattva mahāsattva possesses five dharmas he obtains this Samādhi of the Bodhisattva who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present; he listens to it and hears it, he takes it in by virtue of an undistracted mind, he does not forget it, and having taken it in he obtains it.'

This having been said, the Lord said to the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla:

'Bhadrapāla, what are the five? If here the bodhisattva mahāsattva possesses patient acceptance of the profound dharma (gambhīra-dharma-ksānti), if he possesses patient acceptance of the fact that dharmas are not produced (anupattika-dharma-ksānti), indestructible (aksaya), devoid of destruction (ksayāpagata), imperishable, utterly imperishable, unpolluted (anāvila), gone beyond pollution (āvila-samatikrānta?), unstained (vimala), devoid of stain (vigata-mala), untainted (araja), devoid of taint (viraja), gone beyond taint, free of all taint---if, Bhadrapāla, he possesses this first dharma, then the bodhisattva mahāsattva obtains this Samādhi of the One who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present.'

T.416 (889c19-25) divides this first of the five dharmas into five dharmas again, and so for the remaining four (16M, N, O, P), thus arriving at five sets of five dharmas each, which the bodhisattva mahāsattva must acquire; for this see T.416.

T.418 presents the first dharma (16L: anupattika-dharma-ksānti) as a
'Further, Bhadrapāla, if the bodhisattva mahāsattva disparages all conditioned things (samskāra), and, except as a base for awakening, does not desire any opportunity for rebirth (jāti-sthāna?); if he wishes to see the Buddhas and Lords and does not rely on any of the things on which the heretics depend (tirthyāvatana) or on any of the heretics’ formulas (mantra); if he does not wish for the enjoyment of desire (kāma-bhoga); if he delights in the holy life and has given up sexual intercourse (maithuna-dharma), being unattached to desire even in his thoughts, far less in the joining of the two organs—if, Bhadrapāla, he possesses this second dharma, then the bodhisattva mahāsattva obtains this Samādhi.'

'Further, Bhadrapāla, if the bodhisattva mahāsattva has developed the Thoughts of Infinitude (apramāna-citta), and, having well-composed (susamgrah-) his mind, has thoughts which are free of ill-will (vyāpāda); if he has an equal regard (sama-citta) for all beings and attracts all beings with the Four Means of Conversion (samgraha-vastu)—what are the four? The four are giving (dāna), kindly speech (priya-vacana), benefaction (artha-caryā), and empathy (samānarthatā)—if, Bhadrapāla, he possesses this third dharma, then the bodhisattva mahāsattva obtains this Samādhi.'

'Further, Bhadrapāla, if the bodhisattva mahāsattva is possessed of great friendliness (mahāmaitri), and courses in great compassion (mahākarunā), great sympathetic joy (mahāmuditā), and great disinterestedness (mahopeksa); if he does not accuse (codayati) bhikṣus or bhikṣunis who have committed a fault (āpattim āpanna), but accepts them patiently

unit, more or less in agreement with the Tibetan, although, as in the Tibetan, it is difficult to determine whether the string of adjectives from (to cite the Tib. counterparts) zad mi šes pa to rdul thams cad dañ bral ba modifies dharma or ksānti. However, T.418 follows its version of 16L with (915a25-27):

Further, Bhadrapāla, taking no more pleasure in places of birth, this is the second; taking no more delight in heresy, this is the third; taking no more pleasure in desire, this is the fourth; self-restraint and practising the Infinitudes (無有極 = apramāna?).

It will be seen that dharmas two to four here relate to 16M in Tib., while no. 5 relates to 16N. There is no equivalent in T.418 for most of Tib. 16N-P.

Note also that the SCPPSL (86c13-28) has material corresponding to 16L-U; in its organisation of this it is closer to the Tib. than to T.416, but since no two versions are in full agreement with each other, it would appear that the structure of these sections has been a matter of some confusion right from the outset.
through being of a tolerant nature (adhivāsana-svabhāva); if he is respectful and reverent towards his preceptors (upādhyāya) and teachers (acārya) and perceives them as the Teacher; if he is not an asserter (vādin) of 'me' and 'mine', not an asserter of 'being', not an asserter of 'life' (jīva), not an asserter of 'person' (pudgala), not an asserter of 'soul' (posa), not an asserter of 'man' (purusa), not an asserter of 'human' (manuja), not an asserter of 'human being' (manava), and admonishes others concerning this dharma—if, Bhadrapāla, he possesses this fourth dharma, then the bodhisattva mahāsattva obtains this Samādhi.'

'Further, Bhadrapāla, if the bodhisattva mahāsattva puts into practice (pratipadyate) the dharma which conforms to the Dharma (dharmanu-dharma); if he is pure in bodily activity, pure in the activity of speech, pure in mental activity, pure in views (drṣṭi), pure in livelihood, and greatly learned (bahusruta); if, together with the Buddhas, Lords, he is skilled in speech with an esoteric meaning (samāhā-bhāṣya)—if, Bhadrapāla, he possesses this fifth dharma, then that bodhisattva mahāsattva obtains this Samādhi.'

'Bhadrapāla, if he possesses those five dharmas, the bodhisattva mahāsattva obtains this Samādhi.'

Further, Bhadrapāla, if the bodhisattva mahāsattva possesses five other dharmas, he obtains this Samādhi. What are the five? Bhadrapāla, if here the bodhisattva mahāsattva gives gifts as a lord of giving (dana-pati), is neither mean nor miserly in his thoughts, is abundantly liberal, open-handed (pratata-pāṇi), rejoices in giving gifts, gives away all his wealth without expecting any recompense (vipākā-pratikāṅksin), is compassionate (anukampin) towards beings, free of regret (avipratisārin), and has no regrets after giving gifts—if, Bhadrapāla, he possesses this first dharma, then the bodhisattva mahāsattva manages at the very least to hear this Samādhi of the One who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present.'

Further, Bhadrapāla, if the bodhisattva mahāsattva gives gifts as a lord of giving, that is, if he gives the supreme Dharma, if he has established himself in the giving of the gift of the supreme Dharma spoken by the Tathāgata, the teaching of the principle (naya?) of the profound and ultimate truth (paramārtha) with its words and syllables well-analysed (sunirukta-padāksara), its words and syllables unobstructed (apratihata?),

The remainder of 160 has no equivalent in any Chinese version.
and its etymology (nirukti) unobscured; if he is perfected in patient acceptance (keśanti-sampanna) and perfected in gentleness (sauratya-sampanna); if, even though driven off (utpātita) and abused by others, he does not get angry, nor revile them, nor do them harm, nor become bewildered, nor despair, nor become wrathful, yet is self-assured (vīsā-rāda)—if, Bhadrapāla, he possesses this second dharma, the bodhisattva mahāsattva obtains this Samādhi.

[165] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, on hearing this Samādhi the bodhisattva mahāsattva should, in order to perpetuate and propagate the True Dharma, accept, master, preserve, and read it, he should expound it in full to others, copy it in book-form and preserve it, and not be miserly with the Dharma—-if, Bhadrapāla, he possesses that third dharma, the bodhisattva mahāsattva obtains this Samādhi.'

[16T] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, if the bodhisattva mahāsattva is free of envy, free of distress (?), free of sloth and torpor (styāna-middha), free of the obstructions (nivarana), and does not praise himself or disparage others—-if, Bhadrapāla, he possesses that fourth dharma, the bodhisattva mahāsattva obtains this Samādhi.'

[16U] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, if the bodhisattva mahāsattva has faith, is full of faith; if he is respectful and reverent towards elders, those of middle age, and young people; if he is grateful and appreciative, and appreciates even the slightest action, not to mention the more considerable; if he is established in truthful speech, and says nothing false—-if, Bhadrapāla, he possesses those five dharmas, the bodhisattva mahāsattva obtains this Samādhi.'

[16V] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses: 10

8  Cf. T.418 (915b9): '...copy this sūtra on a fine piece of white silk and make it last a long time.'

9  T.418 (915b12-13) follows this with: 'The bodhisattva always has joyful respect for the Dharma (or: the sūtras); he discards the meanings that are not repeated, he always keeps in mind those that are repeated [?].'

10 T.416 (890b13-c11) agrees with the Tib. in order and number of verses. T.418 (915b15-c9), however, has only 12 gāthās, of which the fourth and the tenth (b21-22 and c4-5) bear little relation to anything in Tib.; distinguishing these with the letter 'X', the order of correspondence with verses in Tib. runs: 1, 4, 5, X, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, X, 13, 14. For the verses marked 'X', see n. 16.11 and n. 16.12 below.
1. 'He who generates patient acceptance of the profound dharma, 
   Loathes (vijugupsate) all destinies (gati), 
   And does not desire any of the six destinies—
   Such a one quickly obtains the Samādhi.

2. He who does not adhere to any rival teachers (parapravādin), 
   And does not listen to their secret formulae (mantra), far less 
   (kutas) accept them; 
   And is averse to the five sense-qualities (kāma-guna)—
   Such a one quickly obtains the Samādhi.

3. He who is pure in morality, abides in the holy life, 
   Never thinks about women, 
   Has rejected desire, and become a son of the Sugata—
   Such a one quickly obtains the Samādhi.

4. Giving gifts without expecting recompense, 
   Having given without attachment he is not distressed; 
   On giving a gift he has not the slightest wish, 
   Apart from experiencing Buddha-cognition.

5. On giving a gift out of compassion for beings, 
   He does not suffer or have any regrets; 
   He is always established in giving, self-control, and 
   restraint (dāna-dama-samvara)—
   Such a one will obtain this Samādhi.  

6. He who gives as a lord of giving without miserliness 
   Gives the gift which is excellent (pranīta) and pleasing; 
   On giving it he is also jubilant (āttamanas)—
   Such a one will obtain this Samādhi.

7. They who are lords of the gift of the Dharma (dharma-dānapati), 
   Who expound the excellent sūtras 
   Profound and peaceful, spoken by the Sugata—
   Such ones will obtain this Samādhi.

11 The last two pādās of this verse in T.418 (915b20) are significantly 
   different: 'He is always established in giving, morality, patient 
   acceptance, / Energy, trance, and wisdom.' The next verse in T.418 
   (915b21-22) runs: 

   Endowed with the six perfections and embracing all beings (?), 
   Having the four equal (?) thoughts of friendliness, compassion, 
   sympathetic joy, and disinterestedness, 
   Putting expedients to good use (= upāya-kausalya) in delivering 
   beings—
8. He who has established himself always in the Dharma,  
Who, free of envy, is established in patient acceptance  
and gentleness,  
And does not get angry if others are angry—  
Such a one will obtain this Samādhi.

9. They who recite this Samādhi  
And, in order to perpetuate this dharma,  
Teach it to others and, having copied it, preserve it—  
Such ones will obtain this Samādhi.

10. Never miserly with the Dharma,  
Not expounding it for any gain or honour,  
Except in order to become a son of the Sugata—  
Such a one will obtain this dharma.

11. Free of envy, the obstructions (nīvarana) eliminated;  
Free of sleep, free of distress (sambāpa?);  
Not praising himself or disparaging others—  
He easily obtains the perception of non-self (anātma-samjñā).

12 Faithful, guileless, and unshakeable,  
He believes in the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha;  
He is grateful and appreciative—  
For him there is not the slightest difficulty in obtaining it.12

13 He always speaks words of truth,  
Be they small or few, many or good [?];13  
His good conduct is ever incorruptible—  
For that lover of Dharma it is not difficult to obtain.

He who acts thus obtains the Samādhi.

This has no equivalent in Tib. or T.416. These two verses in T.418 are  
significant in a text which makes little mention of the āryādīs (listed  
in full only once in Tib. at 5D) and none at all of upāya-kauśalya.

12 T.418 (915c4-5) has a different verse:  
When he has calm concentration, thoughts do not arise;  
Then he can understand this Samādhi-wisdom of the Way;  
He has discarded flattery and his mind is pure,  
Therefore he quickly attains the patient acceptance of non-  
origination.

13 T.418 (915c6): 'His aspirations are fulfilled without any dimin-  
ution'; T.416 (890c8): 'All of his actions are not lost.'
14. Pure in morality, appreciative,
He who preserves this dharma
Will have no difficulty in obtaining awakening,
Far less this peaceful Samādhi.'

CHAPTER SIXTEEN OF THE SAMĀDHI ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRĀPĀLA
128

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

[T.416: Chapter Eleven, Prediction]

[17A] 'Bhadrapāla, I remember (abhijānām) that in time past I obtained this Samādhi from the Tathāgata Dipamkara as soon as I saw him. As soon as I obtained this Samādhi, in that moment countless, incalculable Buddhas, Lords appeared to my sight (dārśana-patha), I heard the True Dharma they expounded and retained it all just as I had heard it. Those Buddhas, Lords also predicted (vyākṛ-) to me:

"Young brahman (mānavaka), at a future time you shall become a Tathāgata Arhat Sākyamunibuddha by the name of Sākyamuni, One Endowed with Knowledge and Conduct, a Sugata, a Knower of the World, a Leader of Men to be Tamed, a Supreme One, a Teacher of Devas and Men, a Buddha and Lord!"

'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, you should train in this dharma, which is holy, rejected by fools, and devoid of all signs (nimitta). Thus it will not be difficult for you who are established in this Samādhi to attain supreme and perfect awakening.'

[17B] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:  

1. 'After seeing the Buddha Dipamkara,
   I developed the Samādhi also;
   And after seeing many Buddhas
   I obtained the highest Dharma too.

2. Just as those who act meritoriously (punyakṛt)
   Fulfil their good resolves,
   You must also course in the Dharma,
   And you shall obtain the highest awakening.

1 Both Chinese versions contain only the first two verses, of which the second is somewhat different from the Tibetan. E.g. T.418 (915c21-22) runs:

   Just as a virtuous man goes to gather gems,
   And quickly obtains that which he hopes for, according to his wish,
   So also the bodhisattva mahāsattva
   Seeks gems in the Dharma [or: in the sūtra(s)] and obtains Buddhahood.

T.416 (890c29-891a1) is closer to the Tibetan.
3. Endless, infinite, 
Inconceivable were the kotis of Buddhas
Whom I formerly honoured,
Seeking peaceful awakening.

4. Obtaining that awakening,
I turned the Wheel of Dharma;
Many were the kotis of beings
Whom I established in awakening.

5. Devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas,
Gandharvas and Kinnaras
Worship me with worship,
Saying: "O! How inconceivable the Buddha is!"

6. Those wise men also
Who wish to cultivate (sev-) the Buddhadharmas
Should teach zealousness (chandikātā?)
For the sake of becoming greatly learned. 2

7. Thirty kotis strong were the Buddhas
Whom I, Lion of the Ṣākyas, Best of Men,
Formerly honoured,
While seeking peaceful awakening.

8. If those inconceivable Buddhas
Had not made the prediction for me then,
I would not have become established
In the cognition which is without apprehension.

9. Thus in brief (samksiptena?) are made known [?]
The Buddhas, Lords, Protectors,
In their many nayutas of kotis,
Whom I formerly honoured.

10. Even when those Tathāgatas, knowing my resolve,
Had made that prediction,
I was not [yet] established
In inconceivable Buddha-cognition [?].

2 This verse is not at all clear. It could mean: 'Certain wise men,
/Because they wish to cultivate the Buddhadharmas, /Should be taught, etc.'
Further, if we were to accept the two variants shown by N, P, and L, the
meaning would change to something like: 'Wise men who wish to teach
others the Buddhadharmas should teach zealousness in becoming greatly
learned.'
11. For that reason one must make Goodly efforts for the ultimate truth, And one must also train in the highest cognition Of inconceivable Buddhas.

12. Having trained in this Sūtra, In the sphere (gocara) of the Lord of the World, One will comprehend the supreme, Highest, inconceivable cognition.

13. Thinking: "O! How inconceivable Is the supreme cognition, the cognition of a Buddha!" Bhadrapāla's thoughts are jubilant, And he has become reverent.

14. Thinking: "At a future time we also Shall be bearers of the Dharma at the last!" Those five hundred as well Are jubilant in their thoughts and reverent.'

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN OF THE SAMĀDHI ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRĀPAĻA
When this was said, the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla said to
the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, how should the bodhisattva develop this Samādhi?'

The Lord said:

'Bhadrapāla, if any son or daughter of good family should wish to
develop this Samādhi, he should not abide in form (rupā), he should not
abide in feelings (vedanā), in thought (citta), or in dharmas; he should
not abide in birth; he should not abide in all dharmas; he should not
abide in emptiness, signlessness, or wishlessness; he should not abide in
friendliness. What then, Bhadrapāla, is the Samādhi? It is the practice
of these dharmas (ettesu dharmaṃ pratipatti), and not the incorrect
practice (vipratipatti).

Further, Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva who abides observing the
body in the body, but does not think any discursive thoughts connected
with the body (kāye kāyantam vikāraṇa vitarkatāna), and who with regard to the feelings, to thought, and to
dharmas abides observing dharmas, but does not think any discursive
thoughts connected with dharmas—that bodhisattva obtains this Samādhi.

Why is that, Bhadrapāla? It is thus: if the bodhisattva mahāsattva
abides observing the body in the body, and yet does not think any dis­
cursive thoughts connected with the body, and if, with regard to the
feelings, to thought, and to dharmas he abides observing dharmas, but
does not think any discursive thoughts connected with dharmas, then he

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1 Cf. T.416 (891a2-10) where, instead of form, feelings, thought, and
dharmas, we read that the bodhisattva should in turn contemplate, but
not become attached to, form, sound, smell, taste, touch, dharmas,
births, and all places (?), and that 'with respect to these dharmas he
should foster the practice of truly great friendliness (mahāmaitri).'
Cf. also T.418, which is very brief.

2 For the smṛtyupasthānas, see 15J and n. 15.11. 18B is not found in T.418.
does not apprehend (upalabhate) all dharmas. He who does not apprehend all dharmas does not speculate or think discursively (na tarkayati na vitarkayati?) about them. Bhadrapāla, he who does not speculate or think discursively does not see any dharmas. Bhadrapāla, whenever one does not see any dharmas, that is called unobstructed cognition (an-āvarana-jñāna). Bhadrapāla, that cognition which is unobstructed is, Bhadrapāla, called [the] Samādhi."

'Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva who possesses this Samādhi sees immeasurable, incalculable Buddhas, and he also hears the True Dharma. On hearing it he masters it. He also obtains the unobstructed cognition and vision of liberation (vimukti-jñāna-darśana) and the unhindered cognition (apratihata-jñāna) of those Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas.'

[18C] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva abides observing the body in the body, and so abiding he does not see any dharmas. Not seeing them he does not speculate or think discursively [about them], even though he is neither blind nor deaf. In the same way with regard to the feelings, to thought, and to dharmas he abides observing dharmas, and so abiding he does not see any dharmas. Not seeing them he does not rely [upon them]; not relying [upon them] he develops the path (mārga); by virtue of having developed the path he has no doubts with regard to dharmas; and by being without doubts he sees the Buddhas. And when he has seen the Buddhas, liberation (vimokṣa) is produced by virtue of the fact that all dharmas are not produced (sarvadharmānupāda?).'

[18D] 'Why is that, Bhadrapāla? If the bodhisattva should adopt the perception of dharmas (dharma-samjñā), that itself would be for him the false view of apprehension of a basis (upalambha-drṣṭi). That itself would be the view of existence, the view of a self, the view of a being, the view of a life, and the view of a person. That itself would be the view of aggregates, the view of elements, the view of sense-fields, the view of signs (nimitta), the view of existing things (bhāva), the view of causes (hetu), the view of conditions (pratyaya), and holding to the apprehension of a basis.'

[18E] 'Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Bodhisattvas see all dharmas as being by own-being empty (svabhāvena sūnya), all dharmas as being signless (animitta), ungrasped (agṛhīta?), and ungraspable (agṛhya), and they do not apprehend all dharmas, do not think vainly about them (na man-yante), and do not see them. How is it, Bhadrapāla, that they do not apprehend them, nor think vainly about them, nor see them? Just as, for example, a heretic (paratīrthika) or a disciple of a heretic who is
established in the perception of a self, who is established in the perception of a being, of a life, and of a person, and who is established in the perception of all dharmas, apprehends, thinks vainly about, and sees dharmas; in such a way, Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva does not see them.'

'How then, Bhadrapāla, does the bodhisattva see? Bhadrapāla, just as, for example, Tathāgatas, irreversible bodhisattvas, Pratyekabuddhas, and Arhat Śrāvakas see all dharmas, in that way, Bhadrapāla, should the bodhisattva regard all dharmas. Seeing them he should not delight in them. The bodhisattva who, through being free of delight, takes no delight, who is devoid of delight and has eliminated delight develops this Samādhi.'

'Just as, for example, Bhadrapāla, space (ākāśa) is immaterial (arūpin), incommunicable (anidārśana), unlocalised (aniketa), utterly pure (suviśuddha), and undefiled (niṅklesa), so the bodhisattva regards all dharmas, and with regard to conditioned and unconditioned dharmas (samskrētāsamskrētā-dharma) his vision becomes unhindered.'

'To that bodhisattva whose vision is unhindered dharmas become immediately manifest (āmukhi-bhu-), and if he reflects intently upon them, he sees the Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas like a decorated golden pillar; like the sun (raśmi-raja) uprisen; like the full moon surrounded by stars; like the wheel-turning king (cakravarti-raja) surrounded by hosts of the mighty; like Brahmā, seated on the throne of Brahmā in the Brahma-world; like Śakra, King of the Devas, surrounded by the Devas of the Thirty-three; like fire blazing on a mountain-top; like the King of Physicians (vaidya-raja) dispensing medicine; like the maned lion, king of wild beasts, fearlessly terrifying all the jackals; like the chief of geese in his flight through the heavens; like Sumeru, King of Mountains, rising out of the ocean; like the Himalayas, Kings of Mountains, teeming with flowers and medicinal herbs (osadhi); like the Cakravāda mountains, supported and held up by the offspring of the son of the wind (māruta-suta?); like the mass of water (vāri-rāsi).

3 The Chinese does not serve to elucidate this apparent reference to current cosmological notions. T.416 (891c2-3): 'Like the Encircling Mountains, upholding the wild winds...'; T.418 (916a21): 'Like the Vajra mountains of the great realm of Heaven and Earth, warding off filth...' See also lōkavīś. That earth rests upon the water, the water on wind (air), and the wind upon empty space (or 'ether') is a common element of Buddhist cosmology (see de la Vallée Poussin, 'Cosmogony and Cosmology (Buddhist)', in ERE, p. 131).
supported by the mass of air; like the land-mass, supported by the mass of water.'

[18H] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses [sic]:

'The beautiful summit of Sumeru,
Spotless, immaculate, and pure,
Similar and like unto space,
Is well adorned by the Devas.'

[18I] 'Bhadrapāla, in that manner the bodhisattva mahāsattva, having taken as the object of his attention (ārambani.krtya) those Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas brilliant, radiant, and shining (bhāsanti, tapanti, virocnti) with glory and splendour in all Trichiliomegachiliocosms, sees them and hears the Dharma they expound. Having heard it he accepts, masters, and keeps it. And on rising from this Samādhi that bodhisattva teaches and expounds to others in full the Dharma as he has heard it, as he has accepted it, and as he has mastered it.'

[18J] 'Thus, Bhadrapāla, this Samādhi is of great benefit to bodhisattvas. That is, it produces many qualities of dharmas both worldly and supramundane (loka-lokottara-dharma). Therefore, Bhadrapāla, a son or daughter of good family who desires awakening should accept, master, keep, read, and copy this Samādhi; should expound, teach, and proclaim it in full to others; and should exert himself in the endeavour to develop it.'

[18K] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:

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4 This gāthā does not appear as such in either Chinese version; T.418 (916a22-23) has a prose version of it, while a prose passage with some similarities occurs in T.416 (891c3-4): 'Like the great wheel of wind, purifying the realm of space; like the beautiful palace of the Devas on the summit of Sumeru...'

5 18J is not found in T.418.

6 T.416 (891c7-892a11) has twelve verses; T.418 (916a27-b19) has eleven. Both Chinese versions are quite clearly based upon a single original text, probably an original short version later expanded into what we find in the Tib. Using the Tib. verse numbers, the order for the two translations is:

T.416: 1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17, 23;
T.418: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 9, 14, 16, 17, 23.
1. 'Spotless, stainless, and immaculate are the Buddhas,
   Unattached and worshipped by many men;
The Benefactors are to be honoured by a hundred instruments,
   By the beating of drums, and by the sounds of gongs and
   celestial instruments.

2. Having strewn them with loose flowers (mukta-puspa),
   Many men worship the relic-stūpas (dhatu-stūpa?);
   And in search of this Samādhi they deck them out (prajñāpayanti?)
   With divers celestial wreaths, perfumes, and parasols.

3. He who, after establishing himself in conventional truth (samvrti),
   Analyses the Expanded Dharma (vaipulya-dharma), excellent
   and difficult to see,
   He calls to mind the Jinas, whose cognition is unattached,
   And never falls away from emptiness.

4. With pure thoughts he calls to mind the Jinas
   As being like the spotless moon, the risen sun,
   Or Brahmā, enthroned in the Brahma-world;
   And he never rejects emptiness.

5. As the King of the Devas of the Thirty-three
   Surpasses the Thirty-three with his appearance,
   So the Jīna, surpassing the world,
   Is brilliant, radiant, and shining with glory.

6. Like fires spreading through the greatest of forests,
   Like a lamp burning, like flames leaping,
   Like the rising of a thousand suns (sata-raśmi),
   So behold the Jinas as great in marks!

7. As physicians, curers of illness,
   Treat the sickness of sick people,
   So the Jinas, Lions among Men, the Best of Physicians,
   Utter the discourses of a Sugata as is appropriate.

8. Uttering the Lion-roar in the assembly,
   The Bulls, the Buddhas fear none in the world;
   They subdue all the rival teachers,
   As the forest-dwelling lion does the jackals.
9. As the excellent geese-kings
   Are white, pure and handsome in their flight through the air,
   So the eldest sons of the Sugata call to mind
   The golden Sugatas.

10. As the kings of mountains, the Himālayas, or as kṣatriya kings,
    Brilliant and radiant [?],
    And as a pillar adorned with various jewels,
    So see the Jinas as adorned with marks.

11. Like the vajra, immovable and unbreakable,
    Like the Cakravāda, upheld by the offspring of the son of the
    wind,
    So the Sugatas take the side of the kalpa [?],
    Beneficent, benevolent, and great in Dharma.

12. As the earth rests upon the waters,
    As the waters also rest upon the air,
    As the air rests upon empty space,
    So the Jinas are established in all qualities.

13. As in the [Heaven of the] Thirty-three King Sumeru
    Looms over everything, shining and radiant,
    So the Sugatas, like Sumeru,
    Are beautiful, seated amidst masses of jewels.

14. If one calls to mind the Jinas, whose thoughts are unattached,
    That Samādhi, which is free of obscurity and darkness,
    Spotless, and pure, becomes an eye;
    He [It?] is devoid of all perceptions of existing things (sarva-bhāva-samjñā).

15. If one calls to mind the Jinas, whose thoughts are pure,
    One is free of stain or spot, and done with anger;
    Free of ignorance, his cognition is pure;
    For him cognition which is immaculate shall arise.

16. If one calls to mind the Jinas, whose morality is pure,
    His cognition will be undimmed (vitimira) and pure;
    For him no more the false view of me and mine;
    Nor will the perception of an existing thing ever arise.
17. He is free of the wrong view of a succession of existences (bhava-samtati);
Free of the way of doubt, pure in cognition,
He never has the perception of form (rupa-samjña),
And he listens to the dharma of coolness (sitibhāva) and the way of peace [?].

18. Earth, water, fire and air
Are without own-being, all are empty;
When he has heard the teachings of the Best of Jinas,
The perception of an existing thing does not occur to him.

19. Extirpating all knowledge of objective entities (vastu?),
And knowing that all destinies (gati) are empty,
As a bird is unattached in the sky,
His mind is never attached.

20. He who has honoured the Best of Jinas
Through being established in the magic powers (rddhi-bala) and keen of mind,
Illuminates the world everywhere in the ten directions,
And possesses all immeasurable qualities [?].

21. Even though he gives up hands, feet, likewise head and eyes,
All his kingdoms, horses, and bulls,
And all the precious things in the world,
He does not give up the constituent of morality (sila-skandha).

22. Out of compassion, for the sake of the whole world,
He reveals the excellent jewel of the Dharma (dharma-pradhāna-ratna);
Even though he renounces all conditioned things, without remnant,
He does not give up his thought of awakening (bodhicitta).

23. Bhikṣus and the sons of the Jina who have set out well,
Likewise bhikṣuṇīs, upāsakas,
And upāsikās who have faith and are free of attachment—
If they have called to mind [the Buddha?] they obtain this station.

24. Whoever expounds this peaceful Samādhi,
To that son of the Sugata, skilled in samādhi,
Those many qualities will accrue,
Manifold superior stations will accrue.'

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN OF THE SAMĀDHI ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRAPĀLA
Therefore, Bhadrapala, that bodhisattva who wishes to expound or obtain this Samādhi should from the very beginning rid himself of perceptions of sign (nimitta-samjñā). Having rid himself of perceptions of sign he should not be proud; when he has eliminated pride and has a mind devoid of signs, the bodhisattva should receive instruction in this Samādhi, and he should not be disputatious. How then is he not disputatious (avivāda)? He who does not reject emptiness, he is not disputatious. Bhadrapala, the bodhisattva who puts non-disputatiousness first (avivāda-pradhāna?) should receive instruction in this Samādhi.'

Bhadrapala, should any son or daughter of good family wish to receive instruction in this Samādhi, he should possess ten dharmas, and be instructed in this Samādhi. What are the ten? Namely, Bhadrapala, a son or daughter of good family (1) who has conquered pride, (2) who is not envious of others' gain, honour, and praise, (3) who is respectful and reverent, (4) who is grateful and appreciative, (5) who is innocent of miserliness and free of regret, (6) who is full of faith and very understanding (?2), (7) who has put forth energy and taken to walking up and down (cāṅkrama), (8) who begs his food without angling for invitations, and (9) who is strongly inclined to the profound (gambhirādhimukta) should receive instruction in this Samādhi. (10) Evoking the perception of Teacher towards that person from whom he wishes to receive instruction in this Samādhi, a son or daughter of good family should be instructed in, recite, and preserve this Samādhi; if he possesses those ten dharmas, Bhadrapala, that son or daughter of good family should receive this Samādhi.'

1 Ten dharmas are listed (and numbered) in both T.416 and T.418 (see Concordance), but there is no exact correspondence between the two versions or between them and the Tibetan.

2 P, however, has brtag pa med pa, perhaps 'free of discursive thought' (avitarka, avikalpa, etc.); but see T.416 (892b2).
He who has so begun (evam pravṛttā?) receives eight dharmas. Namely, (1) purity of morality (śīla-visuddhi) on account of thorough cleansing (vyavadāna?); (2) purity of view (drṣṭi-visuddhi) through the possession of wisdom; (3) purity of wisdom through not being subject to rebirth (punarbhava); (4) purity of liberality (tyāga-pariṣuddhi) through not aspiring to all transmigration (sarva-samsārānarthikātā); (5) purity of learning through not forgetting anything (asampramoṣa?); (6) purity of energy through the winning of awakening; (7) winning of honour (satkāra) through being without support (anāśraya?); (8) being unable to be swayed by all beings from supreme and perfect awakening---Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva receives these eight dharmas.'

Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:

1. 'The wise man will not give rise to the perception of a sign; He will reject pride (māna) and egotism (asmiṃmāna); When he has produced patient acceptance, immaculate and unconditioned (asamskrta),
   He should receive instruction in this Samādhi also.
2. The wise man should not take issue with emptiness, Signlessness, or peace and Nirvāṇa; Characteristically unshakeable (aṃsosaya-dharmin?), and in accord with the Teacher,
   Such a one must receive instruction in this Samādhi.
3. The wise man is not proud or envious;
   Appreciative, he has faith in the Buddha, The Dharma, and the Saṅgha, and is unshakeable;
   He must quickly receive instruction in this Samādhi also.

---

3 Both T.416 and T.418 (see Concordance) number the eight dharmas; the lists they give agree substantially in order and content with the Tib.

4 'Khor here stands not for 'assembly' or 'retinue', as it usually does, but for samsāra (generally = 'khor ba). This is evident from the Chinese translations, since T.418 (916c9) has: 'the fourth is purity of eye []', and no further desire for birth-and-death', while T.416 (892b12) has: 'the fourth is purity of giving, by not desiring the fruits of all conditioned states (sarva-samskarā).' Whether the Sanskrit originally had samskāra or samsāra is difficult to tell from the Chinese, since T.418's 生死, literally 'birth-and-death', renders both these terms; but the Tib. is certainly based on samsāra. See also BHSD, s.v. anarthika and anarthikatā for the use of these terms with samsāra.

5 The same ten verses appear in the same order in both T.416 and T.418.
4. Not miserly, not stupid (vigata-tamas), not abusive, 
Endowed with understanding (?) and well-endowed with faith, 
Having taken to walking (caṅkramābhīrūḍha), he puts forth energy; 
He should desire this Samādhi.

5. The bhikṣu should always beg for food, 
Rejecting invitations, not to mention hoarding; 
Proficient in the ultimate truth and the absence of apprehension, 
Let such a one receive this Samādhi.

6. If he copied this holy Samādhi from someone, 
Or preserved it or taught it to others, 
Then towards that one from whom he first obtained it 
The wise man conceives the perception of Teacher.

7. He who, established in this attainment of qualities, 
Receives instruction in this Samādhi, 
Quickly acquires eight dharmas 
Commended by the Jinas, immaculate and pure.

8. The wise man in whom these qualities appear, 
Becomes pure also in morality; 
Pure in samādhīs, likewise pure in views, 
He has purified existence after existence [?].

9. The wise man in whom these qualities appear, 
Being not subject to rebirth (punarbhava), is pure in wisdom; 
Being without any supports his liberality is pure, 
He is greatly learned and does not lose [what he learns].

10. The wise man in whom these qualities appear 
Has put forth energy and does not fall away from awakening; 
Not relying in the least on gain or honour, 
He will attain to supreme awakening.

CHAPTER NINETEEN OF THE SAMĀDHI ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRĀPALA

6  Both Chinese versions: 'not slandering the Dharma'.

7  Cf. T.418 (916c28): 'Regarding [them] as empty he is pure in birth-and-death'; T.416 (892c5): 'He is able to be pure amidst all existences.'
[T.418: Chapter Twelve, The Eighteen Exclusives and the Ten Powers; T.416: Chapter Fourteen, The Exclusive Qualities]

[20A] 'Bhadrapāla, if he possesses these eight dharmas, the bodhisattva acquires the ten powers of a Tathāgata (tathāgata-daśabala). What are

1 With this chapter we run into major differences between the Tib. and the Chinese in the organisation of the material of the last seven chapters (20-26). As may be seen from the Concordance and the Comparative Table of Chapters, in the two Chinese translations (T.418 and T.416) the prose section of Chap. 20 (20A-J) is preceded by the prose section of Chap. 22 (22A), and is followed by a single verse summing up the material contained in these two chapters. Chap. 21 is omitted altogether. In specific terms, the Chinese versions detail the 18 dharmas exclusive to a Buddha (āvenika-buddha-dharma), and then the ten powers of a Tathāgata, but they make no mention at all of the four assurances (vaiśāradya). On the face of it, the inclusion of the four assurances (Chap. 21) appears to have taken place in the course of a substantial re-arrangement of the original form of the text as found in T.418 and T.416.

2 For the ten powers of a Tathāgata see especially Traité III, pp. 1505-1566; for the full Sanskrit formula I refer the reader to the same, pp. 1506-1508 (whence I have drawn the Sanskrit equivalents cited in the text). The wording of the Tibetan—which is never entirely regular from one item to the next—differs somewhat from the formula as given by Lamotte, while that of T.416 is more in accord with it, being very full indeed. T.418, however, gives the barest description of the ten powers, with many attendant obscurities (917a24-b1). In certain cases it is virtually impossible to identify T.418 with the Sanskrit.

The order of the items in each of the three versions is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tib.</th>
<th>T.416</th>
<th>T.418</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. sthānāsthāna</td>
<td>sthānāsthāna</td>
<td>sthānāsthāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. karma-vipāka</td>
<td>sarvatragāmini-pratipad</td>
<td>karma-vipāka (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. sarvatragāmini-pratipad</td>
<td>nānā-dhātu</td>
<td>dhyāna-vimokṣa-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>samādhi-samāpatti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. nānā-dhātu</td>
<td>nānādhimukti</td>
<td>indriyaparāpara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. nānādhimukti</td>
<td>indriyaparāpara</td>
<td>nānādhimukti (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. indriyaparāpara</td>
<td>dhyāna-vimokṣa-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. dhyāna-vimokṣa-</td>
<td>karma-vipāka</td>
<td>sarvatragāmini-pratipad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samādhi-samāpatti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. pūrva-nivāsa</td>
<td>diya-caksus</td>
<td>divya-caksus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. diya-caksus</td>
<td>pūrva-nivāsa</td>
<td>pūrva-nivāsa (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. āsrava-ksaya</td>
<td>āsrava-ksaya</td>
<td>āsrava-ksaya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note also that in the verses of the Tib. text the order of balas differs from the prose for the following nos.: 3---nānādhimukti; 4---indriyaparāpara; 5---nānā-dhātu; and 6---sarvatragāmini-pratipad.
the ten? Here, Bhadrapāla, the Tathāgata knows according to reality (yathābhūtam prajānāti) the possible as possible (sthānam ca sthānataḥ) and knows according to reality the impossible as impossible (asthānam caśthānataḥ), and, Bhadrapāla, when the Tathāgata knows according to reality the possible as possible, and the impossible as impossible, this, Bhadrapāla, is the first Tathāgata-power of Tathāgatas; on the basis of (niṣritya) that power the Tathāgata knows the position of leader of the herd (āṛsabham sthānam pratićānāti), goes into the assembly and roars the Lion's Roar correctly (samyak simha-nādam nadati), and turns the Wheel of Brahmā (brāhmaṃ cakram vartayati) which neither śramaṇa, nor brahman, nor Deva, nor Māra, nor Brahmā, nor anyone in this world is able to turn in accordance with the Dharma.'

[208] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, the Tathāgata knows according to reality the cognition of the locations (sthāna), causes (hetu), and consequences (vipāka) of past, future, and present acts (karma) and the undertaking of acts (karma-samādāna); this, Bhadrapāla, is the second Tathāgata-power of Tathāgatas; on the basis of that power the Tathāgata knows the position of leader of the herd, goes into the assembly and roars the Lion's Roar correctly, and turns the Wheel of Brahmā which neither śramaṇa, nor brahman, nor Deva, nor Māra, nor Brahmā, nor anyone in the world is able to turn in accordance with the Dharma.'

Cf. T.416 (892c27): 'the power of place and not-place (處非處力)'; and T.418 (917a24): 'the first is the complete knowledge of the restricted and the unrestricted (有限無限悉知)'.

On the 'Wheel of Brahmā' see Traité III, pp. 1598-1603.

Note that here the Tib. text breaks the usual pattern, since the 'power' is not repeated as it is elsewhere. This points to a scribal error early in the transmission of the Tib. text, which is easily accounted for: having written the mkhyen of mkhyen te (cf. Text, p. 169, 1.8), the copyist has returned to the mkhyen of mkhyen pa (cf. 1.10), thereby omitting the intervening material: te / bzaṅ skyon / gaṅ yan de bzin gseg pas 'das pa dañ / ma 'ons pa dañ / da ḷtar byuṅ ba'i las rnam dañ / las yaṅ dag par 'dzin pa rnam kyi gnas dañ / rgyu dañ / rnam par smin pa mkhyen pa yaṅ dag pa ji lta ba bzin du rab tu mkhyen.
Further, Bhadrapāla, the Tathāgata knows according to reality the
cognition of the way that leads everywhere (sarvatragāmini pratipada),
and, Bhadrapāla, when the Tathāgata knows according to reality the
cognition of the way that leads everywhere, this, Bhadrapāla, is the
third Tathāgata-power of Tathāgatas; on the basis of that power the
Tathāgata knows the position of leader of the herd, goes into the
assembly and roars the Lion's Roar correctly, and turns the Wheel of
Brahmā which neither śramaṇa, nor brahman, nor Deva, nor Māra, nor
Brahmā, nor anyone is able to turn in accordance with the Dharma.'

Further, Bhadrapāla, the Tathāgata knows according to reality
the cognition of the world with its manifold elements (dhātu) and its
various elements, and, Bhadrapāla, when the Tathāgata knows according
to reality the cognition of the world with its manifold elements and
its various elements, this, Bhadrapāla, is the fourth Tathāgata-power
of Tathāgatas; on the basis of that power the Tathāgata knows the
position of leader of the herd, goes into the assembly and roars the
Lion's Roar correctly, and turns the Wheel of Brahmā which neither
śramaṇa, nor brahman, nor Deva, nor Māra, nor Brahmā, nor anyone in the
world is able to turn in accordance with the Dharma.'

T.416 (893a7): 'the Tathāgata's power of the way that goes every­
where'; T.418 (917a28): 'the seventh is that he understands all,
comprehends all, and knows all [?].' The identification for T.418
is doubtful.

T.416 (893al5-16): 'the Tathāgata's power of the various elements
of the world is that with regard to the immeasurable distinctions of the
world's various elements, the Tathāgata knows these as they really are,
through correct knowledge...' T.418 (917a27-28) has: 'the sixth is the
complete knowledge of the countless events of so many kinds of trans­
formations ( = ?), but the translation is doubtful, as is the
identification with dhātu-jñāna-bala. See below, n. 20.12. Cf. also
Traité III, pp. 1549ff., where dhātu in this context is translated as
'disposition acquise'. I have preferred the standard translation of
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'element', but if the interpretation of the TCTL is to be accepted as
authoritative, then dhātu ought perhaps to be understood as 'element
of the personality'.
Further, Bhadrapāla, the Tathāgata knows according to reality the cognition of the manifold inclinations (adhimukti) of other beings and other persons, and, Bhadrapāla, when the Tathāgata knows according to reality the cognition of inclinations, of the manifold and various inclinations of other beings and other persons, this, Bhadrapāla, is the fifth Tathāgata-power of Tathāgatas; on the basis of that power the Tathāgata knows the position of leader of the herd, goes into the assembly and roars the Lion’s Roar correctly, and turns the Wheel of Brahmā which neither śramaṇa, nor brahman, nor Deva, nor Māra, nor Brahmā, nor anyone in the world is able to turn in accordance with the Dharma.

Further, Bhadrapāla, the Tathāgata knows according to reality the cognition of the superiority and inferiority of the faculties (indriya-parāparatā) of other beings and other persons, and, Bhadrapāla, when the Tathāgata knows according to reality the cognition of the superiority and inferiority of the faculties of other beings and other persons, this, Bhadrapāla, is the sixth Tathāgata-power of Tathāgatas; on the basis of that power the Tathāgata knows the position of leader of the herd, goes into the assembly and roars the Lion’s Roar correctly, and turns the Wheel of Brahmā which neither śramaṇa, nor brahman, nor Deva, nor Māra, nor Brahmā, nor anyone in the world is able to turn in accordance with the Dharma.

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T.416 (893a24-25): 'the Tathāgata's power of mental acts (心行力) is that, with regard to the immeasurable distinctions of the various mental acts of beings, he knows them all...’ T.418 (917a27): 'the fifth is the complete knowledge of various beliefs (所信 = adhimukti).’

T.416 (893b4-5): 'the Tathāgata's power of the distinction of beings' faculties is that, with regard to the various distinctions of the faculties of beings, he knows them all...’ T.418 (917a26) has: 'the fourth is the complete knowledge of the various, separate thoughts (所念 = ?) of the faculties and energy (諸根精進); but I do not understand this. One might note, however, that at 2D T.418 (904b29) appears to translate indriya (attested to by Tib. and T.416) with精進. Lokakṣema might there have understood indriya as 'virile power' rather than 'organ' or 'faculty'; but this does not explain the present instance, where both 精進 和 精進 are found together.
Further, Bhadrapāla, the Tathāgata knows according to reality the
defilement (samkleśa), purification (vyavadāna), and the emergence
(vyutthāna) of trances (dhyāna), emancipations (vimokṣa), concentrations
(samādhi), and attainments (samāpatti), and, Bhadrapāla, when the Tathāgata
knows according to reality the defilement, purification, and emergence
of trances, emancipations, concentrations, and attainments, this,
Bhadrapāla, is the seventh Tathāgata-power of Tathāgatas; on the basis
of that power the Tathāgata knows the position of leader of the herd,
goes into the assembly and roars the Lion's Roar correctly, and turns the
Wheel of Brahmā which neither śramaṇa, nor brahman, nor Deva, nor Māra,
nor Brahmā, nor anyone in the world is able to turn in accordance with the
Dharma.'

Further, Bhadrapāla, the Tathāgata knows according to reality the
cognition of the recollection of former existences (purva-nīvāsanamārti),
and, Bhadrapāla, when the Tathāgata knows according to reality the cog-
nition of the recollection of former existences, this, Bhadrapāla, is
the eighth Tathāgata-power of Tathāgatas; on the basis of that power
the Tathāgata knows the position of leader of the herd, goes into the
assembly and roars the Lion's Roar correctly, and turns the Wheel of
Brahmā which neither śramaṇa, nor brahman, nor Deva, nor Māra,
nor Brahmā, nor anyone in the world is able to turn in accordance with the
Dharma.'

10 Vyavasthāna, 'distinction', is also possible (cf. Traité III, p.
1506; TSD, s.v. rnam par gzag pa), but T.416 supports vyutthāna (see
n. 20.11). See also Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, p. 20 and n.69.

11 T.416 (893b13ff.): 'the Tathāgata's power of dhyāna and samādhi is
that, with regard to all dhyānas, emancipations, and samādhis, their
arisings (生起 = vyutthāna), defilements and their eliminations, the
Tathāgata knows them...' T.418 (917a25-26) has: 'the third is the
complete knowledge of the purity of emancipations (財脱 = vimokṣa?)
and samādhis (定).'  
12 Cf. T.416 (893c19-894a7) for a full description of this 'power'
(which incidentally conforms by and large to the Sanskrit formula given
by Lamotte in Traité III, p. 1507, no. 8):

Further, Bhadrapāla, the Tathāgata's power of the cog-
nition of former existences (宿命力) is that by means
of his cognition of former existences the Tathāgata is able
to know the past events of former existences, to wit, that
a being was born here and died there, or that in a certain
place he first underwent one birth (jātī) or two or three
or five or ten or a hundred or a thousand, up to: he under-
went countless hundred births, countless thousand births,
countless hundred thousand births, and so on until: count-
less kalpas of devolution (種劫 = samyavarta-kalpa?), count-
Further, Bhadrapāla, the Tathāgata knows according to reality the cognition of the divine eye (divyā-caksus), and, Bhadrapāla, when the Tathāgata knows according to reality the cognition of the divine eye, this is the ninth Tathāgata-power of Tathāgatas; on the basis of that power the Tathāgata knows the position of leader of the herd, goes into the assembly and roars the Lion's Roar correctly, and turns the Wheel of Brahmā which neither śramaṇa, nor brahman, nor Deva, nor Māra, nor Brahmā, nor anyone in the world is able to turn in accordance with the Dharma.

less kalpas of evolution (定劫 = vivarta-kalpa?), countless kalpas of devolution and evolution (勝不勝劫 = sampvarta-vivarta-kalpa?)---he knows all of it truly; also he knows truly, with regard to the destiny in which that one was born, that he had such a place, such a family, such a lineage, such a name, such an appearance, such a clan (生中 = jātya), such food and dress, such activities, such good and evil, such suffering and joy, such pain and pleasure, up to: so many years of life; also he knows fully when he cast off his body in one place and was reborn in another place, that he had such a physical form, that he talked like this and experienced that, up to: his length of life, and all the events of his past. Therefore, Bhadrapāla, by means of his cognition of various countless former existences, the Tathāgata is able to know what that being has experienced in his former existences, from one birth to countless births; and he knows truly the events of his past, up to the length of his life. This then is the Tathāgata's power of the cognition of former existences.

T.418 (917a29) has: 'the ninth is the complete knowledge of infinite beginnings and endings', but this identification is doubtful. The pūrvanivasajñāna may possibly be identified with no. 6 of the list given in T.418 (917a27-28), 'the complete knowledge of the innumerable events of so many kinds of transformations [?].'

13 T.416 again preserves a fuller formula (893c2-14) which compares very closely with that given by Lamotte (Traité III, p. 1507, no. 9):

Further, Bhadrapāla, the Tathāgata's power of the divine eye is that, by means of his pure divine eye, which surpasses men's eyes, the Tathāgata always sees those future beings dying here and being reborn there, and whether the bodies they receive are beautiful or ugly, good or bad, whether the forms (色 = rūpa? varṇa?) they get are fair or foul, fine or coarse, whether they are born to a good destiny (sugati) or born to a bad destiny (durgati); he also sees whether the acts beings have performed are good or evil, that some beings, who are evil in bodily acts (kāyaduścaritena samāvāgata), evil in acts of speech and evil in mental acts (vāmanoduścaritena samāvāgata), who revile the Holy Ones, abuse the True Dharma, and disrupt the Saṅgha, on account of their being endowed with such bad acts, their bodies
"Further, Bhadrapāla, the Tathāgata knows according to reality the
cognition of the destruction of the outflows (āsrava-ksaya), and, Bhadra-
pāla, when the Tathāgata knows according to reality the cognition of the
destruction of the outflows, this is the tenth Tathāgata-power of Tatha-
gatas; on the basis of that power the Tathāgata knows the position of
leader of the herd, goes into the assembly and roars the Lion's Roar
correctly, and turns the Wheel of Brahmā which neither śramaṇa, nor
brahman, nor Deva, nor Māra, nor Brahmā, nor anyone in the world is able
to turn in accordance with the Dharma.'

'Bhadrapāla, these ten powers of a Tathāgata will be acquired by the
bodhisattva.'

disintegrate, their lives end, and they are reborn in
an evil destiny; while other beings, who are good in
bodily acts (kāyasucañātena samanvāgata), good in acts
of speech, and good in mental acts, who revere the Holy
Ones, honour the True Dharma, and make offerings to the
Saṅgha, on account of their being endowed with such
good acts, at the end of their lives they obtain rebirth
in the good destinies of men and Devas—such things as
these, he knows them all truly. Bhadrapāla, by means of
his pure divine eye the Tathāgata sees beings dying here
and being reborn there, and so on up to: at the end of
their lives being reborn in heaven. This then is the
Tathāgata's power of the cognition of death and rebirth
(cuṭṭīcepāda-jñāna-bala).

Cf. T.418 (917a28-29): 'the eighth is the complete knowledge of the un-
obstructed vision of the eye.'

Further, Bhadrapāla, the Tathāgata's power of the
destruction of the outflows (漏盡力) is that the
Tathāgata is able to exhaust all existence and have no
more outflows, having become liberated in mind and wisdom,
and having himself realised the Dharma (魔法 : a mistake
for drṣṭa eva dharma?); therefore he announces: 'My births
are exhausted, the holy life has been established, I have
done my duty and will not undergo any rebirth.' Bhadra-
pāla, that the Tathāgata can thus destroy the outflows
through himself realising the liberation of his mind
and wisdom, and therefore say: 'My births are exhausted,
up to: I will not undergo any rebirth,' and know it truly,
this then is the Tathāgata's power of the cognition of the
destruction of the outflows.

Cf. T.418 (917b1): 'the tenth is that he is perfectly equal towards past,
future, and present, and has no further attachment (無所遮著 = an-
āsrava?).'}
Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:

1. 'If he establishes himself in this Samādhi,
The bodhisattva will obtain
The stage (bhūmi) of the powers expounded
By the Lord of the World, the Protector.

2. The cognition according to reality
Of the possible and likewise the impossible
Is the first power of the Buddhas,
The Lords of the World, the Protectors.

3. It is the first power of the Self-existent Ones (svayambhū),
The Lords of the World, the Protectors;
Established in it the Fully Awakened Ones (sambuddha)
Teach the Dharma to beings.

4. The cognition of acts
Past, future, and present
Is the second power of the Buddhas,
The Lords of the World, the Protectors.

5. The cognition of inclinations (adhimukti),
Inferior, superior, or middling,
That is the third power
Of the glorious Fully Awakened Ones.

6. Skill in the distinction of acute,
Middling, and inferior faculties
Is the fourth power of the Buddhas,
The Great Seers, the Fully Awakened Ones.

7. The cognition of the various elements (dhatu),
And the perfection (pāramitā) of elements—
These stations are the fifth power
Of the Self-existent Ones.

8. To walk here and there (tatra tatra)
On the ways that lead everywhere,
And to know them all
Is the sixth inconceivable power.

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15 One verse only in both T.416 (894a21-22) and T.418 (917b4-5). T.416 reads: 'Eighteen are the dharmas exclusive to an Awakened One, /The powers of the Lords of the World now are ten; / Should one take up this Samādhi, / Before long one will quickly obtain them.' T.418 is similar.
9. To know the defilements
   Of trances, emancipations, and attainments,
   And to know when they are possible or not possible,
   Is called the seventh power.

10. The cognition of former existences
    In which one has formerly existed,
    As many as a koti of them back,
    That is the eighth power.

11. The acquisition of the perfection of vision (caksus-pāramitā)
    Which knows deaths and rebirths (cyutypapāda),
    And sees the heavens (svarga) and the states of woe (apāya),
    This is the ninth power.

12. Whichever Deva or whichever man
    [knows] "My outflows are all destroyed,
    For me rebirth is destroyed,"
    It is the tenth inconceivable power.

13 These powers of the Self-existent Ones,
    The Lords of the World, the Protectors—
    All of them are not difficult to obtain
    If one establishes oneself in this Samādhi."

CHAPTER TWENTY OF THE SAMĀDHI ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRAPĀLA
CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

[21A] 'What, Bhadrapāla, are those assurances (vaisāradya) of a Tathāgata which a bodhisattva will obtain if he enters upon this Samādhi? Bhadrapāla, there are four of these assurances of a Tathāgata which a bodhisattva will obtain if he enters upon this Samādhi. What are the four? Namely, I do not see any reason (nimitta) why a śramaṇa, or brahman, or Deva, or Māra, or Brahmā, or anyone in the world could rightfully accuse (sahadharmena codayed) me, saying that for me who am perfectly awakened here are these dharmas with respect to which I am not fully awakened; not seeing any such reason, I remain in good heart (āśvāsaprāpto vihārami), I remain fearless (abhaya-prāpta), I remain secure (kṣemaprāpta), and I remain assured (vaisāradya-prāpta). Going into the assembly, I shall roar the Lion's Roar correctly. I shall turn the Wheel of Brahmā which has never been turned in accordance with the Dharma by any śramaṇa, brahman, Deva, Māra, Brahmā, or anyone in the world. Such, Bhadrapāla, is the first Tathāgata-assurance of Tathāgatas which a bodhisattva will obtain if he enters upon this Samādhi.'

[21B] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, I do not see any reason why a śramaṇa, or brahman, or Deva, or Māra, or Brahmā, or anyone in the world could rightfully accuse me, saying that for me whose outflows have been destroyed (ksīnasrava), there are these outflows which have not been destroyed; not seeing any such reason, I remain in good heart, I remain fearless, I remain secure, and I remain assured. Going into the assembly, I shall roar the Lion's Roar correctly. I shall turn the Wheel of Brahmā which has never been turned in accordance with the Dharma by any śramaṇa, brahman, Deva, Māra, Brahmā, or anyone in the world. Such, Bhadrapāla, is the second Tathāgata-assurance of Tathāgatas which a bodhisattva will obtain if he enters upon this Samādhi.'

1 As mentioned above (n. 20.1), Chap. 21 does not appear in the Chinese versions. It must therefore be regarded as having been inserted into the text of the Praś at a comparatively late date (although not necessarily later than 595 A.D., the date of T.416). Chap. 21 treats of the four assurances (vaisāradya) of a Tathāgata, which, along with the ten powers (Chap. 20) and the eighteen attributes exclusive to a Buddha (Chap. 22), are regarded in the Mahāyāna as the distinguishing characteristics of an Awakened One. For general information on the four assurances I refer the reader to Traité III, pp. 1567-1604. A standard Sanskrit formula for the assurances may be found ibid. p. 1568, and the reader may compare it with the Tibetan of our text, which differs slightly in form.
obtain if he enters upon this Samādhi.'

[21C] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, I do not see any reason why a śramaṇa, or brahman, or Deva, or Māra, or Brahmā, or anyone in the world could right­fully accuse me, saying that those things declared by me to be obstructive dharmas (antarśyika-dharma) turn out not to be obstructive dharmas if one cultivates (pratisev-) them; not seeing any such reason, I remain in good heart, I remain fearless, I remain secure, and I remain assured. Going into the assembly, I shall roar the Lion's Roar correctly. I shall turn the Wheel of Brahmā which has never been turned in accordance with the Dharma by any śramaṇa, brahman, Deva, Māra, Brahmā, or anyone in the world. Such, Bhadrapāla, is the third Tathāgata-assurance of Tathāgatas which a bodhisattva will obtain if he enters upon this Samādhi.'

[21D] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, I do not see any reason why a śramaṇa, or brahman, or Deva, or Māra, or Brahmā, or anyone in the world could right­fully accuse me, saying that the Dharma expounded by me as holy (ārya), conducive to deliverance (nairṛtyānika), and leading to the complete destruction of suffering (samyag-duḥkha-ksaya) for him who practises it (tatkarasya) [does not lead to deliverance]; not seeing any such reason, I remain in good heart, I remain fearless, I remain secure, and I remain assured. Going into the assembly, I shall roar the Lion's Roar correctly. I shall turn the Wheel of Brahmā which has never been turned in accordance with the Dharma by any śramaṇa, brahman, Deva, Māra, Brahmā, or anyone in the world. Such, Bhadrapāla, is the fourth Tathāgata­assurance of Tathāgatas which a bodhisattva will obtain if he enters upon this Samādhi.'

[21E] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:

1. 'Whatever assured (viśārada) Buddha there is
   Will expound the assurances;
   Having roared the Lion's Roar,
   He also teaches the Dharma to the assemblies.

2 The Tib. text (Text, p. 179, 1.8) appears to be defective, omitting the required negative 'accusation'. One might therefore insert a hypoth­etical la ņes par 'byun bar mi 'gyur ro / ņes na (or similar wording) between the chos bsdād pa de and the la 'jig rten na of line 8. Once again, a copyist seems to have returned to the right word in the wrong place (cf. n. 20.5).
2. He is not seen who can accuse
   Him who claims to be perfectly awakened
   Saying: "To this dharma you are not awakened;"
   Therefore the Buddha is assured.

3. In the world with its Devas
   He is not seen who can accuse
   Him who claims the outflows destroyed,
   Saying: "These outflows are not destroyed."

4. He is not seen who can accuse me,
   Saying: "Whatever obstructive dharmas
   Anyone ever cultivates
   Turn out not to be obstructive."

5. The most excellent Dharma which was expounded by me
   For the purpose of winning Nirvāṇa
   Is the most excellent station (pada) of Nirvāṇa,
   Therefore no-one can accuse me.

6. The bodhisattva established in this Samādhi
   Will obtain
   These assurances described
   By the Lord of the World, the Protector.'

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE OF THE SAMĀDHĪ ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRĀPĀLA
153

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

[22A] 'Bhadrapāla, what are those eighteen exclusive Buddha-dharmas (aṣṭādasāvenika-buddha-dharma) belonging to Tathāgatas which the bodhisattva will obtain if he enters upon this Samādhi? Namely, Bhadrapāla, between the night on which the Tathāgata is fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening, and the night on which he undergoes Parinirvāṇa in the realm of Nirvāṇa without any substratum remaining (yāṁ ca rātrim tathāgato nattarāṁ samyaksambodhitvā abhisambuddho yāṁ ca rātrim nirupadhiśe nirvāṇadhātāv parinirvāṇasyatya etasminn antare), (1) the Tathāgata does not stumble (nāṣti tathāgatasya skhalitam); (2) his speech is not faulty (nāṣti ravitam); (3) his memory is not defective (nāṣti muṣītaṃ cīttaṃ); (4) his thoughts are never uncomposed (nāṣty asamāhitam cittām); (5) he has no perception of diversity (nāṣti nānātvasamjñā); (6) his disinterestedness is never unconsidered (nāṣty apratisamkhyāyopēksā); (7) he has no loss of zeal (nāṣti chandaparihiṇī); (8) he has no loss of energy (nāṣti vīryaparihiṇī); (9) he has no loss of mindfulness (nāṣti smṛtiparihiṇī); (10) he has no loss of samādhi (nāṣti samādhiparihiṇī); (11) he has no loss of wisdom (nāṣti prajñāparihiṇī); (12) he has no loss of emancipation (nāṣti vimuktiparihiṇī); (13) he has no loss of the cognition and vision of emancipation (nāṣti vimukti-jñāna-dāparihiṇī); (14) with regard to past time he possesses unimpeded and unattached cognition and vision (atīte 'dhvany apratihatam asaṅgam jñāna-dāparihiṇī pravartate); (15) with regard to future time he possesses unimpeded and unattached cognition and vision (anāgate 'dhvany, etc.); (16) with regard to present time he possesses unimpeded and unattached cognition and vision (pratyutpanne 'dhvany, etc.); (17) all the Tathāgata's bodily activity is preceded by cognition and follows cognition (sarvaṁ tathāgatasya kāyakarma jñānapūrvam jñānapūrvam pravartati); (18) all the Tathāgata's activity of speech is preceded by cognition and

1 As noted above, the prose section of Chap. 22 (22A) appears before Chap. 20 in both Chinese versions, T.418 and T.416. It deals with the eighteen attributes exclusive to a Buddha (aṣṭādasāvenika-buddha-dharma), for a general survey of which see Traité III, pp. 1625-1703 (whence come the Sanskrit equivalents cited in the translation). In T.418 we have what must be one of the earliest datable appearances of this classification. It will be seen that the Tib. actually gives nineteen avenika-dharmas. T.418 and T.416 both give eighteen, the former omitting Tib. no. 12, while the latter omits Tib. no. 9. T.418 in other respects agrees with the order of the Tib., but the list in T.416 is quite differently arranged---(by the numbering of the Tib.) 17-19; 14-16; 1-8; and 10-13.
follows cognition (sarvam tathāgatasya vākkarma, etc.); (19) all the Tathāgata's mental activity is preceded by cognition and follows cognition (sarvam tathāgatasya manaskarma, etc.).'

'These, Bhadrāpāla, are the eighteen exclusive Buddha-dharmas belonging to Tathāgatas which the bodhisattva will obtain if he establishes himself in this Samādhi.'

[22B] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:

1. 'Listen to me as I expound
   The dharmas exclusive to a Buddha,
   Established in which the Tathāgatas
   Turn the Wheel of Dharma.

2. The night on which the Awakened One,
   The Tathāgata, attained awakening,
   And the night on which he underwent
   Nirvāṇa without substratum,

3. Between them whatever was said,
   Is said, and will be said
   Is all in accordance with reality (yathābhūtam);
   That is the first exclusive (āvenika).

4. I do not stumble in the least,
   I am not faulty in speech;
   I am not deficient in speech,
   Nor am I despondent.

5. I am not forgetful,
   My disinterestedness is not unconsidered;
   I do not make distinctions between dharmas,
   And I am always composed.

6. My zeal does not fail,
   Nor does my energy fail;
   I do not waver from samādhi,
   And it is unfailing for me.

7. My wisdom is unfailing,
   My emancipation also unfailing;
   My cognition and vision of emancipation
   Are unfailing for me also.
8. With regard to past time too
   My cognition is unimpeded.
   With regard to future time too
   There is no obstruction (āvarana?) for me.

9. With regard to present time too
   I am unattached;
   I, the Protector, have unobstructed cognition
   With regard to all dharmas.

10. All my bodily activity
    Follows cognition;
    All my activity of speech and mind
    Is preceded by cognition.

11. These are the eighteen
    Dharmas exclusive to an Awakened One (sambuddha),
    Established in which the Tathāgatas
    Turn the Wheel of Dharma.

12. If one has developed this Samādhi,
    The eighteen Buddha-dharmas,
    The ten powers of a Teacher,
    And the assurances are not difficult to obtain.'

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO OF THE SAMĀDHI ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRĀPĀLA
CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

[T.418: Chapter Thirteen, Encouragement\(^1\);
T.416: Chapter Fifteen, The Merits of Rejoicing]

[23A] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva should rejoice in this Samādhi with four rejoicings (anumodanā). What are the four? Namely: "As those former Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksaṃbuddhas, when they formerly pursued the bodhisattva-course, on hearing and receiving instruction in this Samādhi rejoiced in order to perfect great learning for the sake of supreme and perfect awakening, so I too, on hearing this Samādhi, rejoice in order to perfect great learning for the sake of supreme and perfect awakening." This, Bhadrapāla, is the first rejoicing of the bodhisattva.'\(^2\)

[23B] 'Further, Bhadrapāla: "As those future Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksaṃbuddhas, when they pursue the bodhisattva-course, will, on hearing and receiving instruction in this Samādhi, rejoice in order to obtain great learning and perfect great learning for the sake of supreme and perfect awakening, so I too rejoice!" This, Bhadrapāla, is the second rejoicing of the bodhisattva.'

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1 The title of the first part of this chapter in T.418 is 勵助, 'encouragement'. This could be a scribal corruption of 助数, 'rejoicing', T.418's usual rendering of anumodanā being 助數喜 (助 = anu-). See also n. 23.6; and Appendix A.V.2.

2 Cf. T.416 (89a28-b5) for a more ordered statement of the first 'rejoicing':

What are the four rejoicings? Namely, that bodhisattva maha­sattva should think thus: 'As all those past Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksaṃbuddhas, when each of them practised as bodhisattvas in the past, obtained this Samādhi through rejoicing, perfected great learning because of the Samādhi, and quickly attained anuttara-samyak-sambodhi by means of great learning, so today I also should thus obtain this Samādhi through rejoicing, perfect great learning because of the Samādhi, and quickly attain supreme bodhi by means of great learning!' This, Bhadrapāla, is the bodhisattva maha­sattva's first heap of merit connected with rejoicing.

In general T.416's treatment of 23A-D is fuller and more coherent than that found in the Tibetan.
Further, Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva should declare: "As at the present time those present Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas, when they formerly pursued the bodhisattva-course, on hearing and receiving instruction in this Samādhi rejoiced, perfected great learning, and have become fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening, and as bodhisattvas at present rejoice in this Samādhi, so I too, on hearing this Pratyutpanna-samādhi [?], rejoice in order to perfect great learning for the sake of supreme and perfect awakening!" This, Bhadrapāla, is the third rejoicing of the bodhisattva.

Further, Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva should declare: "May all this merit connected with rejoicing, being shared (sādhārapī-kr-) by me with all beings, lead to supreme and perfect awakening; may it lead to the obtaining of this Samādhi; may it lead to the perfecting of great learning!" This, Bhadrapāla, is the fourth merit connected with rejoicing of the bodhisattva.

Bhadrapāla, when the bodhisattvas who obtain this Samādhi and the merit connected with rejoicing have fulfilled the dharmas conducive to awakening (bodhipāksika-dharma), they will quickly become awakened to supreme and perfect awakening.

Bhadrapāla, I shall give an illustration (upamā) of how great the mass of merit is, which will be acquired by the bodhisattva when he rejoices in this Samādhi with those rejoicings and transfers (parināmayati) the resulting merit.

Bhadrapāla, it is as if, for example, there was a certain man whose life was to last for many hundred years, who was to live for many hundred years, and who was as swift and powerful as the wind; if he was to travel east without resting for a full hundred years, and was likewise to travel south, west, north, and towards the nadir and zenith as well, then, Bhadrapāla, what do you think? Would any man be able (utsahate) to calculate, measure, conceive, or assess how many yojanas had been travelled by that man whose life lasted for hundreds of years, who lived for hundreds of years, and who was as swift and powerful as the wind, that man who had travelled without resting in the six directions, going one hundred years in each direction?

The bodhisattva Bhadrapāla said:

3 Da ltar gyi ŋi ne 'dzin is possibly pratyutpanna-samādhi, but not definitely so, since da ltar gyi may be adverbial: 'in the present'. The Chinese versions give no clue as to the correct interpretation.
'Reverend Lord, that would be impossible, except for the Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha, the Elder Sāradvatiputra, and irreversible bodhisattvas.'

[23F] The Lord said:

'If any man or woman should fill with gold and silver the areas within the range (gocara) of that man who lived hundreds of years and travelled as swiftly as the swiftness of the wind, and should offer that to the Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas, and yet not hear this Samādhi; and if any bodhisattva should on hearing this Samādhi rejoice with those four rejoicings, and having rejoiced should also transfer [the merit], out of a desire for great learning, for the sake of supreme and perfect awakening—then, Bhadrapāla, that former mass of merit would not approach even a hundredth part of this [latter] mass of merit. It would not approach even a thousandth part, a hundred-thousandth, a hundred-koti part, a hundred-thousand-koti part, a number (sāmkhyā), a fraction (kalā), a counting (gaṇanā), a likeness (upamā), or a comparison (upanisad).'

SEVENTH AND FINAL BAMPO

'See, Bhadrapāla, how valuable to bodhisattvas is the mass of merit connected with rejoicing in this Samādhi! Therefore, Bhadrapāla, it should be understood that the mass of merit connected with rejoicing in this Samādhi in this manner (anena paryāyena) is a valuable thing for bodhisattvas.'

[23C] [EXISTS IN T.418 ONLY]5

Then the Lord recited gāthās, saying:

1. 'With regard to the teaching of this Sūtra
   They possess four articles of rejoicing (anumodanā-dharma),
   The Lords of the past, the future,
   And the present.'

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4 Cf. T.416 (894b28-c15) for a more elaborate version of this section. T.418, although condensed, agrees more with the Tibetan than with T.416.

5 The six gāthās which follow are to be found only in T.418 (917c6-18). Their appearance here is quite comprehensible, as they recapitulate the preceding prose section on 'rejoicing' (23A-F) and mark it off from the following passages (23H-V), which, although they occasionally refer back to the four rejoicings, can nevertheless be regarded as constituting a separate chapter. In fact, T.418 designates them as such: 'Chapter Fourteen, The Buddha Simhamati'.
2. The practice of the merit of encouragement liberates those in the ten directions; even those things that flutter and wriggle shall all attain equal awakening.

3. For example, around here in the four directions, and up and down, a man, once born, travels a hundred years, travels without resting till the end of his life.

4. Should one want to measure the distance he travels, its extent would be hard to calculate; only the Buddha and the irreversible bodhisattvas.

5. To fill the worlds he traverses with precious things and make a gift thereof would not compare with hearing this dharma; as for the four articles of encouragement, their merit exceeds that other.

6. Further, Bhadrapāla, observe these four articles of rejoicing; gifts by the myriads of kotis are not equal to encouragement.

[T.418: Chapter Fourteen, The Buddha Simhamati]

[23H] 'Bhadrapāla, long ago in the past, at a time and in an age more incalculable than incalculable, vast, immeasurable, inconceivable kalpas ago (*bhūṣapūrvam bhadrapālātte 'dhvany asamkhnyeye kalpe 'saṃkhnyyātāre vipule 'prameye 'cintye yadāsīt tena kālena tena samayena*) there appeared in the world a Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha by the name of Simhamati, one endowed with knowledge and conduct, a sugata, a knower of the world, a leader of men to be tamed, a supreme one, a teacher of devas and men, a buddha and a lord.'

[23I] 'At that time, Bhadrapāla, this Jambudvīpa was prosperous (samrddha), extensive, happy, affluent (subhikṣa), pleasant (ramanīya), populous, and thickly peopled. At that time, Bhadrapāla, here in Jambudvīpa there were

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6 Here, as also in Verses 5 and 6, we continue to find an apparent confusion between 'rejoicing' and 'encouragement'; cf. n. 23.1.
68,000⁷ great cities, all of them made of the seven precious things, containing nine kotis of households, and measuring twelve yojanas. At that time, Bhadrapāla, this Jambudvīpa was extensive and vast, being namely 68,000 yojanas⁹ in extent. At that time, Bhadrapāla, here in Jambudvīpa the place where that Tathāgata was born was namely a certain great city by the name of *Bhadramkara⁹, and in that great city lived sixty koṭis of beings.¹

[23J] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, at that time, at the first assembly of disciples (sravaka-saṃnipāta) of that Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha Simhamati, ninety koṭis of arhats¹⁰ assembled. After seven days, at the second assembly of disciples, ninety koṭis of disciples assembled. After another seven days, at the third assembly of disciples, ninety koṭis assembled. Ninety koṭis of pure bodhisattvas also assembled. Thereafter the disciples of that Lord passed beyond computation.¹

'At that time and in that age, Bhadrapāla, those men fully adhered to the ten good ways of action (daśa-kusala-karmapatha), just as, for example, beings under the teaching (pravacana) of the Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha Maitreya shall be endowed with the ten good ways of action. At that time, Bhadrapāla, the life-span of beings amounted to 84,000 years¹¹.'

⁷ T.418 (917c27): '6,400,000 cities (六百四十萬國)'; T.416 (895a3): '18,000'.

⁸ T.418 (917c26): '180,000 koṭinayutas of yojanas'; T.416 (895a3): '18,000 yojanas'.

⁹ Tib. Bzan po byun ba. T.416 translates with 賞作, while T.418 transliterates with 景登加 (Pa-teng-chia). The first element must be some form of bhadra, while the 登 of T.418 suggests the anusvāra bhadra-. Bhadramkara is most likely; see BHSD, s.v. bhadrika (6).

¹⁰ According to T.416 (895a9-12) ninety koṭis of men attained arhatship at each of Simhamati's first three assemblies. This section is not found in T.418.

¹¹ T.416 (895a16-17) adds: 'exactly the same as the life-span of men at the time of Maitreya.' According to other sources, the life-span of human beings under the reign of Maitreya will be 80,000 years; see Traité I, p. 4, n. 3, for references to the literature on Maitreya, the future Buddha.
At that time, Bhadrapāla, there was in that great city a Wheel-turning King (cakravarti-rāja) by the name of Viśeṣaṁgaṁī, endowed with the seven precious things and having a full thousand sons, and he went to that Lord, the Tathāgata Simhamati, and worshipped him. Then, Bhadrapāla, the Tathāgata Arhat Sāmyaksambuddha Simhamati, knowing the resolve of that king Viśeṣaṁgaṁī, taught and expounded this Samādhi. Thereupon, Bhadrapāla, on hearing this Samādhi that king Viśeṣaṁgaṁī rejoiced. And having rejoiced he sprinkled handfuls of gems over that Lord.

Thereafter he died, and by virtue of that root of goodness he was reborn here in Jambudvīpa into that very royal house, after the Nirvāṇa of that Tathāgata. At that time, Bhadrapāla, there had appeared under that Tathāgata's teaching a bhikṣu and a preacher of Dharma (dharma-bhāpaka) called *Ratna, who taught in full and proclaimed this Samādhi to the four assemblies. At that time, Bhadrapāla, that king called Viśeṣaṁgaṁī had become a prince by the name of Brahmadatta, and he heard that bhikṣu expounding this Samādhi. Hearing it, as soon as he heard it he experienced faith, and with thoughts of faith he sprinkled a hundred thousand gold pieces and a double length of fine cloth (duṣya-yuga) over that bhikṣu.

Then, Bhadrapāla, that prince Brahmadatta, after hearing this Samādhi from that bhikṣu, and after covering that bhikṣu [with gold and cloth] on account of his fine exposition, conceived the thought of supreme and perfect awakening. Having conceived the thought of supreme and perfect awakening, and out of a desire for the Samādhi, he, and a

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12 Tib. Khyad par du 'gro ba; T.416 胜遊; T.418 單斯芬 (Wei-su-ch'in). Viśeṣaṁgaṁī is the most likely reconstruction; it appears as the name of a former incarnation of Śākyamuni (see BHSD, s.v.), while KP 6 has khyad par du 'gro ba rendering viśeṣaṁgaṁita.

13 I.e. the cakravartinām sapta-ratnāni, or the seven precious possessions of a 'Universal Monarch', namely cakra-, hasti-, aśva-, maṇi-, stri-, grhapati-, and parināyaka-ratnas. T.418 does not mention them, but T.416 gives the full list (895a18-20), and describes the king's qualities in greater detail.

14 Tib. Rin chen mchog suggests Ratnavara, Ratnottama, but the Chinese do not bear this out (see Glossary, s.v. *Ratna). Further, the Tib. text at 23Vv4 has simply Rin chen; consequently our hypothetical reconstruction will be just *Ratna.
full thousand beings with him, desiring the Dharma, shaved off hair and beard, donned yellow robes (kāśāya), and faithfully went forth from the household life into the houseless state under that bhikṣu and preacher of the Dharma. Having gone forth, even though he worshipped and followed that bhikṣu for 8,000 years together with his retinue of a thousand beings, he never obtained this Samādhi from that bhikṣu, except for that one hearing. Having heard it not twice, but once only, did he rejoice [in it] with those four rejoicings.¹⁵

[23N] "Through that root of goodness he, along with those full thousand beings, encountered (ārāgaya) 68,000 Buddhas. Expounding this Samādhi and proclaiming it in full to others in all his rebirths, he also encountered another 68,000 Buddhas in succession (anupūrvena). Through obtaining this Samādhi and that very root of goodness connected with rejoicing, he perfected the dharmas conducive to awakening (bodhipākṣika-dharma); having become fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening, he became a Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha by the name of Drdhavīrya,¹⁶ and established immeasurable hundred thousand kotinayutas of beings in supreme and perfect awakening."

'Those thousand beings also, by virtue of this same root of goodness ripened by the Samādhi, perfected the dharmas conducive to awakening, and were fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening; they all became Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas by the name of Drdhasura,¹⁷ and established innumerable hundred thousand kotinayutas of beings in supreme and perfect awakening.'

¹⁵ T.416 (895b10-11): '...hearing it he rejoiced, and taking the merit of the four kinds of rejoicing he redirected (parināma-) it towards anuttara-samyak-sambodhi.'

¹⁶ Tib. Brtson 'grus brtan pa renders drdhavīrya ('of steadfast energy') in KP 153, and it is most probable that it does so here too. T.416 has 堡羅精進, which gives the same meaning, while T.418's transliteration clinches the matter: it has clearly drdha, and for 慎速 = virya see Lancaster, Analysis, p. 383 (no. 78), where 慎速 used for यर्या is cited from the translations of the Asta-Lokakṣema and ?Dharmapriya. The is in T.418 is probably a scribal error; in T.417 (902a27-28) the name is given simply as 堡羅精進. At 23Vv10 T.418 has the translation 堡羅精進.

¹⁷ Tib. Dpa' brtan pa. T.416 has 堡羅首羅淤波 (Ti(?)-lo-shou-lo-yu-ch'en) at 23N, and the translation 堡羅淤波 at 23Vv11. T.417 (902a29) has only 堡羅淤波, 堡羅, once again is clearly drdha, but the second element, meaning 'heroism', 'courage' or 'hero' is problematical. T.418's 堡羅 could well be sūra, but 堡罗 remains an obstacle. For the time being I have adopted the reconstruction *Drdhaśūra.
'See, Bhadrapāla, how valuable is the mass of merit connected with rejoicing in this Samādhi! If one may thus, merely by a declaration connected with rejoicing, accomplish supreme and perfect awakening, Bhadrapāla, then how much more will the bodhisattva accomplish who on hearing this Samādhi accepts, masters, keeps, reads, and proclaims it in full to others, and continues to exert himself in the endeavor to develop it? And who is there, Bhadrapāla, who on hearing this Samādhi would not rejoice in it, not receive instruction in it, not master, not keep, nor proclaim it in full to others, and not continue to exert himself in the endeavor to develop it? Why is that, Bhadrapāla? It is because through hearing this Samādhi all the dharmas conducive to awakening of bodhisattvas are perfected.'

Therefore, Bhadrapāla, I announce (ārocayāmi) to you, I inform (prativedayāmi) you: if bodhisattvas who are endowed with high resolve (adhyāsaya-sampanna) and who aspire to awakening should hear that this Samādhi is a yojana away, then, Bhadrapāla, those bodhisattvas who are endowed with high resolve and who aspire to awakening should travel that distance of a yojana in order to hear this Samādhi. Having heard it they should accept, master, keep, and read it, they should teach, expound, and proclaim it in full to others, and they should take pleasure in developing it.'

Bhadrapāla, to say nothing of a yojana, and to say nothing of two yojanas, or three yojanas, or four yojanas, or from five yojanas up to ten yojanas, Bhadrapāla, even if bodhisattvas should hear that this Samādhi is a hundred yojanas away, that in such and such a region this Samādhi of the Bodhisattva who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present is circulating, then, Bhadrapāla, if those bodhisattvas who are endowed with high resolve and who aspire to awakening should with unremitting exertion of energy and thoughts free of despondency, indifference, fear, idleness, and distress travel those hundred yojanas even

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18 These first two sentences of 230 are not found in T.418.
19 T.418 (918a27): 'forty li (里)'; T.416 (895c2): 'a hundred yojanas'.
20 T.416, having begun with a hundred yojanas in 23P, continues in 23Q with 200, 300, 400 yojanas, etc. Cf. T.418 (918b1-5), where the point being made is somewhat obscure; in general sections 23P-U in T.418 are considerably briefer than in the other two versions.
in order to hear just a little of this Samādhi, then how much more so would they in order to receive instruction in, master, proclaim, and develop it? Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Namely because the dharmas conducive to awakening of bodhisattvas depend on this Samādhi.'

[23R] 'In that respect, Bhadrapāla, those bodhisattvas who are endowed with high resolve and who aspire to awakening should conceive the perception of Teacher towards the master (acārya) from whom they hear this Samādhi after travelling those one hundred yojanas. They should serve that son of good family who preaches the Dharma with all forms of service, and they should follow him. If they should follow him for one year, or two, or three, or four, or five, or ten years, or a hundred, or for as long as they live merely in order to hear this Samādhi, how much more should they do so in order to receive instruction in, master, copy, keep, proclaim, and develop it?'

[23S] 'Bhadrapāla, that son or daughter of good family should relinquish his own mind, and having relinquished it should become of like mind with that master. He should follow the master with reverence and respect. He should follow him with obedience. He should follow him by not being disobedient, by constancy of devotion, by the elimination of fickleness, and by the absence of wrong views. He should conceive the perception of good friend; towards him he should also evoke the perception of Teacher. Bhadrapāla, if that bodhisattva behaves (pratipadyate) in that way towards that master, then there will be no possibility or chance, it will be impossible that he should not at the very least manage to hear this Samādhi, unless (sthāpayitva) he formerly performed and accumulated acts conducive to the ruin of Dharma (dharma-vyasana-samvartaniya?) 21.'

[23T] 'That bodhisattva should be bashful, thankful, and appreciative towards that master. If in that way for him that Samādhi's words and syllables will long endure and be unobscured, Bhadrapāla, then how much more will it be so for a bodhisattva who, when he hears that this Samādhi is in another town, or hears that it is in the area of another town, having so heard should go there, even if only for the sake of hearing it? And how much more so, if it is for the sake of receiving instruction

21 Cf. Conze, Materials, p. 211. T.416 (895c27-29) is slightly different: '...excepting only [those of] impure acts, for whom the time has come when their former act of reviling such a profound Sūtra has matured, and they fall into an evil destiny [??]. For this section T.418 (918b8) has only: 'This bodhisattva is not self-centred (不得自用), but should follow that teacher's teaching.'
in it, mastering, keeping, reading, copying, developing, and proclaiming it to others?'

[23U] 'Bhadrapāla, if the bodhisattva who in his search for this Samādhi manages even to hear this Samādhi---Bhadrapāla, I announce to you, I inform you---if that bodhisattva is to be known as one who is irreversible from supreme and perfect awakening by virtue of the root of goodness of seeking this very Samādhi, the root of goodness of aspiring to the Dharma, the root of goodness of desiring the Dharma, and the root of goodness of putting forth energy, then, Bhadrapāla, how much more so is the bodhisattva who receives instruction in, masters, keeps, and reads this Samādhi, and after having received instruction in, mastered, kept, and read it, teaches, announces, and proclaims it to others, and continues to exert himself in the endeavour to develop it?'

22 T.416 (B96a2-7) makes a different point. After remarking that the bodhisattva should regard his teacher with all due gratitude, etc., it continues:

Why is that, Bhadrapāla? By means of the preaching of this teacher of Dharma, this Sūtra is caused to exist for a long time, and does not disappear. Further, Bhadrapāla, if a bodhisattva should travel to a place a thousand yojanas distant for the sake of this Samādhi, then if it is to be found near at hand in a city, a country, a village, a desert, or a mountainous wilderness, how much more readily would he not travel to hear and read it, meditate on its meaning, and proclaim it to others?

T.418 (B18b8-14) shows 23T and 23U in a condensed form, and yields quite a different sense from the Tibetan:

'He should always be mindful of his teacher's kindness.' The Buddha said: 'I therefore say to you: If a bodhisattva hears that this Samādhi exists 4,000 li distant, and wishes to go to that place, then even if he does not manage to hear this Samādhi,' the Buddha said, 'I tell you that that man, by virtue of his energetic searching, will never again lose the Way of the Buddha (= bodhi). He will be able to attain Buddhahood for himself. Do you not see, Bhadrapāla, that the bodhisattva who, hearing of this Samādhi, thinks of searching for it unremittingly obtains a most exalted benefit?'

23 For T.418's version of this section, see the preceding note. In a similar vein T.416 declares that even if the bodhisattva goes a thousand yojanas for the sake of this Samādhi and yet does not succeed in hearing it (the Tibetan appears to have dropped this negative), nevertheless, through the merit of seeking it he attains irreversibility. So how much more likely to become irreversible are those who do hear it, and then accept, read, develop it, etc.? They attain a considerable accumulation of merit. Whether people hear it or not, they all attain irreversibility, so how much more blessed are those who, having heard it, accept it, read it, meditate on it, etc.? The sense given here is borne out by the verses: see 23Vv13-14 in all versions.
Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:

1. 'I recall a former Tathāgata,
   A Supreme Man by the name of Simhamati,
   Under whom that king, lord of men,
   Heard at that time this Samādhi.

2. On hearing this Samādhi the king
   Accepted it with incomparably joyful thoughts,
   And scattered handfuls of jewels
   Over that Supreme Man, the Buddha Simhamati.

3. "May this Samādhi, well spoken by the Lord,
   Be to the benefit of all beings!
   Today I take refuge in you!"
   So thinking, he also declared it.

4. By virtue of his action that king,
   Having died, was reborn in the same place,
   And saw the bhikṣu by the name of *Ratna,
   Widely renowned and of great might.

5. He heard the same Samādhi again from him,
   And hearing it experienced great joy;
   Experiencing it, he rejoiced, bent upon awakening,
   Having covered the bhikṣu with gold and robes.

6. Out of the desire for this Samādhi
   He went forth, together with a thousand beings;
   And for a full 8,000 years
   They all followed that bhikṣu.

7. Not twice, but only once did they hear
   This Samādhi, which is like an ocean of learning;
   With unwearying recollection of it,
   They sought this peaceful Samādhi.

8. Because they had all performed this act,
   They encountered a full 68,000
   Buddhās of great might;
   From them they heard this Samādhi.

*The following fifteen verses are also to be found in T.418 and T.416 in the same order as in the Tibetan.*
9. Thereupon they also worshipped
A full 68,000 other Sugatas,
Declaring: "We rejoiced
Under the Sugata Simhamati!"

10. By that act of merit that king
Became a Buddha by the name of DrdhavIrya;
Inconceivable koṭinayutas of beings
Were all delivered by him from birth-and-death.

11. The thousand too, following his example (anusiksitvā),
Became Buddhas by the name of *Drṛhaśūra,
Renowned in the world with its Devas;
If they experienced awakening just through the sound of this Samādhi,

12. How much more---there can never be a doubt---
Will they attain awakening
Who teach this Samādhi in full,
Without relying on all existences?

13. Even if this peaceful Samādhi, spoken by the Buddha,
Should be a hundred yojanas distant,
The aspirant to awakening, not resting night or day,
Should go and hear it.

14. If, having gone, he does not obtain it,
His merit is nevertheless immeasurable;
And if that produces awakening for him,
How much more so for him who goes and does hear it?

15. Therefore he who desires this Samādhi
Must first remember that Brahmadatta.
To the bhikṣu who has this Samādhi
One should resort with indefatigable thoughts."

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25 Cf. T.418 (918c4), whose version of these two pādas runs: 'Receiving this merit [he] was born in a royal house, / And saw a Buddha called Drṛhvīrya.' T.416 agrees with the Tib.

26 As in Verse 10, T.418 (918c6) presents a different version of the first two pādas: 'After reciting and studying this dharma, / [They] then saw another Buddha called *Drṛhaśūra.' Again, T.416 supports the sense of the Tibetan.

27 T.418 (918c13): 'How much more for him who, having heard it, then accepts it?'; T.416 (896b19): 'How much more he who, having heard it, considers it and expounds it?'
Then the Lord again addressed the bodhisattva Bhadrapāla, saying:

'Bhadrapāla, I remember that formerly, more than many immeasurable asamkhyeya-kalpas ago, there appeared in the world a Buddha called Satyanāma, a Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksambuddha, endowed with all the Ten Titles (daśādhi-vacana). At that time there was a bhikṣu called Varuṇa, who after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha proclaimed and expounded this Samādhi-sūtra. At the time I was the king of a great kingdom, and single-mindedly sought this sublime Samādhi. Then in a dream I heard the location of this Samādhi announced. On waking I thereupon went in person to where the bhikṣu-teacher was, in search of this Samādhi, and then asked that teacher of Dharma if I could shave my hair off and leave the household life in order to seek, hear, and receive this Samādhi. In the personal service of the teacher of Dharma Varuṇa I spent 36,000 years, but, impeded by Māra, I did not manage to hear it.'

Then the Lord again addressed the bhikṣus, bhikṣunīs, upāsakas, and upāsikās, saying:

'I now tell you that you should in all haste hear and accept this King of Samādhis without delay and without forgetfulness, serving the teacher well and without fail, seeking this Samādhi and making its acquisition your goal. Whether it takes one kalpa or up to a hundred thousand, if you do not become lazy-minded there is nothing you will not gain. Bhadrapāla, if a man seeks this Samādhi singlemindedly he should constantly follow his teacher and never forsake him, he should

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28 The following prose section, which presents the material that is recapitulated in verse in 23X, is missing from the Tib. text, but appears both in T.418 and T.416 (see Concordance); it is also summarised in T.417. In content this section echoes both the avadāna given earlier (23H-N) and the observations made following it (23O-U); Sīhamati becomes Satyanāma; King Viśeṣagāmin, reincarnated as Prince Brahmadatta, becomes an unnamed king, later to be Śākyamuni; and *Ratna becomes Varuṇa. The story built around these characters inculcates the extreme value of the Samādhi (by which is understood both the Sūtra and the practice it expounds), the huge sacrifices one willingly makes to hear and acquire it, and the devotion one should accord to those that preach it. The substance of all this is repeated in 23Xv1-15.

By the time of the Tib. translation this prose section had clearly dropped out of some versions of the Praś in circulation; in point of fact, however, one wonders if this had not happened earlier, since T.416, usually much more detailed and rounded out than T.418, here follows T.418 suspiciously closely, in content if not in diction. This is not to say that
make him offerings, namely of medicinal broths, drink and food, clothes, bedding, and various utensils, even all his gold, silver, and jewels. All his wealth he should offer to his teacher without begrudging it, and if he has nothing of his own he should beg for it and then offer it. He shall quickly obtain the Samādhi and not give rise to thoughts of dissatisfaction. Bhadrapāla, setting aside these customary offerings, if the teacher has need of them, that seeker of the Dharma should go so far as to cut off his own body, his flesh, his limbs and trunk, and offer them to his teacher. If his teacher has need of his life he should still not begrudge it, so how could he not offer external things to his teacher? Such is the way, Bhadrapāla, in which this seeker of the Dharma, in serving a Teacher of Dharma, will assist and obey him. Further, he will serve his teacher as a slave obeys his master; as a minister serves his prince so will he serve his teacher. Thus this man will quickly obtain the Samādhi. Having obtained the Samādhi he should remember it and bear it in mind, being ever grateful to his teacher and constantly thinking of how to repay him.

'Bhadrapāla, this jewel of a Samādhi is not easy to hear. Even if a certain man for over a hundred thousand kalpas seeks only to hear its name he might still not manage to hear it, much less copy it, read it, keep it, and then expound it to others once he has heard it. Bhadrapāla, if as many Buddha-fields as there are sands in the Ganges were filled with jewels and used to perform an offering, although the merit of that would be considerable, it would still not compare with that of hearing the name of this Sūtra, and the merit acquired by copying one gāthā would be beyond comparison.'

Then the Lord uttered these gāthās in order to further elucidate this meaning:

all the material found in T.416, 23W, is to be found in T.418, but almost all of it is, and what is not could well be the result of a clever paraphrase of the more formulaic portions of the earlier text. Another suspicious point is that T.416's transliterations of proper names (Satyanāma, Varuṇa) follow T.418 exactly, although generally T.416 translates names, and does not transliterate them. I have raised the point merely so that we can be aware of the possibility that Jñanagupta, faced by the same form of the text which confronted the Tibetan translator(s), might have had recourse to the earlier Chinese version to fill the lacuna.

29 Here follow 15 verses in Tib. T.418 has 12 verses (Tib. 1-9; an amalgam of 10 and 11; one not found in Tib.; and 12), while T.416 has 13 (Tib. 1-9; an amalgam of 10 and 11; 12; and two not found in Tib.). See below for details.
1. 'I remember how, in a former birth, 
   Even though I constantly waited on (sev-) a preacher of Dharma 
   For a full 36,000 years\(^{30}\), 
   I never heard this Samādhi.

2. The former Buddha Satyanāma appeared; 
   Then, subsequent to the teaching of the Sugata, 
   A young bhikṣu\(^{31}\), greatly learned, 
   Held at that time this very Samādhi.

2. Then I, as a ksatriya king, 
   Heard in a dream of this Samādhi: 
   "Such and such a bhikṣu\(^{32}\) has this Samādhi; 
   In his presence hear it well!"

4. Quickly rising, I sought in haste 
   The bhikṣu who held this thing; 
   Finding him, I went forth (praśraja-), and then 
   [Asked] if I could hear it sometime.

5. For a full 66,000 years\(^{33}\), 
   I worshipped that bhikṣu joyfully, 
   But because I was controlled (adhiṣṭhita) by Mara, 
   I never once heard it.

6. Therefore I declare to, and I inform 
   Bhikṣus and bhikṣunīs, 
   Upāsakas and upāsikās: 
   On hearing this Samādhi accept it quickly!

7. And after remaining there for a whole kalpa, 
   Worshipping and waiting on that bearer of the Samādhi, 
   After worshipping him well for a thousand kalpas, 
   He expounded this Samādhi.

\(^{30}\) Both Chinese versions: '60,000 years' (for T.416 adopt SYM reading).

\(^{31}\) Both Chinese versions give the bhikṣu's name: Varuṇa. Tib. has probably misread Varuṇa as taruṇa (= gzhon nu), or this mistake has crept into the text used by the Tibetans.

\(^{32}\) Once again, both Chinese versions name the bhikṣu.

\(^{33}\) Not 36,000, as in the prose of 23W. According to T.418 (919a19), 80,000 years; but T.416 (897a3) has 36,000.
8. To that bhikṣu, who was engaged in this spotless Samādhi,
As he begged in the town,
Were given food, drink, bedding,
And likewise clothes by the koṭi.

9. Setting aside all the many koṭis
Of drink, food, beds, seats, and likewise clothes,
If one arrives at giving one's own flesh,
How much more [readily the gift of] food and drink, if one acts rightly?

10. Having become his constant servant, attending upon him,
And also seeking this peaceful Samādhi,
The wise man, even though he performs it quickly when he obtains it,
Is not [able to be sufficiently?] appreciative towards him. 34

11. Even though one seeks it for many koṭis of kalpas,
It is very difficult to obtain this Samādhi,
Let alone memorise (svādhīyānti) it and teach it,
When one has heard its words at last.

12. It is less easy to grasp the measure of the merit of him
Who has taught a verse (gāthā) from this,
Than of him who has filled with jewels, and made a gift of
As many world-systems as there are sands in the Ganges. 35

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34 This verse and those preceding it (7-9) are not at all clear to me, and I am far from satisfied with the translation I have given. For Verse 10 the Chinese is of little assistance; the tenth verse in both Chinese versions appears to consist of the last two pādas of Tib. 10 and the first two of Tib. 11. E.g. T.418 (919a29-bl) runs as follows:

The wise man, obtaining the dharma, quickly takes it and practises it;
Allowed to study the sūtra he is thankful.
This Samādhi is difficult to find;
One must ever seek it for koṭinayutas of kalpas.

T.416 (897a13-14) is fairly similar. On the basis of the Chinese, the Tib. byas pa gzo ba ma yin no looks decidedly strange.
After the verse quoted above, T.418 adds an extra verse (919b2-3):

Wherever in one's going around (=?) one hears this dharma,
One should proclaim it widely to students;
If for koṭis of thousand nayutas of kalpas
One seeks this Samādhi, it is difficult to hear.

This is not found in T.416.

35 Verse 12 appears in both Chinese versions, but Verses 13-15 do not. T.418 has nothing, while T.416 has two verses (897a17-20):
13. It is less easy to grasp the measure of the merit of him
   Who has taught a verse from this,
   Than of him who is constantly putting forth energy
   For as many kotis of kalpas as there are sands in the Ganges.

14. It is less easy to grasp the measure of the merit of him
   Who has taught a verse from this,
   Than of him who detachedly cultivates trance (dhyāna)
   For as many kotis of kalpas as there are sands in the Ganges.

15. It is less easy to grasp the measure of the merit of him
   Who has taught a verse from this,
   Than of him who is constantly established in wisdom
   For as many kotis of kalpas as there are sands in the Ganges.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE OF THE SAMĀDHI ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRAPĀLA

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If he who correctly expounds one gāthā
Exceeds nayutas of kalpas,
How much more one who, hearing it, can propagate it---
This man's merit is indescribable.

If a man delights in coursing in bodhi,
He should seek this dharma for the sake of all;
Certainly he will be capable of correct awakening, the highest
way [?];
Having heard it, he abides securely in this concentration.
Therefore, Bhadrapāla, a faithful son or daughter of good family should listen to this Samādhi respectfully (satkṛtyā). And having heard it he should accept, master, copy, keep and read it. And having accepted and mastered it, he should proclaim it in full to others; he should copy it well and lay it up. Why is that, Bhadrapāla? At a future time, after I have passed away, there will appear many bodhisattvas who have faith, are trusting, and are very understanding (?), and they will seek great learning for the benefit and happiness of beings. Searching for great learning they will travel in all the directions and the intermediate directions in search of the True Dharma, and, Bhadrapāla, it is for the benefit and sake of such beings as they, beings who aspire to the Dharma, incline strongly to the Dharma, desire the Dharma, uphold the Dharma, and uphold the Expanded Texts (vaipulya), that one should give instruction in and teach this Samādhi, and, being sustained (adhiṣṭhita) by the sustaining power (adhiṣṭhāna) of the Tathāgatas, copy it well as a big book, seal it with the seal (mudrā) of the Tathāgatas, and lay it up.

What then, Bhadrapāla, is the seal of the Tathāgatas? Namely, that all dharmas are powerless to act (niśceṣṭa), without activity (akṛiya?), not brought about (anabhisamskṛta), unattached (asaṅga), unable to be apprehended (anupalambha), empty (śūnyatā), signless (animitta), wishless (apranihita), markless (alaksana), without duality (advaya), without action (apravṛtti?), independent (anilambha?), incalculable (asamkhyeya), undifferentiated (avyavasthāpita), ungraspable (agrahya), unrejectable (anirūya), transient (aniketa), that all dharmas are impermanent (anitya), uninterrupted (anuccheda), exhausted of causes.

1 Only the first two sections of this chapter appear in the Chinese versions (see Concordance).

2 Gzang par bya; no equivalent in T.418 (in which 24A is much compressed), but T.416 (897a26) has 'securely place it in a store-house (巴藏).' Cf. below (897b4): 'securely place it in a casket (巴藏).'
(ksīna-hetu?), exhausted of suffering (ksīna-duhkha?), exhausted of existing things (ksīna-bhāva?), unborn (ajāta), unceasing (aniruddha), without duration (asthita), indestructible (avīnāsa), without a path (amārga), without the fruit of a path (amārga-phala), not mistaken by all the Holy Ones, rejected by all fools, forsaken by the ignorant, embraced by the wise—this, Bhadrapāla, is the seal of all the Tathāgatas, the seal which the Tathāgatas affix to that which has been uttered by Tathāgatas.'

[24C] 'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, a son or daughter of good family who aspires to awakening, who might wish in the last time and the last age to be instructed in this Samādhi should, when he has been instructed in it and has memorised it, proclaim it in full to others also.'

'In that regard, Bhadrapāla, if he possesses four dharmas a bodhisattva will strive at the very least to hear this Samādhi, not to mention to receive instruction in it and memorise it. What are the four? The purification of his former high resolve (adhyāśaya); the fact of having made a former vow (pūrva-pranidhāna); strong inclination (adhimukti) towards omniscient cognition (sarvajñā-jañāna); and the acceptance of all the rules of Dharma (dharma-netri?); after thinking how one might preserve and teach this treasure of the precious Dharma (dharma-ratna-kosa) which has been perfected by Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas over many hundred thousand kötinayutas of kalpas—if, Bhadrapāla, he possesses these four dharmas he will strive to hear, accept, and keep this bodhisattvas’ Samādhi.'

[24D] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, if he possesses four dharmas the bodhisattva will exert himself in the search for this Samādhi, even if it is only to copy it. What are the four? Namely, intent reflection (manasikāra) on the Buddha; skill in the repeated calling to mind of the Dharma (dharma-anusmṛti); intent reflection on the accurate definition (pariccheda) of the apprehension of a basis (upalambha) in all dharmas; and skill in the destruction of all signs (nimitta)—if, Bhadrapāla, he possesses those four dharmas, the bodhisattva will exert himself in the search for this Samādhi, even if it is only to copy it.'

[24E] 'In that regard, Bhadrapāla, if he possesses four dharmas the bodhisattva is to be known as one who exerts himself in the search for this Samādhi. What are the four? Namely, by the knowledge which accurately defines (paricchid-) the state of ungraspability (agrāhya-bhāva?) of all dharmas is the bodhisattva to be known as one who exerts
himself for this Samādhi. By skill in the [meditative] undevelopment (vibhāvana) which has as its objective basis (ārambana) the body of the Buddha [?] is the bodhisattva to be known as one who exerts himself for this Samādhi. By intent reflection which, from among all [possible] objective bases, has the Buddha as its objective basis (buddhārambana)[?] is the bodhisattva to be known as one who exerts himself for this Samādhi. If he possesses those four dharmas, Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva is to be known as one who exerts himself in the search for this Samādhi.'

[24F] 'Bhadrapāla, in the last time, the last age, when the True Dharma is in disorder in the last five centuries, if any have exerted themselves in the search for this Samādhi for the welfare of all beings and out of compassion for all beings, and have conceived the thought: "How can this Samādhi become widespread, great, and enduring?", then for those sons of good family much merit will be produced, and it would be impossible to know the limits of that mass of merit, apart from it being understood that that mass of merit is directed towards omniscience (sarvajñatā-nimna).

'That mass of merit of theirs will be speedily directed towards omniscience through the power of their vows (pranidhāna), and they shall all fulfil everything in accordance with their resolve (yathāsaya), they shall all be delivered (nirvāti) in accordance with their distinctive course of conduct (caryā-viśeṣa) and in accordance with their resources (sambhāra), except for those who are endowed with a great stock of roots of goodness (mahā-kusalamūla-sambhāra?), and are adept (nirvāt) at abiding in selflessness [?], who have been armed with the great armour (mahāsaṃmāna-saṃmaddha) through immeasurable, incalculable, inconceivable kalpas, or longer even than that.'

[24G] 'Bhadrapāla, in the last time, the last age, when the great fear arises and the True Dharma is destroyed, the son or daughter of good family who has set out in the Bodhisattvayāna, who wishes to obtain the perfection of all dharmas (sarva-dharmā-paramitā?) and the perfection of omniscient cognition, and who wishes to obtain the purification of the roots of goodness (kusalamūla-viśuddhi), should strive to copy, give instruction in, and memorise this Samādhi, and proclaim it in full to others. Why is that? The cognition of the knowledge of all dharmas in all their aspects (sarva-dharmā-sarvakāra-jñatā-jñāna?), Bhadrapāla, is
condensed (samksipta?) within this Samādhi."

[24H] 'To understand that all dharmas have non-existence for their own-being (abhāva-svabhāva) through having perfected skill in the calling to mind of the Buddha, this is the calling to mind of the Buddha; the bodhisattvas who establish themselves therein apply themselves (adhimucyante) to apprehending in the Buddha all apprehensions [?]3. They cause all apprehensions to have the Tathāgata as their end (nisthā?). They know that all the objects (vastu?) of apprehension are by their own-being void (vasiśka). They take the Tathāgatas as their objective basis (ārambana) and reflect intently on them in such a way that they are pure in their vision of the Tathāgatas, and established in that they will not fail to have Tathāgatas manifesting themselves in any direction; and in all directions they purify their vision of the Tathāgatas. Once they have purified their vision of the Tathāgatas, then with little difficulty if they make an apprehension in this very world-system they will see those Tathāgatas face to face right here. Through the infinitudes (apramāṇa?) their immediate vision of the Tathāgatas will be purified, and infinite Tathāgatas will appear to their sight.'

[24I] 'Because the own-being (svabhāva) of all apprehensions is ungraspability (agrahya), all apprehensions cannot be grasped by one apprehension, nor can one apprehension be grasped by all apprehensions. If the own-being of all dharmas is observed (upalaks-), it is established (siddha) as non-existence (abhāvatva) on account of their being utterly calm (atypaśāta).'

'Bhadrapāla, those that are established therein purify their vision of all the Tathāgatas, yet after they have purified it they do not think vainly (na manyante) or have any false fancies (na prapaṇcayanti) about it; they will perfect the development of this Samādhi of the One who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present. They will also establish themselves in the perfection of all the dharmas conducive to awakening.'

3 The translation of this entire section should be regarded as tentative. The chief difficulty lies in knowing whether dmigs pa, used six times in this section, stands for upalambha, ārambana, or something else. The same holds true for 24I, and for the several occurrences of dmigs pa in the verses of 24J.
Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:

1. 'Whatever has been uttered by the Tathāgata
   Is an entry into cognition in accordance with reality (yathā-
   bhūta-jñāna);
   So, sons of the Lord of the World, the Teacher,
   Apply your minds to this Samādhi.

2. He who calls to mind the Buddha as object,
   Will see many objects of apprehension (??);
   To him this peaceful Samādhi, difficult to see,
   Shall also appear in the last time.

3. Wise men who are unattached to all dharmas
   And who apply their minds to the welfare of beings
   Shall exert themselves for this Samādhi,
   In the last age, the time of great fear.

4. Those who apply themselves constantly, and firmly
   Direct their mindfulness to this dharma, difficult to see,
   For the benefit and support of beings,
   Into their hands shall this Samādhi pass.

5. They who constantly direct to the apprehension of the Buddha
   Their mindfulness, their intelligence, and their under-
   standing (smṛti-mati-gati),
   Intent on discipline (yoga) and independent of others,
   They shall be established in this great Samādhi.

6. Abiding in the station (pada) difficult to see, out of altruism,
   Averse to all the world,
   Wise, not desiring all existences,
   They strive for this great Samādhi.

7. They who desire awakening and are compassionate, out of concern,
   Understand the body of the Tathāgatas;
   Making the vow for the peaceful Dharma,
   They strive on the basis of this Samādhi.

8. Peaceable, not quarrelsome or disputatious,
   Seeking the Dharma praised by the Sugata,
   Ever established in the apprehension of the Buddha,
   They strive to comprehend this Samādhi.
9. They who in that last evil time
Strive for this Samādhi
And abide in infinite qualities of conduct,
Their qualities are known to the Lord of the World.

10. They who know the dharmas which are free of outflows,
And know thoroughly (yonīṣas) the outflows,
Course in non-discrimination and abide in sameness (samatā),
They strive to comprehend this Samādhi.

11. They who make all their vows in accordance with knowledge
With regard to the immeasurable Dharma of the Sugata,
And steadfastly abide in omniscient cognition,
For them is this peaceful Samādhi taught.

12. They who know the dharmas which are empty of own-being,
Markless (alaksana) and free of marks,
Free of both defilement and purity,
They see immeasurable Sugatas.

13. They who, even when applying themselves to infinite apprehensions,
Know that all apprehensions are emptiness,
And are free of vain thoughts after seeing things difficult to see,
They see immeasurable Sugatas.

14. They who see the meaning (artha-darśin) and whose minds are also pure,
Who are free of defilement and abide in the station of peace,
Who teach the Dharma of which the meaning is spotless and equal,
For them has this peaceful Samādhi been expounded.

15. The sons of the Sugata, whose torments are removed (ābrdha-śalya),
Unimpaired in truth, free of doubts,
Who cultivate friendliness for the benefit of beings,
For them has this precious meaning been expounded.

16. They who are by their own-being devoid of ignorance (avidyā),
Who remove the opportunities (sthāna) for ignorance by their knowledge,
And exert themselves in striving for this precious meaning,
For them has this peaceful Samādhi been expounded.
17. Established in purity, free of defilement (samkleśa),
Desiring infinite cognition,
Experiencing joy (prāmodya) in this definitive meaning (nītārtha),
For them has this peaceful emancipation (vimoksa) been expounded.

18. They who are set free from all fetters (samyojana),
Steadfast, compassionate towards all beings,
Free of malice, and holding to the joy of the way of peace,
For them has this Samādhi been proclaimed.'

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR OF THE SAMĀDHI ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRAPĀLA
"Bhadrapāla, these four dharmas will lead bodhisattvas to obtain this Samādhi. What are the four? Namely, (1) respect for the Buddha; (2) intent reflection (manasikāra) with unbreakable faith (abhedyaprasāda); (3) respect for the Dharma and the desire to hear it; and (4) fulfilling one’s word in accordance with the Dharma.—those four dharmas, Bhadrapāla, will lead bodhisattvas to obtain this Samādhi."

"Further, Bhadrapāla, there are four dharmas by which bodhisattvas will obtain this Samādhi. What are the four? Namely, (1) thought which has as its objective basis (ārambana) the Buddha, by being free of mental error (viparyāsa); (2) understanding that the own-being of the objective basis (ārambana-svabhāva?) is essentially good (prakṛti-kuśala?) by being free of doubt with regard to the Dharma; (3) comprehension (samavasarana) of all dharmas which are empty in their being, empty in their own-being, and utterly empty, through understanding of skill with regard to existing things (bhāva-kuśala?); and (4) [meditational] undevelopment (vibhāvanā) of void (vaśika) existing things (bhāva) through skill in the undevelopment of perceptions (samjñā) and understanding the cognition of accurate definition (pariccheda-jñāna)——those four dharmas, Bhadrapāla, will lead bodhisattvas to obtain this Samādhi."

"Further, Bhadrapāla, there are four dharmas by which bodhisattvas will obtain this Samādhi. What are the four? Namely, (1) the assistance (parigraha) of all Buddhas; (2) protecting and sheltering the True Dharma, being skillful in upholding the True Dharma; (3) being a basis for the happiness (sukhopadhāna?) of all beings, and having compassionate thoughts towards all beings; and (4) skill in the undevelopment of the perception of beings (sattva-samjñā)——those four dharmas, Bhadrapāla, will lead bodhisattvas to obtain this Samādhi."

"Therefore, Bhadrapāla, in the last time, the last age, when in the last five hundred years the True Dharma is in great disorder, the bodhisattva should continue to renounce his person and life, and accept, master, and keep this Samādhi."

1 This chapter appears only in Tibetan.
'Bhadrapāla, bodhisattvas who strive to be skilful in upholding all dharmas will, in order to perpetuate it, lay up this treasury of precious dharmas attained by Tathāgatas over infinite kotis of kalpas, and they will also be capable of teaching, explaining, and proclaiming such a dharma as this. Bhadrapāla, these opportunities for energy (virya-sthāna?) exist for bodhisattvas, and bodhisattvas will undertake the vow to ripen beings' roots of goodness with the sustaining power (adhiśṭhāna) of energy.'

'Bhadrapāla, those sons or daughters of good family who in the last time and the last age will lay up and preserve these dharmas, have set out for the benefit of all beings, the support (parigraha) of all beings, and the maintenance (samgraha?) of all beings; they will be supported (parigrhīta) by the Tathāgatas Arhats Samyaksambuddhas. Even if those bodhisattvas dwell in other world-systems, the Buddhas, Lords residing in other world-systems will give them their consideration (sam-anvāharati). Because they desire the Dharma, aspire to the Dharma, and fulfil the Dharma, they shall strive for this Samādhi in the last time, the last age.'

'Those that take up such a discourse on Dharma (dharma-paryaya) as this in the last time and the last age will be maintained by the dharmas of bodhisattvas and by the wealth of bodhisattvas. They who will remain in order to support such dharmas as these in the last time and the last age shall also quickly acquire the ten powers of a Tathāgata, the four assurances, the eighteen dharmas exclusive to a Buddha, and all the Buddha-dharmas.'

Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:

1. 'Those who are steadfast, care for the Dharma (dharma-cintin?), And remain in order to uphold the True Dharma When the last age arrives, For them this Dhāraṇī has been expounded.

2. They who strive fearlessly For the precious True Dharma (saddharma-ratna), And are compassionate and merciful, They abide in the upholding of the Dharma also.
3. Steadfast, vigilant, and joyful,
Bearers of the treasury of the Sage's Dharma,
For their sake the Samādhi
Extolled by the Buddha has been taught.

4. They who are sustained
By the King of the Dharma, the Protector,
In the last age, the terrible time,
They will uphold this, the nature of things (dharmatā).

5. Those mindful men who know
That by their own-being
Dharmas are utterly empty and free from multiplicity (nisprapañca),
They will also uphold the Dharma.

6. They who know how certainly true
Are the inconceivable verses
Concerning that own-being of all dharmas,
They will also uphold the Dharma.

7. They who are established in the knowledge of extinction (ksaya),
And who abide also in the unborn,
Controlled in thought and modest,
They will also uphold the Dharma.

8. They who have set out on the supreme path
Of bliss, the noble (Ajanya) path,
Endowed with the sustaining power of energy,
They abide in the upholding of the Dharma.

9. They who understand the nature of things (dharmatā)
And the meaning (artha) of suchness (tathatā) and non-discrimination (avikalpa),
For them there is no multiplicity (prapañca) at all;
They will also uphold the Dharma.

10. Those gentle ones who know
That all dharmas are without activity,
They shall proclaim that nature of things
Which is nothing and is free of clinging (nirupādāna).
11. They who know that all dharmas
   Are ungraspable and devoid of grasping,
   And pure from the outset,
   They abide in the sphere of Dharma (dharma-gocara).

12. They who know thus, with regard to dharmas,
   That all dharmas have no own-being,
   They shall teach this nature of things;
   That is said to be an entrance.

13. They who understand the nature of things
   As nameless, devoid of name,
   Free of multiplicity, and unborn,
   They also proclaim emptiness.

14. They who know these dharmas
   To be unabiding, unmoving,
   And pure like the condition of space,
   For them the Samādhi will be produced.

15. They who are devoid of perceptions and the discrimination of
    entities [?],
   Who are unborn in their own-being,
   And devoid of the perception of existing things,
   They shall reveal the nature of things.

16. That which is sealed has no seal,
   It is uttered in esoteric speech (samdhā-bhāṣya);
   They who know that to be so
   Will uphold this, the nature of things.'

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE OF THE SAMĀDHI ENQUIRED OF BY BHADRĀPĀLA
CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

[26A] 'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, those sons or daughters of good family should acquire (samudānayati) these dharmas, intent on being vigilant (apramāda-para?); they should also exert themselves for their blessings (anuśamsā); they should be possessed of the fundamental (yonisa?); they should reject the superficial (ayonisa?), and in that way it will not be difficult to obtain this dharma which is profound, difficult to see, difficult to know, which engenders all the Buddha-dharmas and confers on one the cognition of the Self-existent Ones, unimpeded cognition.'

[26B] Then at that time the Lord said to the Venerable Ānanda, the Venerable Mahākāśyapa, the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla, the Licchavi youth Ratnakara, the householder Mahāsusārthavāha, the merchant's son Guhagupta, the brahman Naladatta, the bodhisattva Indradatta, the householder Varuṇadeva, those five hundred bodhisattvas, all those that had come together from the four assemblies, and the world with its Devas, Men, and Asuras:

[26C] '0 Sons of good family, I entrust and commit to you the treasure of this precious supreme Dharma, which I have perfected over a hundred thousand koṭinayutas of kalpas, and this Sūtra which all the world will not believe in, which is profound, of profound significance, an exposition of the principle of the three doors of emancipation (vimokṣa-mukha), profound and pure, difficult to see, difficult to understand, known to the wise and the intelligent, great, excellent, and perfect in its meaning.'

1 This section does not appear in Chinese, but sections 26B-F do, in the following order in both versions: E, B, C, D, F.

2 T.418 (919b22-23): 'The Buddha said to Śāriputra, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, the bhikṣu Ānanda, the bodhisattva Bhadrapāla, etc.'; Mahākāśyapa not mentioned. T.416 (897b20-21): 'Then the Lord said to the Venerable Mahā-kāśyapa, the Venerable Śāriputra, the Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana, the Venerable Ānanda, and the bodhisattva Bhadrapāla, etc.'

3 T.418 includes the bodhisattva Susīma, who (as usual) is not found in T.416.

4 Cf. T.416 (897b24): '0 Kāśyapa...'
'A second time I commit to you those things which are a sure foundation (āśraya-bhūta) for supreme and perfect awakening, so that you should also copy, hear, accept, master, keep, and read them, should expound, teach, and proclaim them in full in order to spread and magnify them. You should exert yourselves in the endeavour to develop them, in order to show favour (anugraha) to all beings. You should perfect the dharmas which conform with the Dharma (dharmanudharma) just as they have been taught, and so that you are not the last man to do so?5

[26D] 'Bhadrapāla', if any son or daughter of good family hears this Samādhi and on hearing it receives instruction in, memorises, or masters it, then he should with high resolve (adhyāsayena) and zealously (sat-kṛtya) listen to it, receive instruction in it, and expound it. If anyone teaches it to others, or causes it to be read, then he also should with high resolve teach it to others, and cause it to be read, in order to magnify it, so that this Samādhi will long endure, and be widespread and great [?].--this is my injunction (anusāsanī) to you.'

[26E] When this discourse on Dharma was expounded, incalculable, innumerable beings generated the roots of goodness for supreme and perfect awakening. Those bodhisattvas who had assembled from countless Buddha-fields, as many of them as there are sands in the Ganges, obtained this very Samādhi and became irreversible from supreme and perfect awakening. This Trichiliomegachiliocosm also shook in six ways; the Devas also let fall a rain of flowers from the sky; and great drums thundered without being struck.

5 Cf. T.416 (897c2): 'You should propagate it and not allow it to be cut off,' while T.418 (919b28) has: '...recite and maintain and not forget it.' This does not elucidate the Tib. de ci nas kyaṅ skyes bu tha ma par ma gyur par bya'o.

6 T.416 (897c2) has Ānanda, not Bhadrapāla; T.418 has Bhadrapāla.

7 T.416 (897bl4-18) defines the six ways in which the earth shakes, but for the rest of 26E is fairly similar to the Tibetan; T.418 tells a completely different story (919bl8-22):

The Buddha said: 'Now, at the time of my expounding this Samādhi, 1,800 koṭis of Devas, Asuras, Nāgas and Men have all attained the state of Stream-entering (srota-āpatti); 800 bhikṣus have all attained Arhatship; 500 bhikṣupīṇis have all attained Arhatship; 10,000 bodhisattvas have all attained this Samādhi, have all attained establishment in the patient acceptance of the fact that dharmas are not produced (anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti); and 12,000 bodhisattvas are irreversible.'
After the Lord had spoken, the bodhisattva mahāsattva Bhadrapāla, the bhikṣus, the bodhisattvas, and the world with its Devas, Men, Asuras and Gandharvas rejoiced, and applauded what the Lord had said.

Here ends
The Holy Mahāyāna Sūtra
called the
Samādhi of the One who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present.

[COLOPHON]
Revised, edited, and also adapted to the new terminology by the Indian Doctor Śākyaprabha and the reviser and translator, the Venerable Ratnaraksita.

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Both Chinese versions differ from the Tibetan.
T.416 (B97c3-14):

Then, when the Lord had expounded this Sūtra, the Venerable Mahākāśyapa, Śāriputra, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, Ānanda, and all the other great disciples besides them, together with the householders Bhadrapāla, Ratnakara, Susārthavāha, Guhagupta, Indradatta [?], Varuṇadeva, and the band of 500 upāsakas, together with the band of bodhisattvas mahāsattvas who had come from other Buddha-fields in the ten directions, up to and including all the Devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas [?], Men and Not-men, when they heard the Tathāgata's exposition they all greatly rejoiced, and accepting the teaching they put it into practice.

T.418 (919c1-4):

When the Buddha had expounded the Sūtra, Bhadrapāla and the bodhisattvas, Śāriputra, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, the bhikṣu Ānanda, the Devas, Asuras, Nāgas, and Men all rejoiced greatly, came forward to make obeisance to the Lord, and departed.
APPENDIX A

SOME REMARKS ON THE TEXTUAL HISTORY
OF THE
PRATYUTPANNA-BUDDHA-SAMMUKHĀVASTHITA-SAMĀDHI-SŪTRA
IN CHINA
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IN CHINA

I. INTRODUCTORY

This appendix will be devoted to the task of discussing the various Chinese translations of the PraS and attempting to elucidate the relationships between them. Any reader in search of definite and unequivocal answers to the questions raised in this area should be warned at the outset of his impending disappointment; for although the ground has already been well-trodden by others (often this has served merely to obscure the trail), and the effort expended by me in my turn has not been inconsiderable, the results finally obtained are sadly and disproportionately meagre. I hope nonetheless to have laid one or two ghosts to rest.

The Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō contains four Chinese translations of the PraS in Vol. XIV (the Mahāsamnipāta). They are, in the order in which they will be dealt with in this discussion:

T.416 Ta-fang-teng ta-chi-ching hsien-hu-fen (in five chüan).
T.419 Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching (in one chüan).
T.418 Pan-chou san-mei ching (in three chüan).
T.417 Pan-chou san-mei ching (in one chüan).

These four published Chinese versions of the PraS will constitute the raw material of the following discussion. Their status may be evaluated in the light of both internal evidence—their style, terminology, etc.—and the information concerning them furnished by the Chinese scripture-catalogues, or ching-lū.

Although fifteen scripture-catalogues have come down to us, not all of them are of equal value, since some are little more than copies of their predecessors.¹ Seven have been consulted here; they are listed

¹ For a recent discussion of the Chinese catalogues and some of the problems involved in their use, see Hirakawa Akira, 'Kyōroku no mondai-ten'.

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IN CHINA

I. INTRODUCTORY

This appendix will be devoted to the task of discussing the various Chinese translations of the PraS and attempting to elucidate the relationships between them. Any reader in search of definite and unequivocal answers to the questions raised in this area should be warned at the outset of his impending disappointment; for although the ground has already been well-trodden by others (often this has served merely to obscure the trail), and the effort expended by me in my turn has not been inconsiderable, the results finally obtained are sadly and disproportionately meagre. I hope nonetheless to have laid one or two ghosts to rest.

The Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō contains four Chinese translations of the PraS in Vol. XIV (the Mahāsamnipāta). They are, in the order in which they will be dealt with in this discussion:

T.416 Ta-fang-teng ta-chi-ching hsien-hu-fen (in five chüan).
T.419 Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching (in one chüan).
T.418 Pan-chou san-mei ching (in three chüan).
T.417 Pan-chou san-mei ching (in one chüan).

These four published Chinese versions of the PraS will constitute the raw material of the following discussion. Their status may be evaluated in the light of both internal evidence—their style, terminology, etc.—and the information concerning them furnished by the Chinese scripture-catalogues, or ching-lū.

Although fifteen scripture-catalogues have come down to us, not all of them are of equal value, since some are little more than copies of their predecessors.¹ Seven have been consulted here; they are listed

¹ For a recent discussion of the Chinese catalogues and some of the problems involved in their use, see Hirakawa Akira, 'Kyōroku no mondai-ten'.
below in chronological order by the abbreviated titles with which, in conformity with Japanese scholarly usage, they are referred to throughout this study.


2. **Fa-ching lu** = T.2146: *Chung-ching mu-lu* 衆經目錄, compiled 593 by Fa-ching 法經 et al. at the Ta-hsing-shan-szu in Ch'ang-an.

3. **San-pao chi** = T.2034: *Li-tai san-pao chi* 歴代三寶紀, compiled 597 by Fei Ch'ang-fang 飛長房 at the Ta-hsing-shan-szu in Ch'ang-an.

4. **Jen-shou lu** = T.2147: *Chung-ching mu-lu* 衆經目錄, compiled 602 (third year of Jen-shou 仁壽) by a group of translators at the Ta-hsing-shan-szu in Ch'ang-an.

5. **Ching-t'ai lu** = T.2148: *Ta-t'ang tung-ching ta-ching-ai-szu i-ch'ieh ching-lun mu-lu* 大唐東京大敬愛寺一切經論目錄, or simply *Chung-ching mu-lu* 衆經目錄, compiled 666 by Ching-t'ai 靜泰 in Lo-yang.

6. **Ta-chou lu** = T.2153: *Ta-chou k'an-ting chung-ching mu-lu* 大周制定衆經目錄, compiled 695 by Ming-ch'uan 明佺 et al. in Ch'ang-an.


Two other catalogues, now lost, also come into the picture, since they are cited extensively in the Seng-yu lu and elsewhere. They are:

1. **Tao-an lu** = Tsung-li chung-ching mu-lu 綜理衆經目錄, compiled by Tao-an 道安 in 374. Seng-yu's catalogue is based in large part on the Tao-an lu.

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2 Note that this is the only catalogue that does not appear in Vol. LV of the Taishō. It is to be found in Vol. XLIX instead.

3 On Tao-an (314-385) himself, see Zürcher, Buddhist Conquest, pp. 185-204; T'ang Yung-t'ung, Fo-chiao shih, pp. 187-228. As for Tao-an's catalogue, the most comprehensive study is to be found in Hayashiya, Kyōroku kenkyū, pp. 333ff.
2. Chiu-lu 舊錄, literally, the 'Old Catalogue'. Referred to in the Seng-yu lu and elsewhere. Opinions vary as to the identity of this work. Hayashiya Tomojirō (Kyōroku kenkyū, p. 805) believed that Seng-yu's Chiu-lu was the catalogue completed by Chu Tao-tsu 竹道祖 in 419, but this cannot be wholly true, since the Chiu-lu is cited for works composed after 419. Tokiwa Daijō, in his Yakkyō-sōroku, pp. 37-40, also discussed the evidence, and advanced the conclusion that Chiu-lu designated a number of different catalogues, namely the Tao-an lu (see above), the Nieh Tao-chen lu 聶道真録 (early 4th century), the Chih Min-tu lu 支敏度録 (compiled circa 330), the Chu Tao-tsu lu 竹道祖 録, and possibly the Chu Shih-hsing han-lu 朱士行漢録 (compiled under the Wei, 220-264). In Tokiwa's opinion, however, the term 'Chiu-lu' most often referred to Chu Tao-tsu's catalogue. As must be evident the whole question is far too complicated to go into here.

The use of the Chinese scripture-catalogues is fraught with pitfalls. Despite their unique value as a source for the literary history of Chinese Buddhism, the information the ching-lu contain is often so confused and contradictory that it complicates already complex problems to an absurd degree. In the following discussion I shall attempt to present only the broad outlines of the matter, although at times it is impossible to avoid examining the evidence in detail. Any reader interested in a complete documentation of the information in the ching-lu relating to the various Chinese versions of the PraS is advised to refer to the comprehensive study undertaken by Hayashiya in his Iyaku kyōrui no kenkyū, pp. 544-578.

Taking the line of least resistance, we shall first consider those two translations of the PraS which present no major problems, either because everything is known about them—T.416—or because next to nothing is known about them—T.419. We shall then turn to T.418 (with which our difficulties begin in earnest) and T.417 (which, I believe, poses a problem more apparent than real). Finally, after a few minor matters have been cleared up, some concluding remarks concerning the textual history of the PraS may be attempted.
II. THE TA-FANG-TENG TA-CHI-CHING HSIEN-HU-FEN (T.416)

T.416, the Ta-fang-teng ta-chi-ching hsien-hu-fen (referred to henceforth as the Hsien-hu ching, for which title see below), is the only Chinese version of the Praš concerning which we know definitely when, where, and by whom it was translated. The first catalogue in which it appears, the San-pao chi, was published just two years after the translation was made, and since Fei Ch'ang-fang, the compiler of the San-pao chi, was one of the translator's colleagues, there is no likelihood of error in his listing of the Hsien-hu ching among the works of Jñānagupta---see San-pao chi 103b20-104c6, where we also find a biographical sketch of the translator which forms the basis of his biography in Tao-hsüan's Hsü kuo-seng chuan II.

Jñānagupta (from the Chinese She-na-chüeh-to 闍那崛多; the reconstruction of the first element of the name, however, is problematical) was born around 528 in Puruṣapura, the capital of Gandhāra. Beginning his novitiate at the age of seven, he was ordained as a bhikṣu when he was 24. Shortly afterwards he set out with nine companions to make the perilous overland journey from India to China. The little group of travellers, much reduced, eventually arrived in Ch'ang-an during the first years of the Northern Chou dynasty (c. 558). After working in the capital for some time Jñānagupta spent several years in I-chou before the persecution of Buddhism during the Chien-te period (572-578) forced him to leave China. On the way back to India he was detained in the territory of the T'ū-chüeh, where he lived for the next ten years, carrying on his work as best he could. There he was discovered by a group of Chinese bhiksus who had left China under the Northern Ch'i dynasty in 575 on an expedition into Central Asia and beyond to collect scriptures, and were now on their way home. Greatly impressed by Jñānagupta's abilities, they were for some reason unable to persuade him to accompany them back to Ch'ang-an, which they finally reached in the year 581. The Sui dynasty had just come to power, and was eager to promote Buddhism, partly as an instrument of political consolidation. A translation bureau of thirty or so bhiksus and scholars was set up at the Ta-hsing-shan-szu under the direction of Narendraśas (516-589), but this man appears to have been unequal to the appointment, and

--- For a translation of this biography see E. Chavannes, 'Jinagupta'.
the authorities cast about for a more capable replacement. The bhikṣus
who had met Jñāṇagupta among the T'u-chūeh had reported his whereabouts,
and so in 585 the Sui Emperor summoned the Gandhāran master back to
Ch'ang-an, where he took over the directorship of the Ta-hsing-shan-szu
translation bureau. There he laboured for almost twenty years, assisted
by the Indian bhikṣu Dharmagupta (who arrived in the Chinese capital in
590) and many others. Jñāṇagupta is credited with having translated 37
works totalling 176 chiian; these include a translation of the Bodhisattva-carita
and a revision of Kumārajīvas version of the SP. Around the year
605 the ageing master became involved in political trouble and was
exiled to South China, where he died soon after, possibly in the year
606. He was 78 at the time of his death.

Among the 31 works which Jñāṇagupta had translated by the time the
San-pao chi was compiled, Fei Ch'ang-fang lists the Hsien-hu ching as
sixth (103cl):

Hsien-hu p'u-sa ching [ = Bhadrapāla-bodhisattva-sūtra] in six chiian; begun in the 12th month of the
14th year of K'ai-huang [594; but the 12th month would
be early 595 by the western calendar], completed in the
second month of the 15th year [595]; taken down in writing
by the śramaṇa Ming-fen 明芬 [K: Lang-fen 郎芬] and others.

All subsequent catalogues have accepted this attribution as authoritative,
although some of them have added a little to the meagre stock of inform­
ation; for example, the Ching-t'ai lu (182b14-15) has:

Ta-chi hsien-hu p'u-sa ching 大集賢護菩薩經 [ = Mahā-
saṃnipāta-bhadrapāla-bodhisattva-sūtra] in five chiian or in
six chiian; 93 pages; translated during the K'ai-huang years
under the Sui, at the Ta-hsing-shan-szu, by Jñāṇagupta and
Dharma-Gupta; commissioned by the Imperial Court.

While the Ta-chou lu (384c9-11) merely repeats information already given
in the San-pao chi and the Ching-t'ai lu, the K'ai-yüan lu, regarded as
the most reliable catalogue by later editors of the Chinese Tripitaka,
carries the following entry among the works of Jñāṇagupta (548b14-15):

Ta-fang-teng ta-chi hsien-hu ching 大方等大集賢護
經 [ = Mahāvaipulya-mahāsaṃnipāta-bhadrapāla-sūtra] in five
chiian or in six chiian; entitled Ta-fang-teng ta-chi-ching
hsien-hu-fen 大方等大集經賢護分 [ = Mahāvaipulya-
mahāsamnipāta-sūtra-bhadrapāla-parivarta; also called the Hsien-hu p'ū-sa ching; the seventh translation; same text as the Pan-chou san-mei ching; begun in the 12th month of the 11th year of K'ai-huang, completed in the second month of the 15th year; taken down in writing by the Śramaṇa Ming-fen and others.

Elsewhere (68cl0-11) the K'ai-yüan lu gives the same titles for the text, adding that it is also known simply as the Hsien-hu ching [ = Bhadrapāla-sūtra], and that it is 82 pages long.

Before we turn to the matter of the page count, a quick examination of T.416 will show that it is the same text as the Hsien-hu ching described above, in terms of the titles used for it, the number of chapter it runs to, and the translator(s) to whom it is ascribed.

1. The Taishō has adopted the title as given by the Korean edition (K), viz. Ta-fang-teng ta-chi-ching hsien-hu-fen, which is the second title to be listed by the K'ai-yüan lu; but the 'Three Editions' (SYM) printed the text under the K'ai-yüan lu's first title, namely, Ta-fang-teng ta-chi hsien-hu ching. This situation is repeated at the beginning of each chapter, except that at the beginning of chapter four and five K has Ta-sheng ( = Mahāyāna) instead of Ta-fang-teng ( = Mahāvaipulya). At the end of each chapter K always gives the title of the text as Hsien-hu p'ū-sa suo-wen ching 聖護菩薩所問經 ( = Bhadrapāla-bodhisattva-pariprcka-sūtra), while SYM has Ta-fang-teng ta-chi(-ching) hsien-hu ching at the end of chapter one and three, and Ta-fang-teng ta-chi(-ching) hsien-hu p'ū-sa suo-wen ching at the end of chapter two, four and five. With the titles of chapters the situation is less regular, but K usually has Ta-chi-ching hsien-hu-fen while SYM prefixes this with Ta-fang-teng.

2. T.416 has five chapters in all, cf. the catalogues cited above.

5 This is in fact not the case, and can be traced back to the practice of Fei Ch'ang-fang and others of ascribing extra translations to earlier translators on the flimsiest of grounds. In this study all such entries are henceforth ignored.

6 Cf. the title found at the end of each chapter in the Tibetan text: bzaṅ skyon gis śus pa'i tīn ne 'dzin.
3. At the beginning of each chuán K describes the text as 'translated under the Sui by the Indian Tripitaka-master Jñānagupta'; SYM, however, adds 'with Gupta [i.e. Dharmagupta] and others'.

Turning now to the question of page count, it will have been noted that while the Ching-t'ai lu gave the number of pages for the Hsien-hu ching as 93, the K'ai-yüan lu gave it as 82. This discrepancy is to be explained by the fact that Ching-t'ai and Chih-sheng had different copies of the text at their disposal, Ching-t'ai's copy having fewer characters per page and consequently more pages. As Hayashiya has pointed out (Iyaku kyōrui no kenkyū, p. 545), one of Chih-sheng's pages is roughly equivalent to one (lateral) column of text in the Taishō T.416, in fact, occupies approximately 77.5 columns, which accords fairly closely with the K'ai-yüan lu's 82 pages.\footnote{Further to this see P. Demiéville, 'Les Versions Chinoises du Milindapañha', p. 5. Demiéville arrives at an approximate average of 460 characters for a T'ang page. Since a standard prose column in the Taishō usually consists of 29 lines of 16 or 17 characters each (i.e. a maximum of c. 490 characters per column), we may then expect any given text to have occupied slightly more T'ang pages than it presently does Taishō columns. With smaller texts, however, the difference between the two figures will be negligible.}

In conclusion it is quite evident, on the basis of its length, as well as in the light of other indications, that the present T.416 is the same text as that translated by Jñānagupta and his colleagues in the early months of the year 595 at the Ta-hsing-shan-szu in Ch'ang-an. The certainty of this identification relieves us of the necessity of evaluating the internal evidence as well; but we might just note in passing that the Hsien-hu ching exhibits all the characteristics of the later Chinese Buddhist translations, e.g. the use of a highly standardised terminology, a greater degree of assurance and consistency in the treatment of formulae and clichés, and a greater fidelity to the text (even to its repetitions) than is found in the earlier translations. In fact the Hsien-hu ching represents, generally speaking, a slightly more detailed or developed version of the Praś than does the Tibetan rendering, if we set aside questions of the text's basic structure.
Like the Hsien-hu ching, the Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching (T.419) presents no problems of identification, but, unlike the Hsien-hu ching, this is mainly because there is little it can be identified with. Although its place of origin and its authorship remain as yet unknown, the text as we have it now is usually traced back to an entry in the Seng-yu lu, in the section entitled 'Hsin-chi an-kung ku-i-ching lu' (新集安公古經録), i.e. a list compiled by Seng-yu of 92 texts marked in the Tao-an lu as being ku-i-ching, 'ancient versions of sutras'. As Hayashiya has pointed out (Ky6roku kenkyu, p. 1153), and as the practice of later cataloguers confirms, this list appears to contain only translations made during the Later Han (A.D. 25-220) and Wei-Wu (220-277) periods. All the texts in the list are anonymous and one chüan in length; and most of them were lost by Seng-yu's time, or were simply not available to him. This last would also appear to be true of the item in question, since it is not followed by the words: 'We still have this sûtra'.

Seng-yu's entry runs (15b22):

P'o-p'i-t'o p'u-sa ching 貧積部薩經 ( = Bhadrapāla(?)-bodhisattva-sūtra) in one chüan; An-kung i.e. Tao-an] says it is from the Vaipulya class.

Thus the text to which this entry refers is established as a very early translation (before circa 280); it is a Mahāyāna (Vaipulya) work; and it is anonymous, which means that even Tao-an, after his usual examination of the text, was unable to assign it on stylistic grounds to any known translator. Being indebted to Tao-an for his information, and not having access to the work itself, Seng-yu is unable to tell us whether or not the P'o-p'i-t'o p'u-sa ching is related to the Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching, i.e. to the Praśā. Even today, despite the voice of tradition, the customary identification of the P'o-p'i-t'o p'u-sa ching with the Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching is, although highly likely, still by no means completely certain, for we have nothing to go on except their common
affiliation with the Mahāyāna and the similarity—but not identity—of their titles. However, given the fact that the only other known sūtra of which Bhadrapāla is the chief figure is of relatively late date, the traditional identification is in all probability correct, and should be allowed to stand.

Our first unequivocal reference to the present Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching occurs in the Fa-ching lu, in its list of Mahāyāna sūtras (120a24):

Pa-t'o p'u-sa ching 越在菩薩經 in one chūan; consists of the first four p'in 品 [of the Pan-chou san-mei ching].

Three points are to be noted here. First, the text is listed as one of three separate partial translations of the same work as the Pan-chou san-mei ching, i.e. it is placed in context as a version of the Praś. Second, although it is not stated whether or not the text is extant, the description given of it—that it consists of the first four p'in—shows that it must have been available, if not to Fa-ching himself, then to one of his sources. Third, the title given, although it accords with the standard Chinese transliteration of Bhadra (for Bhadrapāla), has as little to do with the transliteration of that name in the text itself as the title given by Seng-yu. Further, there is no indication whatsoever, it can be seen, that the entry here in the Fa-ching lu has any connection with that in the Seng-yu lu.

Although the work is not mentioned by the San-pao chi, the Jen-shou lu has it amongst its (extant) retranslations of Mahāyāna sūtras; the entry (159c1-2) is substantially the same as that of the Fa-ching lu, with the exception that Pa-t'o is written 拔陀. The Ching-t'ai lu (193b22-23) is the first catalogue to give the title as it appears in the Taishō today (i.e. that which accords with the text's own transliteration of Bhadrapāla), and adds one more piece of information: that the work is 13 pages long. In fact, the Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching as we have it today extends over 13-5 columns in the Taishō; the equivalence in this case is almost exact (cf. Hayashiya, Kyōroku kenkyū, p. 1240).

9 I refer to T.347, the Ta-sheng hsien-shih ching 大乘顯識經 (i.e. the Bhadrapāla-śresthi-paripṛcchā-sūtra), translated by Divākara sometime between 676 and 687.

10 On the status of the Fa-ching lu as a catalogue compiled at second-hand, see Hirakawa, 'Kyōroku no mondai-ten', pp. 42-44.
It is only with the K'ai-yüan lu that all the foregoing information is amalgamated, with Seng-yu's text at last being equated with that which appears in the Fa-ching lu, etc. In Chih-sheng's section on anonymous translations made during the Later Han we find (485b8-9):

Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching in one chüan; alternatively known as the Pa-po 拔波; the An-lu says: P'o-p'i-t'o p'u-sa ching; An-kung says it is from the Vaipulya class; is a separate translation of the first four p'in of the Pan-chou san-mei ching; the fifth version.

Later (486b13) the text is established as extant, while elsewhere (681c9) its length is given as 14 pages (as opposed to Ching-t'ai's 13).

As in the case of the Hsien-hu ching, here too there can be no doubt that the present T.419, the Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching, is identical with the text under discussion, by virtue of its title11, its length, and the fact that it does indeed correspond to the greater part of p'in I-IV of the Pan-chou san-mei ching (T.418).12

11 All editions of the Chinese canon consulted (K, SYM, Chi-sha) publish the text under the same title, viz. Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching, but the bibliographical details they supply differ from edition to edition:

K: 'The Seng-yu lu says that [according to] An-kung [it is] an old scripture; it is a separate translation of the beginning of the Pan-chou san-mei ching.'

Sung: 'One name is the Pa-po 拔波; [according to] An-kung [it is] an old sūtra-text translated by the Indo-scythian Lokakṣema under the Later Han.'

Yüan and Chi-sha: 'The K'ai-yüan lu says it is also called the Pa-t'o ching 拔陀經; the Seng-yu lu says that [according to] An-kung [it is] an old sūtra-text, translator unknown, of the Han.'

Ming: 'The K'ai-yüan lu says it is also called the Pa-t'o ching; the Seng-yu lu says that [according to] An-kung [it is] an old sūtra-text, translated by the Indo-scythian Tripiṭaka [-master] Lokakṣema under the Later Han.'

It is difficult to see how these mistakes could have been committed by the editors of the Sung, Yüan and Ming editions, for the K'ai-yüan lu nowhere states that the text is also called the Pa-t'o ching, nor is the Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching ever ascribed to Lokakṣema by Seng-yu or Tao-an.

12 The correspondence is not exact: while T.419 consists only of the first six chapters of the Tibetan text, p'in IV in T.418 actually contains both Chaps. 6 and 7 of the Tibetan; cf. Concordance. It should be noted here that to avoid confusion a strict distinction is maintained in this study between 'chapters', with arabic numerals (refers only to the divisions of the text as they appear in the Tib.), and p'in, with roman numerals (refers only to the Chinese). For example, when we speak of
The style of the Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching confirms the testimony of the catalogues, and scholars have been virtually unanimous in assigning the work to the Later Han or soon after—roughly speaking, sometime around the first half of the third century. The text certainly abounds in the obscurities common to early Buddhist translations, which is in part due to the vagaries of a long transmission. The present Taishō edition is in many places clearly corrupt, and slipshod punctuation makes the reader's task even more difficult. Yet, even given this state of affairs, the Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching frequently provides a better translation of the Praś than does the PCSMC (T.418), since its translator was somewhat more faithful to his text.

Structurally the two versions are closely related, and can be assigned to roughly the same stage in the textual history of the Praś, with the Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching being perhaps a little more developed than Lokakṣema's original text. There is no division into p'ìn, but the gāthās, rendered uniformly in verse of six characters to the line, clearly mark the breaks between Chaps. 4, 5, and 6. Otherwise the text is an undifferentiated whole.

Considerations of space do not permit a full examination of the style of T.419 at this point, but for the translations and transliterations of particular words and phrases the reader is referred to the Glossary. A close study of the text has revealed some highly individual items of usage, and it is certainly to be hoped that one day the study of early Chinese Buddhist translations will have progressed to the stage where we can discover the identity of the Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching's author.

The fact that T.419 is a partial translation, consisting only of the first six chapters of the Tib. version, may, when taken with certain other indications connected with the history of the PCSMC, lead us to hypothesise an Urtext of the Praś of that extent. The evidence, how-

T.419 consisting only of the first six chapters of the Praś, we mean that it corresponds in length to Chaps. 1-6 of the Tib.; and when we speak of Chap. 5 in T.418, we are talking about that material in T.418 which corresponds to Tib. Chap. 5, not about p'ìn V.

13 See e.g. Hayashiya, Kyōroku kenkyū, p. 1240.

14 We find, for example, an attempt to render some of the many circumlocutions for Buddha, something which does not occur in the older parts of the PCSMC (see Glossary, s.v. tathāgata, Sugata, etc.).

15 With regard to the original form of the Praś and its early develop-
ever, is insufficient, and it must be noted that the Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching
has every appearance of being a fragment, i.e. it has no proper ending
of the usual kind, and merely concludes with the verses of Chap. 6.
For a sutra to close with a series of ordinary gāthās is a most unusual
occurrence, and militates against our regarding it as a complete text.

ment, various theories have been advanced. Unfortunately they have been
for the most part ill-founded, being based as they are on a chronological
ordering of the three early translations as follows: T.419---T.417---
T.418, or T.417---T.418---T.419. Since the actual temporal sequence of
these three versions is almost certainly T.418---T.419---T.417, such
fanciful speculations are to be discounted. See in particular Mochizuki
Shinkō, Bukkyō kyōten seiritsu shinron, pp. 192-193.
IV. THE TWO REDACTIONS

OF THE

PAN-CHOU SAN-MEI CHING IN THREE CHÜN (T.418)

1. Preamble: The Pan-chou san-mei ching in Three Chüan and the Pan-

chou san-mei ching in One Chüan

The Taishō contains two texts entitled Pan-chou san-mei ching (Pratyutpanna-samādhi-sūtra), one in three chüan (T.418) and the other in one chüan (T.417), both of them attributed to Lokakṣema. Exactly how these two texts are related has been a problem over which Japanese scholars have split much ink, to the extent that a great deal of their writing on the subject of the Praś has been devoted solely to this question. In my view the problem as commonly conceived is of relatively minor importance, and the debate over it has been unnecessarily prolonged.

In 1970 Fujita Kōtatsu (Genshi jōdo shisō no kenkyū, p. 229, n.2) presented a brief survey of the various conclusions that had been advanced up till that time:

When we cite the principal theories concerning the translator of the Pan-chou san-mei ching, we find that Dr Sakaino Kōyō argued that the one-chüan text was a translation by Loka-

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16 It is not my intention to deal with the previous literature in any detail, but occasionally in the course of the discussion the theories of certain scholars will be mentioned. Although the following list lays no claim to being exhaustive—I have cited only those works to which I have been able to refer myself—the major writers on this aspect of the textual history of the Praś have been (in chronological order): Mochizuki Shinkō, Jōdokyō no kigen oyobi hattatsu (1930), pp. 305-307; Shiio Benkyō, Bukkyō kyōten gaisetsu (1933), pp. 214-220; Sakaino Kōyō, Shina bukkyō seisshi (1935), pp. 883-892; Mochizuki Shinkō, Bukkyō daijiten V (1936), pp. 425-433; Tokiwa Daijō, Yakkyō sōroku (1939), pp. 495-498; Akanuma Chizen, Bukkyō kyōten shiron (1939), pp. 399-401; Mochizuki Shinkō, Chūgoku jōdo kyōrishī (1942), p. 12; Hayashiya Tomojirō, Iyaku kyōrui no kenkyū (1945), pp. 544-578; Mochizuki Shinkō, Bukkyō kyōten seiritsu shiron (1946), pp. 189-193; Shikii Shūjō, 'Hanjuzanmai kyō no seiritsu ni tsuite' (1963), pp. 203-206; Hirakawa Akira, Shoki daijō bukkyō no kenkyū (1968), pp. 108-114; Tsukamoto Zenryū, Chūgoku bukkyō tsūshi (1968), pp. 108-109; Fujita Kōtatsu, Genshi jōdo shisō no kenkyū (1970), pp. 223, 229; Ui Hakujū, Yukkyōshī kenkyū (1971), pp. 507-514; Nishi Giyō, 'Hanjuzanmai no kenkyū-shiryō to sono igo ni tsuite' (1972), pp. 1265-1286; Shizutani Masao, Shoki daijō bukkyō no seiritsu shikai (1974), pp. 300-302; Sakurabe Hajime, 'Hanjuzanmai kyō kankan' (1975), pp. 173-180; Sakurabe Hajime, Hanjuzanmai kyō-ki (1975), pp. 3-7; E. Zürcher, 'A New Look at the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Texts', Appendix (1975), pp. 14-15.
kṣema in which Dharmarakṣa may have had a hand, and held that the three-chūn text was a translation by Dharmarakṣa (Shina bukkō seishi, pp. 883-892). Dr Tokiwa Daijō also considered the one-chūn text to be one of Lokakṣema's translations, but held that the three-chūn text left room for further study (Gokan yori sō-sei ni itaru yakkō sōroku, pp. 495, 498). Further, Dr Shīsō Benkyō similarly took the one-chūn text as a translation by Lokakṣema, while holding that the three-chūn text could possibly be regarded as Dharmarakṣa's (Bukkō kyōten gai-setsu, p. 219). In opposition to this, Dr Mochizuki Shinkō held that the three-chūn text was a translation by Lokakṣema, while the one-chūn text could perhaps correspond to the anonymous translation, the Pan-chou san-mei nien-fo-chang ching in one chūn (Bukkō kyōten seiritsushiron, pp. 190-192), but elsewhere he seems to have held the view that regarded either the one-chūn or the three-chūn text as Dharmarakṣa's translation (Chūgoku jōdo kyō-ishi, p. 12). Professor Akanuma Chizen also held that the three-chūn text was Lokakṣema's translation, but that, while the one-chūn text was connected with Lokakṣema, it was either an abridgment of the three-chūn text, or perhaps the translation by Chu Fo-shuo for which Lokakṣema performed the oral transmission and which Meng Fu and Chang Lien took down in writing (Bukkō kyōtenshiron, pp. 399-401). Similarly, Dr Hayashiya Tomojirō also held that the three-chūn text was a translation by Lokakṣema, while concluding that the one-chūn text was an abridged version of the three-chūn text (Iyaku kyōru no kenkyū, pp. 544-578). Recently Dr Tsukamoto Zenryū has suggested that the three-chūn text is a translation by Lokakṣema, and the one-chūn text is either a translation or a revision of the Eastern Chin period (Chūgoku bukkō tsūshi, I, p. 108). Furthermore, Dr Hirakawa Akira has re-examined the entries in the scripture-catalogues, and has found that on the evidence of the catalogues alone, the current three-chūn text must be recognised as a translation by Dharmarakṣa, but that from the point of view of translation-style it is more properly to be regarded as one of Lokakṣema's translations; and so he has tentatively assigned the translation to Lokakṣema. On the other hand he has reserved judgement on the matter of the one-chūn text, holding that it is difficult to decide whether or not it is merely an abridgment of the three-chūn text (Shoki daijō bukkō no kenkyū, pp. 107-114). On the basis of the above it may be said that in academic circles at present those who regard the three-chūn version as a translation by Lokakṣema constitute a powerful majority.

Since 1970 the most cogent article to be written on the subject is, to the best of my knowledge, Sakurabe Hajime's 'Hanjuzanmai kyō kanken'. Sakurabe was one of the few to make full and proper use of a crucial fact that had already been pointed out in the 1930s but which a number of previous participants in the debate had altogether failed to take into account: that there are in actuality two different versions (indicating two different redactions) of the Pan-chou san-mei ching in three
chüan\textsuperscript{17}, viz. that which appears in the Korean edition (K) and that which is preserved in the 'Three Editions' (SYM).\textsuperscript{18} The fact that this important aspect of the textual tradition of the Praś has been frequently ignored illustrates, in my view, a general shortcoming of much of the previous scholarly treatment of the matter, namely, excessive concern with the testimony of the Chinese catalogues and a corresponding readiness to force the texts as we have them into the mould which that testimony suggests, rather than evaluating the texts themselves on their own merits.

In this discussion, therefore, we shall first describe the texts as we have them, and then attempt to define the relationships between them on internal grounds. Only then shall we present the evidence of the catalogues, and attempt to show how it relates to the texts. We need only note at the outset, in order to give some direction to our evaluation of matters of style, that in the catalogues translations entitled PCSMC are ascribed to both Lokakṣema and Dharmarakṣa, but not to any other translator.

\textsuperscript{17} In this discussion the word 'redaction' is used to denote a version of a text which is substantially different from other versions of the same text by virtue of the presence in it of large-scale and deliberate alterations to the wording. Mere textual corruptions—i.e. scribal errors and minor alterations—are not classed as redactionally significant: they produce different versions, but not redactions. As will be shown below, K and SYM do not in themselves constitute separate redactions of the PCSMC.

\textsuperscript{18} The Korean edition of the Chinese Tripitaka was engraved during the years 1236-1251. Because it is in part based upon editions of the Canon which are now almost completely lost—notably the 'Khitan Edition' printed under the Liao Dynasty sometime between 1031 and 1054, and the Northern Sung edition produced between 972 and 983—it includes many works which are not found elsewhere. Thus it is to this Korean edition that we owe the survival of both the shorter PCSMC (now T.417) and part of one redaction of the larger PCSMC. On the history of the various editions of the Chinese Buddhist Canon see Uryūzu et al., Daizōkyō; on the Korean edition in particular see Rhi Ki Yong, An Introduction to Tripitaka Koreana (Seoul: 1976).
2. The Two Versions of the Pan-chou san-mei ching in Three Chüan:

General Remarks

To begin with the larger PCSMC, there are, as noted above, two versions of this text, one being that preserved in the Korean edition of the Chinese Tripitaka, which forms the base text of T.418 (K), the other being that found in the printed editions of the Sung, Yüan, and Ming dynasties, whose form can be seen by reference to the critical apparatus of T.418 (SYM). How then do these two editions differ? First of all, even the most cursory perusal will show that K and SYM are both versions of one and the same text. As far as basic organisation—p'ìn divisions and titles, sequence of sections—and content are concerned this is quite apparent. The Concordance (Text, pp. 225-235) and the Comparative Table of Chapters (Text, pp. 238-239) reveal the structure of the PCSMC vis-à-vis the later Tibetan text, and this structure is common to both versions.

What differences there are between the two editions or versions may be divided into three categories:

(i) Nidāna: the opening paragraph of the nidāna (1A) is represented by one short sentence in K, but in SYM is found in its full form.

(ii) Gāthās: if we take the Tibetan chapter divisions as our standard, we find that the gāthās of Chaps. 4 and 19 (in the PCSMC = 四事品第三 ) and of Chap. 6 (in the PCSMC = the first half of 警喩品第四 ) are rendered by prose in K, but by verse in SYM. For all other chapters, i.e. Chap. 7 onwards, the gāthās are translated into identical verse in both editions, while the gāthās at the end of Chap. 3 (in the PCSMC these fall at the end of 行品第二 ) constitute a special case.

Categories (i) and (ii) will be illustrated and discussed in detail below.

(iii) Variant readings. A rough count discloses approximately 235 variant readings between the texts of K and SYM. This count excludes categories (i) and (ii) above; therefore, what follows applies only to the prose of K and SYM (excluding 1A) and to all the gāthās from Chap. 7 onwards. We shall discuss these variants first, since a consideration of their nature and distribution

19 See n. 12.
will delimit the problem by revealing that redactional differences proper apply only to Chaps. 1-6 of K and SYM.

3. Variant Readings Between the Two Versions

Almost all of the approximately 235 variant readings between K and SYM are of minor importance, and they usually involve no more than a single character. Several types of variant may be distinguished:

(a) Use of alternative characters in transliterations
For examples of this see Glossary. Most transliterated proper names exhibit some variations between K and SYM, but often this involves no more than the alteration of a single character; e.g.

K has 加羅衛, SYM has 遼羅衛 (903.5)
K has 陸憲尼, SYM has 陸範尼 (903.49)
K has 湳浣, SYM has 湳漸 (918.21)

(b) Use of legitimate alternative characters
E.g. K has 甕, SYM has 甕 (908.15)

(c) Replacement of a character or a compound with another of similar meaning
E.g. K has 警若, SYM has 警如 (905.12)
K has 曰, SYM has 言 (906.1)
K has 汪晳, SYM has 若書 (908.1)
K has 講受, SYM has 誦受 (909.9)

(d) Characters miscopied due to similarity of appearance
E.g. K has 彼羅斯, SYM has 洛羅斯 (903.4: SYM is correct)
K has 門, SYM has 門 (903.18: K is correct)
K has 定, SYM has 定 (904.27: SYM is correct)
K has 警, SYM has 警 (904.40: both incorrect—should be 確)
K has 比此, SYM has 比丘 (909.15: SYM is correct)
K has 第十, SYM has 第七 (911.2: SYM is correct)

20 Variants will be referred to as follows: 904.8 = T.418, p. 904, n.8.
21 An unusual variant: SYM generally has 湳漸 also.
(e) Characters miscopied due to similarity in pronunciation
E.g. K has 無背, SYM has 不背 (905.2: K is correct)
K has 得, SYM has 受 (908.14: SYM is correct)
K has 所受, SYM has 所受 (911.36: K is correct)
K has 喜勇, SYM has 喜勇 (915.15: K is correct)

(f) Characters (mostly single) inserted or omitted
This is a difficult category to work with, since what looks like an insertion by K could equally well be an omission by SYM, and vice versa. Only in a few cases does this involve a change in the meaning---usually the insertions (if that is what they are) merely serve to make the text more explicit. E.g.
K has 無不解, SYM has 無不解者 (903.23)
K has 所行常至, SYM has 所行常至誠 (903.34)
K has 人夢中, SYM has 夢中 (905.6)
K has 於後, SYM has 於後世 (909.26)

(g) Inversions
E.g. K has 今我, SYM has 我今 (907.16)
K has 久行久持, SYM has 久行久持 (909.20)
K has 骸骨, SYM has 骸骨 (910.30)
K has 嫣婉, SYM has 嫣婉 (910.8)

Since it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the appropriate category for many variants, a statistical treatment of all the variants has not been attempted. In any case it is doubtful whether such an exercise would have been useful. However, an examination of the variants reveals two important points. First, in those instances where an obvious scribal error is involved---(d) and (e)---or where the text can be checked against another translation of the PraS or against T.417 (see below), it is not the case that one of our two versions always gives the correct reading while the other is always in error. Rather, both K and SYM appear to be different versions of the same text which have undergone separate processes of transmission, and therefore of corruption. The second point to be noted is the minor nature of the variants classified above, most of which make no great difference to the meaning of the text (if we exclude, of course, obvious scribal errors, e.g. writing 空, 'empty', for 定, 'samādhi'). This point can be illustrated by citing those variants that are the most significant, some of which do not fit into the categories erected above.
904.31  K: 'the eight thoughts of the man of the Way' (八道念念)
SYM: 'the eight thoughts of the great man' (八大人念
This variant ( = 2G, aśṭa-mahāpurusa-vitarka) appears to entail a deliberate alteration of terminology.

905.15  K: 'At this time each of them think of them. These men, without having seen those three women...'
SYM: 'At this time the three men, all of them being in Rāja-gṛha, think of them. Those men, without having seen those three women...'

Cf. the Tib. (Text, 3D, 1. 9ff. : de rnam kyis de dag thos nas so sor so so la sems chags par gyur mod kyi / skyes bu de rnam kyis smad 'tshoṅ ma de rnam mthoṅ ba ni ma yin te, etc.) where Rāja-grha is not mentioned at this point (cf. also T.416 and T.419, where the same applies). We are thus led to the conclusion that SYM has incorporated a scribal error, almost certainly attributable to the fact that the phrase 'at that time the three men, all of them being in Rāja-grha, simultaneously thought...' occurs soon after; in copying the text the scribe has returned to the wrong 'at this time' (是時), and although he subsequently realised his mistake---in the middle of writing 'Rāja-grha', it seems! ---he has let it stand.

905.31  K: 'He thinks: "Where have the Buddhas come from? Where did I go?"
SYM: 'He thinks: "Where have the Buddhas come from? Where have they gone?"

Tib. (Text, 3L, 1. 18), T.419 and T.416 all support K. SYM appears to contain a deliberate but erroneous alteration of the text.

906.10-15  K [5B]: 'Bhadrapāla, just as, for example, a bodhisattva, a man of clear vision looks at the constellations in the middle of the night and sees the stars, their hosts numerous---in the same way, Bhadrapāla, by means of the Buddha's might the bodhisattva who is established in the Samādhi, facing east, looks and sees many hundred Buddhas, many thousand Buddhas, many myriad Buddhas, and many hundred-thousand Buddhas. Thus in all the ten directions he sees all the Buddhas.'
SYM: "Bhadrapāla, just as, for example, a man of clear vision looks at the constellations in the middle of the night and sees the constellations, [their] hosts exceedingly numerous—in the same way, Bhadrapāla, by means of the Buddha's might the bodhisattva who is established in the Samādhi, facing east, looks at many hundred thousand Buddhas, many hundred myriad Buddhas, and many hundred hundred-thousand Buddhas. Thus in all the ten directions he sees all the Buddhas."

Because this section (5B) contains several variants I have cited it in toto. The first variant (906.10) is a simple erroneous insertion by K of the word 'bodhisattva' (菩薩), possibly a gloss on Bhadrapāla. It is unsupported by any other version of the Prās. Second, where K has 'sees the stars, their hosts numerous', SYM has 'sees the constellations, [their] hosts exceedingly numerous' (906.11); here K has probably omitted the 基 and miscopied the 藍. Third (906.12), the 基 of K's 見, 'looks and sees', is missing in SYM; this appears to be a simple omission (cf. T.417, 900a7). Lastly, the matter of the numerals cannot easily be explained; it is possibly a deliberate alteration of the text by either K or SYM.

907.21 K: 'Just as, for example (譬如)...'
SYM: 'In this way (如是)...'

All other texts (7E) support K; appears to be a simple error on the part of SYM.

The only other passage in the PCSMC which contains significant variants between K and SYM is 15L (914.3-6). The text of both editions alike is so horribly obscure that I have refrained from citing it here. In any case the manifest difficulty of the passage would make it a prime candidate for scribal confusion and error in the process of copying. It is, however, almost impossible to evaluate the variants concerned.

Now, when one considers that the few variants cited in full above constitute the most striking examples in the entire text, it must become obvious how negligible the others are. Most, if not all of them, can easily be seen as having crept into the text during the course of transmission over many centuries, either as deliberate or accidental scribal alterations. We must therefore conclude that all the prose of the PCSMC (excluding 1A) and all the gāthās from Chap. 7 onwards in both K and SYM
Before we turn to these redactionally significant parts of the text, we should first note one important fact about the distribution of the variants we have been discussing, namely, that approximately half of them are to be found in the first third of the text, i.e. that part of the PCSMC corresponding to Chaps. 1-6 of the Tibetan version. In other words, Chaps. 1-6 of K show more deviation from SYM than do Chaps 7-26. This has significant implications for the conclusion that we shall draw concerning the two versions of the PCSMC.

4. The Nidāna

As far as the nīdāna (or rather the opening paragraph of it) is concerned, the difference between K and SYM is quite striking:

K(902c27-28):

The Buddha was in the Kalanḍakas' Haunt, in the Mahāvāna at Rājagṛha, [with all mahā-bhikṣu-saṅgha of 500 men, who had all attained Arhatship; only Ananda hadn't.

SYM(902.U):

Thus it has been heard: at one time the Buddha was in the Bamboo Park of the Kalanḍakas in Rājagṛha, with a great assembly of bhikṣus, of 500 bhikṣus, who were all arhats, their outflows exhausted, no longer subject to defilement, who had altogether eliminated birth-and-death and obtained mastery, whose minds were liberated, who were perspicacious in wisdom, resembling great dragons (mahanāga), thoroughly proficient in holy knowledge, their duties done, their deeds performed, who had laid down the heavy burden, who had attained their own desires, had thrown off all existence, whose conduct was even, who in attaining control over their minds had crossed over to the far shore---with the sole exception of one man, the Venerable Ānanda.

Here there is a clear redactional difference between K and SYM, one that could be explained in a number of ways. It could, for instance, be the result of the mere insertion in the SYM text of the well-known formula for the śrāvaka-gunas, without any reference to a Sanskrit original of the Praś. But given the fact that the SYM has 'Bamboo Park' where K has only Mahāvāna (Veṇuvāna established by the Tib.), and the fact that the nīdāna of SYM does more or less correspond to the nīdāna found in
T.416 and Tib., I believe we can legitimately assume that it does go back to a Sanskrit text of the Sūtra and is not a mere formulaic amplification by a Chinese writer of the nidāna as it appears in K.

5. The Gāthās

The gāthās that we have to deal with here are those that stand at the end of Chaps. 3, 4, 5, and 6; however, the gāthās of Chap. 3 will be discussed separately, since they constitute a special case. As in the Tib. text, Chaps. 1 and 2 consist entirely of prose.

First, a few general features of the gāthās of Chaps. 4, 5, and 6. In K these are rendered throughout in prose, without any attempt at a metrical treatment; nevertheless, they are introduced in Chap. 4 by the phrase "Then the Buddha spoke gāthās and exclaimed:...", and in Chaps. 5 and 6 by "Then the Buddha exclaimed:...", and are by this means marked off from the preceding prose. In SYM, on the other hand, the gāthās are always rendered in verse, in regular stanzas of four lines with five, six, or seven characters to the line; the introductory formula is 'The Buddha then recited gāthās, saying:...'

Turning now to the content of these gāthās, the main point to be noted is this: that, quite apart from questions of form, K and SYM are independent translations of an original text, and that it is not the case, as it is with the prose of the PCSMC, that one version is a mere corruption or even a reworking of the other. This can be checked against T.416 and the Tib., but especially instructive in this regard is T.419, itself an early (approx. third century) translation, which is revealed as standing somewhat nearer to K than to SYM. A few sample verses will suffice to demonstrate this. These will be cited by reference to their Tibetan counterparts, e.g. 1Evl is Chap. 4, Section E, Verse 1. Note, by the way, how close the wording of T.419 often is to that of the Tib., which shows what a careful translator its author was.

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22 See n. 12.

23 One peculiarity of these prose gāthās is the recurrence of the phrase 'The Buddha said' in places where no other version would lead us to expect it—see e.g. 906c5, 11, 13; 907b26, c2. The same phrase often occurs in a similar fashion in the prose of the PCSMC.
You should always rejoice and believe in the Buddha's Dharma. Recite the sūtra(s) and ponder emptiness. Do not give up energy halfway, eliminate sleep, and for three months do not sit down in weariness.

Always believe and rejoice in the Buddha's Dharma. Accept and recite this teaching of the Way and its power (道徳化).

With energy practise and understand the profound Dharma. Establish total [?] friendliness and compassion.

Always evince faith in the Honoured One's teaching. Do not fear the Dharma's exposition of emptiness. Practise energy, extirpate sleep, And for a full three months you should sit [or?] walk.

Always believe in the Samādhi, be quick to take it up. Discard completely the things which belong to the world. Always delight in this Samādhi, practise the gift of the Dharma; Quickly obtain the pure stage of tranquil concentration.

Believing, bashful, evincing thoughts of love, Altogether avoiding what the world approves, How could [you] not make the gift of Dharma to the world? From this is obtained the stage of pure cessation (法界地).
These men, who do not keep morality, abide in arrogance. Increasingly, other men hear their words and believe in them. This is to destroy the Buddha's Dharma.

Violating morality, consorting with bad friends, Firmly fixed in their own arrogance, They each of them converse together, saying: 'This sūtra is not the word of the Buddha.'

Lapsed into immorality, possessed of bad dharmas, Self-approving, and firmly fixed in stupidity, They lead each other on [?], claiming they can be saved, And dare to destroy the Victor's teaching.

The Buddha said: There are those who believe in this Samādhi. These men in former lives have seen past Buddhas. Precisely for this reason I expound this Samādhi to these believers. These men always protect the Buddha's Dharma.

[To say] these words really don't exist, This is to slander the Buddha. There are those who delight in the Dharma of the Way (道法); It is just for them that I therefore expound [lit].

There are those who have been able to see the Great Heroes, the Lords, Emitting immeasurable light on the Triple World; This message emerges for the sake of these, They are all students who uphold the Dharma.
As with the differences in content exemplified above, the order in which the verses are presented in K and SYM also furnishes us with indications of an independent textual origin:

(a) In Chap. 4, where Tib. has 12 gāthās, T.416 and SYM have all 12 gāthās in the same order as the Tib., but K and T.419 lack Verse 3.
(b) In Chap. 5, where Tib. has eight gāthās, T.416, T.419, and SYM have all eight gāthās in the same order as the Tib., but K transposes Verses 6 and 7.
(c) In Chap. 6 there are no differences in arrangement between K and SYM.

It is clear then, from the above evidence, that in K and SYM the gāthās of Chaps. 4, 5, and 6 go back to two separate translations of the Praś which were made from separate (Sanskrit?) manuscripts; the same holds good in all probability for the opening section of the nidāna (1A).

6. The Two Redactions

We may now summarise our findings so far. We have two distinct versions or editions of the PCSMC in three chūlan, K and SYM. From Chap. 7 onwards, K and SYM are virtually identical, but in the portion of text corresponding to Chaps. 1-6 of the Tib. version we have noted certain differences. Not only does the prose of K 1-6 show a greater degree of transmissional deviation from its counterpart in SYM, but the opening section of the nidāna and the gāthās of these chapters (excluding those of Chap. 3) are clear proof of an independent textual tradition. In view of this we are justified in designating K 1-6 as a separate redaction of the PCSMC. If we call this Redaction A, then SYM 1-26 may be termed Redaction B. Chaps. 7-26 in K, being practically identical with Chaps. 7-26 in SYM, must also be assigned to Redaction B; i.e.
Edition K of the large PCSMC consists of A 1-6 and B 7-26;
Edition SYM of the large PCSMC consists of B 1-26.

To explain this state of affairs, the following hypothesis presents itself:
(a) Lokakṣema translates a complete version of the Praś (i.e. with 16 p'lin) with the customary (for him) shortened nidāna and
prose rendition of the gāthās; this original translation is
Redaction A.  

(b1) A later translator, working from a separate Sanskrit text, redoes
the nidāna, retranslates the gāthās, but leaves the prose of A
virtually unchanged. He thereby produces Redaction B.

or:

(b2) A later translator, working from a separate Sanskrit text,
makes a completely new translation of the PraS (which we might
call X). Subsequently the gāthās and nidāna of this translat­
ion are conflated with the prose of A. The resulting conflated
text is B.

(c) B becomes the standard version of the large PCSMC in China, and
is printed in the standard editions of the Chinese Tripiṭaka
(= SYM).

(d) At some stage, either at the redaction of the Korean edition
of the Tripiṭaka or—more probably—on the occasion of some
earlier edition, a version of the PCSMC was produced which
combined Chaps. 1-6 of A with Chaps. 7-26 of B, the result
being what we know as K.

Another hypothesis which demands consideration, in that it is
suggested by T.419 (consists only of Chaps. 1-6) and would explain why
the Korean editors or their forerunners had only Chaps. 1-6 of A at their
disposal, is that Lokakṣema's original translation did in fact contain
only the first six chapters. Can it be a mere co-incidence that T.419
and Redaction A end at the same point?

What militates against this hypothesis is the homogeneity of the prose
of both Redactions of the PCSMC, which indicates that Chaps. 1-6 and
Chaps. 7-26 are, as far as their prose is concerned, the work of one
person. Since this is so, either: the translator who made the later
complete version of the PraS (our X) translated Chaps. 7-26 in the style
of Lokakṣema and joined them to the earlier short version A, while at
the same time completely replacing A's gāthās and nidāna (this seems
unlikely to me); or: the prose of Chaps. 1-26 in its entirety is the
work of the later translator, and all we have of A is the short nidāna
and the prose gāthās, which some later hand has inserted into X (even

24 Here, for the sake of convenience, I am anticipating the conclusion
that remains to be drawn concerning the authorship of A. On the
abbreviated nidāna and prose gāthās as characteristic of Lokakṣema's
style, see Zürcher, 'Buddhist Texts of the Later Han Period', II, passim.
more unlikely). Therefore I believe that this hypothesis is to be set aside, although such possibilities cannot altogether be left out of account.

The only way in which we can approach a resolution of the difficulties raised above is to examine the style of the PCSMC in three chüan, with a view to determining the authorship of the text.

Before we do this, however, we must examine the gāthās of Chap. 3 (30). In my view we have here an anomaly which can best be explained as the result of textual conflation, because these two gāthās, in verse of five characters to the line and introduced by the formula characteristic of SYM—佛爾時頌偈曰 (SYM:言)—are found both in SYM and in K. In content they correspond both to 30v3-4 of the Tib. text, and to part of 3N, the prose section which contains the same subject matter as 30 but which appears only in the Chinese versions. As far as I can see, these verses are best accounted for as follows:

(a) The original text of the PraS contained only the prose section 3N, which followed directly after 3L, and was, as its content suggests, a continuation of the reflection of the bodhisattva who practises the Samādhi. It had no verses at this point. This original state of the text is reflected both by T.419 and by T.416: these two versions do not have 30 (see Concordance). When the PCSMC (A) was first translated by Lokakṣema it too had only 3N, and did not have 30.

(b) At some stage in the history of the Sanskrit text this prose section (3N) was converted into verse (30). Perhaps this happened to the latter half of 3N (= 30v4-5) first. The creator of Redaction B found these two verses in his Sanskrit text and inserted them into the PCSMC alongside the prose version of the same material (which he would of course have removed had it been introduced by the formula which precedes A’s prose gāthās).

(c) By the time the Tib. translation was made, the prose of 3N had been totally transformed into the verse of 30, and section 3M had also been incorporated. Pādas c and d of 30v2, which have no counterpart in any version of 3N, had also been inserted to make up the verses.

(d) The person responsible for the version of the PCSMC that we now designate as K, noticing some verses in B which were not represented by prose gāthās in A, inserted them into the earlier
text for the sake of completeness.

Confirmation of the fact that 30 was not originally part of A comes not only from the metrical form of the gāthās and their opening formula, but also from one item of the translation itself. 25

3N (prose) of the PCSMC contains the sentence 是法無可樂者 ('These dharmas are without anyone who can take pleasure in them'), but the corresponding sentence in 30 (verse) is rendered 是法無堅固 ('These dharmas are without firmness'). The sentence, whether prose or verse, clearly relates to the Tib. of 30v+: chos 'di dag snyin po med, 'these dharmas are insubstantial (asāra)'. Cf. also T.419 (prose only): 是法無堅 ('These dharmas are without firmness'), and T.416 (prose only): 諸法不真 ('Dharmas are unreal'). Even thought it is not clear why the translator of the PCSMC rendered the relevant sentence in 3N in the way he did (see n. 3.19), it is nevertheless most unlikely that the same translator would have rendered the same sentence in 30 in such a different manner. Therefore we are liable to regard 3N and 30, although common to both versions of the PCSMC, as the work of two different translators. 30 is thus to be ascribed to Redaction B.

25 One should also note that the sentence which stands at the beginning of 4A in the Tibetan (bzan skyon / tīn 'de 'dzin 'di la gnas pa'i byaḥ chub sems dpa' de'i ye sès ni de lṭa bu yin no //) stands at the end of 3N in all Chinese versions. The versification of 3N has forced this sentence to the beginning of the next chapter in later versions of the Praṣā as such as the one which served the Tibetans as their exemplar.
V. THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE PAN-CHOU SAN-MEI CHING IN THREE CHÜAN

1. Introductory

In order to evaluate the hypothesis advanced above concerning the origin of two redactions of the PCSMC we must now turn to an examination of the style of the text, and ask ourselves the question, does the PCSMC, either in whole or in part, exhibit the stylistic characteristics of Lokakṣema's work? If our hypothesis is correct, then we would expect the prose of both redactions to bear the mark of Lokakṣema's hand, because, given the similarity of Chaps. 1-6 of both Redactions A and B, I believe we can extrapolate that even though we do not possess Chaps. 7-26 of A, they would in any case have been virtually identical to Chaps. 7-26 of B. Further, since in terms of our hypothesis the production of B entailed little more than replacing the prose gāthās of A and extending the nidāna, we might expect to find in the gāthās of B stylistic elements which are not characteristic of Lokakṣema's work.

In the authentication of any translation attributed to Lokakṣema the touchstone for the operation must be his rendering of the Asta, the Tao-hsing pan-jo ching 道行般若經 (T.224; hereafter THC), since it is the only text that can be regarded with certainty as a genuine product of his translation-work. In the following pages we shall present a comparison of selected items of terminology common to both the PCSMC and the THC. Both translated and transliterated terms will be discussed. References to the text of the THC are given in parentheses after each item; references to the text of the PCSMC are not given, the reader being advised instead to refer to the Glossary and then to the Concordance if he wishes to verify the occurrence of a particular term. Where an equivalent is common to both the THC and the PCSMC the Chinese characters may not be given; the reader is once again advised to turn either to the Glossary or to the THC refer-

26 We have already noted the stylistic homogeneity of the prose of the PCSMC. In the following survey an attempt is made to isolate any stylistic discrepancies between the prose of A and that of B, but there are virtually none. The reader will notice, however, by reference to the Glossary, that certain transliterations found in the PCSMC occasionally
ences. It should be noted that when an equivalent is described as identical in both texts there may in fact be minor differences in the choice of characters used to write it in each; such orthographical variations are of negligible importance for our present purposes.

2. The Terminology of the Pan-chou san-mei ching and the Tao-hsing pan-jo ching Compared

akanistha-deva

Identical transliterations in both the PCSMC and the THC: 阿迦

\[\text{\textsuperscript{217}}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{217}}\]

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anuttara-samyak-sambodhi

Frequently transliterated 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提 in THC (e.g. 437b7-8; 438b20-21; 440b5); often, however, where the Sanskrit text of the Asta has this term, the THC merely has 佛道, 得佛, 佛, or similar (e.g. 429c29; 431c5; 432b6). Similarly, where the Tib. text of the PraS has bla na med pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i byañ chub, the PCSMC generally has 佛道, 得佛, etc. At odds with the THC are the translation 無上正真道 of 3D and the more 'modern' transliteration 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提 of 8C, 13A, and 19C (ascribable to Redaction B?). See also next.

anuttaram sanyaksambodhim abhibhutasambhyate (and related expressions)

In the THC this is often transliterated in full, in which case it agrees with the transliteration which appears several times in the PCSMC; e.g. 得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提佛 (e.g. 437a9; 438b26-27), 自致阿耨多羅三藐三菩提成至阿耨多羅三藐三菩提 (e.g. 436a19-20), or similar. More frequently, however, where this phrase occurs in the Sanskrit text the THC has a kind of 'short-hand' translation, like 作佛, 自致作佛, 成佛道, etc. (e.g. 426c1; 431c20; 433b25). This state of affairs is exactly that assume a more 'modern' form in B.

27 We are assuming, for the purpose of simplicity, that the nidāna and the gāthās were altered at the same time, even though this was not necessarily the case.
found in the PCSMC. What is not found in the PCSMC is the THC's equally frequent use of 成 (or: 得) 阿惟三佛 by itself (e.g. 442c24; 450b14).

anuttarāyāḥ samyaksambodher avaivartika (avinvartanīya, etc.)
Always transliterated in the THC, nearly always unaccompanied by any equivalent for anuttarāyāḥ samyaksambodher (e.g. 426al7; 444c3). The same is found in the PCSMC at 3H and 7D. Only infrequently in the THC do we find the translations that occur in the PCSMC at 3D, 23U, and 26E (e.g. 455a13).
Avaivartika may also stand independently of anuttarāyāḥ, etc., often in apposition to bodhisattva or compounded with bhūmi. In such cases it is transliterated identically in both texts (e.g. 432b8; 437b20; 445a7).

anupattika-dharma-ksānti
Identical equivalent used throughout PCSMC and THC (e.g. 451a14-15; 453c1-2); note the idiosyncratic use of 楽 for ksānti.

anumodanā (and related verbal forms)
While the PCSMC has 助歡喜, sometimes 助其歡喜, the THC has 助 (其) 欽欣 (e.g. 466a5). However, when the Aṣṭa has anumodanā the THC most often has 勸助 (e.g. 438a16; 438b27-28), sometimes 勸助 (e.g. 439b16; 440a13). This appears to run counter to the text, which has nothing to do with 'encouragement' but is treating of 'jubilation', 'rejoicing'. Have the translators understood the verb in a strictly causative sense, i.e. 'to cheer up'? The same 勸助 can be found in the PCSMC, in the title of p' in XIII and in the verses of 23G, even when the text is clearly concerned with the merit to be derived from 'rejoicing'. In the THC a strange compromise-form is also found, e.g. at 465c25: 勸人助其歡欣, 'encourage others and assist their jubilation'. The whole matter needs careful study, but the resemblance between the THC and the PCSMC is nonetheless striking.

arhat
Transliterated in both texts as 阿羅漢 (e.g. 430b6-7; 432b4). Similarly arhattva is rendered 阿羅漢道 (437b8,15; 478a17); in the THC this seems also to be the equivalent for arhat-phala.

asamkhya-sa
Identical transliterations in both PCSMC and THC: 阿僧祇 (e.g. 429c10; 430c8; 431a9).
asura

Identical transliterations: 阿須倫 (e.g. 433b16-17; 434c28-29; 438c12). Note that Redaction A of the PCSMC once has 身 instead of 頭 (at 11).

Ānanda

Identical transliterations (e.g. 434b3; 436a15; 478a24).

āyatana

The term the PCSMC uses for अयतना, 表, is used by the THC where the Sanskrit text has indriya (427a25-26; see also 474a2). Since the dvādaśāyatanāni include the six sense-organs, we must regard the THC’s use of 表 as related to the use of that word in the PCSMC.

āvenika(-buddha)-dharma

Similar renderings in both texts, with use of 事 for dharma (e.g. 426b17; 472a23-24); but note use of 法 for dharma in the verse which comes at the end of Chap. 20 in the PCSMC (917b4).

Indradatta

This name is not found in the Asta, but at 431al the THC does have the term 諸因陀天, 'the Indra-devas'. 因陀天 is identical with the first element of the name in the PCSMC.

upāya-kauśalya

This important Mahāyāna term, which occurs so frequently in the THC (where it is always transliterated 涵無拘含羅, e.g. 447c18; 451c15) is found only once in the PCSMC, at 16v, in a verse which has no counterpart in any other version of the Praś; there it is translated as 善權方便.

upāsaka / upāsikā

These two terms are transliterated identically in both the PCSMC and the THC (e.g. 431a15; 451a13-14). However, the translations 善信士 and 善信女 are found several times in the verse पाठाः of the PCSMC; this is definitely inconsistent with the style of the THC.

kalyāṇa-mitra

Identical usage in both texts of the translations 善師 and 善知識 (e.g. 427a29; 452b3). The THC’s occasional transliteration 迦羅密 is not found in the PCSMC.
kimnara

Standard in the THC is 甄陀羅 (e.g. 434c29–435a1; 435b1; 470a28), while the PCSMC generally has 貞陀羅 (甄陀羅 found once at 11 in K). Both are archaic forms. Common to both texts is the addition to this and to other classes of mythical beings of the explanatory 鬼神.

kumbhānda

Similar transliterations. While PCSMC has 甄陀鬼神, THC has 甄陀 (e.g. 475b19). Note T.417’s 甄陀 at 901c13, with 甄陀 apparently being a miscopied 鬼神.

kuṣala-karmapatha (daśa-)

In the PCSMC 十善 appears once (26), but this term is always rendered by 十戒 in the THC (e.g. 436c7; 454b28).

kuṣala-mūla

Wherever the Sanskrit text of the Asta has 十善ムラ, the THC has 功徳 if it has anything at all (e.g. 451b2; 452c11). The PCSMC reveals the same state of affairs vis-à-vis the Tib. text of the Praś, except that once (at 3i) it has 太功徳.

gangā-nādi-vālukā-sama (and related expressions)

In the THC the usual rendering is 如恒邊沙 (e.g. 430c17; 440b8). This accords well with the treatment of the expression in the PCSMC.

gandharva

In the THC we find 捷 (or: 捷)陀羅 乾陀羅, while the PCSMC has 乾陀羅; in both texts we encounter the frequent addition of the explanatory 鬼神 (e.g. 435a1; 438c12; 475b17).

garuda

In the THC, as in the PCSMC, the two forms 追樓羅 (鬼神) and 始留羅 (鬼神) are found (e.g. 434c29; 438c12); the THC also has the form 追留勒 (e.g. 475b18).

cakravarti-rāja

Two transliterated forms of this are found in the THC: 遮迦越王 (e.g. 451a19; 458a21) and 遮迦越羅 (e.g. 465a21; 477a2). In the latter the 羅 represents the first syllable of rāja; in the former this word is translated. Only the first form is found in the PCSMC.
cīvara
Identical transliterations (e.g. 440b9; 447c12; often in next).

\[\text{cīvara-pindapāta-sayanāsana-glānapratyahābhaśajya-pariskāra}\]
In the THC a full translation appears regularly: 震越衣服
(or:被 飲 (SYM: 飯)食床臥具病療 醫藥, or similar, with
the 震越 (cīvara) sometimes omitted (e.g. 439bl2; 440a4-5; 462c12-
13). The full formula is never found in the PCSMC (cf. Glossary).

Jambudvīpa
Both texts have the earlier transliteration 阻 浮利 (e.g. 432a26,
bl-2; 435c1). The substitution of 提 for 利 is a later development.

tathatā
This term appears often in the Asta, but does not figure very promi-

nently in the Praś. 本無 is the equivalent used throughout the
THC (e.g. 450a1ff; 453b7ff.); the same translation is found once
in the PCSMC (at 1T).

trayastrimśa-deva
Identical transliterations in both texts (e.g. 433bl7; 434c24;
435c10).

trisahasra-mahāsahasra-lokadhātu
In the THC usually rendered 千 万 (十) 國土 (e.g. 433a6,12;
435a19; 451b3). The forms 千 万 千 (四3c29) and 千 万 千
國界 (478a16) are also found. The form 千 万 國土 occurs once
in the prose of the PCSMC (at 6I).

daśa-bala
The form 十 種力 is found throughout the THC (e.g. 426b17; 441a9).
This accords well with the usual rendition in the PCSMC.

Dīpamkara
Identical transliteration (e.g. 431a7). The translation 定光 found
in 17Bvl of the PCSMC does not appear in the THC.

Dr̥dhavīrya
This name is not found in the THC, but its final element, vīrya,
is transliterated in the prose of the PCSMC as 性速 (if we regard
the intervening 速 as a scribal error: T.417 does not have it). In
the THC the vīrya of vīrya-pāramitā is also transliterated in this
way (see below, s.v. pāramitās).
In both the PCSMC and the THC the word dharma is translated passim by 法, 经, 經法, 事, and 事法.

dharma-bhanaka

This term is rendered throughout the THC as either 法師 (e.g. 436c4) or 經師 (e.g. 451b13). The PCSMC presents a greater variety of translations, among which 諸師, also the rendering for kalyāṇa-mitra, is most common.

dhāranī

The THC transliterates 陀羅尼 (e.g. 477a29); the PCSMC has this word once (at 1T), K (A) agreeing with the THC (陀羅尼), SYM (B) having 陀羅尼.

nirvāṇa

Identical transliterations: 泥洹 (e.g. 426b12,15; 452c1). The PCSMC also has 無為 in the prose (2H, 2J) and 滅度 once in the verse (19Dv2); neither of these is found in the THC.

parinirvāṇa

Identical transliterations: 般泥洹 (e.g. 432a20,b15; 436a23; 444a15)

pāpa-mitra

Rendered in the THC as 悪師 (e.g. 427a28; 441c18) or as 悪知識 (437a13; 455c15). The same situation is found in the PCSMC.

pāramitās

The six pāramitās are listed frequently throughout the THC, where they are either transliterated (e.g. 434b3ff.; 453a16-17) or translated as 布施 (dāna), 持戒 (śīla), 忍辱 (ksānti), 精進 (virya), 一心 (dhyāna; sometimes also 慎 or 慎定), and 智慧 (prajñā), especially where the individual terms appear independently of the word pāramitā (e.g. 440a23-24; 452b5ff.). Pāramitā itself is almost always transliterated, although the terms 渦無極 (438a22) and 極過度 (435b11-12) do occur.

In the prose of the PCSMC the pāramitās are mentioned once (at 1R, where the word pāramitā is translated 渦無有極) and listed once (at 5D, where they are translated exactly as above). In verse they appear in 16v (T,418 only: 2nd and 3rd verses), where they are described as 六度, and listed as 布施, 戒, 忍, 精進, 一心, and 智慧.
pratītya-samutpāda

This term is found only once in the PCSMC (at 21), where the equivalent given for it differs completely from the 十二因縁 found in the THC (e.g. 469b26-27, 29).

pratyeka-buddha

Identical transliterations (e.g. 432b4; 437b5; 475b24).

preta

In the THC preta is always transliterated 餓鬼 (e.g. 448a18; 475b19). This transliteration appears once in the prose of the PCSMC (at 14D), but in 14Jv8 the term is translated 餓鬼.

bahuśruta, bāhuśrutya, etc.

I have been able to find only one possible equivalent for this term in the THC (高才, at 477b17; also at 460b15?), which reflects its total lack of importance in the Asta. The PCSMC contains a bewildering variety of equivalents for the concept, one of which is 餓鬼.

buddha (and related terms)

Rendered by 天 in both texts. Only two other circumlocutions for buddha are found in the THC and the prose of the PCSMC; they are bhagavat, rendered by 天 in both (e.g. 432b21; 433a18; 439a16; usually in the vocative, but non-vocative usage also occurs), and tathāgata or tathāgato 'rhan sanyaksambuddha, transliterated the same way in both (far more common in the THC, e.g. 432a7-18, b13; 434a2-3). The translation 如來 for tathāgata appears only once in the PCSMC (in verse, at 23V1), and only once do we find it in the THC (450b3), in the course of an etymological explanation. Of the other customary circumlocutions for Buddha---Sugata, Jina, Sākyasimha, etc.---there is virtually no trace either in the THC or in the prose of the PCSMC (nor do these occur in the prose gāthās of Redaction A). In the verse gāthās of the PCSMC (i.e. Redaction B), however, it is an entirely different story---see Glossary, s.v. Jina, dvipadendra, narendra, sāstr-samjñā, Sugata. As for the formula tathāgato 'rhan sanyaksambuddho vidyācarapa-sampannah sugato lokavid anuttarah purusadamsārathih sāstā devānām ca manusyaṁ ca buddho bhagavān, rendered twice and very idiosyncratically in the PCSMC (15A, 23H), it is found only once in the THC, at 431a10-11, where Dipamkara predicts the future Buddhas'hood of Sākyamuni at the end of Chap. II of the Asta. There the wording is strikingly similar to that found in the PCSMC: 天上天下.
**In the THC the most common renderings of this term are** 佛國 and 佛剎 (e.g. 433b9 and 440a2). **Also found are** 佛國土 (e.g. 433a22), 佛剎土 (e.g. 438a17), 佛界 (e.g. 464a5), and 佛境界 (465c24). **In many of the instances in which these terms are used the Sanskrit text has** lokadhatu, **not** buddha-ksetra. **The usual equivalent in the PCSMC is** bodhi-citta (and bodhicittam utpad-).

**bodhi-citta**

For bodhi-citta and the verbal expressions in which it is usually employed the THC has a variety of equivalents; the usual ones are (初) 無量意求佛 (e.g. 437c2; 458b1-2), 發意行佛道 (e.g. 437b25), 學佛道心 (e.g. 437b18), and so on. **They all reflect the fact that in the early days of Chinese Buddhism the concept was not self-explanatory, and are thus distinguished from the** bodhi-citta of later translators.

**The PCSMC is less unified in its choice of equivalents, but at** 4C it does have 發意求佛道, and at 23M we find 發意求佛道.

**bodhisattva mahāsattva**

Bodhisattva is transliterated in both texts as 菩薩 (e.g. 425c7; 426a10). The transliteration 菩薩 for mahāsattva, found throughout the THC (e.g. 425c7; 427b22) occurs once in the PCSMC (3C); **but at** 17Bv2 **we find the translation** 大士 (does not appear in the THC).

**Brahmā Sahāṃpati**

**Similar transliterations. THC usually has** 梵摩三鉢 (天) (e.g. 431a27), while **PCSMC generally omits the** 菩.

**Bhadra kalpa**

**In the THC this term is always transliterated as** 摩羅劫 (e.g. 451a15). **In the PCSMC it occurs once, in verse, where it is partially translated: 賢劫. It will be seen that the** 摩羅 of Bhadrakalpa in the THC does not agree with the 鬱陵 of Bhadrapāla in the PCSMC.

**bhikṣu / bhikṣunī**

Identical transliterations (e.g. 435b22; 437a12).
bhūta-koti
This difficult term is rendered by 木隆 in both the PCSMC (at 1U) and the THC (where it appears at 442c6, 7, 22; 448b26; and 458a8-10).

mani-ratna
Identical renderings:摩尼珠 (e.g. 435c26; 436a1; 447b22).

Mahāprajāpatī
At 431al the THC has a transliteration for Prajāpatī:波耶和提. This bears some similarity to the transliteration for Mahāprajāpatī given in the PCSMC.

mahāyāna
Identical transliterations (e.g. 427c28; 428a6; 446b21). See also next.

mahāyāna-samprasthita
Identical transliterations:摩訶衍三抜致 (e.g. 427c1-2, 27; 429b6-7); however, the PCSMC prefixes this with 求 ('seek'), which is misleading and redundant, and may indicate a subsequent attempt to clarify the passages in which the term occurs.

mahāsammāha-samnādha
Identical transliterations found (e.g. 427c2-4; 429b6; 452c17), although the THC occasionally contains translations of this term, e.g. 被像那大鑾 (see 443a23ff.; 467a21, 26).

mahoraga
Identical transliterations (e.g. 435a1; 438c12; 470a27), once again with the explanatory 鬼神 usually tacked on.

Māra
Identical transliterations (e.g. 446b18; 460c8); common throughout the THC is 鬼魔 (e.g. 434a6), which is not found in the PCSMC.

Maitreya
Identical transliterations (e.g. 425c8; 438a14, b3).

yaksa
Identical transliterations (e.g. 434c29; 435b1; 438c11), usually with explanatory 鬼神.

Ratnākara
The first element of this name is found similarly transliterated in the THC at 467c1, 9.
Rājagrha

Identical transliterations (e.g. 425c6; 478b9-10).

rupa---vedanā---samjñā---samskāra---vijnāna

The five skandhas (translated 五 in both texts) are listed several times in the Praś and on innumerable occasions in the Asta. Both the THC and the PCSMC translate them in the same way: 色 (rupa), 痛痒 (vedanā), 思想 (samjñā), 生死 (samskāra!), and 識 (vijnāna); for the THC see e.g. 426a19-21; 427c16ff.; 437a13-18.

vaidurya

Identical transliterations: (e.g. 472a2; 474c17).

Vaiśālī

Identical transliterations: (e.g. 434a11).

Śakra devānām indra

Identical transliterations (e.g. 432a15; 434a7; 435c9).

śarīra

Identical transliterations (e.g. 432a20b17; 435c1).

Śākyamuni

Identical transliterations (e.g. 431a10; 458b6).

Śāriputra

Similar transliterations: THC has 舍利弗 (e.g. 425c7, 28; 433c27), PCSMC adds 聖.

śūnyatā---animitta---aparajñā

In the THC this trinity usually appears as 空 or 空 (śūnyatā), 無想 or 無相 (animitta), and 無願 (aparajñā) (e.g. 444a11-12; 456a27-28). Once 無色 is substituted for 無相 (453c6-7). The situation in the PCSMC is a lot less regular, but there it seems to do service for aparajñā; the first two terms are rendered much the same as in the THC.

samādhi

In the THC this word is always transliterated 三昧 (e.g. 438a24; 439a26). In the PCSMC 三昧 is the usual equivalent, but 定 and 定 also occur.

sarvajña(-tā)

Identical transliterations found in both texts (e.g. 426b3-4; 432a18; 433a20).
Often transliterated in the THC as 藩和藤 (e.g. 433a7; 458b27), yet occasionally we find the curious equivalent (十方 or 一切)人民及飛蠕動之類, 'all people (or: the people in the ten directions) including those (species) that flit and wriggle [i.e. insects and worms]' (e.g. 431c21; 433c19; 436b5-6; 462b22).

This expression is also found in the PCSMC at 16D and 23D: 人民及飛蠕動之類 (the Tib. has, as we would expect, sems can thams cad). Elsewhere the term sarva-sattva is rendered by一切人民 (e.g. 904b11), 十方人 (e.g. 904c4), or similar.

The phrase 人民及飛蠕動之類 is clearly a borrowing from popular usage or from secular literature, in which it first appeared during the Han Dynasty.

Note that occasionally in the verses of the PCSMC we encounter the translation 衆生 for sattva (911b2; 912b12; 915b19,22); this never occurs in the prose.

Sumeru

Identical transliterations: 須彌山 (e.g. 465c22).

smṛtyupasthāna (catur-)

Identical translations: 四意止 (e.g. 475b25).

28 This item is interesting in that it represents an early translator's attempt to overcome the difficulties that must have been experienced in conveying to the Chinese the significance not only of the concept 'sattva' but also of the fact that Buddhism included all sentient life (sarva-sattva) within its scope. It must have been for this reason that Lokakṣema made such heavy use of the transliteration 藩和藤 in his version of the Aṣṭa. As with all other transliterations (excluding those of proper names), the term is at first sight completely unintelligible to the Chinese reader, and is thereby marked as a special concept that needs to be explained by a teacher and learned by the student. The alternative to this procedure is often to select a more or less misleading translation, and this in fact is what has been done by both the PCSMC (in places) and the Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching in the case of (sarva-)sattva: their equivalent is人民, 'man' or 'men', and thus the tale is lost in the telling. Later translators remedied the situation with coinages like 衆生, 'the multitude of born things'. Cf. Nakamura Hajime, 'The Influence of Confucian Ethics on the Chinese Translations of Buddhist Sutras', esp. pp. 156-157.
3. Conclusions

From the above list it will be apparent that there are too many similarities between the PCSMC (prose) and the THC for us to avoid the conclusion that the two translations were originally the work, if not of the same man, viz. Lokaksema, then certainly of the same school. The transliterations used in both texts are almost all identical, and the majority of translated terms exhibits a close affinity—this is particularly so with renderings that are regarded as especially characteristic of Lokaksema: see s.v. tathā, buddha, bhūta-koti, etc. Certain discrepancies do indeed exist between the two texts, but they are hardly enough to swing the balance, and certainly insufficient to enable us to ascribe the PCSMC to any other translator. I think it likely that these discrepancies are the result of minor alterations made during the course of a later revision. We must also remember to allow a certain margin of discrepancy in investigations of this sort, since Lokakṣema's works circulated for more than six or seven centuries in manuscript form before the first woodblock printing of the Chinese canon; thus we must take into account such imponderables as the tendency of scribes to 'improve' the text before them.

29 This in itself is not enough to prove a connection, since many of the transliterations in the PCSMC and the THC were the common stock-in-trade of translators of this period. As an example of this one has only to look at the two translations of the Aṣṭabuddha-sūtra attributed to Chih Ch'ien and Dharmarakṣa (T.427 and T.428), in which the names of the eight bodhisattvas who appear in the PCSMC are transliterated almost identically in Chih Ch'ien's text (73al7-19), identically in Dharmarakṣa's (74al9-22). In fact, many of the transliterations which Lokakṣema pioneered remained in common use for centuries. What distinguishes the PCSMC and the THC from other early translations, however, is the heavy reliance on such phonetic renderings.

30 As a 'control', so to speak, I have also made a brief survey of the terminology used in Dharmarakṣa's translation of the SP, the Cheng-fa-hua ching 正法華經 (T.263). If the style of the Cheng-fa-hua ching is at all representative of Dharmarakṣa's work as a whole, then he is to be eliminated as a possible author of either redaction of the PCSMC, so different are his renderings from those of the PCSMC and the THC.
There are, of course, many other items of standard use besides those listed above, and these are also treated similarly in both translations. The general style of both texts as well is very close\textsuperscript{31}, although one gets the impression that the THC is for the most part a clearer and more unified translation than the PCSMC. This may have something to do with the later history of the latter text.

As has been pointed out above, the verse gāthās of the PCSMC (which belong to Redaction B) contain various translations which are not found in the THC or in the prose of the PCSMC, and which cannot be identified with Lokakṣema’s style. At the same time, many of the renderings to be found in these gāthās are consistent with the prose, and the same is true of their transliterations, although often these gāthās prefer to translate proper names (which Lokakṣema usually avoided doing). Yet the very form of these verses militates against their ascription to Lokakṣema, who, in other translations, habitually renders gāthās in prose. Therefore we must regard these verse gāthās which characterise Redaction B as the product of a later hand. The question is: how much later? As we have demonstrated, the author of Redaction B had access to a different Sanskrit manuscript (or memorised text) of the Praśūṣ; this may (but does not necessarily) mean that he lived some time after Lokakṣema. At the same time he employed much of Lokakṣema’s terminology, and did not venture to alter the prose of the PCSMC to any major degree.

For these reasons I believe it most likely that at some time in the third century, when Lokakṣema’s translationese was still in vogue, someone with access to a Sanskrit manuscript of the Praśūṣ took the Indo-scythian master’s early version, which we have called Redaction A, and replaced its prose gāthās with a new verse translation. At the same time the prose itself was revised slightly, with Lokakṣema’s customary truncated nidāna (without even an evam mayā śrūtaṃ) being replaced by a full rendering\textsuperscript{32}, and certain other adjustments being carried out here and there (this could explain the occasional appearance of certain renderings uncharacteristic of Lokakṣema). In this way Redaction B

\textsuperscript{31} Both texts display all the characteristics of Late Han Buddhist Chinese as analysed by E. Zürcher in his article ‘Late Han Vernacular Elements in the Earliest Buddhist Translations’.

\textsuperscript{32} Cf. n. 27.
came into being.\textsuperscript{33}

The identity of the author of this revised version of the PCSMC can perhaps be revealed by a closer study of the style of the verse gāthās of B. Suspicion will, of course, fall first on Dharmarakṣa, in view of the evidence of the catalogues (see below), but, as we have pointed out (see n. 30), Dharmarakṣa's style is at such variance with that of the PCSMC (even in its verse gāthās) that he can hardly be regarded as a likely candidate; however, a fuller study of Dharmarakṣa's work may enable us to alter this opinion. Chih Ch'ien too is worth investigating, since he is well known to have revised Lokakṣema's translations (see e.g. Seng-yu lu, 494ff., concerning Chih Ch'ien's revision of Lokakṣema's Sgs; it is quite possible that he did the same for the PCSMC, which would explain the various stylistic similarities between A and B).

The partial survival of Lokakṣema's early, unrevised translation of the Prāṣ is a mystery that speculation is unable to penetrate at this stage.

In conclusion, in the two editions of the PCSMC in three chüan that we have today, Chaps. 1-6 of K go back to Lokakṣema's original translation; the prose of Chaps. 7-26 in both K and SYM may be ascribed with some hesitation to the same source; but the gāthās of SYM 1-26 and K 7-26 are the work of a later hand, as yet unknown.

\textsuperscript{33} The other possibility that is certainly worth keeping in mind is that of conflation, for it may well be that Redaction B is the result of the conflation of the prose of Lokakṣema's version (A) with the verses of a separate translation (X).
VI. THE PAN-CHOU SAN-MEI CHING IN ONE CHUAN (T.417)

The PCSMC in one chuán, T.417, is a later abridgement of the PCSMC in three chuán. Significantly, it is an abridgement of Redaction B of that text; that is, in those places where B differs markedly from A, T.417 follows B. In specific terms T.417 abridges the nidāna as found in B, and it condenses the verse gāthās at the end of Chapter 4 as also found in B (it does not contain any of the gāthās of Chaps. 5 or 6).

The structure of T.417 can be seen by reference to the Concordance and Comparative Table of Chapters. Whereas T.418 has 16 p'in, T.417 has only eight, the titles of which it has borrowed directly from the larger version. It contains the following material, some of it very heavily abridged:

P'in I:
The entire nidāna (1A-I) compressed into one sentence. Bhadrapāla's question as to how the bodhisattva is to acquire a whole range of qualities (1J-Y). The Buddha's answer that the pratyut-panna-samādhi confers all these (2A-C).

P'in II
The Buddha's description of the qualities involved in practising the Samādhi (2D-J). This is given in the form of a 'litany' composed of three-character phrases; although printed as verse in the Taishō it is not marked as such in the text itself. Many of the phrases begin with the prohibitory wu nien ('do not think'), possibly inspired by the frequent use of the negative in T.418. Much of the material has only the most tenuous connection with the large PCSMC, and the whole thing appears to have been a flight of fancy on the part of the compiler of the text, especially since a verse passage of this sort is not found in any other version of the Praś.
The entirety of Chap. 3 (which constitutes the core of the Praś) follows in condensed form (3A-O): instructions for practising the Samādhi and similes illustrating its nature are given.

P'in III
Summary of Chap. 4, with verses condensed (4A-E), giving further prerequisites for the successful practice of the Samādhi; this is followed by an extremely short abridgement of the prose of Chap. 5 (5A-D), which inculcates respect for the teacher and demonstrates the efficacy of the Samādhi.
Abridgement of Chaps. 6 and 7, with the gāthās of Chap. 6 being omitted (6A-I, 7A-G); deals with the value of the Samādhi, the great merit of those who accept it, and the utter perversity of those who reject it.

Abridgement of Chaps. 9, 10, 11 and 12, with a selection from the gāthās of each (9A-M, 10A-C, 11A-D, 12A-C); deals with the ethical requirements for the four different classes of followers of the Mahāyāna.

Abridgement of the prose only of Chap. 14 (14A-I), which details the worldly advantages to be derived from the Samādhi, especially protection from all sorts of injury and harm.

The text now jumps straight to Chap. 23, and summarises the first two prose sections, 23A-F and 23H-U, which deal with the merit to be derived from the formal act of rejoicing, and give past instances of this (avadānas).

Abridgement of 23W (another avadāna, various statements on devotion to one's teacher). Summary of 24A-B (the 'Seal of the Buddhas'). Summary of the parindana and conclusion (26B-F).

A close comparison of the text of T.417 with that of the PCSMC in three chūan shows the former to be the result of a scissors-and-paste job of the most obvious sort. This is more evident in the gāthās, where the compiler of the text has selected various pādas (or sometimes even parts of pādas) from different verses of Redaction B and recombined them to form new verses, occasionally altering the wording or adding 'bridging material' where necessary. If one looks, for example, at the gāthās of Chap. 7 (see T.417, 900c5-15) the process can be seen at work. Where the Tib. text has 17 verses, the PCSMC in three chūan had originally 16 (in the same order), Verse 12 being absent. T.417, however, has 5 1/2 verses (!), i.e. 22 pādas, which break down as follows (the verse nos. are those of the Tib. text, the pāda nos. those of T.418): 2a,b,c,
The prose is abridged in a similar fashion, although there are two exceptional passages. One of these is the above-mentioned 'litany' of p'in II; the other is that section of the text (898a6-26) corresponding to Bhadrapāla's question (1K-Y). Although many of the 'qualities' enumerated resemble those given in T.418, there are others which cannot be identified; furthermore, each of the qualities begins with the characters Jn yǔ hán, 'by practising in what way...?' This is not found in T.418 (but cf. T.416, 873a10ff.). We must conclude that this particular passage (together with the 'litany') is either a flight of fancy on the author's part or is based on another translation of the Prāś. Whatever the answer to this question, after the litany T.417 turns into a straight abridgement of the larger PCSMC, and here the compiler of the work has occasionally betrayed himself by misunderstanding the original text; in fact, quite a few blunders can be found. Zürcher ('Buddhist Texts of the Later Han Period', p. 14, n.19) has already pointed out how the meaningless 今故 (900b15) owes its existence to the fact that the original evidently had 尔故 (尔 being the abbreviated form of 尔故, which appears in T.418, 907c6), which our abridger miscopied. The name of the city in the avadāna at 23I, which I have tentatively restored as *Bhadramkara, is in any event certainly not Bhadrapāla, as T.417 would have it (902a15). At 26E the abridger has perhaps not recognised Lokkāśema's use of ksānti, and instead of 10,000 bodhisattvas attaining anutpattika-dharma-ksānti, as they do in T.418, we find them merely attaining the anutpattika-dharmas (902c11).

What is more significant than these slips, however, is the fact that the author of this abridgement has frequently modernised Lokkāśema's renderings, e.g.

- dhāraṇī is translated by 締持 (898a14)
- nirvāṇa is transliterated 涅槃 (899c1,5; 902a19)
- yaksā is transliterated 野叉 (898a2; 901c12)
- bhagavat appears as 世尊 (901c21)
- cakravarti-rāja appears translated as 轉輪王 (902a15-16)
- gaṅgā-nadī-vālukā-sama is rendered 如恒河沙 (902b28)
- Sāriputra appears as 舍利弗 (902c12,17)

The daśādīvīcana (ten names for a Buddha) formula appears several times as 等正覺無上士道法御天人師佛世尊 (902a12-13,28; 902b12-13, without 道法御).
Other alterations to Lokakṣema's original text in its revised form include some important changes to the crucial Chap. 3, Section F (T.417, 899a29-b6). Whereas in T.418 (905b12) Amitābha informs the bodhisattva that if he wishes to be reborn in Sukhāvatī he should 'call me to mind frequently' (念我名), in T.417 the bodhisattva is instructed to 'call to mind my name' (念我也名). As a result of calling to mind the Buddha (buddhānusmṛti), states T.418, the bodhisattva will 'succeed in being born in Amitābha's Buddha-land' (得生阿彌陀佛國); according to T.417 he will simply 'obtain rebirth' (得往生). In T.418 the bodhisattva should call to mind Amitābha as expounding the Dharma in the midst of an assembly of bhikṣus (比丘僧); in T.419 and Tib., śramaṇas in T.416—but in T.417 this becomes an assembly of bodhisattvas (菩薩僧). These variants in T.417—especially the mention of the Buddha's name and the use of the technical term 往生, which, without any direction being specified, signifies rebirth in Sukhāvatī—indicate the influence of Pure Land theory and terminology current in China at the time of the composition of this abridgement, and reflect, not the original Sanskrit text of the Praś, but rather the use to which the Sūtra was put in China, namely as a support for Pure Land practice.

Not only do these important alterations to the terminology and the sense of the text make any ascription to Lokakṣema completely nonsensical, but they also enable us to date its composition to around the time of Dharmarakṣa (i.e. circa 300) or later, since it was only then that such 'modern' forms began to be used. Thus Tsukamoto (Chūgoku bukkyō tsūshi, p. 108) dates the text to the Eastern Chin (317-420) on the basis of its terminology, while Hayashiya (Iyaku kyōrui no kenkyū, p. 571) dates it to the Western Chin (265-316). However, as Sakurabe has pointed out ('Hanjuzanmaikyō kanken', p. 179), there is really insufficient evidence for such a precise determination.

The PCSMC in one chūan is therefore not an independent translation of the Praś, but a condensation by an unknown hand of the revised version of Lokakṣema's PCSMC, with the possible inclusion of several elements from a separate translation. As far as the discussion of the textual history of the Praś outside China is concerned, this work's testimony is of no value; that is why it has been ignored in the notes to the English translation of the Tibetan text. But it is a different matter when we come to discuss the history of the Sūtra in China and Japan,
where the abridgement has often been accorded a higher place and made more use of than the original on which it was based. Not only does T.417 reveal to us what a Chinese Buddhist scholar would have considered as the essential parts of the Pra$\textsuperscript{35}$, it also provides us with one means for constructing a critical edition of the PCSMC in three chüan. In fact, its testimony in this regard is highly instructive. In our discussion of the two versions (not the two redactions) of the larger PCSMC we have already mentioned the many minor prose variants which exist between K and SYM. Quite a few of these can be checked against the text of T.417, and we find that, while T.417 agrees with K against SYM in most cases, there is also a large number of instances in which T.417 agrees with SYM against K. We also observed previously that where a variant occurred, the correct reading was found sometimes in K, sometimes in SYM. What this means is that ever since the time when Redaction B was made from the original A, and then the abridgement in one chüan was made on the basis of B, both branches of the textual tradition have continued to undergo separately the process of scribal transmission and corruption. T.417 is therefore a valuable tool for the restoration of both redactions of the PCSMC to something nearer their original form.

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35 Important in this regard is our abridger's lack of interest in those parts of the Pra$\textsuperscript{3}$ which deal with $\text{Śūnyatā}$ and related concepts. Such passages have been excised wholesale, no doubt because the abridger, whoever he was, was more concerned with the 'Pure Land' aspects of the work. However, Shikii Shūjō ('Hanjuzanmaikyō no seiritsu ni tsuite', pp. 205-206), in regarding T.417 as a form of the Pra$\textsuperscript{3}$ closer to the Urtext, has taken this state of affairs as evidence of the Sūtra's having been composed before the rise of Prajñāpāramitā thought, and has assumed that the larger PCSMC is thus a later form of the text into which Prajñāpāramitā ideas have been inserted. But given the actual status and nature of T.417, such text-historical theories are completely untenable.
VII. THE TESTIMONY OF THE CATALOGUES

We have already noted in a preliminary fashion the traditional attribution of the PCSMC in three chi'an to Lokakṣema, and our examination of the present T.418 has borne this out, although the attribution has now to be qualified by the recognition of two separate redactions, A and B, of which A is Lokakṣema's original translation, and B, although it may be assumed to contain, largely unmodified, the prose of A, also contains a new translation of the gāthās by a later hand.

What few details are known about the life and work of Lokakṣema will be set forth in the following pages, since most of the material has some bearing on the problem of the PCSMC. Even the man's name is a matter of some uncertainty. In Chinese he is known as Chih Lou-chia-ch'ān (or: 極), although generally he is referred to by the abbreviated form Chih Ch'ān (Japanese: Shisen) or sometimes simply Ch'ān. The Chih is clearly an ethnikon, since Lokakṣema is known to have been an Indo-scythian, or Yūeh-chih, i.e. a subject of the Kušāṇa Empire. As to the name proper, Lou-chia-ch'ān, although all are agreed that Lou-chia is a transliteration of Loka-, ch'ān has caused some controversy. Several scholars have taken it as the final -kṣa of -rakṣa, and thus restored the name as Lokarakṣa. This seems to me highly unlikely, although I do not propose to go into the matter here.36 One item of additional information that I feel should be put forward, however, concerns the reconstruction of the name *Kṣemārāja in 15A-C of the Praśā. The restoration of T.418's Ch'ān-lo-yeh 諏羅耶 as *Kṣemārāja supports the restoration of the homophone ch'ān 諏 in the translator's name as -kṣema.37

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36 Cf. Ui, Yakkyōshi kenkyū, pp. 471-472, where Lokakṣema is suggested. It must be borne in mind that the transliterations of this period are generally not based on Classical Sanskrit at all, but on some kind of Prākrit—in all likelihood that Prākrit which has been designated as 'Gāndhārī'. On the characteristics of Gāndhārī, see H.W. Bailey, 'Gāndhārī'; and also J. Brough, The Gāndhārī Dharmapada, especially Introduction, pp. 40-118. Lokakṣema's transliterations frequently indicate Gāndhārī forms, but a full study of them remains to be done before anything conclusive can be said. Ui (op. cit., pp. 477-505) has attempted a treatment of the phonetic renderings found in the THC, but it must be remarked that the THC, like the PCSMC, is relatively poor in this kind of material: some of the other texts ascribed to Lokakṣema fairly bristle with transliterated proper names, and it is to be hoped that a complete examination of his output will, among other things, bring all this material together and determine how it relates to what we know concerning the
As is the case with other translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese, the number of works attributed to Lokakṣema by the catalogues has swelled with the passing of time; in the K‘ai-yüan lu, for example, he is credited with 23 works totalling 67 chüan (479a7). For a more realistic estimate we must go back to Seng-yu and through him to Tao-an. In the Seng-yu lu (6b10-27) we find 14 works set against Lokakṣema’s name, 12 of them on Tao-an’s authority:

[1] Pan-jo tao-hsing p‘in ching 般若道行品經 [ = Astasahasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra] in ten chüan; also called the Mo-ho pan-jo po-lo-mi [K omits mi] ching 講師般若 波羅蜜經; also in eight chüan; translated on the eighth day of the tenth month of Kuang-ho II [Nov. 24, 179].


[4] Tun chen-t’o-lo ching 他真陀羅經 [ = Druma-kimnara-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra] in two chüan; the Chiu-lu 39 calls it the Tun chen-t’o-lo wang ching 陀王經; recorded in the Pieh-lu 別錄; not in the An-lu; now lost.


phonology of Gāndhārī.

37 See n. 15.1.

38 For general comments on all the translations ascribed to Lokakṣema, see Tokiwa, Yakkyō sōroku, pp. 489-498.

39 Tokiwa (Yakkyō sōroku, p. 492) identifies the Chiu-lu here with Tao-an’s list of anonymous sūtras, and the following Pieh-lu with Chih Min-tu’s catalogue. At any rate cf. Seng-yu lu, 18a1, where the same text is listed as anonymous but extant.
[7] A-che-shih wang ching [= Ajātaśatru-kaukṛtya-vinodanā-sūtra] in two chūan; An-kung says that it is from the Ch'ang a-han [Dirghāgama]; the Chiu-lu [gives it as] the A-che-shih ching [Yüan, Ming: 世界經].

[8] Pao-chi ching [= Kāśyapa-parivarta?] in one chūan; An-kung says that one name is the Mo-ni pao 寶; translated in Kuang-ho II [179]; the Chiu-lu says: Mo-ni pao ching in two chūan.

[9] Wen-shu ching [= ?] in one chūan; An-kung says that it is from the Vaipulya class, and is also called Wen-shu wen p'u-sa shu ching 文殊問菩薩署經.


[13] P'ei-pen ching [= ?] in two chūan; now lost.

[14] Nei-tsang pai-p'in ching [= Lokānusamānāvatāra-sūtra] in one chūan; An-kung says that it is from the Vaipulya class; the Chiu-lu calls it the Nei-tsang pai-pao ching 内藏百寶經; I have examined all the catalogues, which all say Nei-tsang pai-pao and lack a Nei-tsang pai-p'in, and therefore I know that it is this sūtra.

The above 14 [K: 13] works, 27 chūan in all, were translated under the reigns of the Han Emperors Huan 桓 [A.D. 146-168] and Ling 靈 [168-189] by the Indo-scythian śramaṇa Chih Ch' an. The nine sūtras from the Ku-p'in [No. 5] to the Nei-tsang p'in are said by An-kung to appear to be translations by Chih Ch' an. 40

40 The authentication of works in the Taishō currently ascribed to Lokakṣema poses complex problems which cannot be dealt with here. According to Zürcher ('Buddhist Texts of the Later Han Period', II and V), Nos. 1, 3, 7, 9, 11, 12, and 14 have survived, while No. 4 and Nos. 5 and 8 (probably the same text, viz. the Kāśyapa-parivarta) appear also to have come down to us, although the attribution is doubtful. Nos. 2, 6, 10, and 13 have been lost, but other early versions of Nos.
The above entry contains a number of variants in connection with which it is rather difficult to come to a satisfactory decision. I have attempted to edit the text, however, in accordance with what seems most likely. First of all, it can be plainly seen that there are 14 works listed, not thirteen as $K$ would have it. In the second place, 'from the Ku-p' in to the Nei-tsang p'in'---if we take the as inclusive of the Ku-p' in---there are ten works, not nine; but of those ten there is one of which Tao-an certainly did not say that it 'appeared' to be a translation by Lokakṣema: No. 6, which Seng-yu describes as not being in the An-lu (i.e. the Tao-an lu). Therefore, these two discrepancies are no doubt to be explained by the fact that Seng-yu inserted the Kuang-ming san-mei ching as an afterthought. A further problem concerns the probable identity of Nos. 5 (Ku-p' in) and 8 (Pao-chi)---both titles refer in all likelihood to the first Chinese translation of the Kāśyapa-parivarta (preserved as T.350, I-jih mo-ni pao ching, and were identified as such by later catalogues (e.g. K'ai-yüan lu, 478c10-12).

The variant in this passage that most closely concerns us is, of course, that pertaining to the number of chūan given for the PCSMC (No. 3). If it is one chūan, then the total of 27 chūan given for the entire 14 works is correct; two chūan, and this figure is in error. Yet elsewhere in the Seng-yu lu Lokakṣema's version of the PCSMC is given as two chūan in length (14b20)! The reading of 'one chūan' is obviously something that was not introduced by the editors of the Korean edition or their immediate predecessors, since even Chih-sheng, writing in 730, is able to say in his section on Lokakṣema (478c27): '...Yu [Seng-yu] has this one-chūan but does not have the three-chūan.' Furthermore, the ascription of a one-chūan version to Lokakṣema made by the more careful catalogues such as the Fa-ching lu (120a23) and the Jen-shou lu (176a24), without a two-chūan version by him being mentioned at the same time, provides additional confirmation that no such two-chūan version appeared in early editions of the Seng-yu lu.

6 and 10 have been preserved and should enable us to discover roughly what form the texts had in Lokakṣema's day. Only No. 13 has disappeared without trace; all the other works except No. 9 exist in Tibetan or later Chinese translations.

41 This explanation is also favoured by Tokiwa, Yakkyō sōroku, pp. 489, 496-497.
At the same time it can be argued that Seng-yu is not likely to have listed a one-chüan work as the Ta pan-chou san-mei ching, that this figure of one chüan is at odds with the figure of two chüan which he gives elsewhere, and that if the Kuang-ming san-mei ching was in fact inserted later, then two chüan for the PCSMC would not have been inconsistent with the total chüan count for all 13 works initially listed. It is difficult to come to a satisfactory conclusion on this matter, but I have tentatively opted for the reading of 'one chüan' on the basis of the citations in most of the later catalogues. The two-chüan count given elsewhere in the Seng-yu lu is therefore to be corrected.

Leaving this problem for the time being, Seng-yu's entry on the PCSMC permits us to infer that Tao-an definitely ascribed a translation entitled PCSMC to Lokakṣema; that a Ta pan-chou san-mei ching was also ascribed to Lokakṣema by the Chiu-lu (this goes against the theory that his translation consisted only of the first six chapters, since no partial translation would be known as Ta, i.e. 'great' or 'larger'); that Lokakṣema translated his text (or published the completed translation?) on the eighth day of the tenth month, A.D. 179 (on the same day as that on which he brought out the THC!); and that c. 515 there was a version in one chüan (or possibly two) which Seng-yu identified with the above.

As for the date of the translation, Seng-yu appears to have derived it from an old colophon to the PCSMC which he has preserved for us elsewhere in his catalogue (48c9-16):

Colophon to the Pan-chou san-mei ching, author unknown.

The Pan-chou san-mei ching, translated on the eighth day of the tenth month of Kuang-ho II by the Indian (天生) bodhisattva Chu Fo-shuo (智佛所) in Lo-yang. The bodhisattva Fa-hu (?). At that time the person who transmitted the wording was the Indo-scythian bodhisattva Chih Ch'an, who imparted it to Meng Fu Shao-shih (孟福, styled Yuan-shih 元士), of Lo-yang in Honan. The bodhisattva's attendant, Chang Lien 張蓮, styled Shao-an 少安, took it down in writing and caused it subsequently to be dissemin-

42 The appearance in the colophon of 'the bodhisattva Fa-hu' (Dharma-rakṣa?) is most problematical. It is perhaps a later interpolation, since it does not seem to be related grammatically to the surrounding text—although the relationship between the various terms is far from clear.

43 On these two assistants of Lokakṣema, see Zürcher, Buddhist Conquest, p. 35, and n. 91.
Revised and completed [or: completely revised] in Chien-an XIII [A.D. 208] at the Buddhist monastery (佛寺).

All who copy it in future will render homage to the Buddha.

It is also said: revised at the Hsü-ch'ang monastery (許昌寺) on the eighth day of the eighth month of Chien-an XIII [ = 198: correct to Chien-an XIII!], in the year Wutzü戊子 [208].

Apart from giving us the date, this colophon also tells us that Lokakṣema translated the text in collaboration with Chu Fo-shuo (the variant Shuo-fo is, I think, to be rejected), an Indian who was also involved in the translation of the Aṣṭa, the text of which he had brought with him from India to China. It is also possible that he had brought the manuscript of the Praś at the same time. According to the colophon Chu Fo-shuo recited the text in the original language, while Lokakṣema translated it orally into Chinese for his Chinese assistants to take down. This at least is what can be inferred on the basis of this colophon and that of the THC. Chu Fo-shuo was also credited with his own partial translation of the Aṣṭa—the Tao-hsing ching in one chüan—by the Seng-yu lu (6b7), an attribution that may or may not

44 Professor Henri Maspero's theory as to the identity of this 'Hsü-ch'ang monastery' ('Les origines de la communauté bouddhiste de Loyang', Journal Asiatique (1934), pp. 87-107; also in his Mélanges posthumes II, pp. 188-189; I have not had access to the JA article, but the gist of it is cited by Zürcher, Buddhist Conquest, p. 32; see also p. 28, n.57) is ingenious but ultimately unconvincing, founded as it is on pure surmise. Further, the conclusions he has drawn—solely on the basis of this colophon—regarding the early Buddhist community in Lo-yang are far too tenuous, as Zürcher points out, and must be reconsidered. I am more inclined to agree with T'ang Yung-t'ung (Fo-chiao shih, p. 68) that the colophon refers to a Buddhist monastery in the city of Hsü. Lo-yang had been abandoned in ruins in 190, and the Imperial Court had moved first to Ch'ang-an, then in 196 to Hsü, which remained the Han capital until the end of the dynasty. It is much more likely that the Buddhist community had moved with the rest of the population—or rather with the foreign merchants and envoys who no doubt followed the government—and that in 208 the translators (possibly led by Chih Liang, Lokakṣema's disciple) were pursuing their work in Hsü, rather than that they had remained in the ruined Lo-yang, as Maspero would have us believe. As has been pointed out before, Hsü was not renamed Hsü-ch'ang until 221, and therefore the use of the name Hsü-ch'ang in a colophon referring to the year 208 is anachronistic. Yet this, I think, merely reflects the fact that the last part of the colophon was written, as T'ang Yung-t'ung suggests (loc. cit.), during the Wei period, by which time the city was commonly known as Hsü-ch'ang. As can be seen, then, the colophon consists of three parts: that describing the initial translation of 179; that referring to the revision of 208; and that added subsequently ('It is also said') to specify in a little more detail the time and place of the revision.

For information concerning the removal of the Han capital to Hsü and the later renaming of that city I am indebted to Dr K. Gardiner and Dr R. de Crespigny.
have some basis in fact. However, the additional attribution to him of a separate translation of the PraS is a later invention, originally perpetrated by Fei Ch'ang-fang (see San-pao chi, 53c7-15). Although Fei cites the Kao-seng chuan as his source, the supplementary information he gives demonstrates that the Seng-yu lu (see below) is the origin of the information: 'later, in the Kuang-ho period, he again translated the Pan-chhou. Ch'an transmitted the wording; Meng Fu, Chang Lien, and others took it down in writing'. Thus two translations are made out of one; this is a common occurrence in the San-pao chi.

Additional documentary evidence for the attribution of the PCSMC to Lokakṣema can be found in another colophon preserved in the Seng-yu lu, that written by Chih Min-tu (active in the reign of the Eastern Chin Emperor Ch'eng, 326-342) to a synoptic edition of the Śgs (see Seng-yu lu, 49al6ff.). Chih Min-tu begins:

This sūtra originally had a colophon saying: 'Translated by Chih Ch'an'. Ch'an was an Indo-scythian, who came and resided in China under the reigns of Huan and Ling of the Han. His wide learning was profound and marvellous; his gifted mind fathomed the subtle. All the sūtras which he translated are of a very deep and mysterious kind; he regarded the essential content as important, and did not preserve the literary embellishments. The current Hsiao-p'in 小品 [Aṣṭa], A-che-shih [Ajātaśatru-kaukṛtya-vinodanā], Tun-chen [Druma-kinnararāja-paripṛcchā] and Pan-chhou are all translations by Ch' an.

There was also Chih Yüeh, styled Kung-ming 君明. He was also an Indo-scythian. His father had also come to China to offer tribute in the reign of Emperor Ling of the Han. Yüeh was born in China. It appears that he did not see Ch' an.

There was also Chih Liang, styled Chi-ming, who studied under Ch'an; therefore Yüeh was able to receive instruction from Liang...

Apart from the two colophons given above, and that of the THC (see Seng-yu lu, 47c4-9), there is very little other information preserved concerning Lokakṣema and his colleague Chu Po-shuo. Seng-yu has summed it up in their biographies (95c22-96a7):

Chih Ch'an was originally a man of the kingdom of the Indo-scythians. His moral conduct was deeply sincere, and his temperament was open and lively. He upheld the Dharma and Vinaya and was renowned for his industriousness. He recited all kinds of sūtras, and his ambition was to preserve and to propagate the Dharma. At the close of the reign of Emperor Huan (circa 167) of the Han he arrived in Lo-yang, and during the periods of Kuang-ho [178-183] and Chung-p'ing [184-189] under the Emperor Ling he transmitted and translated Indian texts, publishing three sūtras:
the Pan-jo tao-hsing-p'in, the Shou-leng-yen, and the Pan-chou san-mei. There are also ten sūtras such as the A-che-shih wang, the Pao-chi, etc., which for years had not been catalogued. An-kung, comparing the old and the new and carefully examining the literary style, said that they appeared to be translated by Ch'an. All these sūtras have caught the gist of the original without adding any embellishments to it. It can be said that here was a man who skillfully conveyed the essentials of the Dharma and propagated the Way. Afterwards it was not known where he died.

The śramaṇa Chu Fo-shuo was an Indian. In the time of the Han Emperor Huan he arrived in Lo-yang, bringing with him the Tao-hsing ching, which he translated from the Indian into Chinese. The translator has occasionally faltered, but although there is some loss of meaning, nevertheless he has sacrificed the wording and kept the substance, and has a profound grasp of the sense of the sūtra. In Kuang-ho II, under the Emperor Ling, Shuo also translated the Pan-chou san-mei ching at Lo-yang. At the time Ch'an acted as the transmitter of the wording, while Meng Fu of Lo-yang in Honan and Chang Lien took it down in writing.

This, as can be seen, is little more than an orderly statement of what is found in the colophons and in Tao-an's catalogue. It contains the stock judgement on Lokakṣema's (and Chu Fo-shuo's) translations: that they captured the basic sense of the originals without bothering to reproduce their literary ornamentation. An examination of the THC and the PCSMC will bear this judgement out.

The attribution of a work entitled PCSMC to Lokakṣema is thus well-established in the earliest sources. The only other extant text listed by Seng-yu under that title is, of course, that ascribed to Dharmarakṣa. In the section dealing with the extant works of Dharmarakṣa (Chu Fa-hu 立法護, circa 230-308) we find (8al):

The Pan-chou san-mei ching in two chuán; An-kung's catalogue says that it is a further translation of the Pan-chou san-mei ching.

45 For further additions to this meagre store, see Lamotte, Marche Héroïque, pp. 69-72.

46 On the life and work of Dharmarakṣa, see Zürcher, Buddhist Conquest, pp. 65-70; T'ang Yung-t'ung, Fo-chiao shih, pp. 157-164.

47 The expression keng-ch'u 離出 is problematic. It is taken by most writers on the subject to mean 'another translation', but according to Shiio, Bukkyō kyōten gaisetsu, p. 219, the employment of this term in connection with other sūtras shows that it merely means 'revision'; but Shiio does not go into the matter in detail. Hayashiya, in Kyōroku kenkyū, p. 407, n.13 (see also n.14 and n.15) takes the usual
This translation is mentioned again in that part of the Seng-\text-yu lu devoted to listing different versions of the same text (14b20-21):

The Pan-chou san-mei ching:
Chih Ch'\text{\text}an translated the Pan-chou san-mei in two chu\text{\text}an;
Chu Fa-hu translated the Pan-chou san-mei in two chu\text{\text}an.
The above one sutra was translated separately by two men.

As Seng-\text-yu does not mention any other extant works entitled PCSMC\text{\text}48, we must assume that in his time (circa 515) there were only two works of that name in circulation. If this is so, then we would be hard put to it to escape the conclusion that what was true less than one hundred years later was also true in Seng-\text-yu's day: that of the two works in circulation, the longer version in two or three chu\text{\text}an (corresponding to T.418) was popularly attributed to Dharmarak\text{\text}a, and the shorter version in one chu\text{\text}an (T.417) was regarded as Lokak\text{s}\text{\text}ema's. For the Fa-ching lu (compiled in 593, but probably basing its testimony on an even earlier catalogue) attributes a two-chu\text{\text}an PCSMC to Dharmarak\text{\text}a (115\text{c}3), while listing the PCSMC in one chu\text{\text}an by Lokak\text{s}\text{\text}ema as a separate partial translation (120\text{a}23); in that it further describes the one-chu\text{\text}an text as consisting of the 'last ten chapters' of the larger version, it identifies both texts with those two that we have today: although the 'last' is not readily comprehensible, T.417 does indeed consist of eight p'in which summarise the material covered by ten p'in in T.418 (see also 120\text{a}24-26 for further confirmation of this identification). It is in my view highly probable that this situation obtained in Seng-\text-yu's day as well.\text{\text}49

\text{\text}48 Note, however, in the Seng-\text-yu lu at 37b2, among the lost texts in the section entitled ' Newly compiled supplementary catalogue of miscellaneous anonymous sutras', the text entitled I-ch'u pan-chou san-mei ching ( 'A different translation of the PCSMC') in one chu\text{\text}an. This entry suggests an earlier catalogue's listing of the present T.417.

\text{\text}49 The alternative to this, if we accept the reading of 'two chu\text{\text}an' for the Seng-\text-yu lu, is that Seng-\text-yu did not know of the abridged version, but was familiar only with two full versions of the Pra\text{s}, one being the original translation by Lokak\text{s}\text{\text}ema (i.e. the complete text of A), the other being either Redaction B or the translation X on which B was based, this being ascribed to Dharmarak\text{\text}a.
After its appearance in the Fa-ching lu the PCSMC in one chiian attributed to Lokakṣema drops out of sight. The San-pao chi does not mention it, while the Jen-shou lu has it as a lost text (176a24), as do the Ching-t'ai lu (213c26) and the Ta-chou lu (443c25). The K'ai-yüan lu lists it amongst the lost works of Lokakṣema with the words (478c20-21):

The Pan-chou san-mei ching in one chiian; consists of a further translation of the last ten chapters; Yu has this one-chüan [text] but not the three-chüan; see the Ching-t'ai lu; sometimes the character Ta T is added; the third translation; the Yu-lu says: translated on the eighth of the tenth, Kuang-ho II.

The PCSMC in one chiian remained out of sight. It does not appear in the Sung, Yüan, or Ming editions of the Canon, nor in the Chi-sha edition. But somehow it was not entirely lost, and it surfaced in the Korean edition of the Chinese Tripitaka, whence it has found its way into the Taishō as T.417. How exactly it managed to do this remains a mystery.

Returning to the matter of the larger PCSMC, there are two things to be noted. One is that the extant two- or three-chüan version (in all probability Redaction B) continued to be ascribed to Dharmarakṣa up until Chih-sheng's time (eighth century), the other is that Lokakṣema came to be credited with his own two-chüan version of the sūtra in addition to the (temporarily) lost one-chüan text.

The first extant catalogue after the Seng-yu lu (of which the text is doubtful) to ascribe a two-chüan version to Lokakṣema was the notoriously unreliable San-pao chi (52c27-53a1):

The Pan-chou san-mei ching in two chiian; translated on the eighth of the tenth, Kuang-ho II; the first translation; see the Nieh Tao lu, the Wu-lu, and the San-tsang chi [SYM: see the three catalogues of Nieh Tao-chen, the Wu, and Yu]. The Chiu-lu says: Ta pan-chou san-mei ching.

Whether Fei Ch'ang-fang's copy of the Seng-yu lu had the variant reading of 'two chiian' it is impossible to say, for he may have derived the chiian count from another source. But the date and the alternative title come from the Seng-yu lu. The San-pao chi also gives the two-chüan version of Dharmarakṣa (62c3), but adds no new information. It does not tell us whether either or both of these two translations were extant, but in the section entitled 'Mahāyāna sūtras with known translators', the PCSMC in two chiian is mentioned only once (110b9).
The situation over the following years demonstrates the problem of the 'lineage' of the Chinese catalogues. The more reliable among them, those that are based on the Seng-yu lu (of which the Fa-ching lu is the first), list the extant two- or three-chüan version of Dharmarakṣa and, as we have seen, the lost one-chüan version of Lokakṣema--see e.g. the Jen-shou lu (151b26) and the Ching-t'ai lu (182c12) which list Dharmarakṣa's version as a tan-pen, i.e. a text of which there exists only one full translation; the Ching-t'ai lu also gives the text as being 47 pages long, which accords pretty well with the present T.418, which occupies approximately 50 columns in the Taishō.

The less reliable catalogues, those which accept the testimony of the San-pao chi at face value and attempt to combine it with what they find in other catalogues, continue to list two- or three-chüan translations for both Dharmarakṣa and Lokakṣema, as well as giving the one-chüan version for the latter. The Ta-chou lu, for example, even gives a page count for both texts, 47 for Dharmarakṣa's and 57 for Lokakṣema's (388 b13-27), but since Dharmarakṣa's version is the only one it lists as extant (see 442c8; 462b6) we are bound to regard the latter figure as a complete fabrication.50

In compiling the K'ai-yüan lu Chih-sheng overturned the prevalent attribution of the current complete version of the Praś to Dharmarakṣa. Dharmarakṣa's translation he lists as lost (495bl2), while assigning the extant three-chüan version to Lokakṣema, on the basis perhaps both of internal evidence and of the testimony of Nieh Tao-chen's catalogue and the Wu-lu as recorded by Fei Ch'ang-fang (478c9-10):

The Pan-chou san-mei ching in three chüan; one name is the Shih-Fang hsien-tsai-fo hsi tsai-ch'ien-li ting ching 方 現在佛為在前立定經 ; the Chiu-lu says: Ta pan-chou san-mei ching; alternatively in two [SYM: one] chüan; translated in Kuang-ho II; the first translation; same text as the Ta-cli hsien-hu ching, etc.; see Nieh Tao-chen's catalogue and the Wu-lu.

Elsewhere (68lc7-8) the same text ('alternatively two chüan') is given as 50 pages long, tallying exactly with the number of Taishō columns which it now occupies.

Chih-sheng's pronouncement on this text has been regarded as final by all editors of the Chinese Tripitaka down to the present day, and his ascription of the work to its rightful author is borne out by an

50 Cf. Hayashiya, Iyaku kyōru no kenkyū, p. 556.
examination of its style. As for Dharmarakṣa's supposed translation, we have only Seng-yu's word for that, since all later catalogues base themselves on him in this respect. Seng-yu in his turn has relied solely upon Tao-an's testimony, and although Tao-an is usually very reliable, we must ask ourselves if such a translation ever existed in the first place. As we have observed (see above, n. 47), it is just possible that Tao-an was referring not to a new translation by Dharmarakṣa, but to a revision by him of a previous translation. Could Tao-an have ascribed Redaction B to Dharmarakṣa in the same way that succeeding generations of Chinese Buddhist scholars did? And could Dharmarakṣa actually have been responsible for Redaction B? This is a question that can only be answered by a close examination of the style of the verse gāthās and the nidāna of the PCSMC, together with a thorough study of the stylistic characteristics of the translations of Dharmarakṣa and Lokakṣema. However, as I have observed above, on preliminary indications Dharmarakṣa does not appear to be implicated, in that the general style of the relevant portions of B is closer to that of Lokakṣema's Redaction A than it is to Dharmarakṣa's translation of the SP. In view of this I believe that it is highly likely that Redaction B was in fact produced by the revision which the colophon to the PCSMC tells us took place in the year 208, in the Han capital of Hsū. If the text was originally translated in 179, then 29 years is too long a period for it to have been a question of the stylistic 'touching-up' which usually completed the translation-process. Rather, a major revision is indicated, and in 208 this could well have been carried out by members of Lokakṣema's school who were more familiar with Chinese than their master had been, who were thus able to translate gāthās into unrhymed Chinese verse and make use of a more sinicised vocabulary (as employed some years later by Chih Ch'ien, who may have been a student under Chih Liang around this time), and who had at their disposal a slightly different ms. of the Praś.

Of course much must remain undecided. Dharmarakṣa's part—if indeed he ever played one—in the transmission of the Praś to China is still hidden from us. It goes without saying that a great deal more work must be done on this period and its translation-literature. But as far as the origin of Redaction B of the PCSMC is concerned, I wonder if we need ever look further than the revision of A.D. 208?
VIII. TRANSLATIONS POSSIBLY RELATED TO THE 
PRATYUTPANNA-BUDDHA-SAMMUHAVASTHITA-SAMADHI-SUTRA

There are three more texts listed in the Chinese catalogues which may or may not be related to the Praś; all of them are first recorded in the Seng-yu lu. None of them has survived, but for the sake of completeness it is worth mentioning them.

(a) Pan-chou san-mei nien-fo chang ching (Sūtra of the Buddhānusmṛti Chapter of the Pratyutpanna-samādhi) in one

This makes its first appearance in that section of the Seng-yu lu entitled 'Newly compiled supplementary catalogue of miscellaneous anonymous sūtras' (新集續撰失譯雜經錄), from which we can infer that it was not mentioned by Tao-an. The text is listed at 30cl, and is extant (see 32al-2). It next appears in the Fa-ching lu (120a25), where it is called the Fo-shuo pan-chou san-mei nien-fo chang ching, and described as a separate translation of the Hsing-p'in of the large version. It must therefore have been available to one of Fa-ching's sources. Later catalogues record it as lost (see e.g. the Jen-shou lu, 176a25; the Ching-t'ai lu, 213c27) and provide no new information about it, if we except those unfounded guesses as to its date which stem from the San-pao chī—which assigns it both to the Han (55b18) and to the Eastern Chin (74b17)! Since it does not appear to have been in the Tao-an lu it may even have been produced as late as the fifth century.

As the title suggests and the evidence of the Fa-ching lu confirms, this text contained only that portion of the Praś corresponding to the Hsing-p'in of the PCSMC (i.e. 2D-J, 3A-0). In view of this, attempts by certain scholars to identify the work with one or other surviving partial version of the Praś (i.e. with T.417 or T.419) remain totally unconvincing; furthermore, they fail to take into account the fact that all three texts appear side by side in the Fa-ching lu, which suggests that Fa-ching's source, to whom they were presumably available, was unable to identify any of them with any other.

51 E.g. Hayashiya (Iyaku kyōrui no kenkyū, pp. 573-574) suggests that the Nien-fo chang ching could have been identical with the Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching.
(b) Hsiao-an pan-chou san-mei ching in one chüan.

This first appears in the Seng-yu lu at 36c27, in the same section as (a), but it is grouped with the lost works, and the entry is accompanied by the notice: 'Listed in the Chiu-lu'. If the Chiu-lu here refers to Chu Tao-tsu's catalogue (circa 419) then the text is to be dated to the fourth century or earlier; later cataloguers, in repeating Seng-yu's entry, assign it to the Wei-Wu period (220-277). The text is listed sometimes as a lost Mahāyāna work, sometimes as a lost Hinayāna work (see e.g. Fa-ching lu, 121a25; San-pao chi, 61a23; Jen-shou lu, 176c2; K'ai-yüan lu, 492c5; 644b3). To the best of my knowledge no cataloguer ever attempts to relate this text to the PCSMC.

Nevertheless Hayashiya (Iyaku kyōrui no kenkyū, pp. 564-567) tries to identify this text with the present T.417, arguing that if the Chiu-lu had a Ta pan-chou san-mei ching (cf. Seng-yu lu, 6bl2) it ought by rights to have had a Hsiao pan-chou san-mei ching (the an being a later scribal blunder). This is plausible, but in the end there is insufficient evidence. One could with almost equal plausibility claim that Hsiao-an pan-chou san-mei ching was a scribal error for Hsiao an-pan shou-i ching, or perhaps that hsiao 小 could have been miswritten for shao 少, the Shao-an pan-chou san-mei ching being a version of Lokakṣema's translation distinguished from others by the style of its copyist (see colophon cited above).

In any case we would do well to view with suspicion any conclusion to which even cataloguers like Fei Ch'ang-fang refused to jump.

(c) Fa-t'o p'u-sa pai-erh-shih nan ching (Sūtra of the One Hundred and Twenty Questions of the Bodhisattva Bhadra[pāla?]) in one chüan.

This appears in the same section of the Seng-yu lu as (b), i.e. as a lost anonymous work (32c13). This could conceivably be an alternative title of one of the early Chinese versions of the PraS. In the Tib. text Bhadrapāla's 'question' can be divided into 146 items (see Chap. 1 of the English translation), but for an earlier form of the work a division into 120 items is quite possible.

Any of the above three texts could have been the source for the two passages in T.417 which are not based on the PCSMC in three chüan.
IX. CONCLUDING REMARKS

As the reader will now have seen for himself, the textual history of the PraS in China is complicated both by the confused nature of the surviving material—the edited texts—and by the welter of information and misinformation furnished by Chinese Buddhist bibliographers. We can indeed extract some facts of reasonable certainty from this chaos, but we cannot impose total order upon it. In our discussion of the evidence we have laid the basis for the following conclusions, which in many instances are to be regarded as tentative.

In A.D. 179, in the Han capital Lo-yang, the Indo-scythian Lokakṣema and the Indian Chu Fo-shuo collaborated on the first Chinese translation of the PraS, the PCSMC in two (later three) čān and sixteen p'ìn. This original translation was distinguished by the rudimentary nidāna and the prose renditions of the gāthās which are characteristic of Lokakṣema's other work. We have called it Redaction A.

In A.D. 208 the translation was completely revised, possibly by members of Lokakṣema's school under the direction of his disciple Chih Liang, at the Buddhist monastery in Hsū-ch'ang, the city to which political disturbances at the end of the second century had forced the Han government to shift the capital. It was perhaps at this time—although it could have been later in the third century—that the original text had its prose gāthās replaced by a completely new verse translation from the Sanskrit, while the nidāna was also altered. Thus Redaction B came into being. At our present state of knowledge we cannot determine whether Redaction B was created by means of a mere partial revision of A, or whether it was the result of the conflation of A with a completely different translation (the hypothetical X); nor can we determine its author.

From its diction, from several meagre structural indications, and from its appearance in a certain section of Tao-an's catalogue, the partial translation entitled Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching can be regarded as having been made no later than the third century A.D. and as representing the original text in a form somewhere between A and B. Its author is as yet unknown.

Other partial translations of the PraS may have been made in these early centuries.
At some stage, possibly in the fourth or fifth centuries A.D., an unknown hand compiled an abridgement of Redaction B of the PCSMC, incorporating a small amount of extra material which he either took from another, perhaps partial translation of the PraS or composed himself. The resulting text soon came to be attributed to Lokakṣema, while the larger work on which it was based was regarded for several centuries as due to Dharmarakṣa. The abridged version disappeared from view around the beginning of the seventh century, but somehow found its way into the Korean edition of the Chinese Tripitaka. It survives now as T.417.

In the early months of the year 595, in Ch'ang-an, the capital of the Sui Dynasty, the Indian monks Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta made a new translation of the PraS, which by this time was regarded as part of the great sūtra-collection called the Mahāsāṃnipāta-sūtra. Although their translation is generally fuller and more detailed than former versions, it nevertheless reveals that the basic structure of the Sūtra had not changed appreciably since Lokakṣema’s time, except for the partial omission of material relating to women.

By the eighth century only three versions of the PraS appear to have been in common use in China: the PCSMC in two or three chüan (Redaction B), once more ascribed, thanks to Chih-sheng, to Lokakṣema; the Hsien-hu ching of Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta; and the anonymous Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching.

By the beginning of the ninth century the PraS had been translated into Tibetan, in a form, however, which differs considerably from that which the Chinese versions reveal. The later portions of the work have been substantially re-organised, and new material, much of it of a more ‘philosophical’ nature, has been inserted.

When the editors of the Korean Tripitaka, or perhaps their predecessors under the Liao or the Northern Sung came to consider the Chinese versions of the PraS, they appear to have had at their disposal a fragment of Lokakṣema’s original PCSMC (Redaction A). This they amalgamated with the current Redaction B of the same text. In China, however, if any versions of this early redaction existed at all, they were ignored by compilers of various editions of the Chinese Canon, who continued to rely solely on Redaction B.

The above scenario is, it seems to me, the most likely one that can
be inferred from the existing data. Over the many centuries the text of
the Praś has displayed a protean fluidity, so much so that no two known
versions have the same form, nor can any one text be regarded as a direct
descendant of another. Thus T.416 agrees sometimes with T.418, sometimes
with the Tibetan; occasionally T.418 and the Tibetan have material in
common which is not found in T.416; and so on. For this reason it is
impossible to draw up even the most rudimentary stemma codicum. The
best we can do is to note that there appear to be three main lines
of descent from the archetype. One is the Tibetan, the second is T.418,
and the third is that form of the text represented by T.416. T.419
falls somewhere between the second and the third; and with the third
we should probably group the Sanskrit fragment (see Appendix B) and the
text of the Praś as cited in the SCPSSL (see Introduction, p. xxviii).

Further light might be thrown on the textual history of the Praś
if one were to erect proper critical editions of both Redactions of the
PCSMC with the aid of T.417 and all other available editions and mss.
of the text; make a thorough study of the stylistic characteristics
of the translations made by Lokakṣema, Dharmarakṣa, and their contemp­
oraries, and then examine the PCSMC in the light of that study's find­
ings; and hunt down all references to and citations from the text in
Chinese and Japanese commentarial literature, in order to determine
whether or not any of them point to currently unknown translations of
the text, or elucidate the history of those translations which are
known to us.
APPENDIX B

THE SANSKRIT FRAGMENT

OF THE

PRATYUTPANNA-BUDDHA-SAMMUKHĀVASTHITA-SAMĀDHI-SŪTRA
Around the beginning of this century a Sanskrit fragment of the PraS, consisting of a single partially-damaged paper folio, was found in Central Asia, possibly at Khadalik, a site approximately 70 miles east of Khotan. Designated as Hoernle MS., No. 143, S.A. 3, it now rests in the India Office Library. The text of the fragment corresponds to the latter half of Chapter 14 in the Tibetan version.

It was first published in A.F. Rudolf Hoernle, ed. Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature (Oxford: 1916), pp. 88-93, described, transcribed, and translated by F.W. Thomas, with additional notes appended by Hoernle. Thomas's description of the folio runs as follows:

This is a practically complete folio, measuring about 393 x 118 mm. (or 15 1/4 x 4 1/2 inches). The right-hand half, however, has suffered damage and loss of text, from which even the left has not been entirely free. The latter shows the customary hole for the string within a circle of about 27 mm. (or 1 1/16 inches) diameter, and at the distance of 103 mm. (or 3 7/8 inches) from the left edge. The folio has practically nothing of the usual margins on the left and right; and its number, 28, now rather defaced, is placed at the left edge of the reverse side. The paper is soft, and has a brownish colour. There are ten lines of writing on the page, in Upright Gupta characters, originally good, but now much defaced by sand-rubbing, especially on the extreme right quarter of both sides, where some of the letters have become entirely illegible.

Thomas's and Hoernle's notes on the language of the text now stand in need of some revision, owing to Edgerton's publications on Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (BHS), but a more recent discussion of the linguistic features of the ms. may be found in Kagawa Takao, 'Kadarikku-shutsudo Bhadrapāla-sūtra no bonbun dankan ni tsuite'. In the same article Kagawa also makes some observations comparing the Sanskrit fragment with the Tibetan and Chinese versions.

Thanks to a photograph of the manuscript made by the I.O.L. and placed at my disposal by Professor J.W. de Jong, I have been able to check Thomas's transcription of the text, and have found it well executed. In fact, I must assume that my photograph is somewhat less legible than the ms. itself, since Thomas is occasionally able to read with certainty aksaras that I have hardly been able to discern. Be that as it may, I still considered it worth while to make a proper edition of the ms., setting it out in a form easier to handle. Further, the Tibetan and Chinese versions have enabled me to restore some of the text here and
there, mostly in the gāthās. Thomas also looked at the Tibetan translation, but the alternative readings for some of the verses suggested by him on the basis of the Tibetan (see Hoernle, Manuscript Remains, Addenda, pp. 410-411) are to be disregarded, since they take into account neither the metre required nor those aksaras which are in fact visible in the lines in question.

As far as the verses are concerned, the ms. contains 15 gāthās out of the total of 16 which appear at the close of Chap. 14; these 15 appear in the same order as in the Tibetan and Chinese versions. The metre is tristubh-jagatī, i.e. a random mixture of lines of 11 syllables (Indra-vajrā, Upendravajrā) and lines of 12 syllables (Indravamśā, Vamsasthā). The verses demonstrate the same peculiarities as noted by Edgerton for the verses of the SP, and I refer the reader to his 'The Meter of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka' (see also his 'Meter, phonology and orthography in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit', Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. LXVI (1946), pp. 197-206). Particularly noticeable is the fact that initial consonant combinations are treated for metrical purposes as single consonants—see e.g. Verses 3d, 4d, 5b, 6d, 7d, 8b, etc., below.

The language of the text, particularly in the verses, exhibits all the characteristics of BHS as described by Edgerton in his BHSG. The prose is written in a Sanskrit which is somewhat more regular, although its vocabulary is very much BHS. There are several examples of non-standard usage to be noted: pi for api, passim; supina for svapna, a4; tāyām for tasyām, a7; sikṣeya and pratipadycya for sikṣet and pratipadyet, a7. Of course it is always difficult to decide how much is merely due to scribal idiosyncrasies or lapses.

In presenting a new edition of the ms. the following conventions have been observed:

(i) Aksaras which are partly legible are italicised.
(ii) Aksaras which are totally or almost totally illegible due to fading or holes in the ms. are marked by X's, but in those instances where a reconstruction can be attempted, the restored aksaras appear italicised within square brackets. In the verses, missing aksaras which cannot be restored are marked not by X's, but by the required metrical signs, viz. — and .
(iii) Line nos. (a=obverse; b=reverse) appear within parentheses.
(iv) Although I have eliminated the more obvious orthographical
peculiarities and scribal lapses from the text, these are noted in the critical apparatus.

The edition of the ms. is divided into sections corresponding to those of the Tibetan text. After the edition of each section and its critical apparatus may be found an English translation and translations of the two Chinese versions, T.418 and T.416 (T.417 is not included; it condenses the prose of T.418, but contains none of the verses of Chap. 14). The reader may also refer to the Text for the Tibetan version, and to the English translation of this which appears in the main portion of the present work.

Within the English translation of the Sanskrit those parts based on conjectural reconstructions of the text appear in italics, while square brackets contain those words which I have inserted in order to make the sense clearer in English.
(al) tvasya del[-vā] pi raksām karonti nāgā pi yakṣā pi gandharvā¹ pi k[-inna-]rā pi mahoragā pi raksām karonti manuṣyā pi amanuṣyā pi śakro pi brahmā [pi catvāro pi ma-]²hārā[-jānā]² bu(a2)dāhā pi bhagavantas tasya bodhisatvasya raksām karonti ye te asaṃkheyaśu³ lokadhātusu.

(1) Ms. has gandharvā (see Manuscript Remains, p. 89, n. 2).
(2) Restored on the basis of b3 below, q.v.
(3) Not very legible, but seems to be an example of loss of semivowel, cf. BHSG, 2.17.

'Of that bodhisattva the Devas also undertake the protection. The Nāgas also, the Yakṣas also, the Gandharvas also, the Kinnaras also, the Mahoragas also undertake the protection. Men also, the Amanuṣyas also, Śakra also, Brahmā also, the Four Great Kings also, the Buddhas, Lords also, those who are in incalculable world-systems, undertake the protection of that bodhisattva.'

T.118

'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, this bodhisattva is protected by the Devas; is protected by the Nāgas. The Four Deva-kings, Śakra Devānām Indra, and the Deva Brahmā Sahāṃpati all protect this bodhisattva. The Yakṣa-spirits, the Gandharva-spirits, the Asura-spirits, the Garuḍa-spirits, the Kinnara-spirits, and the Mahoraga-spirits, both Men and Not-men, they all protect this bodhisattva together. The Buddhas, Devas-among-Devas, all protect this bodhisattva together.'

T.116

'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, because of the power of the Sūtra those men and women of good family are always protected by all the Devas. Similarly they are always protected by all the Nāgas, Yakṣas, Gandharvas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, Mahoragas, Men and Not-men. They are also protected by all the Four Great Deva-kings and similarly by the King of the Trayastriṃśadevas, up to: by the Deva-king Mahābrahma; and similarly always by all the bodhisattvas up to: by all the Buddhas, Lords; they all shelter those who manifest and uphold the Dharma in the worlds in the ten directions, in immeasurable asaṃkhyeyas worlds.'
punar aparām gṛhapate tasya [bodh]-[i(-satvasya)] dl-e-[vā pi [darśanam kāṅ]-] keṣanti : nāgā² pi (a3) yakṣā pi kinnarā pi mahoragā pi manuṣyā pi amanuṣyā pi śakra pi brahmā pi cātvāro pi mahārājānā tasya [bodh]-[i(-satvasya] darśanam kāṅkeṣanti]³ buddhā pi bha-[ga]-lvan ta(a4)ṣya bodhisatvasyāntamāsaḥ supināntaragatasyāpi mukhadarśanaṃ nāmaparikīrtanam⁴ ca karonti buddhadharmāṃ cānuśrāvayanti⁵ tasya bodhisatvasya.

(1) Supported by Tib. lta bar 'dod do; cf. also T.418, T.416 below.
(2) Ms. appears to have nāga.
(3) See (1).
(4) Ms. has -parikīrttana.
(5) Thomas reads ca-sya śrāvayanti, and may be correct. The ms. is certainly very unclear.

'Furthermore, householder, the Devas also long for the sight of that bodhisattva. The Nāgas also, the Yakṣas also, the Kinnaras also, the Mahoragas also, Men also, the Amanuṣyas also, Śakra also, Brahmā also, and the Four Great Kings also long for the sight of that bodhisattva. The Buddhas, Lords also show their faces and announce their names to that bodhisattva, even if it is only when he is dreaming, and they cause that bodhisattva to hear the Buddha-dharmas.'

T.418

'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, as for this bodhisattva, all the Devas wish to see him. The Nāgas, the Yakṣa-spirits, the Gandharva-spirits, the Asura-spirits, the Garuḍa-spirits, the Kinnara-spirits, the Mahoraga-spirits, both Men and Not-men, they all long and wish to see this bodhisattva. The Buddhas, Devas-among-Devas, all individually wish to cause this bodhisattva to go to their place, for the sake of mankind they wish to cause him to go.

Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, as for this bodhisattva, all the Devas come to his place. The Nāgas, the Yakṣa-spirits, the Gandharva-spirits, the Asura-spirits, the Garuḍa-spirits, the Kinnara-spirits, the Mahoraga-spirits, both Men and Not-men, they all come to this bodhisattva's place, and they all see each other. As for the Buddhas, Devas-among-Devas, the bodhisattva not only sees them by day, but at night in a dream he either sees the bodies of the Buddhas, or the Buddhas individually announce their own names.'
Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, as for those sons and daughters of good family, because of the power of the sūtra all the Devas wish to see them. Similarly all the Nāgas, Yakṣas, Gandharvas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, Mahoragas, Men and Not-men all long to see them. Also all those Four Great Deva-kings, similarly all the Kings of the Trayāstrimśā-devas, up to: all the Deva-kings Mahābrahmā long to see them. Similarly all bodhisattvas, up to: all Buddhas, Lords wish to see them.

Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, as for those sons and daughters of good family, because of the power of the Sūtra all the Devas always go to their place and personally display their forms, causing them to see them. Similarly all the Nāgas, Yakṣas, Gandharvas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, Mahoragas, Men and Not-men display their forms and benefit them as is fitting. Also all those Four Great Deva-kings, Kings of the Trayāstrimśā-devas, up to: all Deva-kings Mahābrahmā come in person to see [them]. Similarly all bodhisattvas, up to: all Buddhas and Lords, not only by day but also in dreams display their forms to them, announce their own names, stroke the tops of [their] heads, comfort them, praise them, and encourage them.'
Furthermore, householder, words of Dharma [hitherto] undeclared and unobtained come within the range of that bodhisattva's hearing, and he obtains them; that bodhisattva hears them through the power of that Samādhi.

Householder, I might proclaim for even a kalpa the qualities of that bodhisattva who preserves this Samādhi, yet it would not be possible to reach the limit of those qualities or of my eloquence; how much less so of that bodhisattva who, on obtaining this Samādhi, would study it in accordance with thusness and put it into practice in accordance with thusness?

T.418

'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, as for dharmas [or: sūtras] which this bodhisattva has not yet recited, and sūtras which he has not previously heard, this bodhisattva, possessing the power of this Samādhi, obtains for himself in a dream the names of those sūtras, he sees all and hears all the sounds of the dharmas [or: sūtras]. If he does not obtain them by day, then at night in a dream he sees and obtains them all.'

The Buddha said to Bhadrapāla:

'If for one kalpa, or if for more than one kalpa I were to speak of this bodhisattva who preserves this Samādhi, I could not finish describ-
ing his qualities, how much less so of one who strives to obtain this Samādhi?'

T.416

'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, as for additional sūtras hitherto unheard by those sons and daughters of good family, through the power of this Samādhi there are naturally men who come to their place and proclaim them to them even in a dream, causing them to hear and remember them without loss.'

'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, if I were to describe the qualities obtained by those sons and daughters of good family who for a short time keep the Samādhi and the marvellous Sūtra, even if I enumerated them for a kalpa I would never be able to exhaust them, and my eloquence, although inexhaustible, would not be able to describe them, how much less [the qualities] of those who hear this Samādhi, practise it according to the teaching, and abide in it in accordance with the Dharma?'}
Then the Lord at that time uttered these verses:

1. 'Taking, as it were, one grain of sand from the Ganges,
   I shall proclaim the blessings
   Of that bodhisattva who would demonstrate
   This peaceful Samādhi taught by the Sugatas.

T.418

The Buddha then recited gāthās, saying:

'If there is a bodhisattva who recites this
Samādhi spoken by the Buddha, with its message of calm concentration,
Even if one wished to praise his qualities,
It would be like the shores of the Ganges diminishing by one
grain of sand.'

T.416

Then the Lord, in order to elucidate this meaning further, uttered
gāthās, saying:

'If there was a man who could explain this
Great, peaceful, and superior Samādhi of the Buddhas,
Even if I were to describe his qualities,
It would be like taking one grain of sand from that River Ganges.
[na tasya a-1 gniḥ kramate na śastraṁ
dha tasya corāḥ pari[- - -]ḥryah2
na tasya rājāna karonti vipriyaṁ
yo uddiṣeyāti imaṁ samādhi 2

(1) Restored on the basis of Tib. de la me daṁ mtshon gyis mi tshugs śiṅ (cf. na tasya in b and c).
(2) Pāda b possibly contains the optative form of a verb, ending in eryya(h)---see BHSG, 29.30. Tib. has gnod par byed mi 'gyur (D: gnod pa byed mi 'gyur), which could suggest paripīdu, parihāṇi, or similar, with some form of kr-.

2. He who demonstrates this Samādhi,
Neither fire nor weapon affects him,
Thieves do not...him,
Kings do not do anything disagreeable to him.

T.418

Swords and lances do not wound one,
Thieves and enemies cannot harm one,
Kings and ministers are fond of one,
Such is the gain from studying this Samādhi.

T.416

If one can expound the Samādhi to others,
Water cannot drown one, nor fire burn,
One is unharmed by injury from weapons,
Kings, thieves, and evil ministers cannot have their way.
T.418
Terrible venomous snakes
See that practitioner and their poison is quickly removed;
They no longer become angry or give vent to their evil temper,
Such is the gain from reciting this Samādhi.

T.416
If one can recite the Samādhi-sūtra,
One does not fear all terrible things,
Just as the great poisons of those large snakes
Can be dispelled by the power of these sūtras.
His enraged and terrible enemies—
Men and Nāgas, also Yakṣas and Rākṣasas—
They cannot ever endure the power of him
By whom this Samādhi is set in motion.

His enemies bear him a grudge, but are no match [for him]—
Devas, Nāga-spirits, and Kinnaras—
Seeing his awesome radiance they are all silent,
Such is the gain from studying this Samādhi.

If someone accepts this Sūtra,
He does not fear all evil men;
Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, and Nāgas,
They simply never have their way [with him].
äranyakā vyaḍamṛt-gā 1ṛonta
simhās ca vyāghrās 2 ca vr[-kā] srgālāḥ
te tasya ranyāyat-tanasthitasya3
[sa-]hā[[-]yākāḥ bhonti niśevi-]nāś ca 4 5

(1) Cf. Tib.: dgon pa’i gcan gzhan mi srun gaṅ ’khod pa.
(2) Ms. has vyāgrāś.
(3) Tib.: de dag dgon pa’i gnas su gnas pa de’i. For aranyāyatana =
dgon pa’i gnas, see KP 105, 1h1, 1h2. Restoration is hypothetical.
(4) Restoration of this pada conjectural. Tib. has: grogs byed pa
dan g-yog byed par yañ ’gyur.

5. The wild beasts of the forest . . .
Lions, tigers, wolves, and jackals,
Become the companions and the attendants
Of him when he is in a forest abode.

T.418
Evil wolves and great pythons of the wilderness,
Lions, fierce tigers, deer, monkeys, and apes
Have no thought of injuring [him], and keep their poison hidden,
All coming to keep close watch over this practitioner.

T.416
If one constantly preserves and worships [the Sūtra],
Then in the forest they become his friends——
Lions, tigers, wolves and wild animals,
Rhinoceroses, wild dogs, leopards, and jackals.
(1) For 6a Tib. has gnod sbyin ša za mda'ns 'phrogs 'jigs byed pa. On the strength of this I have restored bhayanakā at the end of the pada; note that the ms. has -nākā, but this is contrary to the metre. Tib. ša za ( = pisaca) is not supported by either Chinese version, but mda'ns 'phrogs ( = ojahara, ojohara) is. I do not however see where it fits in. The first missing aksara appears to have a subscript beneath it (too horizontal for which is written almost vertically in this ms.), which might serve to make the preceding ca long.

(2) Construe as nom. pl. (BHSG, 8.79), cf. T.418 and T.416; Tib. translates as acc.

(3) Ms. has pravartta.

6. Terrible yakṣas and . . .
   Men with evil intent assail [him];
   They become downcast through the power of him
   By whom this Samādhi is set in motion.

T.418

  Evil spirits which take away men's souls,
  Devas and men who harbour thoughts of injury
  Feel his power and are naturally subdued,
  Such is the gain from studying this Samādhi.

T.416

  If one can preserve this Samādhi,
  He has power which cannot be matched;
  He is far removed from all evil-minded men
  And Yakṣas who swallow one's vital force.
[na ta-]lsya rog[ ]o na ca a-intarāyaḥ
ōakṣvendrī[-yan] tasya na jātu bha[-yan]]
[vi-](b3)sīṣṭavākyah pratibhānavanto
ya uddīśe etā samādhi īrṣṭham 7

(1) Reconstruction of the first two pādas tentative only. Tib. has:
de ni rna nad ciṅ lus nad med / mig gi dbaṅ po nams kyan nams mi
'gyur; it does not at all tally with what we can see of the first pāda,
to which T.416 corresponds more closely. As for the second pāda,
bhagnam is pure surmise, but bha- must in any case be rendered long.
Thomas suggests bha'de nihsista, but apart from being unmetrical, this
would entail enjambement between pādas b and c. I have suggested vi-
siṣṭa- for c, as this seems to accord best with the Chinese.

7. Not for him any sickness or any impediment,
   His organ of sight is never damaged;
   Excellent in speech, endowed with eloquence,
   He who demonstrates that excellent Samādhi.

T.418
That man is not sick and has no pain;
His hearing and vision are acute and not dimmed or obstructed;
The eloquence and wisdom of his speech are outstanding;
He who practises the Samādhi quickly attains this.

T.416
If one can expound this Samādhi,
He is without diseases or impediments;
The reward-eye with which he is born [?] is never injured;
His word is clear and fine, and he has great eloquence.
na sa¹ kadācin niraya² na durgatīm
na tasya k[ā-ayasm-]i krama[-nti rogā]³
na tasya daurvānīka⁴ jā[-tu⁵ bhonti ]
[ya uddīše e-]⁶(b4)ta samādhi śāntām ⁸

(1) Metre demands a long syllable: it is possible that sa is the result of a 'correction' of gen. masc. sg. se (see BHSG, 21.1877”; cf. Tib. de la nams kyaṅ sems dmyal ṇan 'gro med.
(2) Ms. has niramyām.
(3) Cf. Tib. : de yi lus la nad kyis mi 'debs sīṅ.
(4) Ms. has daurvbarannīka.
(5) Ms. has jām-.
(6) Restored on the basis of 7d.

8. Not for him at any time hell or evil destiny;
Diseases never attack his body;
Physical blemishes never fall to the lot of him
Who demonstrates that peaceful Samādhi.

T.418
That man never falls into hell,
He avoids the destiny of hungry demons and animals;
In his birth life after life he knows his former lives,
Such is the gain from studying this Samādhi.

T.416
If a man realises the profound and calm dhyāna,
His body is robust and free of all diseases;
With one birth [?] he has forever eliminated ugly forms;
Forever after he does not fear the destiny of hell.
deva na¹ rakṣanti tathaiva nāgā
ganmaṣyanāgā atha yakṣarākṣasāh
praduṣṭacittā na prabhonti [bā-]dhitum
yasyaiaṣa prāvarta² bhal-vet sa-]j(b5)mādhiḥ

9. The Devas protect him and so do the Nāgas;
   Men and Nāgas, also Yakṣas and Rākṣasas
   Of evil intent are not able to harass [him]
   By whom this Samādhi is set in motion.

T.418

The spirits and Gandharvas together protect him,
Likewise too the Devas and Men,
Together with Asuras and Mahoragas,
Such is the gain from practising this Samādhi.

T.416

If one can read the Samādhi-sūtra,
The Devas protect him, also the Nāgas;
Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, and enemies
Even if they approach evilly do not terrify [him].
devasya bhāṣanti tathaiva varṇam
manuṣyaṁ nāgā atha yakṣarākṣasāḥ
buddhāḥ ca bāṃsanti yateṣāputram
yah kṛtva praśv-a-pa-taḥ bhṛṣa desaye

(1) Ms. has varṇam.
(2) Yateṣā- for yatheṣṭa--; see BHSG, 2.35.
(3) For the restoration of this line, cf. lld.

10. The Devas similarly sing his praises,
[So do] Men and Nāgas, also Yakṣas and Rākṣasas;
The Buddhas extol him as a beloved son,
Who, having set [the Samādhi] in motion, teaches it to others.

T.416
The Devas together laud his qualities,
[So do] Devas, Men, Nāgas and Kinnaras;
The Buddhas extol him, effecting his desires [?],
Because he recites and expounds the Sūtra to others.

T.416
If one can expound the Sūtra to others,
Men [SYM: Devas], Nāgas and Yakṣas all rejoice;
Day and night always the Devas sing his praises;
All the Lords love him as a son.
1. Not for him ever any falling short with regard to awakening;
   Nor for him ever any doubt as to the dharmas;
   His equal in beauty does not appear,
   Who, having set [the Samādhi] in motion, teaches it to others.

T.418
That man's aspiration to awakening is irreversible,
And the meaning of Dharma-wisdom is inexhaustible;
His appearance is beautiful without compare;
He recites this Sūtra and converts others.

T.416
If a man always recites it to others,
He has no doubts amongst all dharmas;
His points of beauty are unequalled,
So how could there be any diminution in bodhi [for him]?
rajanakṣobhe \(^1\) atha satvakṣobhe
durbhikṣokāntārabhaye\(^2\) upasthite
na tasya kṣobho na [jighatsa]\(^3\) bhonti
ya(b8)ḥ kṛtvā prāvarta\(^4\) paresa desayet 12

(1) Rājāna can be taken as a gen. pl., but here I think it is to be construed as a stem-form in composition, like the following satva- (cf. BHSG, 17.38)
(2) Ms. has -kantāra-.
(3) On the basis of Tib.: de la gnod dan bkres par [emend to pa?] mi 'gyur ro.
(4) Ms. has prāvartta.

12. When turmoil among kings and turmoil among beings,
And famine, calamity and fear have come to pass,
Turmoil and hunger do not fall to the lot of him
Who, having set [the Samādhi] in motion, teaches it to others.

T.418
When kingdoms attack each other and people are in disorder,
When famines are recurrent and one suffers hardship,
His life is never cut off halfway through,
The one who can recite this Sūtra and convert others.

T.416
If one can teach beings,
Then when one encounters evil kings and people in confusion,
In times of drought when the price of grain is high,
One never suffers from fraud or famine.
13. Even if beings become overpowered by Māra,
   He has no fear, nor standing on end of the hair;
   *Inconceivable are the qualities of him*
   Who sets in motion this Samādhi.

T.418

   Heroically he overcomes the deeds of Māra,
   His mind has no fear, his hair does not stand on end;
   His virtuous conduct (功德行) is inconceivable,
   Such is the gain from practising this Samādhi.

T.416

   If a man expounds this Samādhi,
   The qualities he has are inconceivable;
   Even if Māra torments beings,
   He cannot move a single hair of his head.
yāvanti kecit parikīrtiṭā
dīnavopadravasāṅkileśāḥ
na tasya [kāyaṃ] krama[-nti] ete
[sthāpetva karme-]ṇa [puruṣ-]ṇakena (b0) 14

(1) Ms. has parīkṛttītā.
(2) Cf. Tib.: de dag de yi lus la mi tshugs so.
(3) Restoration conjectural, but the first aksara of the pada is partially visible, and appears to be g with a letter beneath it. There is no indication of an i, so Thomas's proposed vina is unsupported. Cf. Tib.: sḥon gyi las kyi rnam smin ma gtogs par.

14. However many the miseries, misfortunes and afflictions
    That have been named by me,
    They do not attack his person,
    Except by virtue of [his] former action.

T.418

Bewitchments, magic transformations, spells,
And foul, heretical and incorrect practices
Can never affect his person,
Because he loves the Dharma and penetrates its essence.

T.416

As for the man who keeps the Sūtra, described by me before,
All calamities, terrors and afflictions
Can never do him any harm,
Except for misfortunes previously determined by past action.
praṣāṃsitā varṇita saṃstutāḥ ca
purasthapitvā imeṁ jeṣṭhaputrāḥ
yesāṁ ime hasti udārasūtra

gacchanti kāle carī[ - w — ]e − 3 15

(1) Ms. has varṇnitā saṃstutāḥ.
(2) Metrically short e (BHSG, 3.64).
(3) Tib. zad pa phyi ma'i dus na would lead us to suspect some form of
ksaya after carime/carimasmi here, but I cannot see how to insert it.
(4) Two obliterated aksaras follow.

15. Having placed [them] to the fore, these, my eldest sons
Have been lauded, praised, and extolled,
Into whose hands these great sūtras
Pass in the last time ...'

T.418

All together sing of their qualities,
The honoured sons of the Buddha, endowed with the wisdom
of the Samādhi;
Such is the gain [of those whose] hands accept this Sūtra
Afterwards, in the future, in the very final age.'

T.416

If there are those who preserve this Sūtra,
These then are eldest sons to me;
I have sung the praises of them,
And so it will be again in future ages.'
When we compare the Tibetan and Chinese versions with the Sanskrit fragment and with each other, we are immediately struck by the considerable number of differences between what are supposed to be various renditions of the same text. Naturally the basic identity of all four versions is never in doubt, but it is sometimes surprising to see the degree to which the Chinese and Tibetan do differ from the Sanskrit. It must be admitted that, in the translation of prose and verse generally, altering the line- and word-order and rephrasing the meaning of the original text fall within the bounds of acceptable translator's license. However, the discrepancies encountered in the parallel passages set out above are of an order which exceeds this. Leaving out of account minor alterations to the text, one may point to the following more salient deviations:

14E No equivalent of ye te asamkheyāsu lokadhātuṣu in T.418 or Tib., although the phrase appears in T.416. Tib. and T.416 both mention bodhisattvas mahāsattvas as providing protection; Sanskrit and T.418 do not.

14H In Sanskrit Bhadrapāla is addressed as grhapati; all other versions give his name (also in 14I). In Sanskrit no mention of the Devas, Nāgas, etc. going to where the bodhisattva is in order to see him, but this appears in Tib., T.418, and T.416. T.416 especially is much more detailed, e.g. the Buddhas stroke the bodhisattva on the head (a form of empowerment?), etc.

14I The Sanskrit does not state that the bodhisattva hears the new dharmas in dreams as well, but this is the case in the other three versions. No Tibetan equivalent for the important phrase samādher anubhāvena.

In the second part of 14I the sense of the Sanskrit, clearly conveyed in T.418 and T.416, is lost in Tib. (due to faulty translation?). Only T.416 has any sort of equivalent for pratibhāna and tathatvāya.

14J (Verses)

2 T.416 mentions water not being able to drown the bodhisattva; this is not found elsewhere. Both Chinese versions mention ministers.

4 T.418 has Kinnaras, not found elsewhere.
5 T.418 and T.416 give different collections of wild animals. The third pāda of T.418 has no counterpart elsewhere.

6 Tib. version's Piśācas not found elsewhere (but note problematic state of the Sanskrit text at this point).

7 Only Tib. and T.418 state that the bodhisattva's hearing is unimpaired.

8 T.418 states that the bodhisattva knows his former lives—not found elsewhere—and also omits any reference to disease. Only T.416 has a recognisable equivalent for daurvārṇika.

9 T.418: no counterpart for praduṣṭacittā; its Asuras and Mahoragas appear in Tib. too, but not in Sanskrit or T.416.

Tib. version's Kumbhāṇḍas not found elsewhere.

13 First pāda of T.418 suggests different Sanskrit (?).

14 T.418 has totally different fourth pāda, and its first two pādas also diverge considerably from other versions.

Also to be noted is the fact that only T.416 follows the Sanskrit in the order of its sections (14E,H,I,J); in Tib. (14E,F,G,H,I,J) and T.418 (14G,E,F,H,I,J) the order is different.

I would hesitate to attribute all, or even most of the above divergencies to the translators themselves, even though a certain carelessness in dealing with largely formulaic material is not entirely out of the question. Given the sacred character of the literature concerned, it is hard to see how any translator could take it upon himself to make such obvious changes to the meaning of the text before him, especially when working in tandem with other scholars. In my opinion, we ought to regard the existing Chinese and Tibetan versions of the Praś as reasonably faithful to the meaning (even if not to the wording) of their respective originals, and ascribe the grosser discrepancies in the material cited above to changes in the Sanskrit text in the course of approximately 600 years of transmission. It may also be the case that by the time the first Chinese translation was made the Praś was already circulating in several different recensions. Even the pāthās, somewhat less susceptible to change than the prose—thus preserving their original BHS form in many texts where the prose has been completely Sanskritised—have clearly undergone certain alterations.

All this reinforces previous observations on the fluid nature of the textual tradition of the Praś (and of other Mahāyāna sūtras), and should serve to remind us once more that although the Tibetan translation may be a useful indication of the Sanskrit text at one stage of its
development, it does not tell the whole story by any means.

Not being a paleographer I cannot attempt to assign a date to our Sanskrit ms. on the basis of its script. It should, however, be observed that T.416 is the version that most closely resembles the Sanskrit, even though it is considerably more detailed in its prose passages. Since sūtras tend to expand with time, this might suggest that the Sanskrit fragment represents a form of the text older than T.416, even though the ms. itself may still have been written after Jñānagupta made his translation. Whether or not our fragment embodies the Praś in a form which is even older than Lokakṣema's text is also a moot point.
The Glossary which follows, although far from being a complete index to the text, contains over 300 entries—proper names, technical terms, and other selected items of vocabulary which appear in the Praś. Since part of my intention was to facilitate further study of the Chinese versions, I have included all those terms whose Chinese equivalents are in any way noteworthy; for instance, all transliterated terms have been incorporated.

Although it would have been more proper to list all items in Tibetan in the first place, I decided to give the Sanskrit equivalents first, in order to make the Glossary accessible to a wider scholarly public. A further consideration in this regard was that not all the terms given are found in the Tibetan text, some of them appearing in certain instances only in the Chinese translations. Each item, accordingly, is listed first in Sanskrit, in Sanskrit alphabetical order. Then follow the Tibetan counterpart; the Chinese equivalents which appear in T.418, T.419, and T.416 (in that order); the standard English rendering adopted in my translation; and finally an index, by chapter and section, of those places in the text of the Praś where the term may be found. As in the body of the study, references to verses are made thus: 8Kv5 (= Chap. 8, Section K, Verse 5). In the index the following abbreviations are used:

(T) : in the section designated the term is found only in the Tib.
(C) : in the section designated the term is found only in Chinese.
(418),(419),(416) : the term is found only in the respective versions.

Chinese equivalents are listed in order of frequency, unless the term under consideration appears so seldom in the text as to make it possible to give full details of all its occurrences. Further, when material from the Chinese versions is cited, it is sometimes necessary to give variant readings; in such cases K stands for the Korean edition, the base text of the Taishō, and SYM for the 'Three Editions'. When variants are cited from one or other of the Sung, Yüan, and Ming editions, the abbreviations S, Y, and M are used.

T.417, being a later abridgement of T.418, does not figure separately in the Glossary, but its equivalents are sometimes given under T.418 when they are significantly different.

Given the manifold obscurities of T.418 and T.419 and the poor state in which these texts have come down to us, it is impossible to be
certain about many of the equivalents: hence the plethora of question-marks. It is to be hoped that a more thorough study of early Chinese Buddhist translations will remove at least some of these uncertainties; furthermore, proper critical editions of T.418 and T.419, utilising all available materials, would be of great value.
### GLOSSARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>T.418</th>
<th>T.419</th>
<th>T.416</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akanistha-deva</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>阿迦吒 (SYM:尼)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Akanistha Devas</td>
<td>1H(418); see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akušala-karma-patha (daśa-)</td>
<td>mi dge ba bcu'i las kyi lam</td>
<td>十恶</td>
<td>十恶作足</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ten bad ways of action</td>
<td>2G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aksana (aṣṭa-)</td>
<td>mi khom (brgyad); mi dal ba</td>
<td>(1K) 恶之處; (1K)無法處</td>
<td>(1K) 恶作足之處; (1K)無法處</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>untimely rebirths</td>
<td>1K;13Kv19; 13Mvl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajātaśatru</td>
<td>Ma skyes dgra</td>
<td>阿闍世</td>
<td>阿闍世</td>
<td>阿闍世</td>
<td>三有諸障難 (?)</td>
<td>13Mvl</td>
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<tr>
<td>Advaya</td>
<td>gphis su med pa</td>
<td>不二</td>
<td>非我 (?)</td>
<td>無二</td>
<td>Ajātaśatru</td>
<td>1H</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adhimukti, adhimukta, etc.; see also gambhirādhimukta</td>
<td>mos pa</td>
<td>所信;信 (2I) 向脱</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>without duality; see also 1S.</td>
<td>2J;24B(T); see</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adhimukti-bala</td>
<td>mos pa'i stobs</td>
<td>所信力</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(strong) inclination; application</td>
<td>1N,R;2I;6G; 7A,C-D; 9B; 20E; 24C(T); 24H(T)</td>
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<td>power of strong inclination</td>
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<td>adhyāśaya; see also āśaya</td>
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<td>Ma dros</td>
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<td>anāgāmin</td>
<td>phyir mi 'on ba</td>
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<td>Mgon med zas styin</td>
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<td>anāvaraṇa; nirāvaraṇa; vināvaraṇa;</td>
<td>sgrib pa med pa; sgrib pa dañ</td>
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<td>anāsṛava; see also āsṛava; kṣīṇāsṛava</td>
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<td>anuttara-samyaksambodhi; see also next</td>
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<td>lhag pa'i bsam pa</td>
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<td>所行;心所念</td>
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<td>阿耨達</td>
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<td>Anāthapīṇḍada 1G</td>
<td>the Never-returning</td>
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<tr>
<td>未离盖缠</td>
<td>free of the obstructions; unobstructed; etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>无障礙</td>
<td>unobstructed cognition</td>
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<tr>
<td>无漏</td>
<td>free of outflows</td>
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<tr>
<td>无上独尊</td>
<td>supreme and perfect awakening</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
anuttarām samyak-
sambodhim abhi-
sambudhyate; etc.

anuttarāyān sam-
yaksambodher
avaiwartika (avi-
nivartaniya, etc.);
see also avai-
vartika

anutpattika-
dharma-ksānti

bna sed pa yaṅ
dag par rdzogs
pa'i byaṅ chub
mñon par rdzogs
par 'tshaṅ rgya;
etc.

bna sed pa yaṅ
dag par rdzogs
pa'i byaṅ chub
las phyir mi
ldog pa

mi skye ba'i chos
la bzod pa

become fully
awakened to
supreme and
perfect awak-
ening

irreversible
from supreme
and perfect
awakening

patient accept-
ance of the
fact that
dharmas are↓
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term(s)</th>
<th>Meaning(s)</th>
<th>Source(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anumodanā; anumud-; etc.</td>
<td>助歡喜; 助其歡喜; 助其援助</td>
<td>not produced</td>
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<tr>
<td>anyātīrthika (paratīrthika?); see also tīrthika</td>
<td>餓人學餘道</td>
<td>9L; 23A-F; 23Gv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aniṣṭā; see also durgati</td>
<td>無有極 (?); 餓人道;</td>
<td>1, 2, 5, 6(418);</td>
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<tr>
<td>apramāṇa-citta; see also maitrī, etc.</td>
<td>思想無邊際心, 動念無邊際心</td>
<td>23M-0; 23Vv9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abhijñā (pañca-); see also next</td>
<td>仙道羅漢之支, 佛眼視</td>
<td>1R; 14B; 18E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abhijñā (sād-)</td>
<td>See preceding</td>
<td>13Kv19; 14Jv8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abhiniskramana; abhiniskrānta; etc.</td>
<td>(9A, H)棄愛欲作 (2H) 捨世</td>
<td>13Kv19; 14Jv8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>比丘; (11Dv1)作沙門; (2H)棄生死</td>
<td>(Tib. niin 'gro);</td>
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<td>20I(416);</td>
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<td>20Kv11(T)</td>
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</table>

*Note: The table above provides a translation of a portion of the text into natural language. The original text is a page from a book, and the contents include various terms and their meanings, along with references to sources.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abhibhāyatana</td>
<td>Eight stages of sovereignty</td>
<td>2G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amanuṣya</td>
<td>Non-human</td>
<td>14D-H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amitāyus</td>
<td>Non-human</td>
<td>3A-C,E-F;5C</td>
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<td>arāṇya</td>
<td>Forest-life</td>
<td>1P;2D;9D(416);</td>
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<td>Arhat</td>
<td>Non-human</td>
<td>9H,J;Mvl;13Lvl1;</td>
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<tr>
<td>arhatta</td>
<td>Arhatship</td>
<td>1A;1Y(418:see</td>
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<tr>
<td>alaṁśana; arāṇya; see also</td>
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<td>1A;1Y(418:see</td>
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<td>Arhatship</td>
<td>abhijñā);15K;</td>
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<tr>
<td>avaiśvārtika; see also</td>
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<td>18F;23J</td>
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<td>anuttarāyāh, etc.</td>
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<td>1A;1Y(418:see</td>
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<td>alaksana; see also</td>
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<td>1A;1Y(418:see</td>
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<td>anuttarāyāh, etc.</td>
<td>Arhatship</td>
<td>1A;1Y(418:see</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- (SYM: 八使) refers to the eight stages of sovereignty.
- (passim) 阿蘭若; forest-life (verses) 阿蘭若; (2D) 阿羅漢 阿羅漢; see also 阿羅漢
- (8G) 阿羅漢道 聲聞菩提
- (1S) 無想 (?:) 無相
- (23Gv4) 阿毘致; (23Gv4) 不退轉
- (15K) 不退轉; (18F) 不退轉
- (1R;15K;18F; 23E;23Gv4(418)
<table>
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<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
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<td>aṣubha-bhāvanā</td>
<td>観死人骨</td>
<td>観死人骨</td>
<td>観死人骨</td>
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<td>asamkhyeya-kalpa</td>
<td>阿僧祇劫</td>
<td>阿僧祇劫</td>
<td>阿僧祇劫</td>
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<td>asamasama-jñāna</td>
<td>阿難朋</td>
<td>阿難朋</td>
<td>阿難朋</td>
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<tr>
<td>asura</td>
<td>観死人鬼神</td>
<td>観死人鬼神</td>
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<td>九惱</td>
<td>九惱</td>
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<td>med pa</td>
<td>観污露</td>
<td>観污露</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>mi mām pa dañ</td>
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<td>mi sāt pa sogn</td>
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<td>skal pa grans</td>
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<td>mi mdām pa dañ</td>
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<td>mām pa'i ye sès</td>
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<td>kun nas mnar sems</td>
<td>九惱</td>
<td>九惱</td>
<td>九惱</td>
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<tr>
<td>kyi dños po dgu</td>
<td>九惱</td>
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**Translation**
- **aṣubha-bhāvanā**: 観死人骨 (Meditation on the repulsive kalpa(s))
- **asamkhyeya-kalpa**: 阿僧祇劫 (Incalculable cognition equal to the unequalled)
- **asamasama-jñāna**: 阿難朋 (Asuras)
- **asura**: 観死人鬼神 (Nine bases of ill-will)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>acārya</td>
<td>slob dpon</td>
<td>善師，師</td>
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<tr>
<td>ātma-đrṣṭi</td>
<td>bdag tu lta ba</td>
<td>(18Kv16)見吾我</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ātma-samjñā</td>
<td>bdag tu 'du ses</td>
<td>(2H)身想 (SYM:</td>
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<td>Ananda</td>
<td>Kun dga' bo</td>
<td>(18E)我見</td>
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<td>Āmrapālī</td>
<td>A mra skyoṅ</td>
<td>阿難</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>āyatana; see also tīrthāyatana</td>
<td>skye mched</td>
<td>阿凡和利 (SYM:</td>
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<tr>
<td>āyatana-đrṣṭi</td>
<td>skye mched du lta ba</td>
<td>袈入</td>
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<td>ārambāpa-bala</td>
<td>dmigs pa'i stobs</td>
<td>所向力 (?)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(6H)本 (SYM:</td>
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<td>法師;阿闍梨</td>
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<td>master; teacher</td>
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<td>view of a self</td>
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<tr>
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<td>perception of a self</td>
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<td>見諸入</td>
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<td>view of sense-fields</td>
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<td>power of objects of sense</td>
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Notes:
- (SYM) indicates a symbolic meaning.
- 6H: 6th century
- 10B: 10th century
- 11C: 11th century
- 15L: 15th century
- 18E: 18th century
- 26B, 26F: 26th century
- 13Kv1: 13th century
- 33, 34: 33rd, 34th century
- 1A: 1st century
- 5Ev7: 5th century
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<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tr>
<td>ārāmbha-vastu (aṣṭa-)</td>
<td>brtams pa'i dnos po brgyad</td>
<td>eight bases of exertion (15D-E;23N,Vv8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ārāgayati</td>
<td>mñaś par byed pa</td>
<td>encounter; propitiate; become (13Kv18,22;18,20,22,24;15D-E,0;23N)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ārya</td>
<td>'phags pa (rnam)</td>
<td>the Holy Ones (2F;9D;24B)</td>
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<tr>
<td>āryā</td>
<td>'phags ma</td>
<td>Noble Lady (16B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āryāṣṭāṅga-mārga</td>
<td>'phags pa'i lam yan lag brgyad pa</td>
<td>holy eight-fold path (2G(T))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ālasya-vastu (aṣṭa-)</td>
<td>le lo'i dnos po brgyad</td>
<td>(eight) bases of sloth (2G;4Ev9)</td>
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<tr>
<td>āvaraṇa: see an- āvaraṇa; nīvaraṇa</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>āvenika(-buddha)- dharma (astādaśa-)</td>
<td>saṁs rgyas kyi chos ma 'dres pa tco brgyad</td>
<td>(eighteen) exclusive (Buddha- ) dharmas (15I(T);22A-B;25E(T))</td>
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<td>Tibetan</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
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<tr>
<td>अशय; see also अध्याशय</td>
<td>བསམ་པ</td>
<td>1Q (1Q)所行; (23K)所念；念心所念 (for 念 read 念)</td>
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<tr>
<td>अशय-बाल</td>
<td>བསམ་པའི་སྐོར་སྔལ།</td>
<td>本善多力 (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>अस्रव/अस्रव; see छंस्रव; also अनस्रव</td>
<td>བསམ་པ</td>
<td>(20J)所適善 (150; 20J)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ख्नस्रव</td>
<td>བསམ་པའི་སྐོར་སྔལ།</td>
<td>五根</td>
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<tr>
<td>इंद्रिय (पञ्च-)</td>
<td>ཆ་པ</td>
<td>五根</td>
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<tr>
<td>इंद्रिय-बाल</td>
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<td>इन्द्रदत्त</td>
<td>ཁྱབ་པོ་འཕྲུལ།</td>
<td>因達達; (3G)帝釋德 (once only)</td>
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<td>इौरापाठ</td>
<td>སྡོད་ལམ།</td>
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<td>उत्पलावर्ण</td>
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<td>उपक्लेश</td>
<td>མོཊ་པ་</td>
<td>蓮華色</td>
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*Note: The document contains a mix of Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, and English terms and phrases. The table provides a translation and explanation of the terms in the context of a religious or philosophical text.*
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Upananda</th>
<th>Ne dga' bo</th>
<th>和難</th>
<th>和難</th>
<th>足難陀</th>
<th>Upananda</th>
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<td>upavāsa (aṣṭāṅga-)</td>
<td>yan lag brgyad dañ ldan pa'i</td>
<td>八閤齊</td>
<td>八閤齊</td>
<td>八閤齊</td>
<td>eightfold</td>
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<td>[?]</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>fast</td>
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<td>posadha</td>
<td>ņe bar gnas pa</td>
<td>see also</td>
<td>preceptor</td>
<td>9D;160</td>
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<td>upādhyāya</td>
<td>mkhan po</td>
<td>(9D)知上 (SYM:尚)</td>
<td>(9D;160)知上 (SYM:尚)</td>
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<td>16V(418,v.4)</td>
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<td>善權方便</td>
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<td>(passim)</td>
<td>(SYM:尚)</td>
<td>優婆塞</td>
<td>優婆塞</td>
<td>優婆塞</td>
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<td>dge bṣien</td>
<td>(13Kv15;18Kv23;23Xv6)清信士</td>
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<td>skill in means</td>
<td>16V(418,v.4)</td>
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<td>btañ sñoms</td>
<td>(4Ev10)等心(K); (4Ev10)依護</td>
<td>(4Ev10)捨;(22A)無不知己捨</td>
<td>disinterestedness</td>
<td>4Ev10(btañ sñoms byas na);</td>
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<td>maitrī, etc.</td>
<td>(SYM:尚)</td>
<td>普救護 (SYM:尚);</td>
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<td>8E(T);22A(q.v.);</td>
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<td>rddhi</td>
<td>rdzu 'phrul</td>
<td>與心 (K); (13Jv1)威神</td>
<td>無有不能</td>
<td>22Bv5(T)</td>
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<td>rddhi-bala</td>
<td>rdzu 'phrul gyi stobs</td>
<td>(13Jv1)神通</td>
<td>絕足</td>
<td>magical power</td>
<td>1I;13Jv1</td>
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<td>絕足</td>
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<td>3C;18Kv20(T)</td>
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11I 11C
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
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<td>rddhyabhisamkāram</td>
<td>pār 'du bya ba</td>
<td>(1G) Chen, 16</td>
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<td>abhisamkr-</td>
<td>māna par mdzad pa</td>
<td>(16G) Chen, 16</td>
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<td>'E ra' 'dab ma</td>
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<td>14Jv6</td>
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<td>Kapilavastu</td>
<td>Ser skya'i gnas pa</td>
<td>1F</td>
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<td>karunā; see also maitri, etc.</td>
<td>sāni rje</td>
<td>1T(mahā-); 18</td>
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<td>kalandaka-nīvāsa</td>
<td>bya ka lan da ka gnas pa</td>
<td>1A;IV;T has ras bcōs = dūsyay</td>
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<td>kalavīna</td>
<td>ka la biṅ ka</td>
<td>1A;1B(416);1C-H; 1I(416); 16C(T)</td>
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<td>kalpa</td>
<td>bskal pa</td>
<td>Kalaviṅka kalpa 7Gv6 et passim</td>
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<td>kalyāṇa-mitra</td>
<td>dge ba'i bās gēn</td>
<td>1V et passim</td>
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- Performed a working of magic
- Stealers of vital force
- Compassion
- Cotton
- the Haunt of the Kalanda-kas
- Good friend
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Pali</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| kāma-gūna (pañca-)       | 'dod pa'i yon tan (līna) | (4Ev10) 功德地 (4Ev10) 善趣 | (4Ev10) 世間諸欲事 (14B) 諸愛欲事 (16Vv2) 諸五欲 qualities
|                          |                       | (15J) 身、痛、痒，心、法; (18A) 色 (?) | sense-
| kāya (or: rūpa-)        | lus (or: gzugs)      | (15J) 身、痛、痒，心、法; (18A) 色 (?) | (15J;18B) 身、愛，心、法; (18A) 色，聲、香、味、觸 (?) body (or:form),
|                          | tshor ba sems-cho     |                           | 諸五欲 feelings,
|                          |                       |                         | 諸五欲 thought, dharmas
| dharma; see also         |                       |                         | 諸五欲 dharmas the Black
|                          |                       |                         | Mountains
| smṛtyupasthāna           |                       |                         | 禪那薄羅 dyed robes;
| kālaparvata              | ri nag po             | 禪那薄羅 yellow robes  | 13J(418);15C;23M
| kāśyya (vasana, etc.)    | gos tshon can; gos hor smrig |                         | Kinnara 11;14E-H;
| kīmnara                  | mi 'am ci             |                         | 14Jv10;
| kumbhānda                | grul bum              |                         | 17Ev5
| kuśala-kārmapatha (dāsa-)| dge ba bcu'i las kyi lam |                         | Kumbhāṇḍa 14D;14Jv9(T)
|                          |                       |                         | ten good ways of action 2G;11B(T);
|                          |                       |                         | 23J

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kuśala-mūla</th>
<th>dge ba'i rtsa ba</th>
<th>(passim)</th>
<th>(2A)</th>
<th>(3J)</th>
<th>(21)</th>
<th>(3J)</th>
<th>(2A)</th>
<th>(passim)</th>
<th>root(s) of goodness</th>
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<td>Ko'u sam bi</td>
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<td>ksānti; see also</td>
<td>bzod pa</td>
<td>(21)</td>
<td>(13Kv21)</td>
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<td>(21)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(2A)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2I; 3D; 9B;</td>
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<td>11Dv5; 13Kv21;</td>
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<td>15H; N; 160;</td>
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<td>ksānti-pāramitā</td>
<td>bzod pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa</td>
<td>(16V)</td>
<td>(19Dv1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(21)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(15H; 19Dv1)</td>
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<td>5D; 16V(418, v.3);</td>
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</table>

<p>|              |              |          |      |      |      |      |      |          | perfection of patient acceptance |
|              |              |          |      |      |      |      |      |          |                      |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>keśānāsrava</th>
<th>zag pa zad pa</th>
<th>(1A)所著盡</th>
<th>(1A)所著盡</th>
<th>outflows exhausted</th>
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<tr>
<td>*Kṣemarāja</td>
<td>Bde ba'i rgyal po</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>*Kṣemarāja</td>
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<td>khila; see also nīvaraṇa</td>
<td>tha ba</td>
<td>無畏王</td>
<td>無畏王</td>
<td>harshness</td>
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<td>gaṅgā-nādi-vālukā-sama (and related expressions)</td>
<td>gaṅ gā'i (kluṅ gi) bye (ma) sṇed</td>
<td>諸障障</td>
<td>諸障障</td>
<td>1Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gati; see also durgati; apāya</td>
<td>'gro ba</td>
<td>(1Y)一切世; (8 Kṛtv)五道; (16Vv1)諸習欲 (?)，五道</td>
<td>(8Kv7)生死 (?)； (16Vv1)一切諸後有，一切生</td>
<td>like the sands of the River Ganges</td>
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<td>gandharva</td>
<td>dri za</td>
<td>罪陀羅鬼神</td>
<td>罪陀羅鬼神</td>
<td>Gandharva</td>
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<td>chos zab mo la bzod pa</td>
<td>(16L)樂於深經; (16Vv1)愛樂法在深解 (?)</td>
<td>(16L)甚深忍; (16Vv1)於深法心欲樂</td>
<td>patient acceptance of the profound Dharma</td>
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<td>gambhirādhimukta</td>
<td>zab mo la mos pa</td>
<td>(6G)深入 (?); (19B)深入慧中 (?)</td>
<td>(6G)信甚深法; (19B)正信甚深</td>
<td>strongly inclined to the</td>
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<tr>
<td>term</td>
<td>gloss</td>
<td>notes</td>
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<td>garuda</td>
<td>nam mkha' ldiñ</td>
<td>(11)迦樓 (SYM:留) 迴留羅鬼神；(14E-H)迦留羅鬼神 (T.417:迦樓羅)</td>
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<td>gāthā</td>
<td>tshigs su bcad pa</td>
<td>(1E)迦休頭</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guhagupta (Guhyagupta?)</td>
<td>Phug sbas</td>
<td>倣 (at 1E, 16J K has) 橋 日 (1E:日)</td>
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<td>grhapati: usually as epithet for Mahāsārthavāha</td>
<td>khyim bdag</td>
<td>倣 (1G)迦羅越； (13Kv26)居士</td>
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<td>grhasita / grhin</td>
<td>khyim na gnas pa;</td>
<td>(1B)白衣； (11A)居家修道； (11Dvl)居家</td>
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<td>khyim pa</td>
<td>居家修道； (11Dvl)居家</td>
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<td>cakravarti-rāja</td>
<td>'khor los sgyur</td>
<td>轉輪王</td>
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<td>ba'i rgyal po</td>
<td>a Wheel-turning King</td>
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<td>9C(418); 18G; 23K; 23L(418)</td>
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<td>cakravāḍa (-mahā-cakravāḍa)</td>
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<td>鐵圍山；(18G)鐵圍山 (T)</td>
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<td>(ri) khor yug(dan) khor yug chen po</td>
<td>3C; 18G; 18Kv11</td>
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</table>

Note: (passim) indicates that the term may have variant spellings or meanings across different sources.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>candā-la-putra</td>
<td>gzol bu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>乞兒</td>
<td>son of an outcast</td>
<td>1P</td>
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<td>candana</td>
<td>tsan dan</td>
<td>柚檀香</td>
<td>(6C) 柚檀</td>
<td>sandalwood</td>
<td>6C;6E(T)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campā</td>
<td>Tsam pa ya</td>
<td>占波</td>
<td>占波</td>
<td>Campā</td>
<td>1E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cīvara; see next; pātra-cīvara</td>
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<td>dañ na ba'i gsos</td>
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<td>sman dañ yo byad</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>(chos) gos dañ</td>
<td>(2D) 好衣</td>
<td>robes, food, beds and seats, medicine to cure</td>
<td>2D;10B(T); 23W(C)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>(2D)食事用衣服</td>
<td>(SYM: adds被)床臥</td>
<td>the sick, and personal belongings</td>
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<td>#(#150;22A)</td>
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<td>'Dzam bu'i glin</td>
<td>(passim)閻浮利</td>
<td>(6A)閻浮利</td>
<td>Jambudvīpa</td>
<td>6A;13A-B;23I,L</td>
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<td>jina</td>
<td>rgyal ba</td>
<td>(passim)佛</td>
<td>(18K v4) 勝;</td>
<td>Jina</td>
<td>2A et passim</td>
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<td>(passim)佛;如来</td>
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<td>srog tu 'du ses</td>
<td>(2H)壽(?);</td>
<td>(2H)壽命想</td>
<td>perception of a life</td>
<td>2H;18E(T)</td>
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<td>ye ses mthön ba</td>
<td>(22A)所見慧</td>
<td>(150)知見 (?)</td>
<td>cognition and vision</td>
<td>150;22A</td>
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<td>nam ca manusyanam ca buddho bhagavan</td>
<td>於世間，於經中大明，於經中之尊，天上天下騁日天中天；(17A)佛</td>
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<td>tirthika; see also anya-tirthika</td>
<td>諸外異道</td>
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<td>tirthyayatana</td>
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<td>trayastrimśa (*-deva); see also Śakra</td>
<td>常 留天</td>
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<td>tridhātu; see also traidhātuka</td>
<td>三界</td>
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<td>trisāhasra-mahā-sāhasra-lokadhātu</td>
<td>三千國土</td>
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<td>rten mkhyen pa/skyes bu 'dul ba'i kha'i lo sgyur ba/bla na med pa/bla da'n mi rnams kyi ston pa/saṅs rgyas bcom ldan 'das</td>
<td>(8Kv13)諸外異道</td>
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<td>mu stegs can</td>
<td>餘道</td>
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<td>mu stegs can gyi skye mched</td>
<td>(1M;8Kv13)外道</td>
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<td>sum cu rtṣa gsum (pa'i lha)</td>
<td>陰界諸入 (?)</td>
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<td>(Devas of) the Thirty-three</td>
<td>things on which the heretics depend</td>
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<tr>
<td>(15D)三十三天; (18Kv5)帝釋佐天三十二</td>
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<td>(1U;2H)三界</td>
<td>(Devas of) the Thirty-three (418);18Kv5;18Kv13(T)</td>
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<td>trisāhasra-mahā-sāhasra-lokadhātu</td>
<td>Triple World</td>
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<tr>
<td>ston gsum gyi ston chen po'i 'jig rten gyi kham</td>
<td>(1U);6I;6Jvl(ston gsum thams cad);</td>
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<td>(6I)三千國土; (6I)三千日月; (passim)三千大千世界; (6Jvl)一切是千</td>
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<td>(6Jvl)三千國土; (K),三千界 (SYM); (7E)一佛剎;</td>
<td>Trichilio-megachilio-cosm</td>
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<td>(6Jvl)一切是千</td>
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<tr>
<td>(7E)三千</td>
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<th>Chinese</th>
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<td>Meaning</td>
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<td>traidhātuka (see also tridhātu)</td>
<td>(7Gv1) 三千大千之國土; (18I) 無央數國土</td>
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<tr>
<td>dāna-pāramitā</td>
<td>(3L) 三處欲處色處無想處是三處</td>
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<tr>
<td>divya-caksus</td>
<td>(5D) 布施具足; (5D) 布施具行</td>
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<td>divya-srtra</td>
<td>(3C) 天眼; (20I) 天眼</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dipamkara</td>
<td>Mar me mdzad; (15F;17A) 提和竭羅; (17Bv1) 定光</td>
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<tr>
<td>durgati; see also apāya</td>
<td>igan 'gro; (13Mv1) 悪道</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drdhavīrya</td>
<td>Brtson 'grus; (23N) 坚羅惟是; (23N) 坚羅惟是</td>
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belonging to the Triple World

perfection of giving

the divine eye

the divine ear

evil destiny

Dipamkara

Drdhavīrya

K.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English</th>
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<td>*Dṛḍhaśūra</td>
<td>(23N)抵羅首羅堅勇 [T.417: 抵羅首羅]</td>
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<td>devatideva</td>
<td>Deva of Devas</td>
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<td>dvipadendra</td>
<td>Lord of the Two-footed</td>
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<tr>
<td>dharma</td>
<td>Dharma; dharma</td>
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<tr>
<td>dharma-kāya</td>
<td>Body of Dharma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dharma-dhātu</td>
<td>dharma-realm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dharma-pravicaya-</td>
<td>the awakening-factor of discrimination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sambodhyaṅga</td>
<td>of Dharma</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
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<th>English</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Dpa' brtan pa</td>
<td>天 (see also bhagavat)</td>
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<td>天中天</td>
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<td>lha'i lha</td>
<td>天中天</td>
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<tr>
<td>rkaṅ gnis dbaṅ po</td>
<td>(5Ev4)佛(K),人中尊 (SYM); (13Jv3) 衆生尊; (13Kv21)人中尊</td>
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<tr>
<td>rkaṅ gnis gtso</td>
<td>Two-footed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chos</td>
<td>法; 經; 事</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chos kyi sku</td>
<td>經藏身</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chos kyi dbyiṅs</td>
<td>(1S)經中 (?) ; (1S)法器 (?) ; (2J)法身</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chos 'byed pa yan</td>
<td>念法字覺 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dag byaṅ chub</td>
<td>分別選擇菩 提分 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyi yan lag</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chos smra ba</td>
<td>(1M)多為人說經; (1M;4Ev11;5A)說 (passim)法師; 說法師 (5A)說經</td>
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</table>

*Note: The text is a translation of Sanskrit terms into English, with some annotations in parentheses.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dharma-rāja</td>
<td>dharmarāja: (6Jv5) 王</td>
<td>23R;23W(C); 23Xv1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dharma-samjñā</td>
<td>dharmasamjñā: (18D) 王</td>
<td>15N(T?);18D; 18E(T)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhātu</td>
<td>khams (rnams): 四大</td>
<td>2E,H;16M(416); 18D;18Kv17(416); 20D;20Kv7(T); see also 3F;8Kv15;18Kv18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhātu; see also</td>
<td>riṅ bsrel</td>
<td>4Ev7;18Kv2(riṅ bsrel mchod rten)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sarīra;stūpa</td>
<td>gzuṅs (kyi sgo): 罗尼門(417); 罗尼門(7Gv16) 譯</td>
<td>1T;7Gv16(0?); 25Fv1(T)</td>
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<td>dhāranī(-mukha)</td>
<td>dhāranī(-door): 禅</td>
<td>16E(416)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhṛtarāṣṭra</td>
<td>bsam gtan</td>
<td>1M;2E,G;4Ev3; 6D;9Mv3(T);14D;↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Page Numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhāna-pāramitā</td>
<td>perfection of trance</td>
<td>5D;16V (418,3rd verse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanda</td>
<td>Lord of Men</td>
<td>1I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naraka</td>
<td>hell</td>
<td>14Jv8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>narendra</td>
<td>Supreme Man</td>
<td>5Ev3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natabha</td>
<td>'Dam bus byin</td>
<td>4Ev5;6Jv8;8Kv19</td>
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<td>Naladatta</td>
<td>Suprem Man</td>
<td>4Ev5;6Jv8;8Kv19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naga</td>
<td></td>
<td>1F;13E;14A;16D, H-J;26B;26F (416)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nikleśa/niśkleśa</td>
<td></td>
<td>1I;13Kv9;14D-H, Jv9,10;17Bv5 (T)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nimitta</td>
<td></td>
<td>12A;2F (T);8Kv6, 15L;18; 24Jv12 (T)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- (5D;16V) 一心
- (5D) 藤林具行
- (5D) 厩婆羅蜜
- (1A) 無復願垢
- (1A) 無餘結 (?)
- (1A) 無復懺悔;
- without defilements; unidentified
- (8Kv6) 苦 (?) ; (15L) 無繫;
- (18F) 無垢害
- (2I) 一切諸想;
- (2I) 一切諸相;
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nimitta-samjña</td>
<td>mtshan ma'i 'du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nirvāṇa; nirvṛtta; etc.</td>
<td>mya han las 'da' ba; mya han las 'das pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nirvāṇa-dhātu</td>
<td>mya han las 'das pa'i dbyin's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nivarana; see also anāvaraṇa; khila</td>
<td>sgrī巴 pa (lḥa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paramārtha</td>
<td>don dam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pariṇāmayati; pariṇāmanā; etc.</td>
<td>bṣǎṇ ba(r byed)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| (3B)所見(ió); (15M想)有想; (17A)有想; (18D)有想; (19A)想 | (9H; 17A; 19A)衆相; (15M想); (18D)見諸相 |
| (8Kv14)思想; (19A)色思想; (19Dv1)想 | (8Kv14; 19A)想相; (19Dv1)有相想 |
| (16T)五所欲(ó); (16Vv11)諸蓋 | (2D)諸蓋; (16T, Vv11)蓋纏 |
| (8Kv4)本(ó); (13Jv3)正真(ó) | (8G, Kv4)第一義; (7Gv6)彼如(ó); (13Jv3)正真(ó); (19Dv5)真如 |
|  | (2D; 2G(T); 16T, Vv11)五所欲(ó)|
|  |  | (7Gv6; 8G, Kv4; 13Jv3; 16R(T); 17Bv11(T); 19Dv5) ultimately truth |
|  |  | (23D(416), E(T), F,M(416)) transfer |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
parinirvaija; pari- yons su mya nan
nirvrta; see also

las ’da’ ba;

nirvana

yons su mya nan

(13B,H;22A)^SJ£

W

-

( 1 3 B ) ^ ^ . ;(15N)

Parinirvana

13B,H;15N;22A

; ( 22A)-feL

;(15M

las ’das pa
patra-civara; see
also civara, etc.

lhun bzed dan

__

(9J;10B;:UD)^Jt

chos gos

(9H);&J^;(9J)-£C bowls and
^

;(i6f)^c •••

(1 UD;1 6 f)^<L... robes

9H,J;10B;lUD;
i 6F;19B(Ui 8)

Mpapa-mitra

sdig jpa ’i j^rogs
E2.

(2D)

( 2D; 6J v 3 ) ^ . ^ ^

;

(6 J v 3 )^ -fe ^

( 2D; 6J v 3) ^

;

bad friend

2D;6Jv 3;TA

perfection

1R;2J;l6V(Ul8 ,

(TA) ,% / ^

(K)

(SYM);(6.JyM
(SYM);(7A)

paramita;see also
prajna-paramita,

pha rol tu phyin
pa

<1R) J r A

;(2J )A

( 1 R ;2 J ) ^ ;^ ^

( i 6 vv)

1+th verse);
20KvT, 1 1 ( T ) ;

etc.

2i+G(T)
pindapata(-carika) ,bsod snoms
pindapatika,etc.

(spyad pa)

(9H ;19B)4t

^

(i 5 P v 7 ) ^ 5 ? - ^ j

;
;

-

(l 5 P v 7 ) i ?
B ) f o % ^

; (19
;d9D v

(living off)
alms-food

9Hil5PvT;l9B,
Dv5

(19D v5)^^fi

pisaca

sa za

Pisaca

lUD(Ul6 ),Jv6 (T)

merit

1L et passim

jM r fifl

punya

bsod nams

3p|;

44'


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pudgala</td>
<td>(6D) 謂世間為有（?）; (18D) 有德（?）</td>
<td>6D; 6H(T); 15L,N; 160(T); 20E-F(T)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pudgala-drṣṭi</td>
<td>(6D) 謂世間為有（?）; (18D) 有德（?）</td>
<td>6D; 6H(T); 18D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pudgala-samjñā</td>
<td>(6D) 謂世間為有（?）; (18D) 有德（?）</td>
<td>2H(T); 18E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>posadha (aṣṭāṅga-)</td>
<td>see also upavāsa posadha (aṣṭāṅga-)</td>
<td>11Dv2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prajāpati</td>
<td>Skye dgu'i bdag po</td>
<td>3F, 1L et passim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prajñā</td>
<td>ses rab</td>
<td>2J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prajñā-cakusas</td>
<td>ses rab kyi mig</td>
<td>5D; 16Vv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prajñā-pāramitā</td>
<td>ses rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa</td>
<td>2F(416)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prajñā-skandha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pranidhāna</td>
<td>smon lam</td>
<td>1V; 2A; 24C(T), F(T), JV7, 11(T); 25C(T)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pranidhāna-bala</td>
<td>smon lam gyi stobs</td>
<td>1N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Tibetan</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>pratibhāna</td>
<td>spobs pa</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>*Pratibhānaprāpta</td>
<td>spobs pa rñed pa</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>pratimā</td>
<td>sku gzugs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pratisamvid</td>
<td>so so yan dag par rig pa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pratyāya-samut-pāda</td>
<td>rten ciñ 'brel bar 'byun ba rkyen rkyen gyi stobs</td>
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<tr>
<td>pratyāya</td>
<td>rañ sans rgyas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pratyāya-bala</td>
<td>rañ sans rgyas kyi theg pa pa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pratyekabuddha</td>
<td>rañ byañ chub</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pratyekabuddhayanik</td>
<td></td>
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<td>pratyekabodhi</td>
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</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eloquence; inspiration</td>
<td>1V;14Jv7;16R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Pratibhānaprāpta image</td>
<td>3G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>special knowledge(s)</td>
<td>3H(T);3I;4D, Ev8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conditioned co-production</td>
<td>1P;15I(T)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>condition</td>
<td>2I;3M(T)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>power of conditions</td>
<td>18D-(drṣṭi) 308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratyekabuddha</td>
<td>1R;1Y(418);18F;24B(418)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adherent of the Pratyekabuddhayāṇa</td>
<td>9E-F(T)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-awakening</td>
<td>8F(T);8G(416)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pravrajita;</td>
<td>(passim) 出家; (1P;3B) 学者; (1P) 沙門道人; (3B) 沙門; (15Pv7) 出家</td>
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<tr>
<td>pravrajya;</td>
<td>(passim) 作沙門; (1P) 沙門道人; (3B) 沙門; (15Pv7) 学者</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>prātimokṣa</td>
<td>(9B) 波羅提木叉; (9Mv1atl3Lvl) 木叉</td>
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<tr>
<td>so sor thar</td>
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<td>pa</td>
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<tr>
<td>preta</td>
<td>(14D) 薄伽; (14Jv8) 饥鬼</td>
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<tr>
<td>yi dwags</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bala (daśa-)</td>
<td>(1X) 十力; (5Ev4) 十種力 (Konly); (20A-K) 佛十種力</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stobs bcu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bahuśruta; bāhu-</td>
<td>(2F) 欲諷經; (6A) 高才; (6G;15N高明; (7Gv16) 博達智慧 (8Kv12) 法經; (10B) 多学; (15C) 智慧甚高明; (19D v9) 博聞; (23A-D) 皆悉具足 (?); (23M) 高明之智</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śrutya; see also śruta; śrutī</td>
<td>(2F;5D;6G) 多聞; (5D: for read 多!); (6A) 多智慧</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concept</td>
<td>Reference 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>buddha-ksetra</td>
<td>saṁs rgyas kyi žiān</td>
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<td>saṁs rgyas kyi ye ses</td>
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<td>saṁs rgyas kyi chos</td>
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<td>buddhānusmṛti</td>
<td>saṁs rgyas rjes su dran pa</td>
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<td>bodhi</td>
<td>byaṅ chub</td>
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<td>bodhi-citta(m ut-pad-)</td>
<td>byaṅ chub kyi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bodhipaśka-dharma</td>
<td>Byan chub kyi phyogs kyi chos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodhisattva</td>
<td>Byan chub sens dpa'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodhisattva-yāna</td>
<td>Byan chub sens dpa'i theg pa (pa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahma-cakra</td>
<td>Tshaṅs pa'i 'khor lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahma-cārya;</td>
<td>Tshaṅs par spyod pa/spyad pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahma-cārin</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmadatta</td>
<td>Tshaṅs pas byin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahma-loka</td>
<td>Tshaṅs pa'i 'jig rten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahma-vihāra;</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maitri, etc.; apra-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māna-citta</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhikṣu</td>
<td>dge slob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhiksuni</td>
<td>dge slob ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhūta-koti</td>
<td>yan dag pa'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magadha</td>
<td>mtha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mani-ratna</td>
<td>Gzi can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manasvin</td>
<td>'Od sruṅ chen po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākāśyapa</td>
<td>(dvātrimsan-); see also śata-punya-laksana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahāpurusa-lakṣaṇa</td>
<td>skyes bu chen po' (3F)三十二相; (8A)想 (K), 相</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mtshan sum cu rtsa gphis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāprajāpatī</td>
<td>rnam par rtog pa brgyad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. Gautāmi</td>
<td>Skye dgu'i bdag mo chen mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāmaudgalāyāyana</td>
<td>Maud gal gyi bu chen po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahayana</td>
<td>Mahāyāna; see next</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahāyāna-sam-</td>
<td>also next</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prasthita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharaja (catur-)</td>
<td>theg pa chen po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāvira</td>
<td>Rgyal po chen po (bzi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahāsattva</td>
<td>Dpa' bo chen po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāsagānāha-</td>
<td>Sems dpa' chen po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samnaddha</td>
<td>Go cha chen po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāsusārthavāha;</td>
<td>Ded dpon che bza'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susārthavāha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahēsvara</td>
<td>Dbaṅ phyug chen po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahoraga</td>
<td>Lto 'phye chen po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāyāna</td>
<td>Mahāyāna; see next</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāyāna-sam-</td>
<td>also next</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prasthita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Four Great Kings</td>
<td>the Great Hero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed with the great armour</td>
<td>Mahāsusārtha-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Note: The table contains a list of terms and their meanings, along with page references and source notes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Māra</strong></th>
<th>Bbud</th>
<th>Mara:魔</th>
<th>Mara:魔</th>
<th>Mara(s)</th>
<th>deeds of Mara</th>
<th>friendliness</th>
<th>friendliness, compassion, disinterestedness</th>
<th>friendliness, compassion, sympathetic joy, disinterestedness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Māra-karma</td>
<td>Bbud kyi las</td>
<td>maitri; see also byams pa</td>
<td>maitri--karunā; see also next byams pa</td>
<td>maitri--karunā; see also next byams pa</td>
<td>maitri--karunā; see also next byams pa</td>
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<td>maitri--karunā; see also next shīh rje</td>
<td>maitri--karunā; see also next shīh rje</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maitreya</td>
<td>Byams pa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakṣa</td>
<td>enod sbyin</td>
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</table>
**yojana**

*Ratna*

Ratnākara

*Raśmirāja*

Rāksasā

Rājagṛha

rūpa—vedānā—

samjñā—samskāra

---vijñāna; see also skandha

laksana; see also alaksana; śata-

---

**(23I)rstrip; (23P-R)里**

珍寶

(1E)羅諦迦葉

(1E)寶生;

(1E)寶德

光王

羅利

王舍

gzugs—tshor ba—'du ses---'
du byed—rnam

par śes pa

---

(2E)色

(2E)色想

(2E)色想

(18Kv 17)陰界想 (?)**

perception of form

bhāva-samjñā

khyi sku'i

form, feelings, perception, predispositions, consciousness
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>punya-laksana</th>
<th>(K;?) 諸相好 (SYM; (18Kv10)相好 (8A)身相 (SYM: 相)</th>
<th>(18Kv10) 衆相</th>
<th>mtshan); 1Ev8; 8A; 18Kv6(T), 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Licchavi</td>
<td>Lī tsa bī</td>
<td>離車</td>
<td>Licchavi 1E; 13C; 14A; 16C-E, H-I; 26B</td>
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<tr>
<td>lokanātha</td>
<td>'jig rten mgon po (5Ev2) 世雄 (SYM only); (5Ev6) 佛; (6Jvl) 尊 (SYM); (6Jv10) 佛</td>
<td>(5Ev6) 尊; (6Jvl) 於世無雙二 (SYM: 三) (?); (6Jv10) 尊; (6Jv10) 世尊 (?)</td>
<td>Lord of the World 5Ev2, 6; 6Jvl, 10</td>
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<td>vajra</td>
<td>rdo rje</td>
<td>金剛</td>
<td>vajra 10; 2A; 18Kv11(T)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Varuṇa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>和輪</td>
<td>Varuṇa 23W(C), Xv2(C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varuṇadeva</td>
<td>Chu lha</td>
<td>和輪 (passim) 水天</td>
<td>Varuṇadeva 1G; 13E; 14A; 16D, H-I(T), J; 26B; 26F(416)</td>
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<td>Vārānasī</td>
<td>Bā rā pa sī</td>
<td>波羅斯</td>
<td>Vārānasī 1F</td>
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<td>*Vidyuddeva</td>
<td>Glog gi lha</td>
<td>波羅奈</td>
<td>*Vidyuddeva 15D</td>
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<td>vinayā</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>術闇</td>
<td>Vinayā 13Lvl(416)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vinipāta</td>
<td>log (par) ltuñ (ba)</td>
<td>趣惡道; (7Gv10)</td>
<td>downfall 7Gv10; 13Kv18;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Page(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>vipaṣyana</td>
<td>insight</td>
<td>14Jv8(T)</td>
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<td>vipaṣyana-bala (?): rnam par lta ba'i stobs</td>
<td>power of insight</td>
<td>1M</td>
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<tr>
<td>vimukti-jñāna-lābs</td>
<td>(22A)</td>
<td>(18B;22A)</td>
<td>解脱知</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darśana; see also śīla-samādhi, etc: mthon ba(gzigs pa)</td>
<td>cognition and vision of emancipation</td>
<td>18B;22A; 22Bv7(T)</td>
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<td>vimokṣa (aṣṭa-) rnam par thar pa; (20G)</td>
<td>(20G)</td>
<td>(20G)</td>
<td>解脱</td>
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<td>vimokṣayatana (aṣṭa-) rnam par grol ba</td>
<td>(20G)</td>
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<td>解脱</td>
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<td>(pañca-) skye mched lha (brgyad)</td>
<td>five stages of emancipation</td>
<td>2G</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Viṣeṣagāmin Khyad par du 'gro ba</td>
<td>Viṣeṣagāmin</td>
<td>23K-L</td>
<td></td>
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<td>vihāra gtsug lag khaṅ</td>
<td>vihāra</td>
<td>11C,Dv2;13Lv6 (416;=11Dv2)</td>
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<td>vīrya brtson 'grus</td>
<td>energy</td>
<td>2D et passim</td>
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<td>vīrya-pāramitā brtson 'grus kyi pha rol tu phyin pa</td>
<td>perfection of energy</td>
<td>5D;16V(418;3rd verse)</td>
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<td>Venuvana</td>
<td>Smyig ma'i tshal</td>
<td>(1A)摩訶桓 (K; =Mahāvana), 竹園 (SYM)</td>
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<td>vetāla</td>
<td>ro laňš</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>琉璃 (SYM: 瑠璃)</td>
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<td>vaïdūrya</td>
<td>bai ḍū rya</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>Vaidehiputra</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(13Kv15)方等; (13Kv16)方等經</td>
<td>(1U)無有畏憚</td>
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<td>vaipulya</td>
<td>śin tu rgyas pa</td>
<td>(1U)無有畏懼時 (?);</td>
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<td>vaisārdya</td>
<td>mi 'digs pa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(1U)無恐怖</td>
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<td>Vaiśālī</td>
<td>(1E) Yaňš pa; (3D) Yaňš pa can</td>
<td>(1E)舍利堕 (K;corrupt), 舍利 (SYM); (3D)隨 (SYM; 隨)</td>
<td>(1E)惟舍; 舍利</td>
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<td>Śakra (devānām indra)</td>
<td>(lha rnams kyi dban po)Brgya byin</td>
<td>(passim)釋提桓因</td>
<td>(1H)切利天王</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>Pinyin</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Pinyin</td>
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<td>sata-punya-laksana</td>
<td>bsod nams brgya pa'i mtshan</td>
<td>身有三十二相</td>
<td>身有三十二相</td>
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<td>mahapuruśa-laksana</td>
<td>ēi gnas</td>
<td>相一相有百福</td>
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<td>samatha</td>
<td>ēi gnas kyi stobs</td>
<td>功德、(K)百福相</td>
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<td>samatha-bala</td>
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<td>功德相(SYM);(13Kv17)百福相</td>
<td>功德相(SYM);(13Kv17)百福相</td>
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<tr>
<td>sarīra</td>
<td>sku gdun</td>
<td>善利</td>
<td>善利</td>
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<td>dhātu</td>
<td>Sā kya thub pa</td>
<td>释迦文</td>
<td>释迦文</td>
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<td>Śākyamuni</td>
<td>Sā ri'i bu</td>
<td>释迦牟尼</td>
<td>释迦牟尼</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sariputra</td>
<td>ston pa'i 'du</td>
<td>金利弗</td>
<td>金利弗</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes:
- (4Ev4) hundred-merit marks
- (15N) quietude
- (1M) relics
- (13Kv8) Sākyamuni
- (1C(T); 23E(T): 9D-E, Mv2; 19B, Dv6; 23S) the perception of Teacher
- (passim) 百福莊嚴相; (13Kv17)百福之體相
śīksāpada (pañca-)
bslab pa'i gzi
(līḍa)
śīla
śīla-pāramitā
śīla---samādhi---
prajñā; see also
next
śīla---samādhi---
prajñā---vimukti---
—vimuktijñāna-
darśana
śīla-skandha
śuddhāvāsakūśika-
deva(-putra)

(five) rules of training
morality; moral precepts
perfection of morality
morality, samādhi, wisdom
morality, samādhi, wisdom,
emancipation, and the
cognition and vision of
emancipation
constituent of morality
Devas of the Realm of the Pure Abodes
śūnyatā; see also next

śūnyatā-animitta
---aprāṇihita

śūnyatā-samādhi

śramaṇa

dge sbyon

śrāvaka

śrāvakayānikā

sunyata; see also
next

sunyata--animitta
--apranihita

sunyata-samadhi

sramana

sravaka

sravakaynika

(1M)空無
(SYM adds 所)想無所
著；(18Kv4)意無
所著不著
(YM:想)
空(？)；(19Dv2)空
無想；(24B)無所
想無所著無
所願(？)

(1M)空無
(9B)空無相
願

(2M;9B)空無相
願

(9B inserts: 諸)

(19Dv2)
空...無相；

(24B)無相無想(？)

(1M;9B)空無相
願

samādhi of
emptiness

emptiness

emptiness,

signlessness,

wishlessness

Dv2(first two
terms only);

24B

See pravrajita;

abhiniśkramaṇa

(1R;15K)阿羅漢；

(1R;3F)弟子

(3F)比丘

(1R;23J)聲聞；

(3F)沙門；(15K)

阿羅漢；(18E)

弟子

(9E-F)聲聞人；

(15N)聲聞乘人

adherent of the Śrāvakayāna

emptiness 2D;3N(C),0v4;

4Ev1;5Ev5;6D,

H(T);15N;18Kv

3,4;19A;24Jv

13(T);25Fv13(T)

emptiness, 1M;9B;18A(T),

Kv4(418?);19

Dv2(first two
terms only);

24B
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sravastī</td>
<td>Miyen yod</td>
<td>1G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīभadra</td>
<td>Dpal bzaṅ</td>
<td>LH(T)</td>
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<tr>
<td>śruta / śruti; see also bahuśruta</td>
<td>thos pa</td>
<td>learned; learning</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>1K,0;2G;4Ev9; 6H;7Gv11,17; 15F,H;19C;</td>
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<tr>
<td>samyṛti</td>
<td>kun rāzob</td>
<td>8F,G;18Kv3</td>
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<tr>
<td>samsāra</td>
<td>'khor ba</td>
<td>2H;19C</td>
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<td>samskāra; see also rūpa, etc.</td>
<td>'du byed</td>
<td>2H;8F,I;19C</td>
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<td>samskṛtasamskṛta-dharma</td>
<td>'dus byas daṅ</td>
<td>conditioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'dus ma byas kyi chos</td>
<td>16M;19C(416)</td>
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<tr>
<td>sakṛdāgāmin</td>
<td>lan cig phyir</td>
<td>conditioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'on ba</td>
<td>18F;see also 18Kv22: 'dus byas(T)</td>
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<tr>
<td>samgraha-vastu (catur-)</td>
<td>bsdu ba'i dnos</td>
<td>the Once-returning</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>po bzhī</td>
<td>8F(T)</td>
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<td>saṅgha</td>
<td>dge 'dun</td>
<td>four means of conversion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16N</td>
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Notes:
- Sravastī and Śrīभadra are two important figures in the Buddhist tradition.
- śruti and bahuśruta are terms related to the transmission of oral traditions.
- samyṛti refers to the type of teaching.
- samsāra, samskāra, and samskṛtasamskṛta-dharma are terms related to the concept of conditioned and unconditioned.
- sakṛdāgāmin refers to one of the Four Means of Conversion.
- Assembly; community: 1A et passim
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>samjñā; see also śāstra-samjñā; etc.</td>
<td>'du šes</td>
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<tr>
<td>samjñā (nava-)</td>
<td>'du šes dgu</td>
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<td>sattva-drsti</td>
<td>sems can du lta ba</td>
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<td>sattva-dhātu</td>
<td>sems can gyi khams</td>
</tr>
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<td>sattva-samjñā</td>
<td>sems can du (or: gyi) 'du šes</td>
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<td>Satyanāma</td>
<td>Bden pa šes bya (NPL: Bden šes bya ba)</td>
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<td>samdhā-bhāṣya (and variants)</td>
<td>dgoṅs te gsuṅs pa; dgoṅs pa'i tshig</td>
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<td>samādhi</td>
<td>tiṅ ne 'dzin</td>
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<tr>
<td>samādhi-skandha</td>
<td>tiṅ ne 'dzin gyi phuṅ po</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Perception; Notion</th>
<th>Nine Perceptions; View of a Being; Realm of Beings; Perception of a Being; Esoteric Utterance; The Constituent of Samādhi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>perception; notion</td>
<td>1R; 2E-F, H; 3N, 0v3; 6C; 25A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nine perceptions</td>
<td>2G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>view of a being</td>
<td>18D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>realm of beings</td>
<td>2J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perception of a being</td>
<td>2H; 15L; 15E; 25B(T)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esoteric utterance</td>
<td>1U; 16P(T); 25Fv16(T)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samādhi</td>
<td>2F et passim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>Pinyin</td>
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<td>sarva-cetovāsi-parama-pārami-prāpta</td>
<td>sfoams par 'jug pa</td>
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<td>sarvajñā; see also next sarvajñā-jñāna</td>
<td>thams cad mkhyen pa</td>
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<td>sarvajñatā</td>
<td>thams cad mkhyen pa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sāketa</td>
<td>Gnas bcas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sāgara</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Simhamati</td>
<td>Sen ge'i blo gros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Su-?</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>attainment</td>
<td>20G,Kv9(T)</td>
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<td>attained the excellent supremacy of complete mastery over the mind</td>
<td>1A;2A</td>
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<td>omniscient</td>
<td>1U-V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omniscience</td>
<td>1Q;15G;24C(T), G(T),Jv11(T)</td>
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<td>1Q</td>
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<td>attainment</td>
<td>1Q</td>
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<td>(1A) 得制其心度於彼岸 (SYM only)</td>
<td>(1A) 得制其心度於彼岸 (SYM only)</td>
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<td>(1Q) 智慧一切知</td>
<td>(1Q) 智慧一切知</td>
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<td>(20G) 三摩跋提</td>
<td>須波日</td>
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<td>(23H-J) 私訶摩提</td>
<td>須波日</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(23Vv1) 私訶末</td>
<td>須波日</td>
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<tr>
<td>(23Vv2; title) 師子</td>
<td>須波日</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(23Vv9) 師子</td>
<td>須波日</td>
</tr>
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<td>(passim) 師子意</td>
<td>須波日</td>
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<td>Sinhamati</td>
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**Notes:**
- SYM: Symmetrical.
- text corrupt at 1U
- G(T),Jv11(T)
- 23H,J,K,Vv1,2,9
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sukhāvati</th>
<th>Bde ba can</th>
<th>(3A)须摩提</th>
<th>(3A)须摩提</th>
<th>(3A;5Ev6)安樂</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sugata</td>
<td>bde bar gsegs pa</td>
<td>(4Ev1)佛; (4Ev2)佛 (SYM only); (4Ev6)佛 (K); 善</td>
<td>(4Ev1,2)尊; (4Ev5)善去; (4Ev6)德王; (4Ev12)如來</td>
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<td>Sudatta</td>
<td>Bzañ sbyin</td>
<td>須達</td>
<td>須達多</td>
<td>須摩那</td>
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<td>Sumanā</td>
<td>Yid bzañ</td>
<td>須門</td>
<td>須門</td>
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<td>Sumeru</td>
<td>Ri rab</td>
<td>須彌</td>
<td>須彌</td>
<td>須彌</td>
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<td>*Suvibuddha</td>
<td>Legs par sad pa</td>
<td>善覺</td>
<td>善覺</td>
<td>善覺</td>
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<td>*Suvimukta</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>善寑</td>
<td>善寑</td>
<td>正解脫</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susīma</td>
<td>Mtshams bzañ</td>
<td>須深</td>
<td>須深無</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
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<td>Susīma (Devaputra)</td>
<td>lha'i bu Mtshams bzañ</td>
<td>(3G)須貞天子</td>
<td>(3G)須貞天子</td>
<td>(3G;16E)善德天子</td>
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<tr>
<td>skandha (pañca-)</td>
<td>pun po (lha)</td>
<td>(2E,H;18D)陰</td>
<td>(2H)陰</td>
<td>(passim)諸陰</td>
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<td>see also rūpa, etc.</td>
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Sukhāvati figure is (3A;5Ev6(416))
Sugata figure is 4Ev1,2,5,6,12; 7Gv6 et passim
Sudatta figure is 15B-C,E-F
Sumanā figure is 3D
Sumeru figure is 1K(418);3C;18 G-H,Kv13(T)
*Suvibuddha figure is 3D
*Suvimukta figure is 150(416)
Susīma (the bodhisattva) figure is 1F;3G(T);13E; 14A;16D(418), J;26B(418)
Susīma (the Devaputra) figure is 3G(C);14E(T), H(T);16E aggregates figure is 2E,G(T),H;3F (416);16M(416); 18D

326
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>References</th>
<th>Other Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>skandha-saṃjñā</td>
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<td>smṛti</td>
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