

THE PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-HṚDAYA SŪTRA

The *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya sūtra* is a religious document of the first importance. It carried *Yüan-tsang* through the Gobi desert,¹ was reproduced, in writing, on stones, in recitation throughout Asia from Kabul to Nara,² and formed one of the main inspirations of the Zen school, occupying in Buddhist mysticism about the same place that the "*Mystical Theology*"³ of *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita* occupied in Christian. Unlike other very short *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*, the *Hṛdaya* is of great philosophical interest. The *Svalpākṣarā*,⁴ and other abbreviations, were designed to bring the benefits of *Prajñāpāramitā* within the reach of those unable to either study or understand it.⁵ The *Hṛdaya* alone can be said to have gone really to the heart of the doctrine. The historical analysis of its sources can contribute to the understanding of this *sūtra*, by restoring its components parts to their context within the larger *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*.

I

The text of the *Hṛdaya* even *in extenso* is short. The editions of *Max Müller*, *D. T. Suzuki*, and *Shaku Hannyo* obscure the progress of the argument, and the manuscripts and the *Chinese* translations throw light on the history and meaning of this *sūtra*. The *Hṛdaya*, as is well known, is transmitted in a longer form (about twenty-five ślokas), and a shorter form (about fourteen ślokas). The introduction and end of the longer form are here left unnumbered, while, to facilitate reference, I have

¹ Hwui Li, *The Life of Hiuen-tsiang, trsl. Beal*, 1914, pp. 21-2.

² Cf. e.g. M. W. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 1928, 1935.

³ *Mystical Theology*, iii, chaps 4 and 5, in particular, afford a striking parallel to Section IV of the *Hṛdaya*.

⁴ Ed. E. Conze, *Sino-Indian Studies V 3* (1956), pp. 113-5.

⁵ *SiS p. 113: deśayatu bhagavān prajñāpāramitām svalpākṣarām mahā-puṇyām yasyāḥ śravaṇa-mātṛena sarva-sattvāḥ sarva-karmāvaraṇāni kṣapayīṣyanti*, etc.

introduced numbered subdivisions in the short version of the sūtra.

I. 1Om namo Bhagavatyai Ārya-prajñāpāramitāyai!

(Evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye. Bhagavān Rājagṛhe viharati sma Gṛdhrakūṭa-parvate, mahatā bhikṣu-saṃghena sārddhaṃ mahatā ca bodhisattva-saṃghena.^{a)} tena khalu punaḥ^{b)} samayena Bhagavān^{c)} gambhīra-avabhāsaṃ nāma dharmaparyāyaṃ bhāṣitvā^{c)} samādhiṃ samāpannaḥ. tena^{d)} ca^{e)} samayena^{d)} Ārya-avalokiteśvaro bodhisattvo mahāsattvo gambhīrāyāṃ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ^{f)} caryāṃ caramāṇa^{g)} evaṃ vyavalokayati sma:^{h)} pañca-skandhās tāmś ca svabhāva-śūnyān vyavalokayati^{h)}. athaⁱ⁾ āyusmāñc Chāripuro buddha-anubhāvena Ārya-avalokiteśvaraṃ^{k)} bodhisattvaṃ mahāsattvaṃ^{l)} etad avocat:^{m)} yaḥ kaścit kūlapuro vā kuladuhitā vā^{m)} asyāṃⁿ⁾ gambhīrāyāṃ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ caryāṃ^{o)} cartukāmas tena^{p)} kathaṃ śikṣitavyam?^{q)} 1) evam ukta Ārya-avalokiteśvaro^{k)} bodhisattvo mahāsattvo āyusmantaṃ Sāri-

1 So N^{bcelm} C^e Ti.—C^d: śrī-ārya-°—N^h: ārya-śrī-°—N^a omits Bhagavatyai.—N^d: Bhagavate ārya-śrī-°—J^a: Om namaḥ sarva-jñāyaḥ.

a) C^{ae}: gaṇena.

b) so N^{abcdelm} C^{ad}

c)-o) so N^{ab} C^{ade}.—N^e: gambhīrāyāṃ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ avabhāsaṃ nāma dharmaparyāyaḥ.—N^e: gambhīrāyāṃ pravara-bhāṣan-nāma @@.—J^b: gambhīrāvasambodhaṃ nāma.—N^m: gambhīrāvabhāṣan nāma.—N^l: gambhīrabhāvaṃ nāma samādhiṃ samāpannaḥ.—Ti.om: bhāṣitvā.

d)-d) tasmin samaye N^{delm}.

e) so J^b C^e.—N^{abc}: khalu punaḥ.—C^d: punaḥ.

f) C^{ade}: gambhīrāvabhāsaṃ nāma dharmaparyāyaṃ.—C^e om.gambh-° to evam, i.e. vyavalokayati follows on dharmaparyāyam.

g) N^{abcdelm} om.

h)-h) so J^b.—om.N^m C^{ade}.—N^{abl}: pañca-skandhān svabhāva-śūnyān vyavalokayati sma.—N^e: pañca-skandhā svabhāva-śūnyā vyavalokitavyā.

i) C^{ade}: atha khalv.

k) Avalok-° C^e.

l) om. J^b; N^a?

m)-m) N^{cef}: ye kecit kulaputrā vā kuladuhitā vā.

n) so N^{abe} C^{ade}.

o) °-tāyā cartu-° C^{ad}.

p) so N^{abe} C^{ade}.—N^{de}: cartukāmena.

q) N^{del}: vyavalokitavyam.

r)-r) : N^{del}: Avalokiteśvara āha:

putram etad avocat¹⁾: yaḥ kaścic Chāriputra²⁾ kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā asyāṃ³⁾ gambhīrāyāṃ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ caryāṃ^{4)w)} cartukāmas tenaivaṃ⁵⁾ vyavalokitavyam⁶⁾.)

The short text condenses this into:

II. ²Ārya-avalokiteśvaro ³bodhisattvo ⁴gambhīrāṃ prajñāpāramitācaryāṃ ⁵caramāṇo ⁶vyavalokayati sma: ⁷pañca-skandhās ⁸tāṃś ca svabhāva-sūnyān paśyati sma.

III. ⁹iha Śāriputra ¹⁰rūpaṃ sūnyatā sūnyataiva rūpaṃ ¹¹rūpān na pṛthag sūnyatā ¹²sūnyatāyā na pṛthag rūpaṃ ¹³yad rūpaṃ sā sūnyatā ¹⁴yā sūnyatā tad rūpaṃ. ¹⁵evam eva ¹⁶vedanā-samjñā-saṃskāra-vijñānam.

¹⁾ N^oom.—N¹ om: kaścic Chāriputra.

²⁾ So N^{bo} C^{ade}.—om.N¹

³⁾ om. N^o C^{ade}.

⁴⁾ D^{ade}: śikṣitavyaṃ yaduta.—N^d repeats after vyavalokitavyam: evam ukta, to: vyavalokitavyam.

^{w)-w)} N¹: cartukāmena.

N^m: iha-Āryāvalokiteśvara kulaputrena vā . . . gambhīrāyāṃ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ cartukāmena tenaivaṃ vyavalokitavyam⁷⁾.—N¹: iha . . . cartukāmena kathaṃ vy-°, see q).

² atha-Ārya- C^o.

⁶ C^b: vyavalokayate.

⁷⁻⁸ om.N.^o—N^{bo}: pañca-skandhān svabhāva-sūnyān vyavalokitavyam.—N^k (begins): vyavalokitavyam.—7-9: om. N^{dl}.

⁸ J^b Ti: samanupaśyati.—C^o: sma iti.—C^{ae}: svabhāva-sūnyāḥ. kathaṃ pañca-skandhāḥ svabhāva-sūnyāḥ?

⁹ iha om. N^k ChT.—om. N^{book} C^{ae} J^b Ti.

¹⁰ om ChT^{1,2,5,6,7}.—rūpaṃ sūnyaṃ N^{bookim} C^b.—rūpaṃ eva C^o.

¹¹⁻¹² na rūpaṃ pṛthag sūnyatāyāḥ nāpi sūnyatā pṛthag rūpāt C^{ae}.—na rūpāt pṛthag N^k.

¹³⁻¹⁴ om. N^{bedekim} C^o Ti.

¹⁵⁻¹⁶ om.N^b.—15) evam N^{lm} C^o.

¹⁶ N^{clkm}: vijñānāni sūnyāni.—Ti: rnam-par śes-rnams stoṅ-pa'o.—N^{de}: vijñānāni sūnyatā.—C^o: vijñānāni.—J^b: vijñānaṃ ca sūnyatā.

¹¹⁻¹⁶ Instead, N^b has: na rūpāt pṛthag sūnyatā na sūnyatāyā pṛthag rūpaṃ. vedanā sūnyā sūnyataiva vedanā. na vedanāyā pṛthag etc., in extenso for all the five skandhas. After 16: ChT 1, 2, 5, 6 add 度一切苦厄. ChT 1 further adds the equivalent of P 39: Śāriputra yā rūpasya sūnyatā na sā rūpayati, yā vedanāyā sūnyatā na sā vedayati; etc.

IV. ¹⁷iha Śāriputra ¹⁸sarva-dharmāḥ śūnyatālakṣaṇā
¹⁹anutpannā aniruddhā ²⁰amalā avimalā ²¹anūnā aparipūrṇāḥ.

V. ²²tasmāc Chāriputra ²³śūnyatāyāṃ ²⁴na rūpaṃ na
vedanā na saṃjñā na saṃskārāḥ na vijñānam, ²⁵na cakṣuḥ-
śrotra-ghrāṇa-jihvā-kāya-manāṃsi ²⁶na rūpa-śabda-gandha-
rasa-spraṣṭavya-dharmāḥ ²⁷na cakṣur-dhātur ²⁸yāvan na
²⁹manovijñāna-dhātuḥ ³⁰na-avidyā ³¹na-avidyā-kṣayo ³²yāvan
na ³³jarāmaraṇaṃ na jarāmaraṇakṣayo ³⁴na duḥkha-samu-
daya-nirodha-mārgā ³⁵na jñānaṃ ³⁶na prāptir na-aprāptiḥ.

¹⁷ For iha N^{abedikm} C^{ae} J^b have: evaṃ.—om. ChT.—N^{ab}: evaṃ
bhadanta.—Ti: śā-ri'i-bu de-lta bas-na (= śāriputra tasmāt tarhi).

¹⁸ N^{abk}: svābhāva-śūnyāḥ alakṣaṇāḥ.—N^{de}: śūnyāḥ svalakṣaṇāḥ.—
C^{ade}: svabhāva-śūnyatālakṣaṇā.—Ti: ston-pā ñid de, mtshan-ñid
med-pa (= śūnyatā-alakṣaṇā).

¹⁹ C^{ade} add: ajātā.—after aniruddhā N^o adds: acyutāḥ acalāḥ.—
N^{lm}: acalāḥ avimalāḥ acyutāḥ.

²¹ J^a: nonā?—C^o: nonā.—J^b: anonā.—N^o: anyonyāḥ.—N^b: anyatā.—
N^m: anyonāḥ.—J^a: na paripūrṇā?—B^{abfdikm} C^{ade} J^b: asaṃpūrṇāḥ; Ti:
gañ-ba med-pa'o.—N^o C^o: na saṃpūrṇāḥ.—After 21. ChT 1 adds, as
P40: (yā śūnyatā) nātītā nānāgatā na pratyutpannā, etc.

²² N^{abedikm} C^{ade} Ti: tasmāt tarhi.—N^o: evaṃ bhadanta.—C^o: om.
Śāriputra.

²³ N^o: śūnyāyāṃ.

²⁵⁻²⁶ N^{abedikm} C^{ae} J^b: na cakṣur na śrotraṃ, etc. to: na dharma.

²⁷⁻²⁹ C^a gives a list of all the dhātus.—N^{ab}: na caksurdhātuḥ na
rūpadhātuḥ na cakṣurvijñānadhātuḥ; na śrotravijñānadhātuḥ, etc.
all to: na manovijñānadhātuḥ.—C^o, Ti: na cakṣurdhātu na manodhātu
na manovijñānadhātu yāvan.

²⁸ evaṃ yāvan na.

²⁹ N^{lm}: dharmadhātuḥ yāvan na.

³⁰ na vidyā ,add in J^aC^o.—N^{abedikm} C^o ChT^{1,2,5,6} Ti om. na vidyā.—
N^{abedikm} om. na-avidyā.

³¹ na vidyākṣayo add in J^a.—N^{abek} C^o ChT^{1,2,5,6} Ti: om. na
vidyākṣayo.—C^{ae} J^b give for nāvidyākṣayo: na kṣayo, C^o na-akṣayo.

³³ N^o om. na. jarāmaraṇaṃ.

³⁰⁻³³ N^{ab}: na-avidyākṣayo na saṃskārakṣayo, etc. all to :na jarā-
maraṇakṣayo.

³⁴ N^{abedikm} C^o: na duḥkha(m) na samudaya, etc.—After 34: N^{abek}
add: na-amārgaḥ.—N^{abek} C^{ad} add: na rūpaṃ.

³⁵ N^k adds: na-ajñānaṃ.

³⁶ So N^{bek} C^{ade} J^b ChT 8, Ti.—J^a: na prāptitvaṃ.—N^{odlm} ChT^{1,2,5,6}:
na prāptiḥ.—ChT 9: na prāptitvaṃ ca na-aprāptiḥ.—C^b na prāptir
na-abhisamaya.

VI. ³⁷tasmāc Chāriputra ³⁸aprāptivād bodhisattvo ³⁹prajñāpāramitām āsṛitya ⁴⁰viharaty acittāvaraṇaḥ. ⁴¹cittāvaraṇa-nāstitvād ⁴²atrasto ⁴³viparyāsa-atikrānto. ⁴⁴niṣṭhā-nirvāṇaḥ.

VII. ⁴⁵tryadhva-vyavasthitāḥ ⁴⁶sarva-buddhāḥ ⁴⁷prajñāpāramitām āsṛitya- ⁴⁸anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim ⁴⁹abhisambuddhāḥ.

VIII. ⁵⁰tasmā jñātavyaṃ ⁵¹prajñāpāramitā ⁵²mahā-mantra ⁵³mahā-vidyā-mantra ⁵⁴nuttara-mantra ⁵⁵samasama-mantraḥ ⁵⁶sarva-duḥkha-praśamaṇaḥ ⁵⁷satyam amithyatvāt.

³⁷ tasmāt tarhi Śāriputra: N^{abodeikm} C^{ade} Ti.—Śāriputra also in ChT^{8,9}.—J^a C^e ChT^{1,2,5,6} omit 37.

³⁸ N^{aboldtelm} C^s Ti: aprāptivāt.—J^b: aprāptitvena.—C^b: aprāptitva.—J^a om. aprāptivāt.—C^d: aprāpti-yāvat.—C^a: aprāptitā-prāptiryāvavat.—C^e: na prāptirna-aprāptir yāvat; this is Feer's correction for what I read as: aprāptitāprāptir-yāvat.—bodhisattvasya J^a.—C^b J^b: bodhisattvānām.—N^{bcaat}: bodhisattvā mahāsattvā.—N^k: bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ.—N^m: bodhisattvaḥ.—C^e: bodhisattva.—C^g Nⁱ bodhisattvā.—Ti: byañ-chub sems-dpa' rnam.—C^e om. bodhisattvo.

³⁹ ⁴⁷ C^s: niṣṛitya.

⁴⁰ J^a: viharati cittavaraṇa. cittāvaraṇa.—Kokio's first copy: vaharaty citvavaraṇaḥ, which he corrects to: viharani citnavaraṇaḥ.—J^b: viharati cittavaraṇaḥ. cittav-°.—C^e: viharya cita/avaraṇa cita/a (varaṇa-nā) stitva.—C^s: viharatya cityāvaraṇa.—N^b: viharanti.—Suzuki: viharato.—C^{ae}: viharāñś.—N^m: viharati/nacittāraṃvānamātratvād anuttarāyāṃ samyaksambodhau paryāsātikrāntāṃtāniṣṭhā.—Nⁱ: °-āyāḥ . . . ṣa? māśāntikrānmo . . .—acittāvaraṇaḥ om. N^{abode} C^{ae} Ti.

⁴¹ C^{ade}: cittālanbanam.—N^{abodf} ek: cittāraṃbaṇa-mātratvāt.—Ti: sems-la sgrib-pa med ciñ.

⁴² N^{abcekt}: anuttrastā.

⁴⁴ J^a: tiṣṭha?—N^{abodikm} C^{ae}: niṣṭhā.—N^e om. niṣṭhā.—C^{ae}: nirvāṇaṃ prāpnoti.—N^{abodelm} Ti: nirvāṇa prāptaḥ.—N^k: nirvāṇa? prāptaḥ.

⁴⁵⁻⁴⁹ C^{ae}: tryadhva-vyavasthitair api samyaksambuddhair . . .—bodhiḥ prāptā.—N^{abceikm}: . . . sarva-buddhair api . . . abhisambuddhā.

⁵⁰ N^{ae}: tasmāt tarhi Śāriputra, etc.—N^e: tasmāt tarhi kulaputra, etc.—V^{ae}: etasmāj, etc.—N^{dim} Ti: tasmāt tarhi jñātavyam.

⁵² om. ChT¹.—ChT^{2,5,6,7} 呪神大是.—N^{odel} C^e Ti om. mahā.

⁵³ N^a: sahā?—C^{ae}: vidyā-mantra (-aḥ).—N^e: mahā-mantraḥ.—After

⁵⁴ N^a adds: asamā-mantraḥ.—om. N^m.

⁵² -yukto mantraḥ N^m.

⁵⁴ C^s om.

⁵⁵ N^e: asamā-mantraḥ.—om. Nⁱ.

⁵⁶ N^{abodeikm} C^{ae} J^b Ti: sarva-duḥkha-praśamaṇo mantraḥ.

⁵⁷ C^{ae}: samyaktvaṃ na mithyatvaṃ.—N^e: samyaktva amithyātvā.

⁵⁸prajñāpāramitāyām ukto mantrah. ⁵⁹tadyathā ⁶⁰om gate gate pāragate pārasaṃgate bodhi svāhā.

(Evam Śāriputra^{a)} gambhīrāyām prajñāpāramitāyām caryāyām śikṣitavyaṃ bodhisattvena^{a)b)}. Atha khalu Bhagavān^{c)} tasmāt^{d)} samādher vyutthāya-Ārya-avalokiteśvarāya^{da)} bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya^{e)} sādhu karam adāt. sādhu sādhu kulaputra, evam etat kulaputra^{f)} evam etad^{g)}, gambhīrāyām prajñāpāramitāyām caryāṃ cartavyaṃ^{g)} yathā tvayā nir-diṣṭam^{h)} anumodyate sarva-ⁱ⁾ Tathāgatair arhadbhiḥ^{k)}.

idam avocad Bhagavān. āttamanā^{l)}-āyuṣmāñc Chāri-putra^{m)} Ārya-avalokiteśvaro bodhisattvoⁿ⁾ mahāsattvas^{r)} te ca bhikṣavas te ca bodhisattvā mahāsattvāḥⁿ⁾ sā^{na)} ca sarvāvati parṣat sa-deva-mānuṣa-asuṣa-garuḍa^{o)}-gandharvas ca loko Bhagavato bhāṣitam abhyanandann iti.)

⁶¹ity ārya-^{p)q)} prajñāpāramitā-hṛdayaṃ^{q)} samāptam.

⁵⁸ °-tāyukto N¹ C^{ae}.—N^o: °-tāyāyukto.—N^o: °-tāpujāyukta?—om N^m.

^{a)-a)} C^{ae} Ti: bodhisattvena mahāsattvena prajñāpāramitāyām śikṣitavyaṃ.—N^{el} om. caryāyām.

^{b)} N^{col} add. mahāsattvena.

^{c)} C^{ae} add: (t) asyāṃ velāyām.

^{d)} N^{del} om. tasmāt.—C^o: tasyās.

^{da)} Avalok-° C^o.

^{e)} J^b: °-asya °-asya °-asya.—N : °-ena.

^{f)} om. N^{colim}.

^{g)-g)} so J^b.—C^{ae}: evam evaiṣā prajñāpāramitā.—om. N^{im}. N^{im} omits also: caryāṃ cartavyaṃ yathā tvayā.

^{h)} N^{delim} add: tad.

ⁱ⁾ J^b om.

^{k)} N^o adds: samyaksambuddhaiḥ.—N^{delim} have iti for arhadbhiḥ.—Ti om. arhadbhiḥ.

^{l)} J^b: ānandamanā.

^{m)} C^{ae} om. āyuṣmāñc chāriputra.

^{r)-r)} N^o om.

ⁿ⁾⁻ⁿ⁾ J^b om.

^{na)} sa C^o.

^{o)} N^m J^b C^o Ti om.

^{p)} so N^a.

^{q)-q)} N^o: prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-dhāraṇī pañcaviṃśatikāḥ nāma dhāraṇī.—N^d: śrī-prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya.—N^o: pañca-viṃśatikā-prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-nāma-dhāraṇī.—N^f: pañca-viṃśatikā prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya.—N^b: śrī-pañcaviṃśatikā prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya.—N^l: pañcaviṃśati-prajñāpāramitā.—N^m: pañcaviṃśatikā prajñāpāramitā nāma dhāraṇī.—C^{ae}: pañcaviṃśatikā Bhagavatī prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya.—Ti: Bhagavatī prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya.

Sources:¹

Nepalese manuscripts = N.

N^a: LT. India Office no. 7712 (1). Eighteenth century?

N^b: LT. Cambridge Add 1485. f. 16-18. A.D. 1677.

N^c: LT. MS Bodl. 1449 (59) fol. 74v-75v. A.D. 1819

N^d: LT. RAS, no. 79 V. f. 15-16b. c. 1820.

N^e: LT. Cambridge Add. 1553. f. 4-7b. Eighteenth century.

N^f: Calcutta As. Soc. Bengal B 5 (35).

N^g: Calcutta ASB B 65 (10).

N^h: fragment, only first 6 lines: Cambridge Add 1164 2 II.

Nⁱ: LT. Société Asiatique no. 14, fol. 18b, -19b. No. 21.

N^k: LT. Cambridge Add 1680 ix. Begins at no. 8. ca 1200.

N^l: Camb. Add. 1164.2.

N^m: Bibliothèque Nationale 62, no. 139. ca 1800.

Chinese = C.

C^a: From a Chinese blockprint, in MM pp. 30-32. Seventeenth century.

C^b: T 256, transcribed into Chinese characters. Stein Collection no. S 2464. ST. ca 600? ed. T. Matsumoto, *Die Prajñāpāramitā Literatur*, 1932, pp. 44-50.

C^c: ST. From stone in Mongolia. Before 1,000. ed. Journal of Urusvati, 1932, pp. 73-8.

C^d: LT. Bell in Peking, now Dairen. Incomplete. Ibid. p. 78.

C^e: Feer's polyglot edition. Seventeenth century?

C^f: Stein collection Ch 00330. ca 850.

C^g: Bibliothèque Nationale 62 no. 139. Pelliot Sogdien. ca 950? In: E. Benveniste, *Textes Sogdiens*, 1940, pp. 142-3.

Japanese = J.

J^a: MS in Horyūji Temple. ST. A.D. 609.

J^b: MS brought in ninth century by Yeun, disciple of Kukai. In MM pp. 51-4.

Chinese Translations = ChT.

ST: ChT¹: Kumārajīva ca 400.—ChT²: Yüan-tsang, 649.—LT: ChT⁵: Dharmacandra, 741.—ChT⁶: Prajñā 790.—ChT⁷: Prajñācakra 861.—ChT⁸: Fa-cheng, 856.—ChT⁹: Dānapāla c. 1000.

Tibetan = Ti. LT: Kanjur. ca 750.

Kumārajīva's² translation is important, as by far the earliest version of the text which we possess. Below (pp. 159-160) it will be shown to be of great assistance in restoring and tracing out

¹ For further details see JRAS 1948, pp. 48-50 and PPL 71-73.

² This translation, strictly speaking, appears not to have been made by *Kumārajīva*, but by one of his disciples. See Matsumoto, *Die Prajñāpāramitā Literatur*, 1932, p. 9, who refers to a Chinese catalogue. In the *Kao-seng-chuan*, a biography compiled in A.D. 519, the *Hydaya*, is not mentioned in the list of translations attributed to *Kumārajīva*; cf. J. Nobel, *Stzb. pr. Ak. Wiss.*, 20, 1927.

the argument of the sūtra as it is likely to have appeared to its compilers.

While most of the variant readings are of a minor character and self-explanatory, two of them require comment. The textual tradition is particularly unsatisfactory in the two places where, as we shall see, there is a break in the source, and where the pieces are joined together.

The first concerns the passage of the argument from IV to V. The reading adopted here is well supported by the MSS. and gives a smooth transition from IV to V. It seems, however, to have developed only in the course of time. It is not attested by the two oldest documents. *Kumārajīva*, and the Chinese translations up to ChT⁷ of A.D. 861 seem to have read, ³⁶na prāpti/ ³⁷tas mād ³⁸apraṅgāptitvād bodhisattva(sya), etc.¹ The Horyūji MS., written before A.D. 609, gives: ³⁶na prāṅgāptitvam ³⁸bodhisattvasya. Something appears to have dropped out here. As far as one can judge from the available evidence, the sūtra originally was content to deny in regard to emptiness all the main categories of Buddhist analysis. Later a part of the tradition thought to guard against misunderstanding by denying also the negation of those categories that easily form opposites. Thus *Kumārajīva* and several of the MSS. know nothing of the clause ³⁰na vidyā ³¹na vidyākṣayo; in no. 34 *na-amārgah* is found only in a few later MSS.; and so with ³⁶na-a-prāṅgāptih, which appears in the Chinese translations only quite late, after about 850, in ChT^{8,9}.

Obviously the rules of ordinary logic are abrogated in this sūtra. Contradictions co-exist in emptiness.² By adding "no knowledge", somebody may have wanted to make clear that in the dialectical logic of the *Prajñāpāramitā* a double negation does not make an affirmation. The misconception might arise that "the extinction of ignorance" (=the negation of the negation of knowledge) might be equivalent to a positive entity, named knowledge. The addition, "no knowledge," would

¹ 亦無得°以無所得°

² In no. 10 a term (form) is identified with the negation of that term ("emptiness"). Cf. also no. 10 with nos. 23-4. Similarly, *Dionysius Areopagita* in *Myst. Theol.*, i, 2, teaches that with reference to the Absolute there is no opposition (ἀντικείμενα) between affirmation and negation.

guard against that misconception.¹ In the same way, in this kind of logic, one negation is not necessarily like another. *Na mārga* is not the same as *a-mārga*, nor is *na prāpti* the same as *a-prāpti*. *A-prāpti* is, like *prāpti*, one of the seventy-five dharmas of the *Sarvāstivādins*.² In emptiness, i.e. in truth, there is no dharma. But while the *a-prāpti* is not a fact, *a-prāptitva*³ is the basis of the conduct of a bodhisattva, of one who strives for bodhi. This is one of the paradoxes in which the *sūtra* gives expression to the laws of a spiritual life.

The second difficulty concerns the divergence between *cittāvaraṇa* and *cittālambaṇa* in no. 40.⁴ When one considers the peculiarities of Sanskrit MSS., the two words do not differ much. We may suppose that originally there was चित्तरम्बण. Now ल and र, and ब and व are constantly interchanged in *Nepalese* MSS., and the ण् is represented by an *anusvāra*. This

¹ Although, strictly speaking no. 35 *na jñānam* would make it superfluous.

² In *Nagārjuna's* list of 119 *kuśala-dharmas*, however, only *prāpti* is mentioned. *IHQ.*, 1938, p. 317, no. 16.

³ Cf. *LankS.*, p. 307, v. 326-7: *prāptir . . . karma-jā tṛṣṇā-sambhavā*.

⁴ In no. 40 the manuscript tradition does not cogently require the reading given in the text. My explanation is now confirmed by the almost exact parallel in the *āvaraṇa-pariccheda* of Vasubandhu's *Madhyānt-avibhāgabhāṣya*, ed. G. M. Nagao, Tokyo 1964, pp. 32-3. Literally translated it reads as follows: "Someone who wants to attain enlightenment should first of all produce wholesome roots; thereafter he should attain enlightenment through the effect of the power of his wholesome roots. Furthermore, the foundation (*pratiṣṭhā*) of the genesis of these wholesome roots is the thought of enlightenment, and the recipient (*āśraya*, cr. to *āśrītya*) of that thought of enlightenment is the *Bodhisattva*. And through his production of the thought of enlightenment and his attainment of the effective power of the wholesome roots the *Bodhisattva*, having forsaken his perverted views (*viparyāsaṃ prahāya*), should produce a state of non-perversion (*aviparyāsa*). Thereupon, having become unperturbed on the path of vision, he should forsake all the obstructions (*āvaraṇāni*) on the path of development. Once the obstructions have been forsaken, he should dedicate all the wholesome roots to the supreme enlightenment. Thereafter, through the effect of the power of his dedication, he should not tremble (*na-ultrasitavyam*) at the deep and sublime demonstrations of Dharma. (cf. *Sthiramati* p. 81. *ko'yaṃ atrāsaḥ? śūnyatāyāṃ gambhīra-udareṣu ca buddhavacanad-harmeṣu adhimuktir abhīrutā.*) Having thus with a fearless (*anuttrasta*) mind seen the virtues of (these) dharmas, he should reveal them in detail to others. Thereafter the *Bodhisattva*, as a result of that great variety

would give 'रंवरण'. If the *anusvāra* is dropped, as often happens, a simple juxtaposition would lead to 'वरण'. Although the reading *cittāvaraṇa* makes sense it is perhaps not the original reading.¹ The normal Chinese equivalent for *āvaraṇa* is 障. This occurs only in the seventh and eighth version of the Sūtra, done in 861 and 856 respectively. The earlier versions, 1, 2, 5, and 6, done between 400 and 790, all have 心無罣礙. According to *Soothill*² 罣 means: "A snare, an impediment, cause of anxiety, anxious." The sign is related to a meaning "hung up", "suspended", and therefore seems to have more affinity to *ā-LAMB-ana* than to *ā-VAR-ana*.

II

The bulk of the *Hṛdaya*, from Sections I to V, is an instruction of virtues, gains a power which enables him to quickly attain (*anuprāp-tavān*; *thob-nas*) the supreme enlightenment as well as the sovereignty over all dharmas." A similar sequence (*anukrama*) is found in Sthiramati's *Madhyāntavibhāgaśīkā*, ed. S. Yamaguchi, 1934, pp. 87, 24-88, 19, paralleled to some extent by pp. 76, 16-77, 5. A further confirmation is the last sentence of Vasubandhu's commentary (p. 76), which says: *atrāsa-anunnaty-aviṣaryāseṇa nirāvaraṇo niriyāti*, i.e. "he goes forth (to Nirvana) when he is free from obstructions as a result of the non-perversion which consists in the absence of both fear and pride" (cf. p. 68). On the previous page the *buddha-bhūmisamudāgamaḥ* had been identified with *nirāvaraṇatā*. And finally we have p. 97, 1-3 of Stiramati's *śīkā*: *tatra prajñāpāramitā lokottara-nirvikalpa-jñānam. tena jñānena krameṇa sarva-āvaraṇa-prahāṇam*. But Kumārajīva either read *viharaty acitta@*, or he understood *cittāvaraṇaḥ* as *citta-a-varaṇaḥ*. M. Müller and A. Wayman (*PhEW*, xi, 1961, 113, "dwells with obscuration of the mental substance") read *viharati cittavaranaḥ*. The passage would then mean: "Because he has not attained, the Bodhisattva, based on the perfection of wisdom, dwells with thought obstructed. But only when obstruction is removed does he reach *Nirvāṇa*". The idea that someone could be based on the perfection of wisdom, and yet dwell with thought obstructed, is alien to the larger *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*. *A-cittāvaraṇaḥ* would, however, give a meaning well in keeping with the larger *sūtras*, as is shown on p. 164.

¹ The term *cittāvaraṇa* seems to be exceedingly rare. I have so far met it only in two other cases. The first Tibetan translation of Āryadeva's *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇam* gives, in transliteration and translation, the title as: *cittāvaraṇaviśodhananāma-prakaraṇam*, cf. *Tōhoku Catalogue*, no. 1804, where *citta-varaṇa* is given as a variant (!). And Asanga's commentary to the *Vajracchedikā* speaks at v. 42 of *cittāvaraṇam*, "obstruction of mind".

² *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, 1937, p. 362b.

in the four Holy Truths, as reinterpreted in the light of the dominant idea of emptiness.¹ In the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (= P) on pp. 43-7, corresponding to *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (= S), pp. 136, 5-141, 13, we find a series of arguments, which *Haribhadra*, or whoever edited that recast version of the *Pañcaviṃśati*, considers as an instruction (*avavāda*) in at least the first three Truths. This passage is the source of the first part of the *Hṛdaya*. It is true that *Haribhadra* lived about A.D. 800-c. 800 to 300 years after the elaboration of the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts—and that many of his divisions and interpretations are artificial and far-fetched. But much of his commentary goes back to much earlier times.² In any case, in this instance *Haribhadra* merely follows the *kārikā* of *Maitreyanātha*,³ whose *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* would be about contemporary with the *Hṛdaya*, if both can be assigned to c. A.D. 350. Also, the soundness of *Haribhadra's* diagnosis can be demonstrated from independent documents.

In the case of the *Third Truth*, of *nirodha*, the text of the *Pañcaviṃśati* is very similar to Sections III and IV of the *Hṛdaya*:

śūnyatā Śāriputra notpadyate na nirudhyate, na samkliśyate na vyavadāyate, na hīyate na vardhate. na-atitā na-anāgatā na pratyutpannā. yā ca idṛśī na rūpaṃ na vedanā . . . ; na pṛthivī-dhātur . . . ; na cakṣur . . . ; na rūpaṃ na śabda . . . ; na cakṣurā-yātanaṃ na rūpāyatanam . . . ; na cakṣur-dhātur . . . ; na-avidyot-pādo na-avidyā-nirodhaḥ na samskārotpādo . . . ; na duḥkham na samudayo na nirodho na mārgo; na prāptir na-abhisamayo.⁴ na srotaāpanno na srotaāpatti-phalaṃ . . . na pratyekabuddho na pratyekabodhiḥ; na buddho na bodhiḥ. evaṃ hi Śāriputra bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ caran yukto yukta iti vaktavyaḥ. (iti nirodha-satyāvavādaḥ.)

The *Hṛdaya* obviously gives an abbreviated version of this

¹ The passage in *Aṣṭa*, ii, 34, *sūnyatāyāṃ Kauśika tiṣṭhatā bodhisattvena mahāsattvena prajñāpāramitāyāṃ sthātavyaṃ*, is given by *Haribhadra* as *catuḥ-satya-ākāra*.

² Cf. Bu-ston II, 158.

³ I.e. *kār* I, 21: *pratipattau ca satyeṣu buddharatn'ādisu triṣu . . . 22 ity avavādo daś'ātmakaḥ*.

⁴ *Kumārajīva* in *Taiśhō Issaikyō*, vii, 223a, gives: 亦無智亦無得 for *nāprāptir nābhisamaya*, just as in nos. 35-6 of the *Hṛdaya*.

passage. It is noteworthy that on two occasions our documents preserve more of the original than the current text does. *Kumārajīva* leaves in: *na-atītā na-anāgatā na pratyutpannā*, using literally the same signs as in his translation of the *Pañcaviṃśati* itself.¹ The *Tun Huang* MS. Cb gives *na prāptir na-abhisamaya*. It is possible that *Kumārajīva's* addition suggests that the text about A.D. 400 contained it, while the *Tun Huang* addition may be a mere reminiscence of the numerous occasions on which *prāpti* and *abhisamaya* are coupled in the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*.²

The truth of stopping, as *Haribhadra* sums up,³ means that *nirodha* is really emptiness, and therefore devoid of any dharma.

The case is less clear with the *second* truth, of *samudaya*. The *Pañcaviṃśati* passage reads:

sa na rūpam utpāda-dharmi vā nirodha-dharmi vā samanupaśyati . . . na rūpam samkleśa-dharmi vā vyavadāna-dharmi vā samanupaśyati . . . punaraparaṃ Śāriputra bodhisattvo mahāsattvo na rūpam vedanāyām samavasaratī⁴ iti samanupaśyati. na vedanā saṃjñāyām samavasaratīti samanupaśyati . . . na vijñānam dharme samavasaratīti samanupaśyati. na dharmāḥ kvacid dharme samavasaratīti samanupaśyati. tat kasya hetoḥ? na hi kaścid dharmāḥ kvacid dharme samavasaratīti prakṛti-śūnyatām upādāya. tat kasya hetoḥ? tathā hi Śāriputra yā rūpasya śūnyatā na tad rūpam . . . (tat kasya hetoḥ? tathā hi yā rūpa-śūnyatā na sā rūpayati . . . yā . . . vedayati; . . . saṃjñānīte . . .; abhisamskaroti; . . . vijānāti. tat kasya hetoḥ?) tathā hi Śāriputra na-*anyad rūpam anyā śūnyatā. na-*anyā śūnyatā anyad rūpam. rūpam eva śūnyatā**

¹ *Taishō Issaikyō*, vol. viii, p. 223a.

² E.g. Aṣṭa (= A) VIII, 187, 189; A XV, 303; and A I, 30, which we will show to be the source of a part of Section V.

³ Ed. *Wogihara*, 1935, p. 32. *nirodhe śūnyatāyām utpāda-nirodha-samkleśa-vyavadāna-hāni-vṛddhy-ādi-rahitāyām na rūpam yāvan na-avidyotpādo na-avidyā-nirodho na buddho na bodhir iti.*

⁴ Up to this point the *Sāgaramati*, in *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 263, gives a close parallel to this passage. Instead of *samavasaratī* the terms *samsṛjyate* and *raṇati* are used there. In *Prasannapadā*, chap. 14, we find the arguments of the *Madhyamika* against the real existence of *samsarga*. The chief point is that *samsarga* implies *anyathva* or *pythaktva*, and that is not a real fact. Ś: *saha samavasaratī* = Lhan-cig kun-tu rgyu shes bya-bar.

śūnyataiva rūpaṃ. na-anyaṃ vedanā anyā śūnyatā . . . iti samudaya-satya-avavādaḥ.

The *Hṛdaya* reproduces only the substance of the last two sentences of this passage. But *Kumārajīva* also gives the sentences marked in (), preceding this, and that again literally in the same words as in his translation of the *Pañcaviṃśati*.¹ It is noteworthy that the *Chinese* and *Tibetan* translations, and three of the MSS., remain close to the *Pañcaviṃśati* text in that they have only two clauses, omitting either nos. 10-11 or nos. 13-14.²

But how is this argument connected with the truth of origination? As interpreted by the *Prajñāpāramitā*, the truth of origination means³ that form, etc., considered as the cause of ill, are really identical with⁴ emptiness, not separate from it. In other words, in reality there is no origination.⁵

As for the *first truth*, of ill, *Kumārajīva* was well aware that Section I referred to it, as is shown by his addition, "and so we go beyond all suffering and calamity (obstruction)."⁶ Anyone familiar with the thought of the *Prajñāpāramitā* knows that the connotations of the term *vyavalokayati* point in the same direction. In *Aṣṭa* xxii, pp. 402-3, for instance, it is explained that a Bodhisattva, endowed with wisdom, "looks down" in the sense that he surveys the sufferings of beings with compassion. In the traditional formula of the first Truth *duḥkha* is

¹ *Taishō Issaikyō*, vol. viii, p. 223a.

² *Kumārajīva's* 色即是空, etc., does not translate nos. 13-14, but nos. 10-11. In other places the phrase is also used to render *rūpaṃ eva śūnyatā śūnyataiva rūpaṃ*; e.g. *Taishō Issaikyō*, viii, 221c = P 38; 223a = P. 45.

³ *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, p. 32: *samudaye śūnyatā hetu-bhūta-rūpādayor avyativriktatvena (=a-prthaktvena) rūpādi na samudaya-nirodha-samkleśa-vyavadāna-dharmi-iti*.

⁴ The formula of nos. 13-14 is designed as a parallel to the classical formula of the *satkāyadṛṣṭi*, which is the chief cause of becoming, cf. e.g. *Atthasālinī*, p. 353: *idh'ekacco rūpaṃ attato samanupasyati. yaṃ rūpaṃ so aham, yo ahaṃ taṃ rūpaṃ ti, rūpaṃ ca attāṃ ca advayam samanupasyati*. In Section II of this *sūtra*, *śūnyatā* takes the place which *ātman* occupies in the *satkāyadṛṣṭi*.

⁵ And therefore as in the *Pañcaviṃśati* passage, *utpāda*, *samkleśa*, *samsāra*, which are all synonyms of the world viewed as originated.

⁶ There is no trace of this addition in any Sanskrit document, and it may have been made in *Central Asia*, from where *Kumārajīva's* text is said to be derived.

equated with the *pañcopādāna-skandhā*. But what, according to the *Prajñāpāramitā*, is the real fact or truth about the *skandhas*? That they are empty in their own being. Thus, if *duḥkha* = *skandhā*, and if *skandhā* = *svabhāva-sūnyā*, then *duḥkha* = *svabhāva-sūnya*.¹ The compassion of a Bodhisattva, which at first has suffering beings as its objects, continues to grow even when the beings are replaced by objects more true to reality—first a group of *skandhas* or a procession of *dharma*s, and finally by emptiness, or no object at all.²

In the section dealing with the *duḥkha-satya*, the *Pañcaviṁśati* expresses this idea more elaborately:

Śāriputra: katham yujyamāno Bhagavan bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ yukta iti vaktavyaḥ? *Bhagavān*: iha Śāriputra bodhisattvo mahāsattvo rūpa-sūnyatāyāṃ yukto yukta iti vaktavyaḥ . . . etc., list as in Section IV to jarā-maraṇa-śoka - parideva-duḥkha - daurmanasyopāyāsa-sūnya - tāyāṃ yukto yukta iti vaktavyaḥ. Punaraparam Śāriputra bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ carann ādhyātma-sūnyatāyāṃ yukto yukta iti vaktavyaḥ . . . yāvat parabhāva-sūnyatāyāṃ yukto yukta iti vaktavyaḥ. evaṃ hi Śāriputra bodhisattvo mahāsattvo prajñāpāramitāyāṃ carann āsu sarvāsu³ sūnyatāsu yukto yukta iti vaktavyaḥ. sa ābhiḥ⁴ sūnyatābhiḥ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ caran na tāvad bodhisattvo mahāsattvo yukta iti vaktavyo 'yukta iti. Tat kasya

¹ In the *Abhidharma*, *sūnya* is one of the four equivalents of *duḥkha*. It is there explained as the negation of *mamagrāha* and *ātmadṛṣṭi*. *AK.*, vii, 13. Now, according to the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-loka*, p. 38, the *śrāvakas* contemplate the sixteen modes or aspects of the four Truths as antidotes to *ātma-darśana*, and the Bodhisattvas as antidotes to *dharma-darśana*. Then in the case of the latter *sūnya* would mean *svabhāva-sūnya*, instead of *anātmīya*.

² *Sattva-ārambaṇa*, *dharma-ārambaṇa*, *an-ārambaṇa*. *Akṣayamatī sūtra* in *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 212, 12 sq.; cf. also *Pitṛputrasamāgama* in *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, 259, 10 sq., *Upālipariṣecchā* in *Prasannapadā*, xii, 234, the *Pañjika*, pp. 486-93, on *Bodhicāryāvatāra*, ix, 76-8, and *Madhyamakāvatāra*, pp. 9-11, *Muséon*, 1907, pp. 258-60. These passages form the context into which section I of the *Hṛdaya* is to be placed, and taken together they form an illuminating commentary to it.

³ S: Saptasu, bdun-po 'di-dag-la brtson; Gilgit P: sa ābhi daśabhiḥ sūnyatābhiḥ.

⁴ S+ saptabhi, bdun-po.

hetoh? tathā hi na sa rūpaṃ . . . yuktam iti vā ayuktam iti vā samanupaśyati. iti duḥkha-satya-avavādaḥ.

The truth of ill thus means¹ that in their essential being the skandhas, considered as a result of craving and as essentially ill, are identical with emptiness. In actual reality, the fact of ill cannot maintain itself against the fact of emptiness.²

From the printed text of the *Pañcaviṃśati* it appears that the *fourth truth*, of the Path, is not treated in this passage, and *N. Dutt*³ is explicit in drawing this conclusion. *Haribhadra*, however, in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*⁴ takes it that the sentences following *iti nirodha-satya-avavādaḥ*⁵ do not treat of the *Buddha-ratna*, as the printed text suggests, but of the Path. Section V of the *Hydaya* is, however, not based on that passage. The reason may be that the tradition on the attribution of this passage was somewhat confused, and also that the account of the Path given there did not go to the bottom of the question, and lost itself in comparative side-issues. We have to look for the source of Section V elsewhere.

The end of the first chapter of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā* (= A) is devoted to a long argument, which according to *Haribhadra* deals with *niryāna*, going forth, on the last three stages of a Bodhisattva's career.⁶ The authors of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* seem to have been aware that they deal there with the

¹ *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, p. 32: *duḥkhe phala-bhūta-rūpādi-sūnyatā prajñāpāramitāyos tathatā rūpatvād aikātmyam iti.*

² *Madhyamaka-kārikā*, xxiv, 21: *anityam uktam duḥkham hi tat svābhāvye na vidyate. Prasannapadā*, xii, p. 234. *tasmāt svabhāvato na santi duḥkhādīnīty avasīyate. atha viparyāsa-mātra-labdhatmasattākāyā duḥkhādi.*

³ *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism, etc.*, 1930, p. 228, "as the mārga has no place in this interpretation of the āryasatyas, the *Prajñāpāramitā* omits it."

⁴ Ed. *Wogihara*, 1935, p. 32. See: *The Large Sutra on Perfect Wisdom*, I, 1961, pp. 28-9.

⁵ I.e. P 47, 8-49, 10.

⁶ *Kārikā*, i, 72, 73 . . . *niryānam prāpti-laksanam/sarvākārajñatāyām ca niryānam mārga-gocaram/niryāna-pratipaj jñeyā seyam aṣṭavidhātmiḥ. Cf. E. Obermiller, Analysis of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, 1936, pp. 185 sq. *Niryāna* is, in the *Abhidharma* tradition, one of the four synonyms of *mārga*, cf. *Abhidharmakośa*, vii, 13, p. 32: 4. *nairyānika—atyantam niryānāya prabhavati (Vyākhyā*, p. 626, 26), *sortie définitive, parce qu'il faut passer au delà d'une manière définitive. Also Paṭisambhidamaggā*, i, 118.

very core of their teaching, and each successive version labours to bring out the idea more clearly. The *Śatasāhasrikā* remodels the account of the *Aṣṭa* to a greater extent than it usually does, and the *Pañcaviṃśati*, what is still more unusual, has recast it again, and made some additions of its own.¹

In its Section V the *Hṛdaya* at first follows step by step the argument of the larger *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*, which thus provide an excellent commentary to its somewhat cryptic brevity.

1. First, there is no attainment in actual fact. Attainment implies *abhinirvṛtti* and duality, and neither of these exists in reality.²

2. Secondly, there is no desire, on the part of the Bodhisattva, for any attainment. The argument begins with a definition of the Bodhisattva, and proceeds to show that he does not *wish* for an attainment.³

3. Then follows a discussion on "relying on".⁴

4. Then, corresponding to *Hṛdaya* no. 40, *viharati*, comes the point that *ayaṃ bodhisattvo mahāsattvo viharaty anena prajñāpāramitā-vihāreṇa*.

5. Here the literal correspondence breaks down, and the *Hṛdaya* employs terms not directly used in the larger account. The larger *sūtras* proceed to discuss the dialectics of a bodhisattva's mental activity (*manasikāra*), which, if *Haribhadra's* interpretation⁵ can be trusted, is very much akin to what is said

¹ P 265, 6-22, is absent in Ś xiii, and so is P 266, 5-21.—The only other substantial addition to the *Śatas.*, in the printed portion of the *Pañcav.*, is on pp. 149, 14-150, 16, where it is due to a desire to maintain a scheme which cannot be read into the existing *Śatas.* text.

² *Haribhadra*, i, 10, 6, *prāpti-niryānam* = A I, 24, 16-27, 6 = P 242, 13-256, 9 = S xiii, 1635, 13 sq. MS. Cambridge Add 1630, to fol. 98.

³ *Haribhadra*, i, 10, 7, *sarvākārajñatā-niryānam* = A 27, 7-31, 9 = P 256, 7-263, 17 = Ś MS. fol. 98-137.—P 260: *Subhūti: na-aham anuṭpannasya dharmasya prāptim icchāmi, na-apy abhisamayam*.

⁴ *Haribhadra*, i, 10, 8, *mārga-niryānam* for (3) to (5) = A I, 31, 10-32 = P 263, 18-269, 6 = Ś MS fol. 137b-144b.—*Aṣṭa*, p. 31. *prajñāpāramitaiḥ sārva-yānikī sarva-dharma-aniśritatayā sarva-dharma-aniśritā pārāmitā ca*.

⁵ *Aṣṭa*, 31, 18. *Abhisamayālaṅkāraloka*, p. 125: e.g. *nanu manaskāras cetasa ābhoga ālambane citta-dhāraṇa-karmakāḥ. prajñāpāramitā-vihāras ca tad-viṣayā-svabhāva*. Cf. also to A 32, 7, cf. p. 127, 26, *manasikāreṇa aviṣayāsa pravṛttatvād*. The trembling is alluded to in *Aṣṭa*, p. 31, 15-16.

in the remainder of Section V. It would take too long to show this in detail.

In any case, the terms used in the second part of Section V are closely connected with *mārga*. That is obviously so with *niṣṭhā* and *nirvāṇa*. It is, however, perhaps worth mentioning that the cognition of the uncovered thought, of the *cittam na-āvaranaiḥ samyuktam na visamyuktam*, is placed by the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* under *mārga-satya*,¹ and that *pratipatti*, the third *ākāra* (mode, aspect) of *mārga*, is defined as *cittasya-aviṣyāsa-pratipādana*.²

At first sight one would be inclined to think that Section VII, the passage dealing with the perfection of wisdom as a mantra, is a later addition, due to the influence of *Tantrism*. One must, however, bear in mind that we can trace in the *Niddesa* and in the *Pali* commentaries an old tradition, according to which *paññā* is called *mantā*, a term understood there as the feminine of *manto*, *mantra*.³ Then there is the term *vidyā*. In the *dhamma-cakka-ppavattana-vaggo* of the *Samyutta Nikāya*, which, as we will see, embodies some of the traditions forming the background of the *Ḥḍaya*, *vijjā* is equated with a knowledge of the four Truths.⁴ In other contexts, however, the term shades off into meaning a kind of secret, mysterious lore of magical potency which can be compressed into a magical formula, a spell. What is really new in *Tantrism* is merely the stress laid on the belief that all the means of salvation can be compressed into the words of a short formula.⁵

The *Śatasahasrikā*, in chap. xix,⁶ gives a close parallel to the beginning of Section VII. The only difference is that the term *vidyā* is used instead of *mantra*. The parallel is all the more impressive, in that VII is also in the *Śatas.* coupled with VI, although VI here does not precede but follow it.⁷

¹ P 121, 5-123, 5 = S 490, 14-503, 5.

² Ed. *Wogihara*, p. 137.

³ *Niddesa* ii, 497. Dh-A iv, 93. Sn-A 204, 549. Vv-A 262.

⁴ *SamyN.*, v, p. 430. *yam kho bhikkhu dukkhe ñānam dukkha-samudaye ñānam . . . ayam vuccati bhikkhu vijjā. Ettāvata ca vijjāgato hoti.*

⁵ E.g. *Sādhanamālā*, p. 270. *ayam mantrarājo buddhatvaṃ dadāti, kiṃ punar anyāḥ siddhayaḥ?*

⁶ MS. Cambridge Add 1630, fol. 293b. Corresponds to A III, 73 sq.

⁷ *Kumārajīva*, by omitting no. 52, is again nearer to the presumed original of this passage.

Śakra: mahāvidyeyam bhagavan yad uta prajñāpāramitā. anuttareyam vidyā bhagavan yad uta prajñāpāramitā. asama-sameyam vidyā bhagavan yad uta prajñāpāramitā. Tat kasya hetoḥ? tathā hi bhagavan prajñāpāramitā sarveṣāṃ kuśalānāṃ dharmānāṃ āhārayitrī. *Bhagavān*: evam etat Kauśika evam etat. mahāvidyeyam Kauśika . . . yad uta prajñāpāramitā. Tat kasya hetoḥ? tathā hi Kauśika ye te' bhūvann atīte' dhvani tathāgatāḥ . . . te enāṃ vidyām āgamyā anuttarām samyaksambodhim abhisambuddhāḥ. ye 'pi te bhaviṣyanty anāgate . . . ye 'pi te etarhi daśadig lokadhātuṣu tathāgatāḥ . . . tiṣṭhanti dhriyante yāpayanti, te 'py enāṃ vidyām āgamyā anuttarām samyaksambodhim abhisambuddhāḥ.¹

This statement according to which the perfection of wisdom is a *vidyā*, and, as it were, the mother of the Tathagatas, occurs with slight variations once more in the same chapter of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā*. The other passage² contains the parallel to no. 56 of the *Hṛdaya*.

¹ Here again there is an allusion to the four Truths in that the second part of the quotation is modelled on the classical formula, which, in the *Sacca-Samyutta* (*Samy. N.*, v, pp. 433-4) runs as follows: *ye hi keci bhikkhave atītam addhānam arahanto sammā-sambuddhā yathābhūtam abhisambujjhimsu, sabbe te cattāri ariyasaccāni yathābhūtam abhisambujjhimsu . . . anāgatam addhānam . . . etarhi. . .*—Each branch of Buddhist thought rephrased this formula according to its needs. The *Mantrayāna*, for instance, in *Saṅhayan Kamahāyānan*, v. 3, says of the Buddhas of the past, present, and future:

*taiś ca sarvair imāṃ vajran
jñatvā mantravidhiṃ param
prāptā sarvajñatā vīraiḥ
bodhimūle hy alakṣaṇā.*

The thought itself forms an essential part of the tradition on the first turning of the wheel of the law, cf. e.g. *Lal. Vist.*, xxvi, p. 418 (= *Samy. N.*, v, p. 422): *iti hi bhikṣavo yāvad eva me eṣu caturṣv āryasatyēṣu yoniśo manasikurvato evaṃ triparivartam dvādasākāraṃ jñāna-darśanam utpadyate na tāvad ahaṃ bhikṣavo 'nuttarām samyaksambodhim abhisambuddho'smi iti pratyajñāsiṣaṃ, na ca me jñāna-darśanam utpadyate, yataś ca me bhikṣava eṣu caturṣv āryasatyēṣu . . . jñāna-darśanam utpannam, akopyā ca me cetovimuktiḥ prajñā-vimuktiś ca sākṣātkṛtā. tato 'haṃ bhikṣavo 'nuttarām samyaksambodhim abhisambuddho'smi iti pratyajñāsiṣam.*

² The other passage is A III, 54-5 = S xviii, fol. 280a-81b.

We have thus been able to trace roughly nine-tenths of the *Hydaya* to the larger *Prajñāpāramitā* sūtras. We can, I think, draw the conclusion that the *Hydaya* was originally intended as a restatement, for beginners,¹ of the four holy Truths,² followed by a few remarks on the method of bearing this teaching in mind and on the spiritual advantages of following it.

This analysis permits us to see the *Hydaya* in its historical perspective. It is the *dharma-cakra-pravartana-sūtra* of the new dispensation. It is the result of eight hundred years of continuous meditation on the tradition concerning the first turning of the wheel of the law. In the literature of the second turning of the wheel of the law³ the *Hydaya* is meant to occupy the same central and fundamental position which the *dharma-cakra-pravartana-sūtra* occupies in the scriptures of the first turning.⁴

The *Prajñāpāramitā* texts are so elusive to our understanding, because they are full of hidden hints, allusions, and indirect

¹ The connotations of *avavāda* can be gathered from *Sūtrālamkāra*, ch. xiv, and from *Buddhaghosa's* definition, *Samantapāsādikā*, v. p. 982: *api ca otinñe vā anotinñe vā paṭhama-vacanam ovādo, punapunnam vacanam anusāsani ti.*

² There are other instances of a *Mahāyānistic* reinterpretation of the four Truths. Cf. the *Dhyayitamusti sūtra*, quoted in *Prasannapadā*, p. 298, cf. *Prasannapadā*, ch. 24. *Lankavatāra sūtra*, p. 299, v. 260, is short enough to be quoted: *cittasya dukkha satyaṃ samudayo jñānā-gocarah/ dve satye buddhabhūmiṣca prajñā yatra pravartate.*

³ *Aṣṭa*, ix, p. 203, states expressly: *dvitīyaṃ batedaṃ dharmacakrapravartanaṃ Jambūdvīpe paśyāma iti.*

⁴ The *Hydaya* abounds in allusions to the traditions as laid down in the various *dharma-cakra-pravartana* sūtras. In the *dharmma-cakka-pavattana vaggo* of *Samyutta Nikāya* (preserved also in *Tibetan mdo XXX*, and in *Chinese T 109*), we have first a statement of the four Truths, followed (p. 426) by a passage on *dhāraṇa* (equivalent to *mantra*), and a warning that no other truth of ill, etc., is possible. The end of the *vagga* is similar to *Hydaya* no. 57: (p. 430) *idaṃ dukkhan ti bhikkhave tatham (=saccam, satyam) etam avitatham etan anaññatatham etam* (corresponds to *amithyatvāt*). *Sāriputra's* position in the *Hydaya* gains point from the tradition common to all schools that *Sāriputra* alone was capable to turn the wheel of the law after the *Tathāgata* (e.g. *Sn 557*; *MN III*, 29; *Mil.* 362; *Divy.* 394), and from the statement in the *Sacca-vibhaṅgasutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* 141: *Sāriputto, bhikkhave, pahoti cattāri ariyasaccāni vihārena ācikkhitum*, etc. But it would be tedious to continue. Those who wish to follow up this suggestion will find a list of the chief versions of the *dharma-cakra-pravartana-sūtra* in E. Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke*, 1932, p. 54.

references to the pre-existing body of scriptures and traditions circulating in the memory of the Buddhist community at the time. They are more often than not an echo of older sayings. Without the relation to the older sayings they lose most of their point. We at present have to reconstruct laboriously what seemed a matter of course 1,500 years ago.