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completely Indianized character of the culture and local genius in this region would militate against its absorbing much Javanese influence during the period of connection, as compared with receptive Cambodia. And the relatively unimpressive character of the remains of later Śailendra cities is what one would expect of the unevolving colonial Indian architecture of the western zone.

## Text, Sources, and Bibliography of the Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya

By EDWARD CONZE

THE *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya sūtra* is a religious document of the first importance. It carried *Huien-tsiang* through the Gobi desert,<sup>1</sup> was reproduced, in writing, on stones, in recitation throughout Asia from Kabul to Nara,<sup>2</sup> and formed one of the main inspirations of the Zen school, occupying in Buddhist mysticism about the same place the "*Mystical Theology*"<sup>3</sup> of *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita* occupied in Christian. Unlike other very short *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*, the *Hṛdaya* is of great philosophical interest. The *Svalpākṣara*, and other abbreviations,<sup>4</sup> were designed to bring the benefits of *Prajñāpāramitā* within the reach of those unable either to study or understand it.<sup>5</sup> 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 component parts to their context in 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 Hannya* 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 left unnumbered, while, to facilitate reference, I have introduced numbered subdivisions in the short version of the *sūtra*. I have also marked off those parts

<sup>1</sup> Hwui Li, *The Life of Huien-tsiang*, trsl. Beal, 1914, pp. 21-2.

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

<sup>3</sup> *Mystical Theology*, iii, ch. 4 and 5, in particular, afford a striking parallel to Section IV of the *Hṛdaya*.

<sup>4</sup> This also applies to the Cambr. MS. Add 1554, which is called a *prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-dhāraṇī*, but which consists chiefly of invocations, and is not the text discussed here.

<sup>5</sup> MS. As. Sop. Bengal, 107578, leaf 2: *deśayatu bhagavan prajñāpāramitāṃ svalpākṣarāṃ mahā-puṇyāṃ yasyāḥ śrāvana-mātreṇa sarva-sattvāḥ sarva-karmā-varaṇāni kṣapayīṣyanti*, etc.

of the *sūtra* which can be traced in the larger *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*. The notation of the MSS., etc., is explained below (p. 49).

<sup>1</sup>Om namo bhāgavatyai āryaprajñāpāramitāyai<sup>a</sup>.

Evam mayā śrutam. ekasmin samaye Bhagavān Rājagrhe viharati sma Gr̥dhra-kūṭa-parvate, mahatā bhikṣu-saṃghena sārddham mahatā ca bodhisattva-saṃghena<sup>b</sup>. tena khalu punaḥ<sup>c</sup> samayena Bhagavān<sup>d</sup> gambhīrāvabhāsaṃ nāma dharmaparyāyaṃ bhāṣitvā<sup>e</sup> samādhim samāpannaḥ. tena<sup>e</sup> ca<sup>f</sup> samayena<sup>e</sup> Āryāvalokiteśvaro bodhisattvo mahāsattvo gambhīrāyāṃ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ<sup>g</sup> caryāṃ<sup>h</sup> caramāṇa<sup>h</sup> evaṃ vyavalokayati sma: 'pañca skandhās tāṃśca svabhāva-śūnyāṃ vyavalokayati<sup>i</sup>. atha<sup>k</sup> āyusmāñc-Chāripuro buddha-anubhāvena Āryāvalokiteśvaraṃ bodhisattvaṃ mahāsattvaṃ<sup>j</sup> etad avocat: 'yaḥ kaścit kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā<sup>m</sup> asyāṃ<sup>n</sup> gambhīrāyāṃ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ caryāṃ<sup>o</sup> cartukāmas tena<sup>p</sup> katham śikṣitavyam<sup>q</sup>? 'evam ukta-Āryāvalokiteśvaro bodhisattvo mahāsattvo āyusmantam Śāriputraṃ etad avocat<sup>r</sup>. yaḥ kaścid Chāriputra<sup>s</sup> kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā asyāṃ<sup>t</sup> gambhīrāyāṃ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ caryāṃ<sup>u</sup> cartukāmas tenaivaṃ vyavalokitavyam<sup>v</sup>.

The short text condenses this into:—

<sup>2</sup>Āryāvalokiteśvaro <sup>3</sup>bodhisattvo <sup>4</sup>gambhīrāṃ prajñāpāramitā-caryāṃ <sup>5</sup>caramāṇo <sup>6</sup>vyavalokayati sma.

<sup>a</sup> So Nb Nc Ne Ni Ce Ti. — Cd: @śrī-ārya — Nh: āryāśrī@ — Na omits bhagavatyai — Nd: Bhagavate āryāśrī@ — Ja om namaḥ sarva-jñāyaḥ.

<sup>b</sup> Ca Ce gaṇena. <sup>c</sup> so Na Nb Nc Nd Ne Ca Cd.

<sup>d-e</sup> so Na Nb Ca Cd Ce. — Nc: gambhīrāyāṃ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ avabhāsaṃ nāma dharma-paryāyaḥ — Ne: gambhīrāyāṃ pravara-bhāṣan-nāma @@ — Jb: gambhīrāvasambodham nāma.

<sup>f-g</sup> tasmin samaye Nd Ne.

<sup>h</sup> so Jb Ce. — Na Nb Nc khalu punaḥ — Cd punaḥ.

<sup>i</sup> Ca Cd Ce: gambhīrāvabhāsaṃ nāma dharmaparyāyaṃ. Ce om. gambh<sup>o</sup> to evam. <sup>h</sup> Na Nb Nc Nd Ne om.

<sup>j-k</sup> so Jb. — om. Ca Cd — Na Nb: pañca skandhāṃ svabhāva-śūnyā vyavalokitavya. lokayati sma. — Nc: pañca skandha svabhāva-śūnya vyavalokitavya.

<sup>k</sup> Ca Cd Ce atha khalv. <sup>i</sup> om. Jb; Na?

<sup>m-n</sup> Nc Ne?: ye kecit kulaputrā vā kuladuhitā vā.

<sup>o</sup> so Na Nb Nc Ca Cd. <sup>o</sup> @ tāyā cartu@ Ca Cd.

<sup>p</sup> so Na Nb Nc Ca Cd — Nd Ne: cartukāmena.

<sup>q</sup> Nd Ne: vyavalokitavyam.

<sup>r-r</sup> Nd Ne: Avalokiteśvara-āha.

<sup>s</sup> so Nb Nc Ca Cd. <sup>u</sup> Ne om. <sup>v</sup> Ne Ca Cd om.

<sup>o</sup> Ca Cd Ce: śikṣitavyam yaduta — Nd repeats after vyavalokitavyam: evam ukta to: vyavalokitavyam.

<sup>2</sup> Atha-Ārya-Cg.

<sup>o</sup> Cb: vyavalokayate.

I. <sup>7</sup>pañca skandhās <sup>8</sup>tāṃśca svabhāva-śūnyāṃ paśyati sma.

II. <sup>9</sup>iha Śāriputra <sup>10</sup>rūpaṃ śūnyatā śūnyataiva rūpaṃ <sup>11</sup>rūpāṃ na prthak śūnyatā <sup>12</sup>śūnyatāyā na prthag rūpaṃ <sup>13</sup>yad rūpaṃ sā śūnyatā <sup>14</sup>yā śūnyatā tad rūpaṃ. <sup>15</sup>evam eva <sup>16</sup>vedanā-saṃjñā-saṃskāra-vijñānam.

III. <sup>17</sup>iha Śāriputra <sup>18</sup>sarva-dharmāḥ śūnyatā-lakṣaṇā <sup>19</sup>anutpannā aniruddhā <sup>20</sup>amalā avimalā <sup>21</sup>anūnā aparipūrṇāḥ.

IV. <sup>22</sup>tasmāc-Chāriputra <sup>23</sup>śūnyatāyāṃ <sup>24</sup>na rūpaṃ na vedanā na saṃjñā na saṃskārāḥ na vijñānaṃ <sup>25</sup>na cakṣuḥ-śrotra-ghrāṇa-jihvā-kāya-manāṃsi <sup>26</sup>na rūpa-śabda-gandha-rasa-spraṣṭavya

<sup>7-8</sup> om. Ne. — Nb Nc: pañca skandhāṃ svabhāva-śūnyāṃ vyavalokitavyam.

<sup>7-9</sup> om. Nd.

<sup>8</sup> Jb samanupaśyati — Cg:sma iti Ca: svabhāva-śūnyāḥ. katham pañca skandhāḥ svabhāva-śūnyāḥ? — Ce: svabhāva-śūnyāḥ. Katham svabhāva-śūnyāḥ?

<sup>9</sup> iha om. Nb Nc Ne Ca Ce Jb ChT — Śāriputra om. Nb Nc Ne Ca Ce Jb.

<sup>10</sup> om ChT 1, 2, 5, 6, 7—rūpaṃ śūnyam Nb Nc Ne Cb.

<sup>11-12</sup> na rūpaṃ prthak śūnyatāyāḥ nāpi śūnyatā prthak rūpāt evam Ca.

<sup>13-14</sup> om. Nb Nc Nd Ne Ti.

<sup>15-16</sup> om. Nb.

<sup>16</sup> Ne: vijñānāni śūnyāni. — Nd Ne: vijñānāni śūnyatā. — Jb: vijñānaṃ ca śūnyatā — Ti: rnam par shes rnam stong paḥo.

<sup>11-16</sup> Instead Nb has: na rūpāt prthak śūnyatā na śūnyatāyā prthak rūpaṃ. vedanā śūnyā śūnyataiva vedanā. na vedanāyā prthak, etc., in *extenso* for all the five skandhas. After 16: ChT 1, 2, 5, 6 add: 度一切苦厄. Kumārājīva further adds the equivalent of P 39: Śāriputra yā rūpasya śūnyatā na sā rūpayati; yā vedanāyā śūnyatā na sā vedayati; etc., see below page 42.

<sup>17</sup> For iha Na Nb Nc Nd Ca Ce Jb have: evam. — om. ChT — Na Nb: evam bhadantā — Ti: Shā rihi bu de lta bas na.

<sup>18</sup> Na Nb: svabhāva-śūnyāḥ alakṣaṇāḥ. Nd Ne: śūnyāḥ svalakṣaṇāḥ — Ca Cd: svabhāva-śūnyatā-lakṣaṇā.

<sup>19</sup> Ca Cd Ce: ajātā — after aniruddhā Ne adds: acyutāḥ acalāḥ.

<sup>21</sup> Ja? nonā — Ce: nonā — Jb: anonā — Ne: anyonyāḥ — Nb: anyatā. Ja? na paripūrṇā — Na Nb? Nd Ca Cd Jb: asaṃpūrṇāḥ — Ne Ce Cg: na saṃpūrṇāḥ — Ce: anyunā. After 21 Kumārājīva adds: 是空法非過去, etc. = P 40: (yā śūnyatā) nātītā nānāgatā na pratyutpannā. See below, page 41.

<sup>22</sup> Na Nb Nd Ne Ca Cd Ce: tasmāt tarhi — Ne: evam bhadantā — Ce Cg: om. Śāriputra.

<sup>23</sup> Ne: śūnyāyāṃ.

<sup>25-26</sup> Na Nb Nc Ne Ca Ce Jb: na cakṣur na śrotraṃ, etc., to: na dharma.

P 43-47 =  
S 136-141

dharmāḥ <sup>27</sup>na cakṣur-dhātur <sup>28</sup>yāvan na <sup>29</sup>mano-  
vijñāna-dhātuḥ <sup>30</sup>na vidyā na-avidyā <sup>31</sup>na  
vidyākṣayo na-avidyākṣayo <sup>32</sup>yāvan na <sup>33</sup>jarā-  
maraṇaṁ na jarā-maraṇa-kṣayo <sup>34</sup>na duḥkha-  
samudaya-nirodha-mārgā <sup>35</sup>na jñānaṁ <sup>36</sup>na  
prāptir na-aprāptiḥ.

V. <sup>37</sup>tasmāc-Chāriputra <sup>38</sup>aprāptivāt bodhi-  
sattvasya <sup>39</sup>prajñāpāramitām āśritya <sup>40</sup>viharaty  
'cittāvaraṇaḥ. <sup>41</sup>cittāvaraṇa-nāstitvād <sup>42</sup>atrasto  
<sup>43</sup>viparyāsa-atrīkrānto <sup>44</sup>niṣṭha-nirvāṇaḥ.

VI. <sup>45</sup>tryadhva-vyavasthitāḥ <sup>46</sup>sarva-buddhāḥ  
<sup>47</sup>prajñāpāramitām āśritya-<sup>48</sup>anuttarāṁ samyak-  
sambodhim <sup>49</sup>abhisambuddhāḥ.

VII. <sup>50</sup>tasmājjñātavyaṁ. <sup>51</sup>prajñāpāramitā<sup>52</sup>

A I, 24-32 =  
P 242-269 =  
S ch. XIII

S XIX fol. 293b

<sup>27-29</sup> Ca gives a list of all the dhātus — Na Nb : na cakṣudhātuḥ na rūpa-dhātuḥ  
na cakṣu-vijñāna-dhātuḥ ; na śrotra-vijñāna-dhātuḥ, etc., all to : na manovijñāna-  
dhātuḥ.

<sup>30</sup> Na Nb Ne Ce Cg Ch 1, 2, 5, 6 om. na vidyā. — Na Nb Ne om. na-avidyā —  
Na Nb Ne Ce Ca Cc Ce Cg Jb ChT 1, 2, 5, 6 om. na vidyākṣayo — Ca Jb for na-  
avidyākṣayo give : na kṣayo, Ce na-akṣayo.

<sup>33</sup> Ne om. na jarāmaranaṁ.

<sup>30-33</sup> Na Nb : na-avidyākṣayo na saṁskārā-kṣayo, etc., all to : na jarāmara-  
ṇakṣayo.

<sup>34</sup> Nb Ne Ce : na duḥkha na samudaya, etc. After 34 : Na Nb Ne add :  
na-amārgaḥ. — Na Nb Ne Ca Cd add : na rūpaṁ (= sva-rūpaṁ ? e.g. Prasanna-  
padā 264-5 : tat-svarūpaṁ = śūnyatā and synonyms. svabhāva = bhāvasvarūpa).

<sup>36</sup> so Nb Ne Ca Cd Ce Jb ChT 8 Ti — Ja : na prāptivāṁ — Ne Nd ChT 1, 2, 5, 6 :  
na prāptiḥ — ChT 9 : na prāptivāṁ ca na-aprāptiḥ.

<sup>37</sup> tasmāt tarhi Śāriputra Na Nb Ne Nd Ne Ca Cd Ce Ti — Śāriputra also in  
ChT 8, 9 — Ja Cc ChT 1, 2, 5, 6 omit 37.

<sup>38</sup> Na Ne Nb ? Ne ? Nd ? Cg : aprāptivāt — Jb : aprāptivena — Cb : aprāptitva  
— Ja om. aprāptivāt — Cd : aprāpti-yāvat — Ca : aprāptitāprāptiryāvavat —  
Ce : na prāptiraprāptiryāvāt — bodhisattvasya Ja — Cb Jb : bodhisattvānām —  
Nb Ne Na ? Ne : bodhisattvā mahasattvā — Ce : bodhisattva — Cg : bodhisattvā —  
Ti : Byang chub sems dpah rnam. <sup>39,47</sup> Cg : niśritya.

<sup>40</sup> See note 4 on p. 39. Nb : viharanti — Suzuki : viharato — Ca Ce : viharāṇs-  
— 'cittāvaraṇaḥ om. Na Nb Ne Nd Ne Ca Ce Ti.

<sup>41</sup> Ca Cd Ce : cittāmbanaṁ — Na Nb Ne Nd ? Ne : cittāmbaṇa-mātratvāt —  
Ti : sems la sgrib pa med cing. <sup>42</sup> Na Nb Ne Ne : anuttrastā.

<sup>44</sup> Ja ? tiṣṭha ? — Na Nb Ne Nd Ca : niṣṭhā — Ne om. niṣṭha — Ca Ce : nirvāṇaṁ  
prāpnoti — Na Nb Ne Nd Ne : nirvāṇa prāptāḥ.

<sup>45-49</sup> Ca Ce : tryadhva-vyavasthitair api samyaksambuddhair . . . @bodhiḥ  
prāptā. — Na Nb Ne Ne : . . . sarva-buddhair api . . . abhisambuddhā.

<sup>50</sup> Na Ne : tasmāt tarhi Śāriputra, etc. — Ne : tasmāt tarhi kulaputra, etc. —  
Ca Ce : etasmaj, etc. — Nd : tasmāt tarhi jñātavyaṁ.

<sup>52</sup> om. ChT 1. — ChT 2, 5, 6, 7 : 是大神呪. — Ne Nd Ne Ce : om. mahā.

mahā-mantro <sup>53</sup>mahā-vidyā-mantro <sup>54</sup>nuttara-  
mantra <sup>55</sup>samasama-mantraḥ <sup>56</sup>sarva-duḥkha-  
praśamaṇaḥ <sup>57</sup>satyam amithyatvāt. <sup>58</sup>prajñā-  
pāramitāyām ukto mantraḥ. <sup>59</sup>tadyathā <sup>60</sup>om  
gate gate pāragate pārasaṁgate bodhi svāhā.

Evam Śāriputra<sup>a</sup> gambhīrāyām prajñāpāramitāyām caryāyām  
śikṣitavyāṁ bodhisattvena<sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup>. Atha khalu bhagavān<sup>c</sup> tasmāt<sup>d</sup>  
samādhher vyutthāya Āryāvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya mahā-  
sattvāya<sup>e</sup> sādhu karam adāt. sādhu sādhu kulaputra, evam etad  
kulaputra<sup>f</sup> evam etad<sup>g</sup> gambhīrāyām prajñāpāramitāyām caryāṁ  
cartavyāṁ<sup>h</sup> yathā tvayā nirdiṣṭam<sup>i</sup> anumodyate sarva<sup>j</sup>-tathā-  
gatair arhadbhiḥ<sup>k</sup>. idam avocat bhagavān. āttamanā<sup>l</sup>-<sup>m</sup>āyusmān  
Śāriputra<sup>m</sup> Āryāvalokiteśvaro bodhisattvo<sup>n</sup> mahāsattvas<sup>o</sup> te ca  
bhikṣavas te ca bodhisattvā mahāsattvāḥ<sup>n</sup> sā ca sarvāvatī parṣat  
sa-deva-mānuṣa-asura-garuda<sup>o</sup>-gandharvaś ca loko Bhagavato  
bhāṣitam abhyanandann iti.

iti ārya <sup>p</sup>prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya<sup>p</sup> samāptaṁ.

<sup>53</sup> Na : sahā ? — Ca Ce : vidyā-mantro — Ne : mahāmantraḥ. After 54  
Na adds : asamā-mantraḥ.

<sup>54</sup> Cg om.

<sup>55</sup> Ne : asamā mantraḥ.

<sup>56</sup> Na ? Ne Nd Ne Ca Cg Jb : sarva-duḥkha-praśamaṇo mantraḥ.

<sup>57</sup> Ca Ce : samyaktvaṁ na mithyatvaṁ — Ne : samyaktva amithyātvā.

<sup>58</sup> @tāyukto Ca Ce. — Ne : @tāyayukto — Ne : @tāpūjāyukta ?

<sup>a-a</sup> Ca Ce : bodhisattvena mahāsattvena prajñāpāramitāyām śikṣitavyaṁ. —

Ne om. caryāyām.

<sup>b</sup> Ne Ne add : mahāsattvena.

<sup>c</sup> Ca Ce add : (t)asyām velāyām.

<sup>d</sup> Nd Ne om : tasmāt — Ce : tasyās.

<sup>e</sup> Jb : @asya @asya @asya.

<sup>f</sup> om. Ne Ne.

<sup>g-g</sup> so Jb ; Ca Ce : evam evaiśā prajñāpāramitā.

<sup>h</sup> Ne Nd add : tad. <sup>i</sup> Jb om.

<sup>k</sup> Ne Ce adds : samyaksambuddhaiḥ — Nd Ne Ni have iti for arhadbhiḥ.

<sup>l</sup> Jb : ānandamanā.

<sup>m</sup> Ca Ce omits āyusmān Śāriputra.

<sup>n-n</sup> Ne om.

<sup>o</sup> so Na.

<sup>o</sup> Jb Ce om.

Ne : prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-dhāraṇī pañcaviṁśatikāḥ nāma dhāraṇī

Nd : śrī-prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya

Ne : pañca-viṁśatikā-prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-nāma-dhāraṇī

Nh : śrī-pañca-viṁśatikā-prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya

Ca : pañca-viṁśatikā Bhagavatī prajñāpāramitā-hṛdayaṁ

Ce : pañca-viṁśatikā prajñāpāramitā-hṛdayaṁ.

*Kumārajīva's*<sup>1</sup> translation is important, as by far the earliest version of the text which we possess. Below (p. 41-2) it will be shown to be of great assistance in restoring and tracing out 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 Ch 7 of A.D. 861 seem to have read, *na prāpti/tasmād aprāptitvāt bodhisattva(sya)*, etc.<sup>2</sup> The Horyūji MS., written before A.D. 609, gives: <sup>36</sup>*na prāptitvaṃ* <sup>38</sup>*bodhisattvasya*. 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 <sup>30</sup>*na vidyā* <sup>31</sup>*na vidyākṣayo*; in No. 34 *na-amārgaḥ* is found only in a few later MSS.; and so with <sup>36</sup>*na-a-prāptiḥ*, which appears in the Chinese translations only quite late, after about 850, in Ch 8 and 9.

Obviously the rules of ordinary logic are abrogated in this *sūtra*. Contradictions co-exist in emptiness.<sup>3</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 *Hṛdaya*, is not mentioned in the list of translations attributed to *Kumārajīva*; cf. J. Nobel, *Stzb. pr. Ak. Wiss.*, 20, 1927.

<sup>2</sup> 亦無得。以無所得。

<sup>3</sup> 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.

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 guard against that misconception.<sup>1</sup> 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 79 dharmas of the *Sarvāstivādins*.<sup>2</sup> In emptiness, i.e. in truth, there is no dharma. But while the *a-prāpti* is not a fact, *a-prāptitva*<sup>3</sup> 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 spiritual life.

The second difficulty concerns the divergence between *cittāvaraṇa* and *cittālambaṇa* in No. 40.<sup>4</sup> When one considers the peculiarities of Sanskrit MSS., the two words do not differ much. We may suppose that originally there was चित्तरम्भण. Now ल and र, and ब and व are constantly interchanged in Nepalese MSS., and the र्म्भ is represented by an *anusvāra*. This would give ०रं वण. If the *anusvāra* is dropped, as often happens, a simple juxtaposition would lead to ०वरण. Although the reading *cittāvaraṇa* makes sense it is perhaps not the original reading.<sup>5</sup> The normal Chinese equivalent for

<sup>1</sup> Although, strictly speaking, n. 35 *na jñānaṃ* would make it superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> In *Nagārjuna's* list of 119 *kuśala dharmas*, however, only *prāpti* is mentioned. *IHQ.*, 1938, p. 317, No. 16.

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

<sup>4</sup> In n. 40 the manuscript tradition does not cogently require the reading given in the text. *Ja* itself reads: *viharati cittāvaraṇa/cittāvaraṇa*; *Kokio's* first copy read: *vaharaty citvavaranaḥ*, which he corrects into: *viharati citnavaraṇaḥ*. *Jb* has: *viharati cittāvaraṇaḥ/cittav@*. *Cc*: *viḥarya cita/avarṇa cita/a (varṇa-nā)-stitva*. But *Cg*: *viharatyā cityāvaraṇa*. Against this we have *Kumārajīva's* translation. *Kumārajīva* either read *viharati acitta@*, or he understood *cittāvaraṇaḥ* as *citta-avaranaḥ*. A consideration of the meaning of the passage decided me to follow *Suzuki* and *Hannya* in adding the *Avagraha*. If we take *viharati cittāvaraṇaḥ* literally, the passage would 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 quite alien to the larger *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*. *A-cittāvaraṇaḥ* would, however, give a meaning well in keeping with the larger *sūtras*, as is shown on page 45.

<sup>5</sup> The term *cittāvaraṇa* seems to be exceedingly rare. I have so far met it only in one other case. The first Tibetan translation of *Āryadeva's Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇam* gives, in transliteration and translation, the title as: *cittāvaraṇaviśodhana-nāma-prakaraṇam*, cf. *Tōhoku Catalogue*, No. 1804, where *citta-varaṇa* is given as a variant.

āvaraṇa is 障. This occurs only in the 7th and 8th 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*<sup>1</sup> 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 in the four Holy Truths, as reinterpreted in the light of the dominant idea of emptiness.<sup>2</sup> In the *Pañcaviṃśatisahasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (= P) on pp. 43–7, corresponding to *Śatasahasrikā-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.<sup>3</sup> In any case, in this instance *Haribhadra* merely follows the *kārikā* of *Maitreyanātha*,<sup>4</sup> whose *Abhisamayā-lankāra* 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 vyavadīyate, na hīyate na vardhate. na-atītā na-anāgatā na pratyutpannā. yā ca īdṛśī na rūpaṃ na vedanā . . . ; na pṛthivī-dhātur . . . ; na cakṣur . . . ; na rūpaṃ na śabda . . . ; na cakṣurāyātanaṃ na rūpāyātanaṃ . . . ; na cakṣu-dhātur . . . ;

<sup>1</sup> A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, 1937, p. 362b.

<sup>2</sup> The passage in *Aṣṭa*, ii, 34, śūnyatāyām Kauśika tiṣṭhatā bodhisattvena mahā-sattvena prajñāpāramitāyām sthātavyam, is given by *Haribhadra* as catuḥ-satyā-ākāra.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bu-ston II, 158.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. *kār* I, 21: *pratipattau ca satyeṣu buddh-ratnādīsu triṣu . . . 22 ity avavādo daś'ātmakaḥ*.

na-avidyotpādo na avidyā-nirodhaḥ na saṃskārotpādo . . . ; na duḥkhaṃ na samudayo na nirodha na mārgo ; na prāptir na-abhisāmaya.<sup>1</sup> na srotaāpannā na srotaāpatti-phalaṃ . . . na pratyekabuddhā na pratyekabodhiḥ ; na buddho na bodhiḥ. evaṃ hi Śāriputra bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ prajñāpāramitāyām caran yukto yukta iti vaktavyaḥ. (iti nirodha-satyāvavādaḥ.)

The *Hṛdaya* obviously gives an abbreviated version of this 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.<sup>2</sup> The *Tun Huang* MS. Ch gives *na prāptir na-abhisāmaya*. 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 in which *prāpti* and *abhisāmaya* are coupled in the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*.<sup>3</sup>

The truth of stopping, as *Haribhadra* sums up,<sup>4</sup> 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 rūpaṃ utpāda-dharmi vā nirodha-dharmi vā samanupaśyati . . . na rūpaṃ samkleśa-dharmi vā vyavadāna-dharmi vā samanupaśyati . . . punaraparaṃ Śāriputra bodhisattvo mahāsattvo na rūpaṃ vedanāyām samavasaratī<sup>5</sup> -iti samanupaśyati. na vedanā saṃjñāyām samavasaratīti samanupaśyati . . . na vijñānaṃ dharme samavasaratīti samanupaśyati. na dharmah kvacid dharme samavasaratīti samanupaśyati. tat kasya hetoḥ ? na hi kaścid dharmah kvacid dharme samavasaratīti prakṛti-śūnyatām upādāya. tat kasya hetoḥ ? tathā hi Śāriputra yā

<sup>1</sup> *Kumārajīva* in *Taiśhō Issaikyō*, viii, 223a, gives: 亦無智亦無得, for *nāprāptir nābhisāmaya*, just as in Nos. 35–6 of the *Hṛdaya*.

<sup>2</sup> *Taiśhō Issaikyō*, vol. viii, p. 223a.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. *Wogihara*, 1935, p. 32. *nirodhe śūnyatāyām utpāda-nirodha-saṃ kleśa-vyavadāna-hāni-vṛddhy-ādi-rahitāyām na rūpaṃ yāvan na-avidyotpādo a na-avidyā-nirodho na buddho na bodhir iti*.

<sup>5</sup> Up to this point the *Sāgaramati*, in *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 263, gives a close parallel to this passage. Instead of *samavasaratī* the terms *samsrjyate* and *raṇati* are used there. In *Prasannapadā*, ch. 14, we find the arguments of the *Madhyamika* against the real existence of *samsarga*. The chief point is that *samsarga* implies *anyathva* or *pṛthakva*, and that is not a real fact.

rūpasya śūnyatā na tad rūpam . . . (tat kasya hetoḥ ? tathā hi yā rūpa-śūnyatā na sā rūpayati . . . yā . . . vedayati ; . . . samjānīte . . . ; abhisamkaroti ; . . . vijānāti. tat kasya hetoḥ ?) tathā hi Śāriputra na-*anyad rūpam anyā śūnyatā. na-*anyā śūnyatā anyad rūpam. rūpam eva śūnyatā śūnyataiva rūpam. na-*anyā 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*.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

But how is this argument connected with the truth of origination ? As interpreted by the *Prajñāpāramitā*, the truth of origination means<sup>3</sup> that form, etc., considered as the cause of ill, are really identical with<sup>4</sup> emptiness, not separate from it. In other words, in reality there is no origination.<sup>5</sup>

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).”<sup>6</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Taishō Issaikyō*, vol. viii, p. 223a.

<sup>2</sup> *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 *rūpam eva śūnyatā śūnyataiva rūpam*; e.g. *Taishō Issaikyō*, viii, 221c = P 38; 223a = P. 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*lōkā, p. 32: *saṃudaye śūnyatā hetu-bhūta-rūpādayor avyatiriktatvena* (= *a-prthaktvena*) *rūpādi na saṃudaya-nirodha-samkleśa-vyavadāna dharmī iti*.

<sup>4</sup> The formula of Nos. 13–14 is designed as a parallel to the classical formula of the *satkāyadr̥ṣṭi*, which is the chief cause of becoming, cf. e.g. *Atthasālinī*, p. 353: *idh'ekacco rūpam attato samanupaśyati. yaṃ rūpam so aham, yo aham taṃ rūpan ti, rūpaṃ ca attā ca advayaṃ samanupaśyati*. In Section II of this *sūtra*, *śūnyatā* takes the place which *ātman* occupies in the *satkāyadr̥ṣṭi*.

<sup>5</sup> And therefore as in the *Pañcaviṃśati* passage, *utpāda*, *samkleśa*, *saṃsāra*, which are all synonyms of the world viewed as originated.

<sup>6</sup> 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.

traditional formula of the first Truth *duḥkha* is equated with the *pañcupādāna-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-śūnyā*, then *duḥkha* = *svabhāva-śūnyā*.<sup>1</sup> 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 *dharmas*, and finally by emptiness, or no object at all.<sup>2</sup>

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

*Śāriputra* : katham yujyamāno Bhagavan bodhisattvo mahā-sattvaḥ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ yukta iti vaktavyaḥ ? *Bhagavan* : iha Śāriputra bodhisattvo mahā-sattvo rūpa-śūnyatāyāṃ yukto yukta iti vaktavyaḥ . . . etc., list as in Section IV to jarā-maraṇa-śoka-parideva-duḥkha-daurmanasyopāyāsa-śūnyatāyāṃ yukto yukta iti vaktavyaḥ. Punaraparam Śāriputra bodhisattvo mahā-sattvaḥ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ carann adhyātma-śūnyatāyāṃ yukto yukta iti vaktavyaḥ . . . yāvat para-bhāva-śūnyatāyāṃ yukto yukta iti vaktavyaḥ. evaṃ hi Śāriputra bodhisattvo mahā-sattvo prajñāpāramitāyāṃ carann āsu sarvāsu śūnyatāsu yukto yukta iti vaktavyaḥ. sa abhiḥ śūnyatābhi prajñāpāramitāyāṃ caran na tāvad bodhisattvo mahā-sattvo yukta iti vaktavyo 'yukta iti. Tat kasya hetoḥ ? tathā hi na sa rūpam . . . yuktam iti vā ayuktam iti vā samanupaśyati. iti duḥkha-satya-avavādaḥ.

The truth of ill thus means<sup>3</sup> that in their essential being the *skandhas*, considered as a result of craving and as essentially ill,

<sup>1</sup> In the *Abhidharma*, *śūnya* 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*lōkā, 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 *śūnya* would mean *svabhāva-śūnya*, instead of *anātmīya*.

<sup>2</sup> *sattva-ārambaṇa*, *dharma-ārambaṇa*; *an-ārambaṇa*. *Akṣayamati sūtra* in *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 212, 12 sq.; cf. also *Pitṛputrasamāgama* in *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, 259, 10 sq., *Upāli-paripṛcchā* in *Prasannapadā*, xii, 234, the *Pañjika*, pp. 486–493, on *Bodhicāryavatāra*, ix, 76–8, and *Madhyamakāvatāra*, pp. 9–11, *Muséon*, 1907, pp. 258–260. 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.

<sup>3</sup> *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*lōkā, p. 32: *duḥkhe phala-bhūta-rūpādi-śūnyatā prajñāp-āramitāyos tathatā rūpatvād aikāntmyam iti*.

are identical with emptiness. In actual reality, the fact of ill cannot maintain itself against the fact of emptiness.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> is explicit in drawing this conclusion. *Haribhadra*, however, in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*<sup>3</sup> takes it that the sentences following *iti nirodha-satya-avavādaḥ*<sup>4</sup> do not treat of the *Buddha-ratna*, as the printed text suggests, but of the Path. Section V of the *Hṛdaya* 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 *niryāṇa*, going forth, on the last three stages of a Bodhisattva's career.<sup>5</sup> The authors of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* seem to have been aware that they deal there with the very core of their teaching, and each successive version labours to bring out the idea more clearly. The *Śatasahasrikā* 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.<sup>6</sup>

In its Section V the *Hṛdaya* at first follows step by step the

<sup>1</sup> *Madhyamaka-kārikā*, xxiv, 21: *anityam uktam duḥkham hi tat svābhāvyo na vidyate. Prasannapadā*, xii, p. 234. *tasmāt svabhāvato na santi duḥkhādīnīty avasiyate. atha viparyāsa-mātra-labdhatmasattākāyā duḥkhādi.*

<sup>2</sup> *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism, etc.*, 1930, p. 228, "as the *mārga* has no place in this interpretation of the *āryasatya*s, the *Prajñāpāramitā* omits it."

<sup>3</sup> Ed. *Wogihara*, 1935, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. P 47, 8-49, 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Kārikā*, i, 72, 73... *niryāṇam prāpti-lakṣaṇam/sarvākārajñatāyām ca niryāṇam mārga-gocaram/niryāṇa-pratipaj jñeyā seyam aṣṭavidhātmikā. Cf. E. Obermiller, Analysis of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, 1936, pp. 185 sq. *Niryāṇa* is, in the *Abhidharma* tradition, one of the four synonyms of *mārga*, cf. *Abhidharmakośa*, vii, 13, page 32: 4. *nairyāṇika* — *atyantaṁ niryāṇāya prabhavati* (*Vyākhyā*, p. 626, 26), *sortie définitive*, parce qu'il faut passer au delà d'une manière définitive. Also *Paṭisambhidamaggā*, i, 118.

<sup>6</sup> 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.

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.<sup>1</sup>

(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.<sup>2</sup>

(3) Then follows a discussion on "relying on".<sup>3</sup>

(4) Then, corresponding to *Hṛdaya* No. 40, *viharati*, comes the point that *ayam bodhisattvo mahāvattvo 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* interpretation<sup>4</sup> can be trusted, is very much akin to what is said 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 *niṣṭha* and *nirvāṇa*. It is, however, perhaps worth mentioning that the cognition of the uncovered thought, of the *cittaṁ na-āvaraṇaiḥ samyuktam na visamyuktam*, is placed by the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* under *mārga-satya*,<sup>5</sup> and that *pratipatti*, the third *ākāra* (mode, aspect) of *mārga*, is defined as *cittasya-aviparyāsa-pratipādana*.<sup>6</sup>

At first sight one would be inclined to think that Section VII, the passage dealing with the perfection of wisdom as a mantra, is

<sup>1</sup> *Haribhadra*, i, 10, 6, *prāpti-niryāṇam* = A I, 24, 16-27, 6 = P 242, 13-256, 9 = *Ś* xiii, 1635, 13 sq. MS. Cambridge Add 1630, to fol. 98.

<sup>2</sup> *Haribhadra*, i, 10, 7, *sarvākārajñatā-niryāṇam* = A 27, 7-31, 9 = P 256, 7-263, 17 = *Ś* MS. fol. 98-137. — P 260: *Subhūti: na-aham anutpannasya dharmasya prāptim icchāmi, na-apy abhisamayāṇi.*

<sup>3</sup> *Haribhadra*, i, 10, 8, *mārga-niryāṇam* for (3) to (5) = A I, 31, 10-32 = P 263, 18-269, 6 = *Ś* MS. fol. 137b-144b. — *Aṣṭa*, p. 31. *prajñāpāramitāiva sarva-yānikī sarva-dharma-anīśritatayā sarva-dharma-anīśritā pāramitā ca.*

<sup>4</sup> *Aṣṭa*, 31, 18. *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, p. 125: e.g. *nanu manaskāraś celasa ābhoga ālambane citta-dhāraṇa-karmakāḥ. prajñāpāramitā-vihāraś ca tad-viparīta-svabhāva. Cf. also to A 32, 7, cf. p. 127, 26, manasikāreṇa aviparyāsa pravṛttatvād. The trembling is alluded to in Aṣṭa, p. 31, 15-16.*

<sup>5</sup> P 121, 5-123, 5 = *Ś* 490, 14-503, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. *Wogihara*, p. 137.



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*.<sup>1</sup> Then there is the term *vidyā*. In the *dharma-cakka-ppavattana-vaggo* of the *Samyutta Nikāya*, which, as we will see, embodies some of the traditions forming the background of the *Hṛdaya*, *viññā* is equated with a knowledge of the four Truths.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

The *Śatasahasrikā*, in chapter xix,<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

*Śakra*: mahāvidyeyam bhagavan yad uta prajñāpāramitā. anuttareyam vidyā bhagavan yad uta prajñāpāramitā. asamasameyam vidyā bhagavan yad uta prajñāpāramitā. Tat kasya hetoh? tathā hi bhagavan prajñāpāramitā sarveṣāṃ kuśalānām dharmānām āharayitṛi. *Bhagavan*: evam etat Kauśika evam etat. mahāvidyeyam Kauśika . . . yad uta prajñāpāramitā. Tat kasya hetoh? tathā hi Kauśika ye te 'bhūvann atite dhvani tathāgatā . . . te enāṃ vidyāṃ āgamyā anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambuddhā. ye 'pi te bhaviṣyanty anāgate . . . ye 'p te etarhi daśadig lokadhātuṣu tathāgatā . . . tiṣṭhanti dhṛyante yāpayanti, te 'py enāṃ vidyāṃ āgamyā anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambuddhā.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Niddesa* ii, 497. Dh-A iv, 93. Sn-A 204, 549. Vv-A 262.

<sup>2</sup> *SamyN.*, v, p. 430. *yaṃ kho bhikkhu dukkhe nānaṃ dukkha-samudaye nānaṃ . . . ayam vuccati bhikkhu viññā. Ettāvatā ca viññāgato hoti.*

<sup>3</sup> E.g. *Sādhana-mālā*, p. 270. *ayam mantrarājo buddhatvaṃ dadāti, kiṃ punar anyāḥ siddhayaḥ?*

<sup>4</sup> MS. Cambridge Add 1630, fol. 293b. Corresponds to A III, 73 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *Kumārajīva*, by omitting No. 52, is again nearer to the presumed original of this passage.

<sup>6</sup> 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*

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 passage<sup>1</sup> contains the parallel to No. 56 of the *Hṛdaya*.

We have thus been able to trace roughly nine-tenths of the *Hṛdaya* to the larger *Prajñāpāramitā* sūtras. We can, I think, draw the conclusion that the *Hṛdaya* was originally intended as a restatement, for beginners,<sup>2</sup> of the four holy Truths,<sup>3</sup> 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 *Hṛdaya* in its historical perspective. It is the *dharma-cakra-pravartana sūtra* of the new dispensation. It is the result of 800 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 law<sup>4</sup> the *Hṛdaya* is meant to occupy the same central and fundamental

*arahanto sammā-sambuddhā yathābhūtam abhisambujjhimsu, sabbe te cattāri ariya-saccāni yathābhūtam abhisambujjhimsu . . . anāgataṃ addhānam . . . etarhi. . .* — Each branch of Buddhist thought rephrased this formula according to its needs. The *Mantrayāna*, for instance, in *Saṅ hyaṇ Kamahāyāna*, v. 3, says of the Buddhas of the past, present, and future:—

*taiś ca sarvair imaṃ vajraṃ  
jñatvā mantravidhiṃ param  
prāptā sarvajñatā virāḥ  
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 catuṣv āryasatyēsu yoniso manasi kurvato evaṃ tripari-vartaṃ dvādaśākāraṃ jñāna-darśanam utpadyate na tāvad aham bhikṣavo 'nuttarāṃ samayaksambodhim abhisambuddho' smi iti pratyajñāsiṣaṃ, na ca me jñāna-darśanam utpadyate. yataś ca me bhikṣava eṣu catuṣv āryasatyēsu . . . jñāna-darśanam utpannam, akopyā ca me cetovimuktiḥ prajñā-vimuktiś ca sākṣātkṛtā. tato 'ham bhikṣavo 'nuttarāṃ samayaksambodhim abhisambuddho' smi iti pratyajñāsiṣam.*

<sup>1</sup> The other passage is A III, 54-5 = Ś xviii, fol. 280a-281b.

<sup>2</sup> The connotations of *avavāda* can be gathered from *Sūtrālamkāra*, ch. xiv, and from *Buddhaghosa's* definition, *Samantapāsādikā*, v, p. 982: *api ca otiṇṇe vā anotiṇṇe vā paṭhama-vacanam ovādo, punapunnam vacanam anusāsani ti.*

<sup>3</sup> There are other instances of a *Mahāyānist* reinterpretation of the four Truths. Cf. the *Dhyāyitamūṣṭi 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 jñāna-gocarah/dve s: ye buddhabhūmiś ca prajñā yatra pravartate.*

<sup>4</sup> *Aṣṭa*, ix, p. 203, states expressly: *dvitīyam batedaṃ dharmacakra-vartanaṃ Jambūdvīpe paśyāma iti.*

position which the *dharma-cakra-pravartana sūtra* occupies in the scriptures of the first turning.<sup>1</sup>

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

### III

Although I have added in the bibliography all the items known to me, I do not think that I have covered the whole ground. Nevertheless, a list of editions, manuscripts, and translations is necessary for the understanding of the preceding pages, and the remainder may be a small contribution to a bibliography of Buddhist literature which would be a great help to the student of this vast subject.

#### SANSKRIT Editions

1. Max Müller, *Buddhist Texts from Japan*. Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, vol. 1, part iii. The ancient palm-leaves containing the *Prajñāpāramitā-hrdaya-sūtra* and the *Uṣṇīṣa-vijaya-dhāraṇī*, ed. F. M. Müller and B. Nanjio, 1884.  
Both short and long text. The edition is based on MSS.: Ja Jb and Ca.
2. Shaku Hannya. The *prajñāpāramitā-hrdaya sūtra*, Sanskrit and Tibetan texts (+ some notes). *The Eastern Buddhist*, 2, 1922-3, pp. 163-175.  
The text is the same as MS. Jb.

<sup>1</sup> The *Hrdaya* abounds in allusions to the traditions as laid down in the various *dharma-cakra-pravartana sūtras*. In the *dharmma-cakka-pavattana vagga* of *Saṃyutta 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 *Hrdaya* No. 57: (p. 430) *idaṃ dukkhaṃ ti bhikkhave tatham (= saccam, satyam) etam avitatham etan anaññatatham etam* (corresponds to *amūhyatvāt*). *Śāriputra's* position in the *Hrdaya* gains point from the tradition common to all schools that *Śāriputra* 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 *Saccavibhaṅgasutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* 141: *Śāriputto, bhikkhave, pahoti cattāri ariyasaccāni viṭṭhārena 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, *Bruchstuecke*, 1932, p. 54.

3. D. T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, iii, 1934, p. 190. *Manual of Zen Buddhism*, 1935, p. 27. (Short text)—reprinted in J. Tyberg, *Sanskrit Keys to the Wisdom Religion*, 1940, p. 146.

#### Manuscripts

Nepalese = N.

- Na: India Office No. 7712 (1). Long text. 35 lines. Followed by a poem of 8 lines. Nepali characters. From Hodgson collection.
- Nb: MS. Cambridge Add 1485. Long text. A.D. 1677. Ornamental Lantsa, fol. 16-18.
- Nc: MS. Bodl. 1449 (59), fol. 74v-75v. Long text. Newari. Hodgson MS. of A.D. 1819. Carelessly written.
- Nd: London Royal Asiatic Society, Hodgson Collection, c. 1820. Cowell and Eggeling, No. 79 V. fol. 15-16b. Long text. Corrupt.
- Ne: Cambridge Add 1553, fol. 4 to 7b. Long text. Very carelessly written. Illustrated by picture of four-armed *prajñāpāramitā*.
- Nf: Calcutta As. Soc. Bengal B 5 (35). Newari.
- Ng: Calcutta As. Soc. Bengal B 65 (10).
- Nh: Fragment, only first six lines: Cambridge Add 1164 2 II.
- Ni: Société Asiatique, MS. No. 14, fol. 18b, l. 4-19b, l. 5. No. 21. Long text, cf. *JAs* 1941-2 (1945).

Chinese = C.

Ca: From a Chinese blockprint. Printed in M. Müller, pp. 30-2.

Ch: Text transcribed into Chinese characters. Found in Tun Huang. Taishō Issaikyō, No. 256, ed. in T. Matsumoto, *Die Prajñāpāramitā Literatur*, 1932, pp. 44-50. Ch has an introduction from K'u-ei-chi, Hiuen-tsiang's disciple, and it may have been Hiuen-tsiang's text. It contains many incorrectnesses of language, and one long repetition (i.e. No. 31 to No. 40 occur twice). (Short text.) Stein Collection No. S 2464.

Cc: Short text, found on stone in Iasaktu, Mongolia (near Kharbin). Prior to A.D. 1000. Ed. N. D. Mironov. The *prajñāpāramitā-hrdaya* as an inscription. *Journal of Urusvati*, 1932, pp. 73-8. The text, Sanskrit in Sino-Mongolian pronunciation, is quite undecipherable after No. 43. It agrees closely with Ja.

Cd: Long text, from a bell at Peking, now in Dairen. Mironov, p. 78. Incomplete. Very close to Ca.

Ce: Text in Feer's (cf. F 1) polyglot edition (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, Mongol, Manchu). Cf. Bibl. Inst. de France 3542. Xylograph. Cf. *JAs.*, Oct.-Dec., 1924, p. 335—printed in L. de Milloné, *Quelques mots sur les anciens textes sanskrits du Japon, Actes du sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 1883, Leyde, iii, 193-4, as "Une recension, corrigée par lui-même (Feer), du texte sanskrit qu'il avait comparé à celui du Kandjour".

Cf: Steirt collection Ch 00330. Sanskrit text and Chinese transliteration in alternate columns. Script later than c. A.D. 800.

Cg: Bibl. Nationale 62 no. 139. Pelliot Sogdien, in: E. Benveniste, *Textes Sogdiens*, Paris 1940, pp. 142-3. 'Copie Barbare.' Short text.

Japanese = J.

Ja: MS. which came in A.D. 609 to the Horūji Temple = MS. Tokyo Imp. University No. 31 ? Short text.

Jb: This MS. was brought to Japan in the ninth century by Yeun, disciple of Kukai. The eighth copy of it, of 1880, printed in M. Müller, pp. 51-4.

# 50 PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-HṚDAYA—TEXT, SOURCES, AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

## CHINESE TRANSLATIONS

- Ch 1 = Taishō Issaikyō (= T) 250. Short text. Mo-ho-pān-zo-po-lo-mi-tā-ming-chen-cing Great-perfection-of-wisdom-great-knowledge-divine sūtra; trsl. Kumārajīva (or one of his disciples, cf. p. 38, n. 1), c. 400. Text from Kucha.
- Ch 2 = T. 251, trsl. Hiuen-tsiang 649. Short text. This is the standard translation. Ch 2 agrees with Ch 1 with the following exceptions: at No. 7 a different character for "skandha" is used; two additions (after No. 9 and 21 respectively) are omitted. No. 52 is not omitted.
- (Ch 3: trsl. Bodhiruci 693. From South India. Lost.)
- (Ch 4: trsl. Śikṣānanda, c. 700. Lost.)
- Ch 3 and 4 are mentioned in T 2154, vol. lv, pp. 569c and 566ab, a catalogue of 730.
- Ch 5 = T 253, trsl. Dharmachandra (?) 741. Long text, from Eastern India, according to T 2157, vol. lv, 878b and 893c. Agrees closely with Ch 2.
- Ch 6 = T 253, trsl. Prajñā 790. From Kashmir. Long text. Agrees verbally with Ch 2 after No. 9.
- Ch 7 = T 253, trsl. Prajñācakra 861. Long text from Central Asia. Shows a number of small variations from Ch. 2.
- Ch 8 = T 255, trsl. Fa-tcheng 856. Long text from Tibet, found in Tun Huang. Differs from Ch 2 more than Ch 7 does. Agrees with Ti.
- Ch 9 = T 257, trsl. Shih-hi (Dānapāla ?), c. 1000. Long text from Udyāna. Differs from Ch 2 in a great many details.

## TIBETAN TRANSLATION = Ti

Trsl. Vimalamitra. Bhagavati-prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya. Long text. Otani catalogue No. 160, Na 22. Tohoku Catalogue No. 21. Ka 144b-146a. Sher phyin xxi, 13 = Rgynd xi, 13.

## MONGOL TRANSLATION

- (a) Feer's polyglot edition. Cf. L. Feer, *Tableau de la Langue Mongole*, Paris, 1866, appendix.
- (b) Collection of Schilling van Canstadt. Bibl. de l'Institut de France, cf. *T'oung Pao*, xxvii, 1930. No. 3543-No. 3588, li, fol. 224r-225v.

## MANCHU TRANSLATION

Feer's polyglot edition.

## ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

- E 1: S. Beal, from Ch 2.
- (a) *JRAS.*, New Series, i, 1865, pp. 25-9.
- (b) *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, 1871, pp. 282-4.
- E 2: F. M. Müller, from the Sanskrit.
- (a) In his edition.
- (b) *S.B.E.*, 49, 2, 1894, pp. 153-4.
- E 3: Shaku Hannya, *Eastern Buddhist*, ii, 3-4, 1923, pp. 165-6, from Ch.
- E 4: K. Saunders, *Lotuses of the Mahayana*, 1924, pp. 42-4 (from Ch ?).
- E 5: D. T. Suzuki.
- (a) *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, iii, 1934, pp. 192-4.
- (b) *Manual of Zen Buddhism*, 1935, pp. 27-32.
- E 6: W. Y. Evans-Wentz, *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines*, 1935, pp. 355-259, from Ti.
- E 7: D. Goddard in *A Buddhist Bible*, 2nd ed., 1938, pp. 85-6, "made from various English translations."

# PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-HṚDAYA—TEXT, SOURCES, AND BIBLIOGRAPHY 51

- E 8: J. Tyberg, *Sanskrit Keys to the Wisdom Religion*, 1940, p. 147.
- E 9: E. Conze, *The Middle Way*, xx, 5, 1946, p. 105 (from Sanskrit).

## FRENCH TRANSLATIONS

- F 1: L. Feer, from Ti. *Extraits du Kandjour, Annales du Musée Guimet*, vol. 5, 1883, pp. 177-9.
- F 2: P. Regnaud and M. Ymaizoumi, *Actes du sixième Congrès International*, iii, 1885, 189-190 (from Skr.).
- F 3: C. de Harlez, *Journal Asiatique*, tome 18, 1891, pp. 445-6, from Manchu. As "introduction mandchoue-chinoise" to Chinese MS. of Diamond sūtra, of 1837.

## COMMENTARIES

### Indian (Tibetan)

- ti 1: Vimalamitra. Ārya-prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-ṭikā. Mdo hgrel, xvi, 285b-302b (Cordier).
- ti 2: Jñānamitra. -vyākhyā, xvi, 302b-309b.
- ti 3: Vajrapāṇi (?). -ṭikārtha-pradīpa, xvi, 309b-319b.
- ti 4: Praśāstrasena. -ṭikā, xvi, 319b-330b (daśārtha-prakāśikā).
- ti 5: Kamalaśīla. -ṭikā, xvi, 330b-333a.
- ti 6: Dipamkarasrijñāna. -vyākhyā, xvi, 333a-338b.
- ti 7: Mahājāna. -artha-parijñāna, xvi, 338b-350a.

### Chinese

- ch 1: T 1710 ii. Kiki (Hossō) 650. Vol. 23, pp. 514-542.
- ch 2: T 1711 i. Enjikl c. 680. Abridged or brief cy. Vol. 23, pp. 542-552.
- ch 3: T 1712 i. Hōzō (Kegon), pp. 552-5.
- ch 4: T 1713 ii. Shi-hui (Shie) (Kegon) (+ 946 Nanjio; trav. 1165 T). cy to ch 3, pp. 555-568.
- ch 5: T 1714 i. Sōroku and Nyoki (Tsung-lo and Ju-chi), 1380, pp. 569-571.
- ch 6: Wu-tsing-tse, cf. Beal, *Catena*, p. 279.
- ch 7: Shin kyo kie, cy of 1839, 34 leaves.
- ch 8: Hogo, 1807, Bon-mon-han-nya-shin-gyo shaku. (Japanese on Sanskrit text.)

### English

- e 1: D. T. Suzuki. The significance of the Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya sūtra in Zen Buddhism. *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, iii, 1934, pp. 187-206.
- e 2: E. Conze. The Hṛdaya sūtra; its scriptural background. *The Middle Way*, xx, 6, 1946, pp. 124-7; xxi, 1, 1946, pp. 9-11, 17.

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