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, was reproduced, in writing, on stones, in recitation throughout Asia from Kabul to Nara, and formed one of the main inspirations of the Zen school, occupying in Buddhist mysticism about the same place the "Mystical Theology" of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita occupied in Christian. Unlike other very short Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras, the Hṛdaya is of great philosophical interest. The Svātpākṣara, and other abbreviations, were designed to bring the benefits of Prajñāpāramitā within the reach of those unable either to study or understand it. 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

2 Cf. e.g. M. W. de Vries, Ancient Buddhism in Japan, 1926, 1935.
3 Mystical Theology, iii, ch. 4 and 5, in particular, afford a striking parallel to Section IV of the Hṛdaya.
4 This also applies to the Camb. Ms. Add 1554, which is called a praṇjāpāramitā-hṛdaya-dhāraṇī, but which consists chiefly of invocations, and is not the text discussed here.
5 MS. As. Soc. Bengal, 107578, leaf 2: dekayatu bhagavan praṇjāpāramitāṁ svapākṣaraṁ mahā-prajñāṁ yasyāṁ śravaka-mātrana sarva-sattvāḥ sarva-karmāvaraṇāṁ kṣapayeyantu, etc.

JNAS. APRIL 1948.
PRAJÑAPĀRAMITĀ-ĪR Daya—Text, Sources, and Bibliography

I. pañca skandhās 8tāmśa svabhāva-šūnyān paśyati sma.

II. iha Śāriputra 10rupāṁ śūnyataśa śūnyataiva rūpam 11rūpan na prthak śūnyata 12śūnyataya na prthag rūpam 13yad rūpam sa śūnyata 14yā śūnyata tad rūpam. 15evam eva 16vedanā-samjñānaśa-saṁskāra-vijñānam.

III. iha Śāriputra 18sarva-dharmāḥ śūnyata-laksanāḥ 19anuttanā aniruddha 20amaalā avimala 21anūnā aparipūrnāḥ.

IV. 22tasmāc Chāriputra 23śūnyataiḥ 24na rūpam na vedanā na samjñā na saṁskāraḥ na viññānaṁ 25na caksuḥ-śrotra-ghṛtāna-jīvā-kāya-manamlīṣa 26na rūpa-śābda-gandha-rasa-spraśṭavya

P 43–47 =
S 136–141

9 iha om. Nv Ne Ne Ca Ce Jb ChT — Śāriputra om. Nv Ne Ne Ca Ce Jb.
10 om ChT 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 — rūpāṁ śūnyāṁ Nb Ne Ne Cb.
11–12 na rūpaṁ prthak śūnyataḥ nāpi śūnyataḥ prthak rūpāṁ evam Ča.
13–14 om. Nv Ne Nv Ne Ti.
17–18 Instead Nb has: na rūpaṁ prthak śūnyataḥ na śūnyataḥ prthak rūpāṁ. vedanā śūnyāḥ śūnyataviśeṣa ākhyāṇaṁ. na vedanāya prthak, etc., in itena for all the five skandhas. After 16; ChT 1, 2, 5, 6 add. — T:一切苦厄. Kumaraśī vul further adds the equivalent of P 39: Śāriputra yā rūpasya śūnyataḥ na sā rūpyataḥ; yā vedanāya śūnyataḥ na sā vedayataḥ; etc., see below page 42.
18–19 For iha Nv Ne Ne Ca Ce Jb have; evam. — om. ChT — Nv Ne: evam bhadanta — Ti: Shā niḥ bu de ita bas na.
20–21 Na Nv Ne Ca Cd Ce: aṣṭāḥ — afer aniruddha Na add.: aṣṭaḥ aṣṭaḥ.
22 Na Nv Ne Nv Ne Ca Cd Ce: tasmāt tari — ne: evam bhadanta — Ce Ga: om. Śāriputra.
23 Na Nv Ne Nv Ne Ca Cd Jb: na caksuṁ na śrotraṁ, etc., to ma dharmā.
V. tasmāc-Chariputra aprāptivatvā bodhisattvasya prajñāpāramitām āśīryā viharatvā cittavaranā. cittavaranā-nāstivād ātārasto viparyāsa-atikratra niṣṭha-nirvāṇaḥ.

VI. tryadhva-vaivavasthitāḥ sarva-buddhāḥ prajñāpāramitām āśīryā anuttaram savyakṣambodhiḥ abhisambuddhāḥ. S XIX fol. 293b

VII. tasmājñātavyān. prajñāpāramitāḥ

27-28 Ca gives a list of all the dhātus — Na Nb: na caksu-dhātuḥ na rūpa-dhātuḥ na caksu-vijñāna-dhātuḥ; na śrota-vijñāna-dhātuḥ, etc., all these are: na manovijñāna-dhātuḥ.

29 Na Nb Ne Ce Cg Ch 1, 2, 5, 6 om. na vidyā. — Na Nb Ne om. na āvidyā — Na Nb Ne Ce Ca Ce Cg Jb Ch T 1, 2, 5, 6 om. na vidyā — Ca Jb for na āvidyā give: na kṣeyo, Ce na-akṣayō.

30-32 Na om. na āvidyā-ākṣayō na sampākārā-ksayō, etc., all: na jārāmarāṇa-ksayō.

33-36 Nb Ne Ce: na duḥkha na samudaya, etc. After 34: Na Nb Ne add: na-amārgaḥ. — Na Nb Ne Ca Cg add: na-rūpā (= sva-rūpam ? e.g. Prasannapadā 294-5: tat-svaram = āṇyātā and synonyms. svabhāva = bhāvavṛūpa). 38 so Nb Ne Ca Cg Jb Ch T 8 Ti — Ja: na prāptivām — Ne Nd Ch T 1, 2, 5, 6: na prāptih — Ch T 9: na prāptivāt ca na aprāptih.

39-40 tasmāt tarhi Śāriputra Na Nb Ne Nd Ne Ca Ce Ce Ti — Śāriputra also in Ch T 9, 8 — Ja Ce Ch T 1, 2, 5, 6 omit 37.


47-48 Ce: tryadhva-vaivavasthitā api savyakṣambuddhāḥ . . . @bodbiḥ aprāptā. — Na Nb Ne Ce: . . . sarva-buddhāḥ api . . . abhisambuddhāḥ.

49-50 Na Ce: tasmāt tarhi Śāriputra, etc. — Ne: tasmāt tarhi kulaṇḍuta, etc. — Ca Ce: etasmaj, etc. — Nd: tasmāt tarhi jñātavyān.

50 om. Ch T 1 — Ch T 2, 5, 6, 7: 是大神呪. — Ne Nd Ne Ce: om. mahā. — Ne om. maṇḍaro.
Kumārajīva’s 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 textuall 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/asmād āprāpti-vāt bodhisattva(sya), etc. The Horyūji MS., written before A.D. 609, gives: 36 na prāptitvam 38 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 30 na vidyā 31 na vidyāksayo; in No. 34 na-amārgaḥ is found only in a few later MSS.; and with 36 na-a-prāptiḥ, which appears in the Chinese translations only quite late, about 850, in Ch 8 and 9.

Obviously the rules of ordinary logic are abrogated in the sūtra. Contradictions co-exist in emptiness. 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

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

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 (ānuśeṣaṇa) 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. 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. In emptiness, i.e. in truth, there is no dharma. But while the a-prāpti is not a fact, a-prāptiva 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 cittāvarana and cittālambana in No. 40. When one considers the peculiarities of Sanskrit MSS., the two words do not differ much. We may suppose that originally there was cittālambana. Now ल and व, ओ and व are constantly interchanged in Nepalese MSS., and the ओ is represented by an anusvāra. This would give oṭvarā. If the anusvāra is dropped, as often happens, a simple juxtaposition would lead to oṭvarā. Although the reading cittāvarana makes sense it is perhaps not the original reading. The normal Chinese equivalent for

1 Although, strictly speaking, n. 35 na jñānam would make it superfluous.
2 In Nagārjuna’s list of 119 kuśala dharmas, however, only prāpti is mentioned. HIQ., 1938, p. 317, No. 16.
4 In n. 40 the manuscript tradition does not cogently require the reading given in the text. Ja itself reads: cittārāta cittāvarana/cittāvarana; Koko’s first copy read: viharati cittāvaranaḥ, which he corrects into: viharati cittāvaranāḥ. Jb has: viharati cittāvaranāḥ/cittāvarana. Ce: viharati citāvāra cittā varana. But Cg: viharati cittāvaranaḥ. Against this we have Kumārajīva’s translation, Kumārajīva either read viharati acātaḥ, or he understood cittāvaranaḥ as cittā- varanāḥ. A consideration of the meaning of the passage decided me to follow Suzuki and Hanśa in adding the Avgra. If we take viharati cittāvaranāḥ 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-cittāvaranāḥ would, however, give a meaning well in keeping with the larger sūtras, as is shown on page 45.
5 The term cittāvaranā seems to be exceedingly rare. I have so far met it only in one other case. The first Tibetan translation of Arjuna’s Cittisūkhpakarana gives, in translation and translation, the title as: cittāvaranāvibhavanāśin-prakaraṇam, cf. Tōhoku Catalogue, No. 1804, where cittā-varanaḥ is given as a variant.
na-avidyotpāda na avidyā-nirodhaḥ na saṁskārotpāda . . . ; na
dukkhaḥ na samudaya na nirodha na mārga ; na praptir na-
abhisamaya.1 na srotāsāppāṇa na srotāsāppatī-phałaḥ . . . ; na
pratyekabuddhāḥ na pratyekabuddhiḥ ; na buddho na bodhiḥ.
evam hi Śāriputra bodhisattvo mahāsattvāḥ prajñāpāramitāyān
caran yutto yuktā iti vaktavyāḥ. (iti nirodha-satvāvadāḥ.)

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. Kumāra-
ṛīṣa leaves in : na-ātītā na-anātātā na pratyutpātā, using literally
the same signs as in his translation of the Pañcaviṃśati itself.2

2 The Tun Huang MS. Cb gives na praptir 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 in which prapti
and abhisamaya are coupled in the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras.3

The truth of stopping, as Haribhadra sums up,4 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 samunapa-
śyatī . . . na rūpam samkleśa-dharmim vā vyavādāna-dharmi vā
samunapaśyatī . . . punaraparam Śāriputra bodhisattva mahāsattvo
na rūpam vedanāyān samavasaratī 5-iti samunapaśyatī.

The passage in Aṣṭa, ii, 34, śūnyatā Śāriputra notpadyate na niruddhyate, na samkhiṣyate na
vyavadiyate, na hiyate na vardhate. na-ātītā na-anātātā na
pratyutpātā, yā ca īdṛśi na rūpam na vedanā . . . ; na prthivi-
dhātur . . . ; na caṅṣur . . . ; na rūpaṁ na sādava . . . ; na
cakṣurāyātanāṁ na rūpyatamāṁ . . . ; na caṅṣu-dhātur . . . ;

1 Kumārajīva in Taishō Issaiyō, viii, 223a, gives: 亦無智亦無得,
for nāpṛpti nābhīṣmaya, just as in Nos. 35-6 of the Hṛdaya.


3 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.

4 Ed. Wogihara, 1935, p. 32. nirodho śūnyatāyām utpāda-nirodha-saṁ
kleśa-vyavādāna-hāni-vṛdhikāśi-rūpamāḥ na rūpaṁ yovan na-avidyotpādo a na-avidyā-
nirodha na buddho na bodhiḥ iti.

5 Up to this point the Sūkramatī, in Śikṣāsambuccaya, p. 263, gives a close
parallel to this passage. Instead of samavasarati the terms samarjyate and rasati
are used there. In Prasannapadā, ch. 14, we find the arguments of the Madhyamika
against the real existence of samsārasya. The chief point is that saṁsārasya implies
anyathā or prthvākta, and that is not a real fact.

1 A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, 1937, p. 362b.
2 The passage in Aṣṭa, ii, 34, śūnyatā Śāriputra notpadyate na niruddhyate, na samkhiṣyate na
vyavadiyate, na hiyate na vardhate. na-ātītā na-anātātā na
pratyutpātā, yā ca īdṛśi na rūpam na vedanā . . . ; na prthivi-
dhātur . . . ; na caṅṣur . . . ; na rūpaṁ na sādava . . . ; na
cakṣurāyātanāṁ na rūpyatamāṁ . . . ; na caṅṣu-dhātur . . . ;
rūpasya śūnyatā na tad rūpam... (tat kasya hetoh? tathā hi yā rūpa-śūnyatā na sā rūpayati... yā... vedayati;... saññānīte;... abhisārakaroti;... vijanāti. tat kasya hetoh?) tathā hi Śāriputra na-anyad rūpam anyā śūnyatā. na-anyā śūnyatā anyād rūpam. rūpam eva śūnyatā śūnyatāvai rūpam. na-anyā vedanā anyā śūnyatā... iti samudaya-satya-avavādā.

The Hṛdaya reproduces only the substance of the two last 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 Pañcaviṃśatī. It is noteworthy that the Chinese and Tibetan translations, and three of the MSS., remain close to the Pañcaviṃśatī text in that they have only two clauses, omitting either Nos. 10–11 or Nos. 13–14.

But how is this argument connected with the truth of origin? As interpreted by Śāriputra, the truth of origin means that form, etc., considered as the cause of ill, are really identical with emptiness, not separate from it. In other words, in reality there is no origination. 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).” Anyone familiar with the thought of the Prajñāpāramitā knows that the connotations of the term avatārayāti point in the same direction. In Asa 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

PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-HṛDAYA—TEXT, SOURCES, AND BIBLIOGRAPHY traditional formula of the first Truth duḥkha is equated with the pañcupāḍa-saṅkhā. 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. 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.

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

Śāriputra: Katham yuyjñamāno Bhagavan bodhisattvo mahāsattvāḥ prajñāpāramitāyān yuktā iti vaktavyāḥ? Bhagavan: iha Śāriputra bodhisattvo mahāsattvo rūpa-śūnyatāyān yuktā iti vaktavyāḥ... etc., list as in Section IV to jāra-maranaśoka-parideva-duḥkha-duaramanasyopāyaśa-śūnyatāyān yuktā iti vaktavyāḥ. Punaraparam Śāriputra bodhisattvo mahāsattvāḥ prajñāpāramitāyān carann adhyātma-śūnyatāyān yuktā iti vaktavyāḥ. Yāvat para-bhāva-śūnyatāyān yuktā iti vaktavyāḥ evaṃ hi Śāriputra bodhisattvo mahāsattvāḥ prajñāpāramitāyān carann āsa sarvāsa śūnyatāsa yuktā iti vaktavyāḥ. sa abhiḥ śūnyatābhi prajñāpāramitāyān carann na tāvad bodhisattvo mahāsattvo yuktā iti vaktavyo 'yuktā iti. Tat kasya hetoh? tathā hi na sa rūpam... yuktam iti vā ayuktam iti vā samanupāsyati. iti duḥkha-satya-avavādā.

The truth of ill thus means that in their essential being the skandhas, considered as a result of craving and as essentially ill,
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 abhiniyavṛtti and duality, and neither of these exists in reality.¹

(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.²

(3) Then follows a discussion on “relying on.”³

(4) Then, corresponding to Hṛdaya No. 40, viharati, comes the point that ayam bodhisattvo mahāvatvato viharatva anena praṇā- pāramitā-vihāreṇa.⁴

(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 ⁵ 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 nīṣṭha and nivṛtta. It is, however, perhaps worth mentioning that the cognition of the uncovered thought, of the cittanāvāramā suṣṇuktaṃ na visamuktaṃ, is placed by the Abhisamayalankāra under mārga-satya,⁶ and that pratipatti, the third akāra (mode, aspect) of mārga, is defined as cittasya aviparyyāsa-pratipādana.⁷

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 manṭa, a term understood there as the feminine of manto, mantra. Then there is the term vidyā. In the dharma-cakka-pavatana-vaṇga of the Saṁyutta Nikāya, which, as we will see, embodies some of the traditions forming the background of the Hṛdaya, vijñā is equated with a knowledge of the four Truths. 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.

The Saṭtasahasrikā, in chapter xix, 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 the all more impressive, in that VII is also in the Saṭtas. coupled with VI, although VI here does not precede but follow it.

Śākra: mahāvidyeyāṃ bhagavan yad uta prajñāpāramītā. Anuttarayaṇī vidyā bhagavan yad uta prajñāpāramītā. Tat kasya heto? tathā hi bhagavan prajñāpāramītā sarveṣaṃ kuśalāṇām dharmāṇām āharayitī. Bhagavan: evam etat Kauśika evam etat. mahāvidyeyāṃ Kauśika... yad uta prajñāpāramītā. Tat kasya heto? tathā hi Kauśika ye te bhūvann atite dhvani tathāgata... te enāṃ vidyām āgamyā anuttarāṃ samyakṣaṃbodhiḥ abhinibuddhā. ye ‘pi te bhavishyaṇī anāgata... ye ‘pi te etari daśadīk lokadhaṭuṣ tathāgata... tiṣṭhanti dhvanyante yāpayaṇī, te ‘py enāṃ vidyām āgamyā anuttarāṃ samyakṣaṃbodhiḥ abhinibuddhā.

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 (= Saṃy. N., v. p. 422): ihi bhikṣavo yavai evaṃ eṣu catuṣṭaḥ āryāyaṇaḥ ye yoniso manasi kuruto evam tripa-vartaṇi, daṇḍakākārayāṃ jñāṇa-dārāṇam uṣpadyate na āham bhikṣavo "nuttarāṃ samyakṣaṃbodhiḥ abhinibuddho" iti pratya-jñāṇaśīta, na ca me jñāṇa-dārām uṣpadyate, yataca me bhikṣavo eṣu catuṣṭaḥ āryāyaṇaḥ... jñāṇa-dārāṇam uṣpaṃ, akopāḥ ca me ca lokeśuṣṭaḥ prajñā-vimuktiḥ ca saśaktīyaḥ. tato 'ham bhikṣavo 'nuttarāṃ samyakṣaṃbodhiḥ abhinibuddho' iti pratya-jñāṇaśīta.

3 E.g. Saṭhasamālā, p. 270. ayaṃ mantrarājo buddhavāḥ dassati, kiṃ punar apiyāḥ siddhāyaḥ?  
4 MS. Cambridge Add 1630, fol. 293b. Corresponds to A III, 73 sq.  
5 Kudavajra, by omitting No. 52, is again nearer to the presumed original of this passage.  
6 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-Saṁyutta (Saṃy. N., v. pp. 433-4) runs as follows: ye ki kaci bhikkhaye aṭṭhānaṃ addhānaṃ prajñāpāramītā-hṛdaya—text, sources, and bibliography 47
This statement according to which the perfection of wisdom is a vidyā, and, as it were, the mother of the Tathāgatas, occurs with slight variations once more in the same chapter of the Aṣṭasahasrikā. The other passage 1 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, 2 of the four holy Truths, 3 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 4 the Hṛdaya is meant to occupy the same central and fundamental

araḥante samā-sambuddhā yathābhūtām abhisambujjhimu, sabbe te catāri ariya-saccāmi yathābhūtām abhisambujjhimu... anāgataṃ addhānaṃ... etarhi... — Each branch of Buddhist thought rephrased this formula according to its needs. The Maṇḍalavāna, for instance, in Saṃy. N., v. 3, says of the Buddhah of the past, present, and future: —


tais ca sarvār imaṃ vajan
jñateva maṇḍalavānāṃ param
prajñāva jñājītabhūtā
bodhimāle hy aklauya.

The thought itself forms an essential part of the tradition on the first turning of the wheel of the law, as, e.g. Lal. Vist, xxvii, p. 418 (= Saṃy. N., v. p. 422): ihi bhikṣavo yavai evaṃ eṣu catuṣṭaḥ āryāyaṇaḥ ye yoniso manasi kuruto evam tripa-vartaṇaḥ, daṇḍakākārayāṃ jñāṇa-dārāṇam uṣpadyate na āham bhikṣavo "nuttarāṃ samyakṣaṃbodhiḥ abhinibuddho" iti pratya-jñāṇaśīta, na ca me jñāṇa-dārāṃ uṣpadyate, yataca me bhikṣavo eṣu catuṣṭaḥ āryāyaṇaḥ... jñāṇa-dārāṇam uṣpaṃ, akopāḥ ca me ca lokeśuṣṭaḥ prajñā-vimuktiḥ ca saśaktīyaḥ. tato 'ham bhikṣavo 'nuttarāṃ samyakṣaṃbodhiḥ abhinibuddho' iti pratya-jñāṇaśīta.

1 The other passage is A III, 54–5 = Ś xvii, fol. 280b–281b.
2 The connotations of aravida can be gathered from Śūdrākāra, ch. xiv, and from Buddha-bhosa's definition, Saṃantabodhi, v. p. 982: apī ca oluse vi ariyagama evaṃ samudaya evaṃ, pana pana evaṃ samudaya ariyagamī ti.
3 There are other instances of a Mahāyānistic reinterpretation of the four Truths. Cf. the Dhātukutama śūtra, quoted in Praṣnaṃpadā, ch. 24. Lankavādaśūtra, p. 298, v. 260, is at least enough to be quoted: citasaṃ dukkha satyāṃ samudayo jñāna-gocaraḥ dve śye buddhabhūmī ca prajñā yatra pravartate.
4 Aṣṭa, ix, p. 203, states expressly: dvitiyaṃ batedāṃ dharmacakra-vartanāṃ Jambudvīpe paśyāṇa iti.
position which the *dharma-cakra-pravartana sūtra* occupies in the scriptures of the first turning.\(^1\)

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**


2. **PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-HṛDAYA—TEXT, SOURCES, AND BIBLIOGRAPHY**


**Manuscripts**

* Nepal = N.  
* Na: India Office No. 7712 (1). Long text. 35 lines. Followed by a poem of 8 lines. Nepali character. From Hodgson collection.  
* Ne: Cambridge Add 1563, fol. 4 to 7b. Long text. Very carelessly written. Illustrated by picture of four-armed prajñāpāramitā.  
* Nf: Caletta As. Soc. Bengal B 5 (35). Newari.  
* Nh: Caletta As. Soc. Bengal B 65 (10).  
* Ni: Fragment, only first six lines: Cambridge Add 1164 2 II.  

*Chinese* = C.


Cb: Text transcribed into Chinese characters. Found in Tun Huang. Taishō Issaikyō, No. 256, ed. in T. Matsumoto, *Die Prajñāpāramitā Literatur*, 1932, pp. 44–50. Cb has an introduction from Ku-ča-či, Huien-tsaing’s disciple, and it may have been Huien-tsaing’s text. It contains many incorrectness of language, and one long repetition (i.e. No. 31 to No. 40 occurs twice). (Short text.) Stein Collection No. 8 2464.


Cf: Stein collection Ch 0030. Sanskrit text and Chinese transliteration in alternate columns. Script later than c. A.D. 800.


*Japanese* = J.

Ja: MS. which came in A.D. 600 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.

*JNAS. APRIL 1948.*
Chinese Translations

Ch 1 = Taishô Issaikyô (= T) 250. Short text. Mo-ho-pân-ko-po-lo-mi-tâ-ming-
chen-cing Great-perfection-of-wisdom-great-knowledge-divine sutra; trsl.
Kumārajīva (or one of his disciples, cf. p. 38, n. 1), c. 400. Text from Kucha.
Ch 2 = T. 251, trsl. Hiuen-tsang 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. Śīkṣāsānta, c. 700. Lost.
Ch 3 and 4 are mentioned in T 2154, vol. Iv, pp. 569c and 569d, a catalogue
of 730.

Ch 5 = T 253, trsl. Dharmachandra (? 740. Long text, from Eastern India,
according to T 2157, vol. Iv, 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. Prajñācakṣa 861. Long text from Central Asia. Shows a
number of small variations from Ch. 2.

Ch 8 = T 255, trsl. Fa-teheng 866. Long text from Tibet, found in Tun Huang.
Diffs from Ch 2 more than Ch 7 docs. Agrees with Ti.

Ch 9 = T 257, trsl. Shih-hi (Dānapāla ?), c. 1000. Long text from Udāya.
Diffs from Ch 2 in a great many details.

Tibetan Translation = Ti
Sher phun xxi, 13 = Rgyud xi, 13.

Mongol Translation
(a) Feer’s polyglot edition. Cf. L. Feer, Tableau de la Langue Mongole,
Paris, 1860, appendix.
(b) Collection of Schilling van Canstatt. Bibl. de l’Institut de France,

Mancu Translation
Feer’s polyglot edition.

English Translations

E 1: S. Beal, from Ch 2.
(a) J.R. S., 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 Hanny, Eastern Buddhist, ii, 3–4, 1923, pp. 165–6, from Ch.
(a) Essays in Zen Buddhism, iii, 1934, pp. 192–4.
E 6: W. Y. Evans-Wentz, Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines, 1935, pp. 355–259,
from Ti.
various English translations.”
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