

" A Study of Vasubandhu's Treatise on Pure Land :
with special reference to his theory of salvation
in the light of the development of
the bodhisattva ideal "

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Thesis Abstract

The present thesis is threefold: Firstly, a brief study of Vasubandhu, to point out the issues and problems involved regarding the author of the text; secondly, a study of the development of the ideal and the path of practice of the Mahāyāna bodhisattvas, with special emphasis on the ideal of Compassion and guidance in the world; and lastly, a re-examination of the text itself, from the perspective of ethical ontology and in the light of the above ideal and the Mahāyāna path.

The text, though very short, reveals a complex vision of "that Land" and the path which function as the means to realize that vision. The vision is manifold as it incorporates various "ends" which are wished for or aspired to by beings of diverse spiritual capacities. It includes not only the Land of salvation and the tranquil, undefiled realm of meditative states but also the sphere of Mahāyāna Compassion and guidance. The latter is the highest bodhisattva ideal described by the vision of the "Pure Buddha Land."

The text thus combined a) the popular, devotional cult of Amidism and its soteriological teaching of

attaining "birth" in Amida's Land with b) the bodhi-sattva ideal and the path for its realization. In doing so, the text not only upgraded the former, by providing the philosophical-ontological foundation, but also presented a practical means whereby all sentient beings, including even beginners, might approach the Mahāyāna path. The path of the five spiritual practices "embraces" all sentient beings of diverse spiritual levels, leading them gradually to higher levels of practice while, at the same time, fulfilling the spiritual content of their wishes and aspirations. The difficulty of the text has much to do with the hermeneutic approach the author adopted in propagating the Mahāyāna teaching and the path.

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List of Abbreviations

- Arahan. The Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected:
A Study of Arahan by I.B. Horner
- BD Bukkyōgo Daijiten by H. Nakamura
- BgK Bukkyōgo no Kenkyū by H. Sakurabe
- Bosatsudo. Daijō Bosatsudō no Kenkyū ed. by G. Nishi
- BR The Buddhist Religion by R.H. Robinson
- BS Bukkyō no Shisō series 12 vols. (Kadokawa)
- Bussho. Bussho Kaisetsu Daijiten 12 vols. ^{comp} by
 G. Ono
- Butten. Daijō Butten series 15 vols. ed. by
 G.M. Nagao
- Chin. Chinese
- Dayal The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist
Sanskrit Literature by Har Dayal
- ERE Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics
- Essentials. The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy
 by J. Takakusu
- G. Genshi Jōdoshisō no Kenkyū by K. Fujita
- HKR Hikata-hakase Koki-kinen Ronbunshū
- IBK Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū by Nihon Indo-
 gaku Bukkyō-gakkai
- Jap. Japanese

- Kaidai. Shin Batten Kaidai Jiten ed. by K. Mizuno
- Konpon. Bukkyō no Konpon Shinri ed. by S. Miyamoto
- Lun-chu Wu-liang-shou-ching yu-p'o-t'i-she yūan-sheng-chi chu (T.No.1819) by T'an-luan
- Mathews. Mathews' Chinese English Dictionary,
American Edition
- Mv. The text of the Mahāvīyutpatti in Hon'yaku Myōgi Taishū Sasaki edition
- MW A Sanskrit-English Dictionary by M.Monier
Williams
- NP A New Practical Chinese-English Dictionary ed.
by Liang Shih-chiu
- Perspective. Buddhism : A Modern Perspective ed.
by C. Prebish
- PLT Wu-liang-shou-ching yu-p'o-t'i-she yūan-sheng-chi (T.No.1524) by Vasubandhu
- S Shinshū Shōgyō Zensho, Vol.1
- Seiritsushi. Daijō Bukkyō no Seiritsushi-teki Kenkyū ed. by S. Miyamoto
- SJ Seshin no Jōdoron by S. Yamaguchi
- Skt. Sanskrit
- Soothill A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms
by W.E. Soothill and L.Hodous

- T Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō, or Taisho Tripitaka
 ed. by J.Takakusu and K.Watanabe

- TC "T'an-luan's Commentary on the Pure Land
 Discourse : An Annotated Translation and
 Soteriological Analysis of the Wang-sheng-
 -lun Chu" by R.J. Corless

- Thirty. Thirty Years of Buddhist Studies by
 E. Conze

- Tib. Tibetan

- Tsūge. Shinshū Tsūge Zensho, Vol.1 by Y. Kashiwa-
 bara

- T'ung-yung. T'ung-yung kan-ying t'zu-tien, or
 General Chinese-English Dictionary

ERRATA

- p.3 hermaneuteic → hermeneuteic
7 marials → materials
manskāra → manas kāra
9 Comp. by G. Ono → ed. by G. Ono
14 which belong to the Shih-tun → belonged
17 way, being mediated → way, mediated
24 known → -known
king' → king's
26 the Jeweled Hair-knot → Jeweled
45 the bodhisattva themselves → the Bodhisattva or bodhisattvas
56 under the guise → guise of
59 tendency towards → towards
73 it is ..., assimilated the pāramitā-s → they are ..., assimilated
74 inconnection → In/connection
84 A bodhisattva in higher → Bodhisattvas in ...
85 educate → and educates
Bodhisattvabhūmi_s
101 and cultivation of elements → various elements
116 Gandhavatī → Gandhavati
119 guidance, or the guiding → guidance or ...
126 Vasubandhu was great → the great

ERRATA (cont'd)

- 137 description of the ision → vision
- 142 selfcentre ness → selfcentredness
- " attributes of Mahāyāna → the Mahāyāna
- 143 unhundred and accords → accords
- 145 transference → -transference
- 167 stage of guidance → guidance
- 169 undefiled pure realm → undefileds
- " explained, symbol... → in symbolical terms,
- 175 not yet realized the pure Mind attain → will attain
- 179 lead to wisdom and into → lead them to
- 187 (5) which can coverr → cover
- 189 (31) "Maitreya → "Maitreya"
- 194 (19) "neutralizing" → "n"
- 201 (16) Jōdokyō no → Jōdokyō
- 206 Iwano, Shinyu → shinyū
- 207 Katsumata ... Bosatsudo., pp... → Bosatsudō
- " Kudo → Kudo
- 209 Ono, Gemmyo comp. → ed.

Introduction

Ching-t'u-lun (淨土論), the Treatise on the Pure Land or the Pure Land Treatise, is a popular name for the Wu-liang-shou-ching yu-p'o-t'i-she y'uan-sheng-chi (無量壽系經優提舍原生偈) or the Upadeśa of the Sūtra on Infinite Life with Verses of Aspiration for Birth (T.No.1524).¹ It is also known by such short titles as: Wu-liang-shou-ching lun (無量壽系論), the Treatise on the Sūtra of Infinite Life, and Wang-sheng-lun (往生論), the Treatise on Re-birth. The text will be hereafter referred to simply as the PLT.

Neither a Skt. text nor a Tibetan translation is extant. The PLT which appears in the Taisho Tripitaka was translated into Chinese in 529 A.D.² by the well-known translator from northern India, Bodhiruci (菩提流支 or 菩提留支)³ in the Yung-ming-ssu temple (永寧寺) in the city of Lo-yang (洛陽) during the Later Wei (後魏)⁴ dynasty.

It should be mentioned that there exists a variation of the PLT. It is the text "reconstructed" from what was quoted in its commentary by

T'an-luan. The reconstructed version serves as the more popular version of the PLT and has traditionally been used in the Japanese Pure Land schools.⁵

The text is attributed to Vasubandhu of northern India. Vasubandhu is one of the key figures in the history of Indian Buddhism, and is well-known as the great Abhidharma scholar and systematizer of the Yogācāra philosophy. He not only systematized the philosophy of his Yogācāra forerunners but also established the philosophical foundation, with an epistemological bent, for the later development of the "Ideation-only" school (viññaptimātra-vāda), especially by two of his best known works on the perfect realization of the nature of "Ideation-only" (viññaptimātratā-siddhi) (see the list of his works in chap.I). He is also considered as the authority of the philosophy of Abhidharma school by virtue of his great work, the Abhidharmakośa. The problem of his dates and the complexity of his philosophy will be dealt with in chapter I.

The PLT exercised a far-reaching influence over the Far Eastern Pure Land Buddhism by way of its commentary composed by an ex-Taoist, T'an-luan(曇鸞, 476-543 A.D.). This commentary was called Wu-liang-shou-ching yu-p'o-t'i-she yüan-sheng-chi chu(無量壽經優婆提舍願生偈註) (T.No. 1819)⁶. This was more popularly known as the Wang-sheng-lun chu (往生論註), the Ching-t'u-lun chu(淨土論註), the Lun-chu(論註) or, simply, as the "Commentary" (Chu, 註). T'an-luan's commentary will be hereafter referred to as the Lun-chu.

T'an-luan's philosophy may be characterized, firstly, by the mysticism of religious Taoism in which he formerly sought a long life and, secondly, by the application of dialectical logic which belong to the Shih-lun(四論), "Four Treatises", school, a branch of the Mādhyamika school in China. In interpreting the PLT, T'an-luan applied his familiarity with the philosophy of dialectical transcendence of contradictions by the use of the logic of negation, together with the intuitive and mystical elements indigeneous to China, even

including the magic and superstition.

In the Lun-chu, he taught that, by the recitation of the Buddha's name, one will be saved through attaining birth in the Pure Land of the Buddha Amida, or Amita. The commentary thereby propagated the recitation practice and popularized the Pure Land teaching as the special "path of easy practice" (易行道). Lun-chu proved to be influential over the later development of the popular Pure Land movement characterized by nien-fo (念佛) in China as well as the whole Japanese scene of the so-called Pure Land (Jōdo in Jap.) schools. Its influence covered not only such Chinese masters as Tao-ch'o (道綽, d. 645) and Shan-tao (善導, d. 681) but also the whole Japanese scene of the Pure Land schools.

In Japan, the PLT was counted by Hōnen (法然, or 源空 Genkū, 1133-1212), the founder of the Jodo sect (Jōdo-shū in Jap.), as one of the four basic texts of his Pure Land school (see chap. II, E.1). Shinran (親鸞, 1173-1262), a disciple of Hōnen, founded what he called

the "true Pure Land teaching" which later developed into the Pure Land Shin school (淨土真宗, Jōdo Shin-shū in Jap.). The Shin school became the largest of all Buddhist denominations in Japan with a great number of followers throughout the country and even outside Japan. It has established its branches not only in the States but also in Europe.

Shinran valued the Lun-chu, and hence indirectly the PLT, so highly that he even derived his Buddhist name, Shinran, from the two masters--"shin" from Vasubandhu (Seshin or Tenjin in Jap.) and "ran" from T'an-luan (Donran, in Jap.). He revered T'an-luan and absorbed much of the philosophy expounded in the latter's commentary on the PLT, in the process of formulating the philosophical side of his doctrine of "salvation by faith" or "salvation by other-power" (tariki). In this way, the Lun-chu introduced the text to Japan, and it traditionally served as the authoritative and standard interpretation of the PLT. Thus, in the Japanese Pure Land schools, the understanding

of the PLT was mostly through the channels of T'an-luan's philosophy. The Lun-chu provided the general philosophic^odoctrinal framework for the traditional interpretation of the text. The examination of the text, independently of its commentary, has rarely been done in the traditional, sectarian, circle(i.e., within the so-called Pure Land schools).

The influence of the PLT over the Japanese Pure Land schools was, therefore, in an indirect way, being mediated by the overwhelming popularity of the Lun-chu among these masters over above the PLT itself. The PLT has, nevertheless, greatly contributed to molding the whole direction of later development of the Pure Land teaching.

In chapter I, attempts were made to present the issues, concerning the life and the date of Vasubandhu, and the necessity of further and systematic clarification of his complex philosophy exhibited in and among the large list of works attributed to him.

In chapter II, I have tried to give a brief, general survey of the development of bodhisattva ideal and the path, leading to

the highest ideal of great Compassion. The term, anuttarasamyaksambodhi, the realization of the supreme Enlightenment of Equality, then emerges as the highest bodhisattva ideal which reveals^{the} synthetic unity of Wisdom(prajñā), Compassion(karuṇā or maitrī) and Expedient means(upāya). It originates from the altruistic goal, the salvation of all beings, and it is the ideal of the one who delivers the multitude in the world from their samsaric suffering by gradually guiding them to Enlightenment, using various skills and abilities as Expedient means.

In the chapters III and IV, attempts were made to carefully re-examine the text of the PLT itself, independently of the Lun-chu, in the light of the above bodhisattva ideal and the path of the Mahāyāna for the realization of the highest goal.

In this thesis, those discussions regarding the doctrinal subtleties which are mainly of sectarian interest are deliberately avoided. But some references are made when they are

highly relevant in the context. Frequent use of the Shinshū Shōgyō Zensho, Vol.1 ("S") was made mainly because of its convenience and partly due to unavailability of certain volumes of the Taisho Tripitaka.

CHAPTER I

VASUBANDHU

A. Life and Date

A.1 Life

According to Paramārtha's "Life of Vasubandhu,"¹ Vasubandhu was born the second son of a Brahmin family named Kauśika, in the city of Puruṣapura in the Gandhāra region.² All the three sons of the Kauśika family³ received the customary Brahmanic education, but later all of them turned to Buddhism. Asaṅga(阿僧伽·無著), the eldest of the three, first became a monk in the Sarvāstivādin school,⁴ studied the doctrine, and practised meditation. When he was unable to comprehend the "significance of Voidness"(空義), an Arhat named Piṇḍola(賓頭羅) helped him understand the Hīnayāna conception of Voidness. According to the mythically embellished story of his encounter with Maitreya,⁵ Asaṅga ascended to the Tuṣita heaven to hear Maitreya expound on the Mahāyāna teaching, came back to this world and, in deep meditation, he fully comprehended it. After his conversion, he frequently visited the Tuṣita heaven by using his mystical powers. He devoted himself to spreading the teaching so that many others would appreciate its profound truth, believe, and follow the path. Asaṅga wrote many treatises and commentaries to clarify the Mahāyāna teaching. The youngest brother Viriñcivatsa(比隣持絃婆) was

apparently a monk in the Sarvāstivādin school, little else is known about him or his work.⁶

As for Vasubandhu, he, too, initially joined and established his fame in the Sarvāstivādin school.⁷ It seems that the Sarvāstivādin school was one of the dominant Buddhist schools of the time, influential throughout Kaśmir and Gandhāra.⁸ After a thorough study of Sarvāstivādin doctrines, Vasubandhu composed, in a verse form, a work on its philosophy. Through it was well received at first, the meaning was unclear and doubts were expressed among the masters of the school. On their request, Vasubandhu wrote a commentary on these verses to clarify the meaning. The result was the famous Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya (阿毘達磨俱舍論). It became clear that the author was critical of Sarvāstivādin philosophy and that he had incorporated into it the philosophy of the Sautrāntika school (經量部) which was influential at that time.

Vasubandhu was converted to the Mahāyāna through Asaṅga's guidance. The details of the circumstances under which his conversion took place vary according to different sources. (1) According to Paramārtha,⁹ Asaṅga sent for his brother on the pretence of serious illness and that Vasubandhu travelled to Puruṣapura

(丈夫國). On his arrival, Asaṅga expressed his heart-felt grief about Vasubandhu's public denunciation of the Mahāyāna teaching. He then initiated his younger brother into its real meaning. Vasubandhu thereupon realized the profundity of the Mahāyāna, and was straightaway converted. (2) According to Hsüan-tsang,¹⁰ Vasubandhu came to Ayodhyā and heard a disciple of Asaṅga reciting the Daśabhūmika-sūtra which described the path of the Mahāyāna bodhisattva and the states of spiritual progress. Deeply moved, he became converted to the Mahāyāna teaching. (3) According to Taranātha,¹¹ because Vasubandhu miscomprehended the Yogācārabhūmi, he severely criticized the text and the Mahāyāna in general. In order to make him realize his failure to grasp the true meaning, Asaṅga recited, together with one of his disciples, two Mahāyāna sūtras which expound on the true nature of Mind, the path, and the spiritual journey of the bodhisattva.¹²

Whichever was the case, Asaṅga made him realize the truth and profundity of the Mahāyāna teaching. It is also reported, probably to dramatize the event of his conversion, that Vasubandhu tried to sever his tongue out of remorse for his past abuse of the Mahāyāna. Asaṅga consoled and encouraged him to make the right use of

his tongue by spreading the teaching.¹³

Vasubandhu lived during the period of the Gupta dynasty which lasted almost three hundred years.¹⁴ The imperial court of the Gupta dynasty generously sponsored open, public debates which created the atmosphere of constant challenge not only for the intellectual life in the capital but also for the successful survival of various schools. Vasubandhu seems to have been a very talented orator, and had a genius for philosophical systematization. He wrote extensively and was well-known even outside Ayodhyā. Some scholars believe that his scholarly distinction won the king's favour,¹⁵ but whether he received special patronage or a mere award is unclear. Until his death at age eighty,¹⁶ he worked mostly in Ayodhyā as a scholar of great distinction and famed orator. Though the Chinese sources describe his death as a peaceful one in Ayodhyā, Tibetan sources report his unhappy death caused by the shock of seeing a corrupt monk in Nepal.¹⁷ This is rather puzzling. But Chattopadhyaya, the editor of the translation of Taranātha's work, is of the opinion that Vasubandhu died in Ayodhyā, and the other places mentioned were later linked to his life.¹⁸ We will provisionally settle with his solution.

A.2 The Date

The date of Vasubandhu is highly controversial. The problem was described by Takakusu at the beginning of our century as "a question confronted in the history of Indian thought."¹⁹ This is because different sources refer to different dates, spanning an extraordinarily long period of time, far beyond any human life-span.²⁰ For example, the dates of Vasubandhu are: (1) "nine hundred years" A.N. (i.e., after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa), according to Paramārtha; (2) around one thousand years A.N., according to Hsüan-tsang; and also according to other Chinese sources,²¹ Vasubandhu became "a bodhisattva" around eleven hundred A.N.. The difficulty lies also in the practical problem regarding the year of Buddha's Nirvāṇa to which these sources refer. Little indication is given in these sources as to how they calculated the date of Nirvāṇa which they used as the point of reference.

The ambiguity and uncertainty still exist regarding his dates, and the disagreement among the sources has not been solved or reconciled. Two dates have been, nevertheless, established: one, around the middle of the fourth century and, the other, the early part of the fifth century.²² Moreover, a great number of works covering an extraordinarily wide range of intellectual

activities are attributed to Vasubandhu. Because of this, there are suspicions that they could not have been the achievement of a single historical person, even though he might have been a genius.

In 1951, E.Frauwallner presented one solution to the problem of Vasubandhu's date.²³ This Austrian scholar maintained, upon careful re-examination of the available Chinese sources, the so-called "two Vasubandhu theory." According to this theory, there were two Vasubandhus. The earlier Vasubandhu is the brother of Asaṅga and lived around 320-380 A.D., and the later Vasubandhu is the author of Abhidharmakośa and lived around 400-480 A.D.²⁴ His theory seems to reconcile the conflicting dates of Vasubandhu. It also explains why "Vasubandhu" could cover such a wide range of philosophy and the vast amount of works attributed to him. Since the publication of this theory, both positive and negative scholarly reactions were expressed.

P.S.Jaini argued, in a short 1958 article,²⁵ for the one Vasubandhu theory. He attempted, on the basis of manuscripts found in Tibet(Abhidharmadīpa),²⁶ to provide support for the one Vasubandhu theory. Jaini suggested that, there existed a Sarvāstivādin "kośakāra", or author of kośa, who was criticized for his interest in the Mahāyāna teaching. Jaini thereby gave some support

to Paramārtha's description that Vasubandhu, the author of Abhidharmakośa, was converted to the Mahāyāna.

L. Schmithausen, a disciple of Frauwallner, argued for the two Vasubandhu theory on the basis of his analysis regarding the influence of the Sautrāntika philosophy in the works of Vasubandhu.²⁷

The problem of the date of Vasubandhu still remains unsolved. The two Vasubandhu theory is not yet convincing; much needs to be done before it is fully endorsed. A careful examination of his work is needed, especially regarding the philosophical and doctrinal development and differences. In this thesis, I will provisionally take the traditional one Vasubandhu theory and will not, therefore, make any attempt to attribute Vasubandhu's works to two persons.

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B. Yogācāra philosophy of Vasubandhu

The philosophy of Vasubandhu is confusingly complex because he incorporated various doctrines that were deemed favourable by him. At times it may appear that he altered his philosophical positions to suit different texts on which he was commenting.²⁸ He commented on various Mahāyāna texts which belong to different periods in the historical development of the Mahāyāna. His intellectual activities covered an incredibly wide range of philosophy. This included the philosophical tenets of schools such as: the pluralistic Sarvāstivādin, the phenomenological Sautrāntika, the Sāṃkhya, the idealistic Yogācāra and the essentialistic tathāgatagarbha philosophy. He left the voluminous Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya, many commentaries on those texts composed by the founders of the Yogācāra (i.e., Asaṅga and Maitreyanātha). He also left many treatises on a number of Mahāyāna sūtras. Moreover, since it is not very unusual, in the Indian context, to attribute one's work to a well-known saint as an expression of reverence to him, it is quite possible that some of the works attributed to him may have been the composition by someone of a much humbler status and fame. His versatility and the complexity of his philosophy have caused great difficulty for those who set out with the idea of grasping the philosophy of

Vasubandhu. The study of his philosophy is, nevertheless, very important in the history of Mahāyāna Buddhism, not only because he left a great number of works but also because he is a scholarly representative of the Abhidharma schools as well as the Mahāyāna.²⁹ An attempt will be made to present Vasubandhu as an exponent of the Yogācāra school despite all the diversity and complexity of his philosophy.

The Yogācāra school was founded around the fourth-fifth century in northern India.³⁰ The teaching of Yogācāra, or Yogacaryā, the "path of yoga practices", was transmitted to Vasubandhu by his brother Asaṅga who received it from Maitreyanātha.³¹ Because of its idealistic or ideationalistic standpoint, the Yogācāra was also called the school of "Mind-only" or "Consciousness-only" (viññānavāda, meaning the teaching of consciousness), or "Ideation-only" (viññaptimātravāda) in its later form. The basic sūtra is the Samdhinirmocana-sūtra. Among others there are the following sūtras: the Avataṃsaka, Laṅkāvatāra, and Śrīmalā-devīsimhanāda. The basic texts of the school are those composed by Maitreyanātha, Asaṅga, and Vasubandhu.³² The important ones are: Yogācārabhūmi, Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra, Mahāyāna-saṅgraha, Dharmadharmatāvibhāṅga, Madhyāntavibhāga, Viññaptimātratāsiddhi-viṃśatikā, Viññaptimātratāsiddhi-triṃśikā and Triśvabhava-kārikā.

The Yogācāra philosophy of Vasubandhu reflects, probably, the intellectual trend and cultural climate of the time. The inclination was towards a realistic ontology and a more concrete and practical approach to the realization of the ideal and salvation. The direction was one contrary to the transcendental rationalism of the Mādhyamika school which propagated the philosophy of Voidness and the dialectic logic of negation. The doctrines of the "Three Natures" and "Store-consciousness" (see: chap.II, D), the two major doctrines of the school, present the system of idealistic explanation of actual existence in the realm of phenomena and a Yogācāra solution to the realization of the ideal state of "Mind." Its approach to salvation and to Enlightenment is concrete and realistic; the path of spiritual cultivation involves an infinite process which is illustrated by the ten bodhisattva stages or by the five ranks(see: chap.II, D).

It should be noted that there is a significant difference between the philosophy expounded by Asaṅga and that by Vasubandhu. Asaṅga was fairly consistent with his monistic idealism revolving around the theory of Mind and the path of pāramitā-s and yoga practices of *meditation*.

Vasubandhu's point of departure in the Mahāyāna was

Asaṅga's idealism and the theory of Mind, and his works mainly consist of systematization and interpretation of the founders of early Yogācāra school. While maintaining its idealistic line of thought, Vasubandhu developed a more inclusive, or amalgamated system of philosophy by incorporating elements from various schools. For example, being a convert himself, he was very familiar with the doctrines of the Sarvāstivādin school and, unlike the early Mahayanists, he held a very positive attitude toward its system. He assimilated them instead of antagonizing, into a synthesis of the Mahāyāna-Yogācāra. He thereby placed the Mahāyāna within the matrix of the historical development of Buddhism and upon the philosophical foundation of the earlier teaching.

Moreover, he made commentaries on various Mahāyāna sūtras which reflect different tenets, as mentioned earlier, especially in his upadeśa works. He later incorporated much of the essentialistic philosophy of tathāgatagarbha (meaning the "womb" or "embryo" of Tathāgata), which indicated a significant shift in his soteriology.³³

Vasubandhu interpreted the Yogācāra philosophy of his forerunners with a more epistemological and empirical bent. Having also a wide knowledge of various philosophies of his time, he incorporated, at one level or another,

some elements from them in the process of systematization. It is believed that he established such important concepts as "different maturation"(vipāka) and the "transformation of consciousness"(viññāna-pariṇāma).

C. Works of Vasubandhu

A. Major Treatises

1. Abhidharmakośa, the verses (kārikā) and his own commentary (bhāṣya): a) A-p'i-ta-mo-chü-she-lun (阿毘達磨俱舍論), or the "treatise on Abhidharmakośa," 30 chüan, tr., Hsüan-tsang (玄奘). T.No.1558; the verses, 1 chüan, T.No.1560. b) A-p'i-ta-mo-chü-she-shih-lun (阿毘達磨俱舍釋論). 22 chüan. tr. Paramārtha. T.No.1559. c) Also in Tib. (Nos.4089, 4090), and in Skt..

2. Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, Triṃśika-kārikā : a) Wei-shih-san-shih-lun-sung (唯識三十論頌), or the "Thirty Verses on Ideation-only Teaching." 1 chüan, tr. Hsüan-tsang. T.No. 1586. (Cf. T.No.1587, 轉識論 tr. Paramārtha)

3. Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, Viṃśatikā, the verses and his own commentary: a) Wei-shih-erh-shih-lun (唯識二十論). 1 chüan, tr. Hsüan-tsang. T.No.1590. b) Ta-sheng Wei-shih-lun (大乘唯識論). 1 chüan, tr. Paramārtha. T.No.1589. c) Wei-shih-lun (唯識論). 1 chüan, tr. Prajñārci (般若流支). T.No.1588. d) Also in Tib. (Nos.4056-57).

4. Mahāyānasamgraha-bhāṣya, Vasubandhu's commentary on the Mahāyāna-samgraha composed by Asaṅga: a) She-ta-sheng-lun-shih (攝大乘論釋). 10 chüan, tr. Hsüan-tsang.

T.No.1597. b) Ibid. 15 chüan, tr.Paramārtha. T.No.1595.

c)Also in Tib.(No.4050).

5. Madhyāntavibhāga-tīka , the commentary on the Madhyānta-vibhāga attributed to Maitreyanātha: a)Pien-chung-pien-lun(辯中邊論^釋)3 chüan, tr.Hsüan-tsang. T.No.1600. b) Chung-pien-fen-pieh-lun(中邊分別論). 2 chüan, tr. Paramārtha.T.No.1599. c) in Tib. (cf. Dharmadharmatā-vibhāngavṛtti, No.4027), and in Skt..

B. Treatises on Methodology

1. Karmasiddhi-prakarana: a)Ta-sheng-ch'eng-yeh-lun (大乘成業論), or the "Mahāyāna Treatise on the perfection of actions." 1 chüan, tr.Hsüan-tsang. T.No.1609. b)Yeh-ch'eng-chiu-lun (業成就論).1 chüan, tr.Vimokṣa-prajñārṣi(毘目智仙) and Prajñāruci. T.No.1608. c) in Tib.(No.4062).

2. Pañcaskandha-prakarana: a)Ta-sheng-wu-yün-lun(大乘五蘊論), or the "Mahāyāna Treatise on the Five Skandhas." 1 chüan, tr.Hsüan-tsang. T.No.1612. Cf.Ta-sheng-kuang-wu-yün-lun(大乘廣五蘊論), T.No1613, is attributed to Sthiramati(安慧). b) Also in Tib.(No.4059).

3. Liu-men chiao-shou-hsi-ting-lun(-shih) (六門教授習定論釋), or the "Treatise on the six kinds of instruction of the practice of Concentration": a) Ibid.. 1 chüan, tr. I-ching(義淨). T.No.1607. b) in Tib.(No.2694). Cf. T.No.1361.

4. Chih-kuan-men-lun-sung(止觀門論頌), or the "Treatise and verses on the gate of śamatha and vipaśyanā." a) Ibid.. 1 chüan, tr. I-ching. T.No.1655.

5. Ta-sheng pai-fa-ming-men-lun(大乘百法明論), or the "Treatise on the Mahāyāna gate of one hundred dharma-light": a) 1 chüan, tr. Hsüan-tsnag. T.No.1614. b) Also in Tib.(No.4064, tr. from Chinese ?).

C. Upadeśa Group

1. Upadeśa on the Lotus Sūtra, Saddharmapundarīka-sūtra-upadeśa: a) Miao-fa-lien-hua-ching(-lun)-yu-p'o-t'i-she (妙法蓮華經論優婆提舍), 2 chüan, tr. Bodhiruci et. al.. T. No.1519. b) Ibid. 1 chüan, tr. Ratnamati et. al. T.No.1520.

2. On the Sūtra of Infinite Life, Wu-liang-shou-cing yu-p'o-t'i-she(無量壽經優婆提舍[願生偈]). 1 chüan, tr. Bodhiruci. T.No.1524.

3. On the Nirvāṇa Sūtra, Nieh-p'an(-ching)-lun(涅槃[經]論), 1 chüan, tr. Dharmabodhi(達磨菩提). T.No.1527.

4. On the Daśabhūmika-sūtra, Shih-ti-ching-lun(十地經論).
a) Ibid. 12 chüan, tr. Bodhiruci. T.No.1522. b) in Tib.(No. 3993, Ārya-Daśabhūmi-vyākhyāna).

5. On the Diamond Sūtra, Chin-kang pan-jo-po-lo-mi-ching-lun(金剛般若波羅密經論). a) Ibid.. 3chüan, tr. Bodhiruci. T.No.1511. b) Neng-tuan chin-kang pan-jo-po-lo-mi-to-ching-lun-shih(能斷金剛般若波羅密多義經論釋). 3 chüan, tr. I-ching. T.No.1513. c) Also in Tib. (No.3816, Āryabhagavatī-prajñāpāramitā-vajracchedikā-saptārtha-tīkā).

6. On the Sūtra of the Questions by Bodhisattva Excellent Thoughts, Sheng-ssu-wei-p'u-sa fan-t'ien so-wen-ching-lun(勝思惟菩薩梵天所問經論). 4chüan, tr. Bodhiruci. T.No.1532.

7. On the Sūtra of the Questions of Mañjuśrī, Wen-shu-shih-li-p'u-sa wen-p'u-t'i-ching-lun(文殊師利菩薩問菩提經論). 2 chüan, tr. Bodhiruci. T.No.1531.
b) in Tib.(No.3991).

8. On the Sūtra of the four elements of the Jeweled Hair-knot, Pao-chi-ching ssu-fa yu-p'o-t'i-she(寶髻四法優婆塞舍)(Ratnacūda-caturdharma-upadeśa?). 1 chüan, tr. Vimokṣaprajñārṣi. T.No.1526.

9. On the Sūtra of the Wheel of Dharma, Chuan-fa-lun-ching yu-p'o-t'i-she(轉法輪經優婆提舍)(Dharmacakra-pravartana-sūtropadeśa ?). 1 chüan, tr.Vimokṣaprajñārṣi. T.No.1533.

D. Works ascribed to Vasubandhu(or unclear authorship)

1. Vyākhyāyukti, the "Treatise on the interpretation" (釋觀論). In Tib. only (No.4061).

2. Fo-hsing-lun(佛性論), or the "Treatise on Buddha-nature." 4 chüan, tr.Paramārtha. T.No.1610.

3. Ju-shih-lun(如實論), or the "Treatise on the truth, or thusness." 1 chüan, tr.Paramārtha. T.No.1633.

4. San-chü-tsu-ching yu-p'o-t'i-she(三具足經優婆提舍). 1 chüan, tr.Vimokṣaprajñārṣi. T.No.1534.

5. Fa-p'u-t'i-hsin-ching-lun(發菩提心經論), or the "Treatise on the Sūtra of arousing the Mind of Bodhi." 2 chüan, tr.Kumārajīva. T.No.1659.

6. Pai-lun(百論), composed by Āryadeva(提婆) and commented by Vasubandhu(婆藪闍士). 2 chüan, tr.Kumārajīva. T.No.1569.

7. Dharmadharmatāvibhāṅga-vṛtti, or the "Commentary on the Dharmadharmatāvibhāṅga of Maitreyanātha". In Tib. (No.4028), and in Skt.(only fragments).

8. Trisvabhāva-kārikā or Trisvabhāva-nirdeśa, or "On the Three Natures of Existence". Only in Tib. (Nos. 3843, 4058). Cf. San-wu-hsing-lun (三無性論). 2 chüan, tr. Paramārtha. T.No. 1617.

9. The commentary part of the Prakaranāryavada-śāstra composed by Asaṅga (or Maitreya-nātha?). Hsien-yang-sheng-chiao-lun (顯揚聖教論), or the "Treatise on Upholding the Teaching." 20 chüan, tr. Hsüan-tsang. T.No. 1602.

10. the commentary part in the Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra which is attributed to Asaṅga. Ta-sheng chuang-yen-ching-lun (大乘莊嚴經論). 13 chüan, tr. Po-lo-p'o-mi-to-lo (波羅頗密多羅). T.No. 1604. Also in Tib. (No. 4026).

11. I-chiao-ching-lun (遺教經論). 1 chüan, tr. Paramārtha. T.No. 1529.

12. Nieh-p'an-ching pen-yu-chin-wü-chieh-lun (涅槃經本有今無偈論). 1 chüan, tr. Paramārtha. T.No. 1528.

In preparing the above list, I have consulted the following materials: SJ, pp.3-14, STK, pp.20-34, the Catalogue (Mokuroku) of Taisho Tripitaka, Kaidai., and Hōbōgin. The Tibetan numbers given are the Tōhoku numbers provided in SJ and STK, both of which were based on the list prepared by Enga Teramoto in his book, Saizōbun Seshinzō Yuishikiron.

This list is by no means an exhaustive one. It is quite clear that a considerable alterations and additions will be necessary by a thorough examination of Tibetan cannon, and other historical materials.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF

BODHISATTVA IDEAL

II.A The "bodhisattva"

The Skt. word "bodhisattva" is the key-term in the Mahāyāna Buddhism. The "bodhisattva-yāna" was used almost synonymously with the Mahāyāna and the "buddha-yāna". The bodhisattva is the image of man who aspires and proceeds towards Buddhahood by following the Buddha's path. The great bodhisattvas were worshipped and were even ranked equally with the Buddhas. The bodhisattva concept was greatly developed in the "northern transmission" of Mahāyāna Buddhism and became popular in such countries as China, Korea, Japan and Tibet. In Tibet, the bodhisattva is reported to be well-known as the "heroic being." In China and Japan, he is known as the "seeker-aspirant" of the Mahāyāna ideal and as the "follower" of the path which leads to Buddhahood. In Japan the bodhisattva concept received considerable academic and popular attention, and various aspects of bodhisattvahood were examined in connection with a wide variety of sūtras from different viewpoints.

In the West, however, the bodhisattva concept has not received the proper attention it deserves. Apart from what appeared in the form of translated texts, notably by L. de la Vallée Poussin, and brief remarks

in general survey books on Mahāyāna Buddhism, Har Dayal's The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature is probably the only substantial book specifically dedicated to the subject.

Without understanding the ideal and the path of the bodhisattva, the profundity of the Mahāyāna teaching cannot be fully appreciated. The grandeur of Mahāyāna Buddhism will be at risk if it is reduced to a merely rational system of philosophy or psychology, or to a body of highly imaginative literature. In the study of Mahāyāna Buddhism, further research on this important concept cannot be overvalued, and the study of the bodhisattva in the West is much overdue.

Attempts are made to clarify, in this chapter, firstly, the development of the bodhisattva concept and bodhisattva ideal in different periods and, secondly, the development of the bodhisattva path which leads to the realization of the highest bodhisattva ideal, the ultimate realization of great Compassion and guidance as the path beyond the attainment of Wisdom.

Etymologically speaking, the word consists of two elements, viz., bodhi and sattva. Bodhi clearly means "Enlightenment" whose content is the perfect Wisdom of the Buddha. There is a wide variety of interpretations regarding the meaning of sattva. The word sattva means:¹

(i) essence, nature, character; (ii) any living being, creature, sentient being, rational being; (iii) spirit, soul, mind, sense, consciousness, also used as a synonym for citta; (iv) 'embryo or latent potential; (v) mind, intelligence, thinking principle (in the Yoga-sūtra); (vi) strength, energy, vigour, courage etc..

Despite the diversity, as shown above, the meaning of bodhisattva has been generally accepted as the "bodhi-being" or the "being of bodhi". On the basis of this meaning, the following interpretations appeared: the "being who possesses bodhi," the "being whose existence is penetrated by the essence of bodhi," the "being who is destined to attain bodhi and become Buddha," and the "being who is an aspirant of bodhi," hence the "aspirant of Buddhahood."

A.2 The origin and formation of the bodhisattva concept

R.Hikata pointed out that the term "bodhisattva" originated among those who revered and adored the great

Buddha and his Wisdom of Enlightenment.² Har Dayal lists six cultural factors which may have contributed to the formation of the bodhisattva doctrine:³

(1) the natural tendency, especially the element of devotion, bhakti, towards the development of the concept within the Buddhist Church [?].

(2) the influence of other Indian religious sects.

(3) that of Persian religion and culture.

(4) the influence of Greek art.

(5) the necessity of propaganda among the new semi-barbarious tribes.

(6) the influence of Christianity.

Dayal stresses the human need for concrete objects of worship, or the need for some mediator to bridge the distance between the transcendental being and finite man. He states, "The bodhisattvas were thus chosen for worship and adoration in order to satisfy the needs of the devout and pious Buddhists. The bodhisattva doctrine may be said to have been the inevitable outcome of the tendency towards bhakti and the new conception of Buddhahood."⁴

I find it difficult to fully endorse this statement. It is very true that the bodhisattva concept was connected with the element of pious devotion to the Buddha and the new conception of Buddhahood, but less true that it was

the "inevitable outcome of the tendency towards bhakti," especially in the initial phase of its development. For, in the first place, the original use of the term was to glorify the Wisdom and the spiritual virtue ("merits") of Śākyamuni Buddha, and not to glorify, or express devotion to the bodhisattva themselves. The central position as the object of devotion was definitely occupied by the Buddha, and not the bodhisattvas (See, Prāṇidhāna Bodhisattva, I.B and II.D).

Secondly, the cultural phenomenon of the cult of devotion to certain special bodhisattvas only occurred after the Mahāyāna conception of bodhisattva had evolved into a conception of almost equal status to that of the Buddhas. This followed the increased significance attached to the resolutions, or Vows, of a number of great bodhisattvas; it was only after the Prāṇidhāna Bodhisattvas of soteriological importance had been fully developed and popularized that devotion to great bodhisattvas with their saviour image flourished.⁵ This is the popular, lay-oriented, devotional side of bodhisattva concept. There is, in the development of the concept, another side which is characterized by the formation of a highly developed bodhisattva doctrine with a complex scheme of practices and stages(bhūmi) of spiritual attainment.⁶

Thirdly, those two special bodhisattvas Dayal pointed out (Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara) do not exactly fit the image of "intercessors" or the "object of human desire for devotion." They represent the necessary qualities for the realization of Buddhahood; they are the personifications of the Wisdom of insight into the truth and the warm heart of Compassion or pity, both of which were regarded as the foundation and the content of Buddhahood.⁷ It was at a much later period that they became objects of passionate devotion on the popular level.⁸

Dayal's statement, or assumption, may, therefore, possibly involve some chronological confusion, probably due to his overemphasis on the role of "innate human tendency for devotion." The development of the conceptions of bodhisattva, the bodhisattva ideal and the path of practice will be examined below.

B. The conception of Bodhisattva before the Mahāyāna

There has been an inherent ambiguity in the conception of the term "bodhisattva" and its use.⁹ Initially, it signified the content of the Buddha-to-be, the perfect one whom all followers praised and glorified. Later in the Mahāyāna, the bodhisattva became the ideal vision which all Mahāyāna followers should strive to follow and aspire to.

B.1 Bodhisattva in the Jātakas

The term "Bodhisattva" originally designated the period of life of Gautama Siddhārtha before he attained Enlightenment. This Buddha-to-be stage of Gautama included a) the lay period of his life as a prince to the king Śuddhodana of the Śākya tribe and, b) the period before Enlightenment, or the period of his quest for deliverance as an ascetic and meditator.

The use of the word itself is quite old. The original use can probably be traced back to the second century B.C..¹⁰ It appears in the Pāli Nikāya in which the Buddha referred to himself as a "Bodhisattva" when he mentioned the earlier period of his life (Ibid.).

The Jātaka stories became popular and various figures (both human and animal) in the Jātakas were

identified with the Bodhisattva, the former life-forms of the Buddha. In those fantastic stories, these figures performed numerous acts of virtue which revealed the highest degree of compassion, self-sacrifice, forbearance or wisdom. They were regarded as the reincarnations of the Bodhisattva in his countless series of lives. These popular figures in the Jātakas contributed greatly to the formation of the Mahāyāna. They functioned in at least two ways, a) for the glorification and admiration of the greatness or the perfection of the Buddha and, b) for the praise of social virtues and compassion.

Firstly, the Jātakas illustrated the immeasurable length of the Bodhisattva's path of practice. He had practised for a long time, extending over aeons in numerous reincarnations and had accumulated a vast amount of spiritual virtue("merits"). The last life of the Bodhisattva as Gautama Śākyamuni was considered to be the fruition of all the merits he had accumulated.¹¹ The fact that he attained Enlightenment and became a Buddha was regarded as the natural result and consummation of all the merits he had accumulated and the insight which he had cultivated. His Buddhahood can be, therefore, nothing less than perfect.

Secondly, the Jātakas promoted appreciation of the value of altruistic concern and compassion among Buddhists at large, both lay and monastic.

It should be borne in mind that the depiction of those beings in the parables was intended to glorify the Buddha. Whenever the word, Bodhisattva, was applied to the figures in the Jātakas, the moral of the story was to praise and to glorify the great Enlightened One, Śākyamuni Buddha. Therefore, before the Mahāyāna, the devotees and disciples were not urged to follow the example of self-sacrifice, forbearance etc. set by these figures. The conception of the term "bodhisattva" at this stage was, therefore, clearly an expression of reverence and admiration for the great One, and it remained so until the rise of its Mahāyāna counterpart. Horner rightly states that the Bodhisattva in the Jātakas was merely the "epithet used to denote Gotama in his myriad re-births before he attained enlightenment."¹² The term Bodhisattva simply denoted, at this stage, the "Buddha-to-be" and the process of his spiritual cultivation through preparatory practices for the final attainment of Enlightenment and Buddhahood. In this sense, the next group of Bodhisattvas, the Buddha-to-be stage

of the past and present Buddhas, may be considered as belonging to this category, as a development from the conception of Bodhisattva in the Jātakas.

B.2 Resolutions (pranidhāna) and Buddha Lands

The word pranidhāna means "wish, longing, resolution, vow, or aspiration." Dayal states, "...the idea underlying pranidhāna is that of an earnest wish, and not strictly that of a vow or resolve."¹³ The conception and the meaning of pranidhāna, however, changed in different contexts and different intellectual, doctrinal milieu (see: chap. II, D); in certain contexts, the term did mean "resolutions" or "vows". Despite the significance of pranidhāna as one of the important characteristics of Mahāyāna bodhisattvas, there remains a great deal that awaits further research, especially with regard to its origin.

In the Original Buddhism, pranidhāna meant the "longings" or "wishes" which belong to the material realm as well as those belonging to the immaterial, or spiritual realm. Therefore, it was considered to be a kind of attachment.¹⁴ In the Early and pre-Mahāyāna Buddhism, the term had the special meaning of "vow" or "resolution".

with the notion of firm determination . These resolutions revealed the altruistic task and the ideal of the Bodhisattva who aimed to realize the salvation of sentient beings in the world. The origin of pranidhāna in this sense can be traced back to Mahāvastu which describes the "path of Resolution" (pranidhāna-caryā, 誓願行) as one of the four paths of the Bodhisattva (i.e., the Buddha-to-be).¹⁵ The Bodhisattva made a Vow that he may eventually acquire various qualities and powers of the Buddha in this path. His goal is to become the light or the lamp of this world by turning the wheel of Dharma for the sake of the multitude.¹⁶

In the Mahāyāna Buddhism, pranidhāna became a significant term. It is mentioned in many of the early Mahāyāna sūtras, such as: ^{the} Wisdom (Prajñā-pāramitā), the Lotus (Saddharmapundarika), ^{the} Pure Land (Sukhāvativyūha), and the Garland (Avatamsaka, or Gandhavyūha).¹⁷ It also appears frequently in the Yogācāra texts.¹⁸ The different types of pranidhāna may be classified into three groups, corresponding with the different conceptions of Mahāyāna bodhisattvas. The first is the "Original Vows" or "Original Resolutions" group which slightly overlaps the one mentioned above (in the pre-Mahāyāna).

It belongs to the Bodhisattvahood of various past and present Buddhas who reigned or now reign in their respective Buddha Lands (buddha-kṣetra, 佛刹 or 佛土), e.g., Akṣobhya, Amitābha etc.. This praṇidhāna was often combined with the "prediction" (vyākaraṇa, 受記) which was granted as assurance by a teacher-Buddha.

The second praṇidhāna group is that of the great Mahāyāna bodhisattvas of Compassion. The bodhisattvas of Compassion (such as Avalokiteśvara and other bodhisattvas of soteriological importance) are characterized by their compassionate aspiration to save and deliver the beings who suffer in their samsaric states. Instead of entering the peaceful and tranquil Nirvāṇa, these bodhisattvas have chosen to remain in this world of phenomena (see: the 4 kinds of Nirvāṇa, chap. II, D) so that they can perform their self-imposed task, the work of salvation of all beings. The bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is the ideal vision for Mahāyāna bodhisattvas as well as being the "saviour"¹⁹ for Mahāyāna devotees. He exemplifies the bodhisattva of prajñā-karuṇā combination, not only because he is the embodiment of the Wisdom of insight into the true reality but also because he is characterised by pitying eyes with which he

compassionately looks on and observes all the suffering beings in saṃsāra. It was believed that he was equipped with thirty-three transformation-bodies in order to carry out the work of salvation in the world.²⁰

The third group of pranidhāna is defined as "determination" or "aspiration." The application of the term was no longer limited to the great bodhisattvas, and, later it was incorporated into the path of the aspirants as one of requirements of higher bodhisattvas. In the Yogācāra school, the pranidhāna was established as the eighth of the ten pāramitā-s (see, chap.II, D). Its significance gradually shifted to indicate another point of departure, a new beginning of a bodhisattva who has adopted the highest goal (anuttarasamyaksambodhi) and who is about to start the infinite path. The pranidhāna used in this sense was often identified with cittotpāda.²¹

Chapter II, C The bodhisattva in the
early Mahāyāna

C.1 Mahāyāna versus Hīnayāna

The Mahayanists severely criticised their opponents and called them the followers of Hīnayāna, clearly with a derogatory meaning and connotation of inferiority. The Hīnayāna is identified with śrāvakayāna (聲聞乘), the "vehicle of listeners, or disciples", and with pratyekabuddhayāna (緣覺乘 or 獨覺乘), the "vehicle of solitary saints" or the "vehicle of the independently enlightened ones." Though Hīnayāna is often wrongly identified with the "southern transmission" of Buddhism, or Theravāda Buddhism, Hīnayāna should not be readily identified with schools or systems. This is because the Mahayanist criticism of their opponents in calling them Hīnayāna was based on their disagreement over the latter's goals and the method, together with the fundamental attitude.

Yāna originally meant "that which carries one across" the river to the other shore. It was often used metaphorically in the Original and Early Buddhism. The most famous one is probably the parable of the raft. Yāna is also likened to a boat or a ship that ferries beings across the "flood of saṃsāra" to the place "beyond."²¹

The term , yāna, presupposes two elements: a) the direction of the goal or the ideal and, b) the path of practice and the process of realizing that ideal. Firstly, yāna involves the aim. The ideal or the goal of the Mahāyāna is the Buddhahood which was defined in terms of the Wisdom of Enlightenment(prajñā). Mahayanists considered the ideal of Arhatship as a "lesser" and "smaller" (hīna) goal and claimed that deliverance from saṃsāra by oneself alone was not enough for the highest ideal. Secondly, yāna involves the method of realization of the ideal, the "means" to the "end." The Mahāyāna path of the six pāramitā practices is the path of spiritual development which is open to all sentient beings. One can follow the path in accordance with one's spiritual capacity and ability for comprehension. Thus one can gradually cultivate oneself towards spiritual maturity. This gradual process is explained in terms of "merits" (punya, 福德 or guna, 功德) and "good-roots"(kuśala-mūla, 善根). The ideas of "merits" and "good roots" were later incorporated, developed and systematized as a part of the system of "consciousness" in the Yogācāra school, and they played very significant roles, especially in the doctrine of the Store-consciousness.

The sharp criticism of their opponents made by the Mahayanists arose not only from their fundamental disagreement regarding the interpretation of the teaching but also from the frustration with the actual condition of monastic institutions. It is probably a mistake to reduce the reasons for the formation of the Mahāyāna group to merely intellectual or ideological factors or to metaphysical interpretation of the teaching. The formation of the Mahāyāna was a much more complex religious phenomenon which needs to be related to the whole historical matrix of socio-cultural and institutional factors, as well as to doctrinal claims. The problem of interpretation of the Vinaya, for example, was a far more complicated matter than simply a liberal interpretation versus a strict, literal adherence to commandments and regulations. Mahayanists pointed out the ethical fallibility of human "saints" and blamed the self-righteous ethicism of the seemingly saintly Elders of the Order. They also criticized those hypocrites who indulge themselves in the pursuit of mundane interests and sensual pleasures under the guise of a monk's robe as well as those who are preoccupied with finding faults of others.²²

There are at least three grounds on which the Mahayanists criticized their opponents. They are:

(1) the latter's indifference and unconcerned attitude toward those who suffer in saṃsāra, or their lack of altruistic elements in their teaching, (2) the tendency towards escape and isolation from the mundane, worldly realm, and (3) exclusive elitism and self-righteousness.

Firstly, the Mahayanist criticism was against their opponents' attitude of detached indifference toward the laity and those who suffer in their world. The lack of altruistic concern for the spiritual well-being of others is considered by eminent Japanese scholars such as Ui and Kimura to be the major issue. For the most part, those in the Order apparently held out no hope of deliverance to those in the mundane world, outside their monastic establishment. Even though they received donations and special patronage from wealthy lay devotees with whom they sometimes associated closely,²³ there was clearly a sharp division between the members of the Order and those outside. This division applied not only to the rules of conduct but also to doctrines regarding spiritual attainments.

The ideal or the highest aim of the followers of orthodox schools of Early Buddhism was the state of

complete deliverance from saṃsāra, from the suffering of transmigration, the chain of birth and death. This static goal was called the "Nirvāṇa of Extinction," the attainment of which meant the complete extinction of conditioned elements which produce yet another birth. It meant, therefore, eternal no-birth, no-suffering, hence eternal non-existence. The goal which the disciples (i.e., monks bhikkhus and nuns bhikkhunīs) sought and strived to attain was, however, not this Nirvāṇa, but the attainment of Arhatship. It meant striving to achieve the highest degree of suppression of those elements which enslave men to saṃsāra. The path of those followers who had this ideal of Arhatship was called śrāvakayāna. The following is a somewhat lengthy, but very good description of Arhat and Arhatship by I.B.Horner:²⁴

" . . .to the disciples of Gotama the arahān came to mean not only the Founder of the creed, or the revealer of the religion, as it did in Jainism, not only the person worthy of reverence and gifts, but the man or

woman who, with mind always alert, having attained the freedom of heart and mind, to insight and knowledge is an adept(asekha), is perfect, a finished product; one who has crossed over the flood and gone beyond(pāragata); who has rooted out craving and cut off desire; who has destroyed āsavas; who is versed in the threefold lore(teviya); who has won excellence in the thirty-seven things associated with enlightenment; who has attained nibbāna; the man or woman who has completed many other attainments, all of them implying finality. The arahān has, in a word, achieved some static condition, where he is beyond the workings of what is now called the Law of Causation. He has no need of further development, of further progress."

Secondly, there were those who did not remain in the monastic institutions. There was, among the saintly ones, an increasing tendency towards isolation and escape from any direct contact or involvement with the mundane world. The path of those solitary saints were called pratyekabuddhayāna. They maintained, in natural surroundings, eremitic life away from villages and habitation. Some of them became increasingly inclined to ascetic rigorism. They were in sharp contrast to the tendency of decadence and corruption within the institutionalized affluent Order, for there were frequent reports of monastery-dwellers who were there only to secure the easy subsistence the Order offered.

The tendency towards isolation and ascetic practices increased even to the extent of an "almost complete solitude" and some lived like real ascetics in "terrifying places in jungles and mountains."²⁶

Thirdly, the Mahayanists criticized the exclusivism of their opponents. There was an official ceremony of full ordination (upasampadā, 具足戒) through which a novitiate was officially accepted as a full member of the Order. The conservative group used it as an established qualification and as the criteria for a Buddhist monk "proper." Those who had not been ordained in this manner, including Mahayanists and other mendicants, were therefore, excluded from the official monkdom and privileges. The status of the Mahayanists was not accepted as Buddhist disciples and, in some cases, they were badly treated by those in the Order.²⁷ The orthodox group of conservatives thus maintained a façade of rigid ethicisim and elitistic orthodoxy. They also held a monopoly on salvation, because, according to their doctrines, the attainment of final salvation or deliverance was limited only to those who stayed away from the mundane world—either to the semi-ascetic saints or to those within the territory of the monastic Order, which theoretically guaranteed a pure and non-worldly life.²⁸

C.2 The bodhisattva in the Mahāyāna

The rise of the Mahāyāna heralded a new vision, a more universalized concept of bodhisattvahood. The term bodhisattva was no longer limited to various life-forms of the Buddha Śākyamuni as was the case of the Bodhisattva in the Jātakas or to those of other Buddhas. Instead, the bodhisattvahood became theoretically open to all sentient beings, provided they aspire to realize the ideal of Enlightenment and follow the same path as that of the great Bodhisattva. The term bodhisattva was used by a growing group of liberal Buddhists as a synonym for the "one who is a seeker of Enlightenment", hence an "aspirant of the ideal of Buddhahood," pursuing the supreme path toward its realization. It became the general term for describing the Mahāyāna vision itself as well as describing the ardent follower of that vision. Initially the term was not applied to concrete individuals or to oneself. If one identified oneself with this vision, it was only within one's self-awareness as an aspirant of that vision. One had to strive and spiritually cultivate oneself so that all aspects of one's

existence may eventually comply with the vision and become identical with it. The term came to include a wider range of aspirants who already aroused the "aspiration for Enlightenment", the profound experience of Mind.

The Mahāyāna bodhisattva was characterised by two elements: a) the ideal of Buddhahood, or the attainment of the highest Wisdom of Enlightenment (prajñā) as the highest goal, and b) the practice of the path of six pāramitā practices, with a sustained effort to continue a long and hard path of spiritual cultivation and perfection.

C.2 a) The aspiration for Enlightenment

The two requirements of Mahāyāna bodhisattva is, firstly, the "aspiration for the Enlightenment" (bodhicittotpāda, 發菩提心 or cittotpāda, 發心) and, secondly, the path of the Six Pāramitā practices (sat-pāramitā, 六波羅密). The significance of the "aspiration for Enlightenment" (bodhicittotpāda, literally meaning the "arising of the Bodhi-Mind") was well established among early Mahayanists as the vital element of a bodhisattva, probably by the first or the second century A.D.. In a work

attributed to Nāgārjuna, a Mahāyāna bodhisattva was defined, in terms of this aspiration, as the one who has already raised the Mind toward the supreme path.²⁹

The term bodhicittotpāda, or cittotpāda, has been translated differently, for example: "arousing the thought (that is, aspiration) for supreme, perfect Enlightenment"³⁰, "the production of the thought of Enlightenment"³¹, or "initiation or conception of the thought of Bodhi."³² Before proceeding to its actual significance, the meaning of citta and utpāda shall be briefly examined. Citta is generally translated into English as "thought" or "idea" in the compound cittotpāda. Dayal claims and recommends to do so on the grounds that it is "derived from the root cit, meaning 'to perceive, to form an idea in mind etc.'"³³ What he failed to realize was that, in the general Buddhist context, human sentient existence was described by the word "Mind" (citta, 心). There are three terms which describe the sentient existence, each indicating different functional aspects. The three are: (i) "Mind" (citta, 心), the totality of sentient existence; (ii) "Will" or "Volition" (manas, 意), the volitional aspect and the function of conceptualization;

(iii) "Consciousness" (viññāna, 意識), the empirical and cognitive side of sentient existence. Citta indicates the sum total of the sentient existence as opposed to the material, physical aspects of human existence with which it holds mutual relationship.³⁴ In the context of Buddhism, it is understood as the basis of spiritual aspirations, practices and progress. Citta is, therefore, of utmost importance in the process of spiritual development.

Utpāda is the term used frequently in Buddhism to indicate the notion of "coming into existence," and it is used interchangeably with the word denoting "birth."³⁵ But we need not go into details at this point except to bear in mind that the idea of existence is phenomenologically understood as "coming into existence" or "arising". The idea of "arising" should be grasped as a point in a flux of process, and it is inseparable from the idea of inter-dependent co-origination (pratītyasamutpāda).

Bodhicittotpāda, or simply cittotpāda, points to an event that takes place as a phenomena of Mind, in the form of a fixed orientation of Mind and the firm determination to realize the goal of Enlightenment.

The term essentially implies the activation of Mind as the result of that event. It is the initial point of departure in a bodhisattva's long career and in his pursuit for the ideal by following the path. The Mind is from this point onwards "set in motion". Dayal describes it as the "conversion"³⁶ event that makes an ordinary person into a bodhisattva. However, in using the English word conversion, which is charged with certain connotations, one should be mindful of the fact that cittotpāda was never a merely psychological or mental change. One should beware not to reduce it to any notion which may imply a mere "thought" or a purely mental, psychological event. Cittotpāda involved, on one hand, the aspiration or determination of Mind and, on the other, actual, strenuous practice of the spiritual discipline for a long period of time, whether the path be the rules of conduct or pāramitā practices. The significance of cittotpāda should therefore be understood in functional terms, as the basic source of zeal which sustains the effort in the practise and in the pursuit of the bodhisattva path.

The significance of cittotpāda is better clarified if we take into account the social and institutional milieu out of which the Mahāyāna evolved. As mentioned earlier, there was a ceremony which was established for the novitiates' official entry into the monastic Order. This rite of full ordination was called upasampadā (具足戒)³⁷. It had two elements: Firstly, the candidate had to have a mentor or a tutor who presents him into the scene of this ceremony. The teacher then publicly pronounces the candidate's faith in the Three Treasures (triratna) and his acceptance of the Vinaya in the presence of other Elders of the Order, asking for their consent. Secondly, the candidate had to be accepted by the silent consent of these Elders.³⁸ Upon successful completion of this ceremony the candidate was granted the status of an officially accepted member of the Order, hence a Buddhist disciple "proper". He was then provided with the visible outward fittings of a monk--a robe, a begging bowl etc. (Ibid).

The follower of early Mahāyāna clearly did not go through this ceremony. Probably for this reason, they were ignored by those in the Order, and were badly treated as outsiders of saṅgha or as unqualified monks.³⁹ The harshness with which early Mahayanists

criticised their opponents may be thus explained in terms of social and historical circumstances under which they suffered.

Though officially denied of their discipleship, most of these Mahayanist monks^{were} devoted to their cause and to the spirit of Buddhist teaching. They followed the path diligently in their own way, and gradually formulated their own scheme of entry into a genuine Buddhist discipleship to replace the traditional rite of full ordination. They rejected external, established authority for entry into the path. They rejected the necessity of institutional authorization as well as the importance of merely external appearance of a monkhood. The formality of the ceremony and approval of Elders were thus replaced by an inner element, the aspiration for the realization of Enlightenment and the firm determination for carrying out the pursuit. Under these circumstances the cittotpāda or bodhicittotpāda was emphasized and highly valued by the Mahayanists as the spiritual, inner qualification which distinguishes bodhisattvas from those who were Buddhist monks only by virtue of their external appearances as well as from ordinary men and heretics.⁴⁰ They thus re-defined the essence of

genuine Buddhisthood and the nature of religious ethics. Some of the metaphysical interpretations⁴¹ of this aspiration are probably the product of later reflections.

The cittotpāda is the initial point at which one turns to and orientates oneself toward the ideal of Enlightenment to which all the strivings are directed. It is the beginning of a long spiritual journey toward the realization of the highest wisdom of Enlightenment, prajñā-pāramitā. This point of departure of a determined aspirant is the first and vital step in the long spiritual journey of a bodhisattva's career. It was never enough for early Mahayanists to praise the importance of the cittotpāda. Their claim was such that the sūtras are abundant with passages which emphatically praise it. Among them, the most famous is the passage in the Daśabhūmika-sūtra. It is well-known particularly because of its proclamation of the utmost importance of cittotpāda for the whole process of spiritual development of an aspirant.⁴²

In the course of time, however, cittotpāda gradually lost its close relationship with the

spiritual disciplines and inner force, hence lost the intensity and awareness with which it initially arose in the historical and social context.⁴³ This was coupled with the rise of new conceptions of Buddhahood and Enlightenment. A formulation of another point of departure was already on its way for the Mahāyāna bodhisattvas who were highly motivated and spiritually developed. This development was characterized by the stages of spiritual progress and levels of awareness in the practice of the Mahāyāna bodhisattva path(see chap. II,D).⁴⁴

C.2 b) The path of six pāramitā-s leading to the Wisdom of Enlightenment (prajñā)

The practice of Six Pāramitā-s emerged as the Mahāyāna path for all bodhisattvas. It is a path involving a long process of spiritual cultivation by accumulating "merits" and by developing the wisdom of insight. The six are:

- (1) dāna-pāramitā (布施); charity, generosity, giving.
- (2) śīla-p. (戒); morality, good conduct.
- (3) kṣānti-p. (忍辱); forbearance, patience.
- (4) vīrya-p. (精進); zeal, energy.
- (5) dhyāna-p. (禪定); meditation, concentration.
- (6) prajñā-p. (智慧); wisdom, intuitive knowledge.⁴⁵

The socially beneficial qualities were highly valued and were considered to be "meritorious", hence conducive to salvation and deliverance. One accumulates "merits" or "good roots" through these actions or practices. The merits accumulated eventually brings about a happier re-birth or a more fortunate and better conditions--such as higher states of existence or a birth into a good family. By thus acquiring better conditions, one attains states which are better equipped with external conditions for the cultivation of spiritual insight.

The path of pāramitā-practices was not limited to those Bodhisattvas who have accomplished their task or to the great Mahāyāna bodhisattvas of Compassion; this Mahāyāna path which ultimately leads followers to the highest Wisdom (prajñā-pāramitā) became open and available to all sentient beings. The Mahāyanists claimed that whoever follows this path with the aspiration for Enlightenment "is" a bodhisattva. In the scheme of this path, the contrasting elements of existence (e.g., conditioned-unconditioned, pure-impure etc.) were no longer conceived

as dipolarity but as points within the whole continuum of one reality. This implied that the relationship between the contrasting spheres of existence (e.g., the unenlightened-enlightened, nirvāṇa-samsāra) also came to be located within the continuum. The finis of all the six pāramitā practices signified the enlightened sphere, the realm of the Buddhas, perfect in merit as well as profound spiritual Wisdom of insight.

C.2 b) The path of six pāramitā-s leading to the Wisdom of Enlightenment (prajñā)

The word pāramitā is etymologically explained in three ways.⁴⁶ But since Dayal explains it in detail (p.65), we shall only mention the following three meanings: (i) the state of having reached the other shore or the beyond, (ii) the highest condition, best state, or perfection, and (iii) highest virtue.

The significance of pāra in the context of Early Buddhism is well explained by Horner in Arahāṇa. She reports that the word pāra allegorically indicated the state of the beyond or the other shore of samsaric existence.⁴⁷ It was frequently used metaph^or₁ically in

connection with the notion of the "flood" (Ibid., p.279). It meant the further bank of the river, the bank beyond the stream of transmigration, hence the words such as the "one who is going beyond" (pāraṅgata) and the "yon-farer" (pāragū). Horner also reports that the word pāra became increasingly identified with the "notions of the work completed, the task done, and the struggle over" (p.301). In the context of Early Buddhism, speculations regarding the nature of the "beyond" was refrained, and pāra as the realm of Arhats and above are simply left untouched by verbal descriptions.

The Jātaka stories became increasingly popular among the lay followers. The Bodhisattva was highly praised and his virtuous deeds of self-sacrifice, forbearance, and wisdom became objects of admiration. These virtuous qualities came to be so highly valued as qualifications of great Bodhisattvahood, the stage of preparation of the Buddha. The greatness of ^{the} Bodhisattva was understood as the inevitable outcome, as the natural function of immeasurable merits he had accumulated in his past lives by performing good and virtuous deeds. The impact of the Jātakas over

the doctrines of the orthodox schools(the Elders' group) is observed from the fact that it is referred to and even, in some cases, assimilated the pāramitā-s into their doctrines.⁴⁸ It is also reported that, in the Mahāvastu, the three factors (dāna, śīla, and prajñā) are mentioned as the practice through which the Bodhisattvas in the past have attained their Enlightenment and Buddhahood.⁴⁹ It is, therefore, highly likely that the Mahāyāna path of six pāramitā has its origin in the pervasive popularity of the Jātakas.

II, D. The bodhisattva in the Yogācāra

D.1 The philosophy of Mind in the Yogācāra doctrines

An extensive system of monistic ontology was developed in the Yogācāra school in terms of philosophy of Mind, the teaching of "Mind-only" or "Consciousness-only". The conception of Mind is very important in understanding the Yogācāra view of existence which serves as the ontological foundation for the bodhisattva path and the stages of spiritual progress.

The soteriological significance of Mind is traced back to the Daśabhūmika-sūtra in which the teaching of "Mind-only" (cittamātra, 唯心) was expounded.¹ The early theory of "Mind-only" developed probably in connection with the idea of "Luminous Mind"² which purported that the Mind is originally pure and luminous even though it is clouded in ordinary states, covered by hindrances and defilements. The process of uncovering these hindrances--i.e., revealing the original purity of Mind--was, therefore, the path for the deliverance of Mind. In the Yogācāra, the three aspects of Mind mentioned earlier--that is, "Mind" (citta, 心), "Volition" (manas, 意), and "Consciousness" (viñāna, 識)--were analyzed in greater detail and systematized as the eight kinds

of consciousness (viñāna, 識) in the theory of the "Store-consciousness" (ālaya-viñāna, 阿賴耶識). The eight are:³

- (1) "eye-consciousness" (cakṣur-viñāna, 眼識)
- (2) "ear-cons." (ghrāṇa-v., 耳識)
- (3) "nose-cons." (śrotra-v., 鼻識)
- (4) "tongue-cons." (jihvā-v., 舌識)
- (5) "body-cons." (kāya-v., 身識)
- (6) "thought-cons." (mano-v., 意識)
- (7) "Ego-cons." (manas, 末那識)--also called kliṣṭa-manas
- (8) "Store-cons." (ālaya-v., 阿賴耶識) (other names are ādana, aliya, amala, indicating different states)

Though originally neutral, the Store-consciousness is "defiled" in ordinary states, because of the mental function of manas which has the tendency toward "defilement". Manas is, therefore, called kliṣṭa-manas, the "defiled manas". In the system of the Store-consciousness, the soteriological process is described as the "conversion, or transformation, of the basis" (āśraya-parāvṛtti, or -parivṛtti, 轉依), the fundamental transformation which leads one to the purified, perfected mode of existence.⁴ This process is described in terms of attaining the four kinds of Wisdom (see: the list below).

The idealism of early Yogācāra is primarily based on the philosophy expounded in the Samdhinirmocana-sūtra and in the works attributed to Maitreyanātha and Asaṅga. One of the major doctrines of the Yogācāra is the doctrine of "Three Natures" (trisvabhāva, 三性). The doctrine of Three Natures expounds three kinds of svabhāva (meaning, "substance," "own-nature" or "own-being"). The first paratantra-svabhāva (依他起性), or the "nature of dependent origination," is the true state of all things in phenomena. It is "real" in that it has come into existence by the unity of elements and conditions. But it is "not real" in the absolute sense. It is relative and provisional in that it is a conditioned state and does not have an independent nature of its own.

The second parikalpita-svabhāva (遍計所執性), the "universally attached nature", is an illusory and imaginary nature in which reality is perceived by way of mental projections or illusory constructions (abhūta-parikalpita). It is the nature, svabhāva, pervaded by ignorant attachments which are caused by conceptual discriminations (vikalpa, 分別) and basic ignorance (avidyā, 無明). The Mind is thereby bound to illusions and objects of external reality because of these attachments.

The third pariniṣpanna-svabhāva (圓成實性) is the "fully realized nature" or the "nature in which the truth is perfectly accomplished." It is the highest and perfected nature, and hence absolute. When "hindrances" (i.e., greed, attachments, discrimination and ignorance) are altogether extinguished, the true nature of existence is revealed in its highest state. It points to the highest mode of existence of a Mind, fully accomplished and perfected. It signifies the state of a Mind which has realized the Wisdom of the truth, and in which the true "dharma-nature" (dharmatā) is accomplished and revealed in its fullness and perfection.

The understanding of paratantra-svabhāva is probably the most important in this doctrine. This is because it provides the objective basis for the illusory nature as well as for the perfectly realized nature⁵. The three kinds of svabhāva should not be conceived as three separate entities that exist by themselves. Though translated as "nature", they all point to the relationship one holds with the empirical, external reality. Reality is one but appears differently because it is perceived and cognized differently by beings of diverse spiritual capacities. All the three "natures" are, in this sense, essentially insubstantial, hence the three

kinds of "non-nature" (niḥsvabhāva, 無性).

The theory of Three Natures, together with that of Store-consciousness, served as the mainstay of the Yogācāra philosophy and, especially as the ontological foundation for the path of practice and the schemes of spiritual progress. The doctrine of Three Natures explained the process of spiritual development, through which the true and perfect nature is uncovered and realized. The theory of the Store-consciousness explained the soteriological process in which the pure, or undefiled, "seeds" (bīja, 種子) are cultivated and, the "defiled" seeds extinguished.

Later among the Yogācāra-vijñānavādin commentators-- e.g., Dignāga, Sthiramati, Dharmapāla--the epistemological side of Mind philosophy was highly developed, including the analyses of psychological and cognitive processes. The two schools, the Yogācāra-vijñānavāda and the Madhyāmika became influential and competitive. They not only stood in opposition to each other but also mutually influenced by assimilating doctrines. The issue regarding later schisms is beyond our present topic and will not be therefore discussed here.

D.2 The bodhisattva⁴ ideal of Wisdom-Compassion

The Yogācāra school established the compassionate ideal of Mahāyāna bodhisattva, the ideal which combines Wisdom (prajñā), Compassion (karuṇā or maitrī) and Expedient means (upāya). The element of Compassion had existed in the bodhisattva path and ideal since the early Mahāyāna in which the goal of bodhisattva was characterized by the attainment of the highest Wisdom of Enlightenment.

In the Yogācāra, the attainment of Wisdom alone was no longer considered sufficient, and a combination of Wisdom, great Compassion and the perfection in guidance was doctrinally and philosophically systematized.

The Wisdom was re-interpreted as the spiritual insight with a rational and intellectual notion, as the profound insight into the truth of "dharma-nature" (dharmatā, 法性) of Equality. It was also called the undefiled Wisdom of Non-discrimination (avikalpa-jñāna, 無分別智)⁶. On attaining this insight, the bodhisattva attains "purity" by virtue of having conquered and extinguished "defilements" and of having attained the undefiled Wisdom. He thereby enters the pure realm of dharmadhātu (法界). From this moment onwards,

the bodhisattva is in the higher stage, and he practises a higher level of bodhisattva path, the path of Compassion. The goal aimed at in this spiritual level is the ultimate ideal, the supreme Enlightenment of Equality which is characterized (in the Yogācāra), by the perfect realization of great Compassion and guiding activities as well as the realization of Wisdom. The following concepts and theories were systematized and established as descriptions of the ideal in the Yogācāra:

(1) the four kinds of Nirvāṇa

- (i) the pure Nirvāṇa (nirvāṇa, 清淨涅槃)
- (ii) the Nirvāṇa with residue (sopadhi-śeṣa-n., 有餘依涅槃)
- (iii) the N. without residue (nirupadhi-śeṣa-n., 無餘依涅槃)
- (iv) the N. of No-abode (apratiṣṭhita-n., 無住處涅槃)

(2) the three kinds of Buddha's body (trikāya, 三身)

- (i) the Dharma-body, or Essence-body (dharmakāya, 法身)
- (ii) the body of Recompense (or Paradise-body) (sambhoga-kāya, 報身 or 受用身)
- (iii) the transformation-body (nirmāṇa-kāya, 化身, 變化身, or 應化身)

(3) the ten pāramitā-s. the six pāramitā-s of the early Mahāyāna and the following four:⁷

- (i) the Expedient means (upāya, 方便)
- (ii) the resolution, or the great aspiration (praṇidhāna, 願)

(iii) the power or special abilities (bala, 力)

(iv) the knowledge(jñāna, 智)

(4) the four kinds of Wisdom, acquired as the result of the "conversion or transformation of the basis"

(āśraya-parāvṛtti, 轉依);

(i) the great mirrorWisdom(ādarśa-jñāna, 大圓鏡智)

--by transforming the eighth ālaya-vijñāna

(ii) the Wisdom of Equality(samatā-jñāna, 平等性智)

--by transforming the seventh manas

(iii) the Wisdom of excellent Discernment(pratyavekṣanā-jñāna, 妙觀察智)--by transforming the sixth mano-v.

(iv) the Wisdom of accomplishing activities, or the Wisdom of accomplishing metamorphoses (krtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna, 成所作智)--by transforming the first five vijñāna-s

The shift of emphasis in the interpretation regarding that which characterizes the ideal is reflected in all the above descriptions.

The highest "Nirvāṇa of No-abode" indicates the ideal of the highest bodhisattva stage in which the bodhisattva remains in this world in order to perform the work of salvation, instead of entering the realm of extinction or tranquility. The bodhisattva in this spiritual level is neither attached to pure and tranquil realm of detachment nor is he bound to "defilements" of saṃsāra. He thus performs the guiding activities of the path at the highest level, and his actions are without any "hindrance." The bodhisattva in this highest state is, therefore, equal with a Buddha and identical with a Tathāgata, hence he is sometimes called the "dharmakāya bodhisattva."

The content of Buddhahood also changed: from the entry into the realm of peaceful Nirvāṇa of Extinction and the Wisdom of Enlightenment to the Compassion and guidance in the world. The trikāya theory which only vaguely existed before was doctrinally established in the Yogācāra. The significance of the third "transformation-body" lies in that it reveals the importance of functional and practical guiding work of the Buddha, Buddhahood thereby acquired, philosophically and doctrinally, the means for the active manifestation in

the world and for the performance of actual guidance.

The new ideal of the bodhisattva of great Compassion is the one who guides, enlightens and saves other sentient beings. The highest bodhisattva stage, therefore, signifies the work of guidance as an active and creative mode of being in the empirical realm of phenomena. The work of guidance became very important, and the Expedient means(upāya, 方便) or the Skillful means(upāya-kausālya, 善巧方便) came to be considered as vital for the higher bodhisattvas. The higher bodhisattvas were supposed to become well acquainted and skilled in all kinds of expedients with which he can educate and instruct the multitude by gradually guiding them to deliverance and to Enlightenment.

According to Dayal,⁸ "...the object of upāya-kausālya is stated in the Bodhisattvabhūmi to be the conversion of those who are hostile or indifferent to the path, and development and liberation of those who already profess Buddhism"(p.248). He also says that it is "especially related to a bodhisattva's work as a preacher and teacher.... The Bodhisattvabhūmi declares that it is a bodhisattva's duty to be an effective preacher"(Ibid.).

It is "generally exercised in order to gain access to the people, to win their sympathy, to explain the principle of religion in a popular manner and facilitate propaganda"(Ibid.). Yogacarins in this way took a very realistic approach toward guiding activities, and also toward the empirical and relative existence in phenomena. The ideal of purity and tranquility in the absolute realm of Nirvāṇa was gradually taken over by the ideal of Compassion and guidance in the world while, at the same time, assimilating those elements which belonged to the former ideal (see; the four kinds of Nirvāṇa, above).

The practical side of salvation work was thus emphasized, especially by the term upāya-kausalya which meant the "skillful means" or the "skillful application of Expedient means." A bodhisattva in higher stages are required, as mentioned earlier, various practical knowledges(jñāna), skills, abilities(bala)etc.. A wide variety of these practical means, or expedients, were therefore formulated to "embrace" diverse spiritual capacities, hence diverse needs and longings of sentient beings. These "means" included special skills (e.g. in oration), scientific or medical knowledge and arts. They are illustrated in the lists of bala-s, vaṣita-s, vidyā-sthāna-s etc.⁹

The bodhisattva in higher spiritual level makes use of all these means, educate the multitude to accumulate "merits" by teaching them to perform meritorious actions and to follow the path. He thereby guides them to deliverance. He also guides other bodhisattvas to higher levels of practice, teaching them the highest bodhisattva ideal and leading them gradually to the highest Mahāyāna path of great Compassion.

In this way, the new ideal not only emphasized the necessity of practical and realistic means of guidance but also shed light on the social dimension of empirical existence. The considerations, or accommodations, for the diversity in the spiritual capacity of sentient beings were also assimilated into the path--in order that the task might be successfully accomplished. They were especially necessary in teaching and guiding the simple, pious people who are not so spiritually advanced as the bodhisattvas. In this context, it is noteworthy what Dayal says, by quoting passages from the Bodhisattvabhūmi (pp.248-249):

"A bodhisattva should always adapt his teaching to the capacity of the audience. He is like a physician, who describes different remedies for different diseases and different persons. He speaks only of heaven to those who desire a happy re-birth. He does not lay

heavy burdens on his congregation. He does not ask them to keep long fasts, but shows an easier way to the simple, pious folk, who try to increase their 'Merit.' He does not frighten them with the profound teaching of Emptiness, which he reserves for more advanced aspirants."

III. D.3 The Yogācāra path

- a) Five Ranks and ten bhūmi-s : twofold nature and gradualism

The importance of actual practice of the path was highly emphasized and complex systems which describe various spiritual levels were established, probably by incorporating elements from outside the Mahāyāna. The two well-known schemes which may be considered as representative are the five "Ranks" (mārga or yogabhūmi) and the ten "bodhisattva stages" (bodhisattvabhūmi, 菩薩地).

The five Ranks are:¹⁰

- (i) the Rank of great assemblage(集大聚位), or the Rank of Provision(sambhāra-mārga, 資糧位)
- (ii) the Rank leading to realization(prayoga-m., 通達分位)
- (iii) the Rank of Insight(darśana-m., 通達位 or 見道)
- (iv) the Rank of Practice(bhāvanā-m., 修道位)
- (v) the highest Rank (aśaikṣa-m., 窮竟位 or 無學位)

The ten bodhisattva stages (bhūmi-s) are:¹¹

- (1) the Joyful (pramuditā, 歡喜)
- (2) the Immaculate (vimalā, 離垢)

- (3) the Illuminating (prabhākari, 發光)
- (4) the Radiant (arciṣmati, 焰慧)
- (5) the Invincible (sudurjayā, 難勝)
- (6) the Revealed (adhimukhī, 現前)
- (7) the Far-going (dūraṅgamā, 遠行)
- (8) the Immovable (acalā, 不動)
- (9) the Good Ones (sādhumati, 善慧)
- (10) the Cloud of Dharma (dharmameghā, 法雲)

In the Yogācāra, the path of spiritual practice is essentially twofold. The bodhisattva path in this school is a combination of two distinctly different path of practice¹² which is combined with the twofold ideal of purity and compassion. It consists of the path of meditative (in the general sense of the term) practices at various levels, on one hand, and the Mahāyāna path of pāramitā-s (the later ten as well as the six pāramitā-s of the early Mahāyāna) and of Merit-transference, on the other. In the Yogācārabhūmi, these two kinds of spiritual paths are expounded in separate sections next to each other. The state aimed by the meditative practices is tranquility and purity--the attainment of the undisturbed and still state of mind. It indicates

the state of Mind which is free, or "separated", from two kinds of "defilements" or "hindrances"--i.e., a) kleśa, (煩惱), the blind, passionate attachments, and b) vikalpa (分別), the mental function of "discrimination" which arises from ignorance (avidyā, 無明). The ideal of Compassion, the Mahāyāna ideal, was exemplified by the importance of guidance and guiding activities which were considered to be the highest goal and aim of higher bodhisattvas. This twofold nature of the path and ideal is reflected in the schemes of the Yogācāra bodhisattva stages mentioned above.

The path of practice in the Yogācāra signify the process of gradual development of "Mind" which is led to spiritual progress and attains higher and higher spiritual levels, eventually realizing the twofold ideal of purity and Compassion. This process may be roughly classified into two :

- (1) the initial path and the path leading to Wisdom
- (2) the path beyond Wisdom, the path of Compassion

These are explained separately below.

Firstly the path before the attainment of Wisdom consists of two phases: a) cultivation of piety and firm belief. The practice provided for this spiritual level consists of "good" (kuśala)¹³ actions which lead followers to happier re-birth and higher level of the faithful, b) cultivation of Mind towards the spiritual "ripening". The practice at this level consists of various levels of meditative activities and meditative perception. The meditative practices are called yoniso-manaskāra (or yoniso-manasikāra, 如理作意)¹⁴ which revolve around the teaching, the Dharma. When one comes to arouse the "aspiration for Enlightenment" or the "excellent belief" (adhimukti, 勝解), one is then called a "bodhisattva." The aspirant, a bodhisattva, then proceeds to a higher meditative practice of śamatha, or "cessation". Through the repeated practice of śamatha, one comes to extinguish all forms of attachment and, eventually attains the profound insight into the truth. This insight was called the undefiled Wisdom of Non-discrimination (avikalpa-jñāna). The bodhisattva thereby enters the undefiled, pure realm.

The attainment of this Wisdom of insight corresponds to the Rank of Insight and to the eighth bodhisattva bhūmi which is often characterized by a) the attainment of the highest level of forbearance, the "patient acceptance of the non-arisen, or non-arising, nature of all things" (anutpattika-dharm^a-kṣānti, 無生法忍), b) the realization of Voidness of all things (證法空) or, c) the realization of the "nature of "Ideation-only" (viññaptimātratā, 唯識性).

Secondly, the path beyond Wisdom. It is essentially the path of Compassion of the bodhisattvas in higher and ultimate stages, and is also twofold : a) cultivation of Compassion and, b) the highest path of great Compassion and unhindered guidance. The bodhisattva perceives the "reality" of suffering beings in saṃsāra, and gives rise to the resolution (praṇidhāna), or the higher aspiration, to save and deliver them --by guiding them to the truth and to Enlightenment. The practice at this level is often described in terms of Merit-transference and ten pāramitā-s.

The highest path of great Compassion is the path of pure altruism without even the subject-object dualism. It corresponds to the tenth bodhisattva stage, and

the practice at this level is often described as the "practice which is in accordance with the truth of Dharma" ([dharma-] anudharma-pratipatti, [法]隨法行) (see: chap.IV, D).

The goal is far beyond, and the path gradual and endless. The Yogācāra path is, therefore, infinite and endless with regard to time and practice. It was believed that it takes at least three asamkhyeya-kalpa-s from the initial point to the realization of the goal in the Yogācāra path.

b) The initial path

The initial path is the stage before one becomes a bodhisattva and is essentially a preparatory stage leading to bodhisattvahood. It is described in the Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra as the "Rank of great assemblage" meaning the path through which a mass of ordinary sentient beings flock together and form an assemblage in order to hear the teaching.¹⁵ It is better known as the "Rank of Provision" , the path in which an ordinary being collects, or accumulates, "provision" (sambhāra, 資糧), by forming habits of good conduct

and piety. He thereby accumulates "merits" (punya, 福德 or guna 功德) and "good-roots" (kuśala-mūla, 善根) which are conducive not only to happiness but also, eventually, to deliverance.

The devotees, by following the path, gradually acquire spiritual conditions which are suitable for the attainment of firmer faith and deeper comprehension of the teaching. Through this path, they are guided to prepare for and proceed to the practices of concentration and contemplation. The path consists of various practices of duties which belong to the world-realm such as, for example, good conduct of a moral, filial nature, and acts of devotion and worship. It is also referred to as the practice of the six pāramitā-s at a lower level. All these actions lead the followers not only to their salvation but also to attaining bodhisattvahood.

The objective of this initial path is, therefore, twofold. The path leads the devotees to happier states of deliverance from evil states of suffering by virtue of their following the path, on one hand, and it leads them to become an aspirant of the Wisdom of Enlightenment, a bodhisattva, on the other. Later, a sizable

list of practices were incorporated into the initial path in the Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra (成唯識論)¹⁶ and the Fa-hsiang school lists such practices as "ten kinds of dwelling" (十住), "ten kinds of (dharma-)actions" (十行 or 十法行) and "ten kinds of Merit-transference" (十迴向).¹⁷

c) The path leading to Wisdom

In the scheme of the five Ranks, the second Rank corresponds to the path leading to the realization of Wisdom. It was known in the Fa-hsiang school as the "Rank of Added Practice" (加行位). In another context, it was described as the "path of Expedient means" (方便道), meaning the path of practice which was established as the method, or as the causal factor for the education of sentient beings (prajñapti, 因施設).¹⁸

This path was characterized by the process called yoniso-manaskāra (or yoniso-manasikāra, 如理作意). It is described as "attempts at 'experiencing' the truth of the teaching (Dharma)."¹⁹ It signifies the deepening process of "knowing" the truth, or the "existential understanding" of the teaching. An

aspirant gradually remolds his thought-process by means of meditative activities²⁰, by concentrating on certain objects which represent and reveal the teaching of the truth. This includes such practices as mindfulness (smṛti and anusmṛti), fixation and concentration (yoniśo-manaskāra, see also chap. IV), cessation (śamatha), the practice of visualization, and meditative perception (vipaśyanā and samādhi). The process of spiritual progress by yoniśo-manaskāra is explained in terms of the four phases of spiritual "ripening". They were also called the four "good roots" (nirvedha-bhāgiya, 四善根·四加行 or 寶分別分). The four are :²¹

- (1) "warming-up" (uṣma-gata, 煖)
- (2) "summit" (mūrdhāna, 頂)
- (3) the "patient acceptance" (kṣānti, 忍)
- (4) the "highest in the world" (lāukikāgrya-dharma, 世第一法·世間求勝法頂)

These four phases indicate the gradual process through which an aspirant transcends the worldly mode of existence in which one is bound to external objects of desire and greed because of attachment and clinging.

In the process of realizing "purity", two kinds of meditative practices are frequently mentioned. They are śamatha, "cessation", and vipāśyanā, "meditative perception", and they are together called the "yoga practices"(瑜伽行). Some Japanese scholars identify them with the practice of bhāvanā-mārga (see: the five Ranks above).²² The practice of śamatha is to tranquilize various mental activities and to attain the still state of Mind. It consists of controlling the sense-organs which tend to be attached to external objects and suppressing illusive activities of Mind.²³ In this way, one gradually comes to eradicate attachments to external objects and extinguish the mental function of "discrimination." He thereby realizes the undisturbed, concentrated and still state of Mind which is no longer bound to "defilements".

When the bodhisattva has separated himself from "defilements", his Mind is "undefiled", and he is then called the "bodhisattva of Pure Mind" (淨心菩薩, see: chap. IV, D). His perception of external reality is no longer defiled by illusory constructions (abhūta-parikalpita); his Mind has attained the still and unmoved state.

The attainment of the Wisdom of Non-discrimination is characterized also by the realization of the insight into the "dharma-nature" of Equality. On attaining this insight, one transcends the self-centered system of universe which existed in one's fundamental conceptual framework. Because of the detached objectivity attained by virtue of having conquered "hindrances", or those which hinder the true perception of reality, the Pure Mind sees or perceives all things "unpervertedly" or "correctly" (無轉倒), without any distortions. It is likened, therefore, to an unclouded mirror which clearly reflects objects of perception and phenomena as they are (see: the four kinds of Wisdom in D.2). Thereupon, the true reality presents itself to the Pure Mind, and this represents the bodhisattva's entry into the undefiled, pure realm of the truth, the dharmadhātu.

It may be mentioned here that, in the Chinese Fa-hsiang school, the process of realization of Wisdom was explained in terms of twofold insight into Voidness, the insubstantiality, of all things. Firstly, one attains the insight into the insubstantiality of all external objects (法空), and realizes the

relative and provisional nature of conceptual categories (such as names and words of objects) which are "grasped" and attached to as the result of discrimination or objectified conceptualization. One thereby attains the intuitive insight that all external objects are merely illusory images created by the "defiled" function of Mind. This marks a spiritual awakening, and this process is called the "entry into the nature of 'Ideation-only' (vijñaptimātratā)", the sphere of subjective idealism. Secondly, one attains the insight into the insubstantiality of consciousness, or Mind, itself (識空 or 我空). The consciousness (i.e., ālaya-vijñāna) is wrongly conceived and grasped as "self" or "I" in unenlightened states, as distinct from "others", because of the discriminating function of the "defiled manas", the defiled Ego-consciousness.

Vipaśyanā

The practice of vipaśyanā is meditative perception and phenomenological observation. The word consists of the prefix vi-, indicating division and distinction, and the verb √pas, meaning "to see."²⁴

One perceives and discerns objects in their diversity and multiplicity. BD explains that it is "to reflect clearly the image of the object on the stilled state of Mind," or "to see freely with the tranquil Mind attained by meditation."²⁵

There seems to be different levels at which vipaśyanā is practised. Firstly, the practice at a lower level consists of concentration and visualization of certain visual objects--such as the images of Buddha and adorned bodhisattvas etc.. This practice is for those who have not yet realized the profound insight or purity, and it probably corresponds to the "Rank leading to the realization of Wisdom" and to that spiritual level. Secondly, the practice of vipaśyanā at a higher level is the practice of perceiving objects in an unobjectified manner. Those bodhisattvas in higher stages perceive phenomena as they truly are without illusion and without distortion. Vipaśyanā at this level is a clear and unhindered perception of reality with a phenomenological perspective, with no duality of subject-object.

Through the meditative perception of phenomena at a higher level, the bodhisattva perceives the "reality" of suffering beings who are in their states

of woe, being enslaved by their own passionate attachments and delusions. Deep compassion is thereby stirred in the bodhisattva in his samādhi state, moving him to aspire for their deliverance. With resolution, the bodhisattva then sets out on a higher Mahāyāna path of guidance out of great Compassion. The pranidhāna, or resolution in the Yogācāra context is, therefore, a higher and determined aspiration, a strong inner urge which arises in an already enlightened bodhisattva, out of his great Compassion for the suffering multitudes in the world (see: "egress", chap.IV, C).

d) The path beyond Wisdom: the path of Compassion

The bodhisattva then begins the higher Mahāyāna path of Compassion. The higher level of bodhisattva path corresponds to the eighth bodhisattva bhūmi, and it is described in terms of practices such as "Merit-transference" (pariṇāmanā, 迴向)²⁶ and the practice of ten pāramitā-s as the "practice which is in accordance with the truth (of Dharma)" ([dharma]-anudharma-pratipatti, [法] 隨法行)²⁷.

In the path of Merit-transference the bodhisattva transfers, or re-directs, all the merits he has accumu-

lated towards the realization of altruistic goal, the salvation of other suffering beings.

The term anudharma-pratipatti is frequently mentioned in the Yogācāra texts, especially the Bodhisattvabhūmi and ^{the} Madhyānta-vibhāga. Anudharma means "to comply with, to follow or to accord with the teaching, the Dharma, or the Way which was expounded and taught by Buddhas and Tathāgatas."²⁸

Pratipatti (tr. as 正行 or 修行道) means the "method of practice" or the path as a means (^{ibid.} p.105).

Anudharma-pratipatti means, therefore, "to follow and comply with the path of practice as a means, or as method." Sakurabe says that the term covered various practices which are the Buddha's path--prajñā-pāramitā and cultivation of elements which ^{lead} to the realization of Wisdom.²⁹ In the Madhyānta-vibhāga, the path^{of} ten pāramitā-s is expounded as the highest Mahāyāna path, the "highest vehicle" (無上乘) which all bodhisattvas should practise.³⁰

Ten pāramitā-s

The path of ten pāramitā-s was established, in the Yogācāra as the highest bodhisattva path. It is described as the "practice which is in accordance with

the truth".³¹ The objective of this path is no longer characterized by the quest for the transcendental Wisdom as was the case in the early Mahāyāna. Its objective, or goal, is the perfect realization of guidance and great Compassion. It is the path beyond Wisdom and the path of activities for the guidance of all beings in the world.

The significance of the four additional pāramitā-s.³² is sometimes disregarded on the assumption that the increase in number from six to ten was only to match the ten which indicated "wholeness" and perfection."³³ The fact that they increased in number is not so important as the meaning which underlies the existence of these four. All the four additional pāramitā-s reflect the new Yogācāra emphasis on the actual work of guidance--of educating, spiritually "maturing" other sentient beings, and leading them gradually into following the path.

The seventh upāya- or upāya-kausalya-pāramitā is explained by Dayal as "skillfulness or wisdom in the adoption of the means or expedients for converting others or helping them"(p.248). The eighth prapñdhāna-pāramitā indicates the re-orientation of

Mind toward the highest ideal, indicating the clear shift from earlier ideal. The bodhisattva perceives in meditation the suffering multitudes, then, moved by pity and compassion, he aspires for their salvation. The bodhisattva thereupon resolves to save them from their suffering, instead of dwelling in the tranquil realm of purity in the state of transcendental detachment from the "defiled" world of phenomena and attachments (see: chap.IV, C). The bodhisattva sets out on an endless task, the salvation of all suffering beings. His task is infinite, and his mind, unhindered and boundless.

The two last pāramitā-s, "mystical powers" and "knowledges" of various practical nature, are for the effective application of Wisdom in the world-realm. They indicate the practical bent and "catholicity" which was probably closely related with the socio-cultural milieu in history.

II,E. The bodhisattva in the Pure Land teaching

E.1 The Pure Land Teaching

Until recently, Pure Land teaching received little attention in the West, even though it has historically exercised a far-reaching influence in the Far East, notably in Japan. The Skt. texts of the two major Pure Land texts were published in 1883 by F. Max Müller and B. Nanjo. The event stimulated Japanese scholars in the field and led them to take interest in the existence of the Pure Land teaching outside Far East, viz. in Indian context.¹ Some attempts were made to trace the connections between the Pure Land teaching in Japan and the Original Buddhism in India. K. Fujita's book, Genshi Jōdo shisō no kenkyū, is a very fine example.

In the West, however, the knowledge of the Pure Land teaching was mostly limited to a kind of theistic soteriology. The general tendency was to identify it with devotional Amidism or with doctrines of faith and salvation in general survey books.² The Pure Land teaching was introduced to the West, in many cases, as Amidism. It was frequently identified with the Shin doctrine of salvation through total reliance on the compassionate Buddha Amida and on the saving power of his Vows. This is called the teaching of absolute "other-power" (tariki, in Jap.). The salvation-oriented teaching of the Shin

school was presented to the West in a manner which was so misleadingly clear-cut with theocentric connotations. This may have also contributed to discouraging the general intellectual curiosity of orientalists, especially when theistic Christianity itself has been suffering from the cultural problem of irrelevancy in the secularized Western world in general.

Moreover, the Shin school, being the major Buddhist school in Japan, has generally established foothold in America as well as in Europe. The school has not only established its branches but also published translations of many of their texts and related materials for introduction.³ This also contributed to the tendency of identifying the religion of faith with the Pure Land teaching. As a result, very little has been explored regarding the origin and historical development of the Pure Land teaching ; still less is known about the lofty bodhisattva ideal and the path of practice expounded in the Pure Land sūtras and texts.

E.1 a) Sūtras

A number of sūtras in Chinese refer, in one way or other, to the Amida Buddha and his Land. Fujita provides us a list of two hundred ninety Chinese texts, sūtras as well as treatises, and thirty-one texts which mention only the name of either the Buddha or his Land.⁴ This shows the extensive nature of the influence of the Amida cult and the teaching of his Buddha Land. Traditionally it was believed that there were twelve sūtras and that, among them, the seven were lost. The five sūtras in Chinese which specifically describe the story of the Amida Buddha and his Land Sukhāvātī are as follows:

(1) Fo-shuo a-mi-t'o-san-yeh-san-fo-sa-lou-fo-t'an kuo-tu jen-tao-ching (佛說阿彌陀三耶三佛薩耨佛檀過度人). 2 chüan, tr. Chih-ch'ien (支謙). T.No.362. (abbreviated as "LAM.")

(2) Fo-shuo Wu-liang-shou ch'ing-ching p'ing-teng-chüeh-ching (佛說無量壽清淨平等覺經). 4 chüan, tr. Chih-lou-chia-ch'en (支婁迦讖). T.No.361. (abbr. "LBy.")

(3) Wu-liang-shou ju-lai-hui (無量壽如來會). 2 chüan, tr. Bodhiruci. T.No.310. (abbr. "LNy.")

(4) Fo-shuo ta-sheng wu-liang-shou chuang-yen-ching
(佛說大乘無量壽莊嚴經). 3 chüan, tr. Fa-hsien
(法賢). T.No.363. (abbr. "LSy.")

(5) Fo-shuo Wu-liang-shou-ching(佛說無量壽經).
2 chüan, tr. K'ang-seng-k'ai(康僧鎧). T.No.
360. (abbr. "LSy.")

Traditionally, in the Japanese Pure Land schools,
only three were mentioned as the basic sūtras of the
Pure Land schools. They are:

(1) the Larger (Sukhāvativyūha) Sūtra, Fo-shuo wu-liang-
-shou-ching(佛說無量壽經). 2 chüan, tr. K'ang-seng-
k'ai. T.No.360.

(2) the Amida Sūtra, or the Smaller Sūtra, Fo-shuo
a-mi-t'o-ching(佛說阿彌陀經). 1 chüan, tr.
Kumārajīva. T.No.366.

(3) the Meditation Sūtra, Fo-shuo kuan-wu-liang-shou-
-ching(佛說觀無量壽經). 1 chüan, tr. Kālayāśas.
T.No.365.

Hōnen(法然, 1133-1212) first used the idea of the
"three basic sūtras of the Jōdo school"(Jōdo-sambukyō
in Jap.) in his Senjaku (or Senchaku) Hongan Nenbutsu-
shū(選擇本願念佛集).⁵ Apparently it was a

common practice of Buddhist schools of the time to select three texts and declare them as the three basic texts of their sects as a basis of authority.⁶ In founding the Jōdo school(淨土宗), Hōnen adopted this method and selected the above three, to which he added the PLT as the fourth text. Since then the idea of the "three basic sūtras of the Pure Land teaching" was established, and the three are popularly known in Japan. Among the Buddhist scholars, however, it is generally established that these three belong to different periods and are not, historically, considered as a set of three. They belong to different geographical areas, and different aspects of the Pure Land teaching, revolving around the theme of the Buddha of Infinite Life(Amitāyus, 無量壽) and/or the Buddha of Infinite Light(Amitābha, 無量光).

E.1 b) Buddha Land

The idea of Buddha Land was not at all limited or unique to that of Amida Buddha. It was very common in the period of pre- and early Mahāyāna. The term buddha-kṣetra(佛國土, 佛刹) means the "territory belonging to Buddha." It was originally applied to this world in which the Buddha Śākyamuni appeared, taught and guided sentient beings to deliverance. For the disciples,

there was only one Buddha, the Gautama Śākyamuni, hence only one Buddha Land.⁷ Later, however, a number of past Buddhas appeared, including the Buddha Dīpaṅkara who gave a "prediction" to Śākyamuni.

In the early Mahāyāna sūtras a great number of Buddhas and Buddha Lands are mentioned. This included not only the past Buddhas but also those Buddhas who are presently reigning in their respective Buddha Lands. Various Buddhas are in the present teaching and guiding beings to deliverance by "turning the wheel of Dharma" (轉法輪). A Buddha Land then came to be conceived as the Land in which a particular Buddha exists and guides sentient beings by preaching the Dharma, hence the idea of Buddha Land as a "world or sphere in which a Buddha is engaged in his work of guidance and salvation." The popular mythology of Cakravartin (轉輪聖王) may also be one of the factors incorporated into the conception of Buddha Land.⁸ Though descriptions of Buddha Lands vary, they generally project the image of a Land which is equipped and glorified with the ideal qualities, both spiritual and worldly. The idea of lokapāla (世言護), or the "protector of the world," was also referred to in connection with Buddha Lands

In the sense of "protector of Dharma" or the "one who protects Dharma for the sake of beings in the world."⁹

The Tuṣita heaven of Bodhisattva Maitreya is another "Pure Land." Maitreya is the future Buddha, but his Land is not called Buddha Land because he has still one more life before attaining Buddhahood. His Land, Tuṣita heaven, is an ideal realm for those who aspire for deliverance and Enlightenment. His Land is suitable for the followers of the path as it is equipped with favourable qualities for spiritual development.¹⁰

The development of Pure Land Buddhism is unique to the "northern transmission"(北傳), the Buddhism which spread from north-western India to China-Korea-Japan and to Nepal-Tibet. The northern transmission of the Mahāyāna is generally characterized by the compassionate ideal of the bodhisattva and the path of practice for its realization. In it developed the idea of "resolution" for the greater goal of universal salvation. The social concern for the world of suffering beings was developed in this way as the task of bodhisattvas whose ideal is the full realization of Wisdom and Compassion. The great bodhisattvas of Compassion became, on the popular level, objects of worship,

and devotional cults of those great bodhisattvas flourished--e.g., the cults of Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya.¹¹

E.2 The Bodhisattva Dharmākara

a) The story of his resolutions

The teaching of Pure Land Buddhism which flourished in the Far East was mainly based on the story of Bodhisattva Dharmākara who attained Buddhahood as Amida, by fulfilling his resolutions (praṇidhāna) and who now reigns in his Buddha Land named Sukhāvātī. Two Skt. equivalents of the name Amida or Amita (阿彌陀) are:

- (i) Amitāyus, or "Infinite Life" and
- (ii) Amitābha, or "Infinite Light" .

The story of Bodhisattva Dharmākara appears in early parts of all the five sūtras in Chinese. The story describes how the Bodhisattva established the Buddha Land, in terms of the resolutions and practices which he had gone through for an immeasurable length of time. His name, Dharmākara, means: the "source of Dharma," the "accumulation of Dharma," and the "mine, or store, of Dharma."¹²

According to the brief introductory passage in LŚv., Dharmākara rejoiced on hearing the Dharma which the Buddha Lokeśvararāja¹³ preached. Aspiring to pursue the highest path toward Buddhahood,¹⁴ he renounced his

worldly life and left his kingship.¹⁵ Dharmākara paid homage to the Buddha and praised him in verses. Under the guidance of this Buddha, he meditated and observed the "features" (i.e., characteristics) of various visions and the beings of numerous (210 million in Lsv.) Buddha Lands.

After a long period of meditation practices (5 kalpa-s in Lsv.), he decided upon his vision of Buddha Land and embraced the pure practices which adorn the Buddha Land.¹⁶ In the presence of the Buddha Lokeśvara-rāja, Dharmākara declared his resolutions, or Vows. A voice in the sky gave him assurance, hinting the idea of "prediction" (vyākaraṇa). After a long period of time, he fulfilled his Vows, realized his vision and established his Buddha Land. He became Amida Buddha (10 kalpa-s ago, according to Lsv.), and now reigns in his Buddha Land which is called Sukhāvātī, the "Land of Peace and Happiness" or the "Land of Bliss" in the western region.¹⁷

His resolutions are also called the "Original Vows" (pūrva-praṇidhāna, 宿願 or 本願). It means the "Vows declared in the past" during the Buddha-to-be stage.¹⁸ This term was commonly used to indicate the

past resolutions and aspirations of all the Buddhas who have already accomplished their task and established their Buddha Lands.

The pranidhāna of Bodhisattva Dharmākara listed in the sūtras differ in number. They are twenty-four in LAm. and LBy., thirty-six in LSy., forty-eight in Lsv. and LNy., forty-seven or forty-eight in Skt. texts, and forty-nine in Tib. text.¹⁹ It is generally assumed that the increase in the number of resolutions, or Vows, indicate later elaborations which occurred in the course of development,²⁰ even though the translation dates, especially that of LSy., do not exactly fit the chronological order.²¹

These resolutions are important in that they describe Dharmākara's vision of an ideal Land, the realization of which was his self-imposed task before attaining his Buddhahood. All the five Chinese texts mentioned earlier as well as the Skt. and Tib. texts invariably begin with the resolution in which Dharmākara declares that, in his Land, there will be no evil states of existence, or the three or four lowest gati-s of suffering.²² In this way he rid his Land of samsaric states of severe suffering. His resolutions, therefore, describe the

characteristic features which the Bodhisattva selected in meditation and accomplished through practices. Throughout his resolutions, the theme of salvation, or the deliverance, of all sentient beings from their states of suffering is of paramount importance.

E.2 b) Sukhāvātī, the Buddha Land of Amida

The sūtras describe Sukhāvātī, in all its wondrous glory, beauty, and happiness. Sukhāvātī means the "place where there is sukhā,"²³ "possessing ease and comfort," or "full of joy and happiness."²⁴ In Chinese translations, it was rendered as the Land of an-le(安樂), or "Peace and Happiness," an-yang(安養), "cultivation of peace and tranquility", and chi-le(極樂). Chi-le means the "extreme joy or utmost pleasure" and it appears in the translations of the Smaller Sūtra and in the Meditation Sūtra.

The meaning of sukhā may be better explained in terms of its contrasting relationship with duḥkha (苦), or suffering. The latter is often translated as "Suffering" or "pain", but in fact it indicates negative states of mind.²⁵ This included states of mind such as uneasy, disquieted, uncomfortable, unpleasant, miserable, distressed, painful etc.. Duḥkha was considered the major feature of samsaric states and of those who suffer in

the realm of desire(kāmadhātu) that revolve around desire and clinging.²⁶ The deliverance from duḥkha was the goal of both the Original and Early Buddhism as exemplified in their conception of Nirvāṇa. Their ideal state, Nirvāṇa, was described in terms of the negation of duḥkha, the samsaric suffering; it is the state in which all causes of suffering (i.e., all forms of attachment to things and to life) are completely extinguished and uprooted.

Sukhā, on the contrary, indicated duḥkha's opposite, positive and agreeable qualities. It indicated the state of mind being at ease, comfortable, pleasant, contented, happy, peaceful, tranquil etc.²⁷ Fujita reports that the word sukhā was used in the Original Buddhism to denote the happiness of both worldly and non-worldly or spiritual nature--the defiled sukhā of householders and the undefiled sukhā of the monks.²⁸ Sukhā is, therefore, a comfortable and pleasant state of mind at ease, which is the tacit sign of being on the path of deliverance from duḥkha. It did not mean any explicit satisfaction of desire or gain. Sukhāvātī is the Land in which sukhā (happiness, comfortable, pleasant, peaceful, and tranquil state) is abundant; it is the Land of deliverance from suffering. Sukhāvātī, therefore, indicated

neither the Land of delight and pleasure nor the promised Land of heavenly utopia but, instead, the realm in which there is no state of samsaric torment or suffering. It is the Land in which the minds of sentient beings are at ease, peaceful, and comfortable. It is the Land of happiness in this sense. In the Chinese context, however, the term an-le was interpreted with connotations of a highly positive state or quality, since le(樂) in Chinese means not only "joy and happiness" but also "delight or pleasure", of even an ecstatic kind.²⁹ This probably contributed to the understanding of Sukhāvati as chi-le(極樂, gokuraku in Jap.), the "place of utmost happiness and delight."³⁰

A number of Buddha Lands bear in their names the affix -vatī, meaning "possessing" or "being equipped with" (具 or 有). For example, there are: Dīpavatī of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara, Ratnavatī of the Buddha Ratnākara, Padmavatī of the Buddha Samantakusuma, and Gandhavatī of the bodhisattva Dharmodgata.³¹

E.3 The Pure Land teaching in a work attributed to
Nāgārjuna

The path of salvation through attaining birth in Amida's Land is mentioned in the Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣa-sāstra(十住毘婆沙論)³² which is attributed to Nāgārjuna. The author clearly states that the Pure Land teaching is a form of Expedient-means (upāya) [of salvation] by faith(信方便). He calls it the "path of sukhā"(易行)³³ for those who are spiritually inferior and weak, while the true bodhi-sattva must be courageous enough to pursue the strenuous path. It was a compromise and accommodation for those who are neither capable of arousing the mind of Enlightenment(bodhicittotpāda) nor pursuing the path for Buddhahood.³⁴ It is a teaching of salvation, in the Amida's Land, in order to guide those who are sunk deeply in the ocean of samsaric suffering. The teaching of salvation in this context is a promise of hope. It is likened to a boat which enables even a heavy stone(i.e., a sinful man) to float; otherwise it would sink immediately.

E.4 The Pure Land teaching in Vasubandhu's Treatise on Pure Land

In the PLT, the teaching of Amida's Pure Land was

re-interpreted as the Mahāyāna bodhisattva path from a totally different perspective from the one above. The Pure Land was transformed from the idea of a heavenly Land of happiness and salvation into the realm of truth and guiding activities. The path of practice and the highest ideal of the bodhisattva were incorporated into the teaching, including the highest bodhisattva ideal of the supreme Enlightenment of Equality which combines the perfect Wisdom with the great Compassion, and the highest bodhisattva stage of free and unhindered activities of guidance. The path of the five spiritual practices was taught as the method for the spiritual education of all kinds of sentient beings. It is presented as the path which one can practise in accordance with one's capacity and wishes. The path included the following: higher bodhisattva path of Merit-transference by skillful-means, meditative practices of śamatha and vipaśyanā, practices visualization, fixation of mind, and mindful practices, together with the devotional practices of worship and praise. One is to perceive the vision of the transcendent "yonder" which is described in terms of glorious adornments, and aspire to be born there.

The Land and the Buddha were re-defined essentially in terms of purity and Wisdom-light, the functional activity of Dharma, operating in the world of relativity and phenomena. The Pure Land took a variety of features in accordance with diverse degrees of insight which beings lack or are endowed with.

(i) For the higher bodhisattvas who already dwell in the realm of purity, the Pure Land is a sphere of guidance, or the guiding activities which are to take place in the world.

(ii) For those bodhisattvas who have not yet attained purity, it signifies the realm of purity, and their goal of the blissful, tranquil state of Nirvāṇa.

(iii) For those of lower spiritual capacities, various characteristics of the Pure Land were presented through descriptions of countless desirable attributes as the excellent merits which glorify and adorn the Land. Thus accommodations are made to suit the wishes and longings of various beings.³⁵ The verbal and visual descriptions function as the means which are provided for the guidance of multitudes in order that they may desire to be born there and aspire to enter the pure path of faith and practice.

The PLT expounds the path of Pure Land bodhisattvas (the first in the above list). They are the bodhisattvas who dwell in the pure realm but who, out of Compassion and without discrimination, participate in the dynamic movement of purity and Dharma. The Pure Land in this sense is generated from the undefiled Wisdom and sustained by the Buddha's Original Vow. Their transformation-bodies penetrate all corners of the universe and perform the work of guidance by educating and leading the ignorant, suffering beings in the world to salvation. The Pure Land bodhisattvas are, therefore, identified with the "light". They do so through the manifold practices of Merit-transference by skillful means and practise the five spiritual actions. They thereby lead suffering beings to the pure and right path, hence to salvation.

The conception of Pure Land bodhisattvas has not received proper attention,³⁶ especially in the West. Careful examination of the conception of this bodhisattva ideal will surely reveal a new facet of Pure Land Buddhism. Though its analysis is interesting and illuminating, it shall not be discussed in detail, at this point, since it will be dealt with later in the following chapters.

CHAPTER III

THE TREATISE ON

THE PURE LAND

A.1 The authenticity

Suspicion was raised very recently regarding the authorship by Vasubandhu, hence a doubt about the authenticity of the PLT. Umehara, for example, speculates on the possibility of Bodhiruci or T'an-luan being the author of the text.¹ Corless suggests that the text may have been composed by an anonymous "wise man" who was totally unrelated either to Vasubandhu or Bodhiruci.²

Briefly, there are two reasons for their suspicion: (1) They interpreted the fact that there is no other extant translation as indicating the lack of supporting evidence, hence its authenticity is doubtful; (2) The philosophical tenet of the text appeared to them different from those in the major texts of the "Consciousness-only" or "Ideation-only" school for which Vasubandhu is generally known in the Sino-Japanese Buddhist world. Below is an attempt to refute the above two points.

As for the first point, their speculations may be easily discredited by the fact that there exists considerably reliable historical

sources. At least three records of translation works of Buddhist texts mention the translation of the PLT by Bodhiruci.³ The superior credibility of these records as opposed to their free speculation is clear. Moreover, the fact that there is only one translation may indicate the following possibilities: a) that the transmission of other copies of the text was severely affected by the social or political situation at that time; and b) that the text was not popular in the place of origin of the translators or, simply, not preferred by other translators who came to China.

As for the second point, it is again hardly conclusive. Because, so far, the whole picture of Vasubandhu's philosophy has not yet been fully clarified. The diversity or the complexity of his philosophy, together with the problem of his date, is still one of the big questions in the history of Indian Buddhism. Moreover, since these scholars have not presented their own interpretation of the "philosophy of the PLT", it is highly likely that they speak of the traditional one--i.e., the interpretation of the PLT based on

F'an-luan's Lun-chu. If this is the case, then it is but natural that the "philosophical tenet of the PLT" should differ from those expounded in other well-known Yogācāra works by Vasubandhu.

The suspicion regarding the authenticity of the text and the authorship by Vasubandhu mentioned above was presented merely as a speculation arising from uncertainty, and not as a well-founded theory. In the absence of conclusive evidence to the contrary, the authorship by Vasubandhu will, therefore, be accepted. The question of authorship in connection with the "two Vasubandhu theory" is another issue which is outside the present topic.

A.2 On the identification of "source materials"

The title of the text indicates that it is an upadeśa work on what is called the "Sūtra on Infinite Life" (無量壽系經), but as to which sūtra, the author left little indication. Because of this, there exists a wide variety of opinions regarding this matter.

Traditionally, it was maintained that the text was "based" either on all three of the "basic sūtras" of the Pure Land schools or only on the Larger Sūtra.⁴ The former theory, though traditionally entertained in the Shin school, is on chronological grounds unlikely, because it was not until Hōnen in the twelfth century that the three were associated together as a set (see chap.II, E.1). J.Kudō suggests the Smaller Sūtra, or Amida Sūtra. He attempts to prove that Vasubandhu was acquainted with this sūtra, by quoting some highly relevant passages.⁵

In passing, it may be mentioned that the "reconstructed" or "restored" Skt. title of the text is given in Hōbōgirin 1524 as Sukhāvativyūhopadeśa and in Nanjio 1204 as Amitāyus-sūtropadeśa or Aparamitāyus-sūtra-śāstra (*Cortess, TC, p. 12*).

Recent studies regarding the PLT mainly revolve around attempts to trace, among the Yogācāra texts, the passages which indicate some similarity with the text. Thus the following list of sūtras and texts were suggested

as "possible source materials" for the composition of the text: Samdhinirmocana-sūtra (解深密經), Daśabhūmika-sūtra (十地經), Buddhabhūmi-sūtra (佛地經), Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra (大乘莊嚴經論), Mahāyānasamgraha (攝大乘論), Yogācārabhūmi (瑜伽師地論), Dharmadharmatāvibhaṅga-vṛtti (法法性分別論), Madhyāntavibhāṅgaṭīkā (中邊分別論) etc.⁶

The trouble with this approach is that one can collect an almost unlimited number of relevant passages from many voluminous texts belonging to the Yogācāra school. The fact that these passages indicate some resemblance to those in the PLT, at one level or another, does not necessarily mean that they were the "source materials" which the author either made use of or received inspiration from. If we take into consideration the fact that Vasubandhu was great systematizer of the Yogācāra philosophy, then we may expect his philosophy to be reflected, in one way or another, in all of his writings. One cannot, therefore, make conclusions about the source material merely on the basis of resemblance

of some passages quoted without context.

What is more necessary is, probably, a clear and more systematic understanding of the text itself--instead of looking for a solution elsewhere.

Further research will help clarify the date and the philosophy of Vasubandhu, together with the historical, social, cultural, and intellectual milieu in which he lived and worked. In the meantime, however, we must leave aside this question regarding the "source material", without readily committing ourselves to identifying it with specific sūtras or with a number of passages randomly collected from a wide variety of Yogācāra texts. Moreover, in speaking of the sūtra with the theme of Buddha of Infinite Life, we should not exclude the possibility that there might have existed others which may be called the "Sūtra on the Infinite Life" at the time when Vasubandhu composed the text.

A.3 Relevant works and translations

Because of the importance of the text in

China and, especially, in Japan, a number of commentaries and "sub-commentaries" (meaning, the "commentaries on the Lun-chu) were written. The commentaries which were traditionally considered as authoritative in the Japanese Pure Land schools are T'an-luan's Lun-chu (for details, see: Introduction) and Tsūge? Kudō provides a detailed list of relevant works written in Chinese and Japanese.⁸ Among those numerous materials in Chinese, the Ching-t'u-lun (淨土論) of Chia-ts'ai(迺才) and the Ching-t'u-ch'ün-i-lun(淨土群疑論) of Huai-kan(懷感) are notable.⁹

Among the studies by modern scholars, there is a tendency towards interpreting the text from Yogācāra perspective. To list a few which are in book-form, : Seshin kyōgaku no taikei-teki kenkyū("STK") by J.Kudō, Seshin no Jōdoron("SJ") and an article "Ryūju Seshin ni okeru Jōdo shisō" in Bukkyō no Konpon Shinri ("Konpon.") by S.Yamaguchi, not to mention many small articles published in various Buddhist-related journals in Japan.

As for the commentaries on the Lun-chu, there are: Kaidoku Jōdoronchū(Tokyo, 1955) by Shirō Uesugi, Tsūge., and many others. For more informations of relevant works on the Lun-chu, Corless suggests the "Life and Teachings of T'an-luan" by Ching-fen Hsiao.

There are three English translations of the text. Firstly, a translation of the whole text by Nishū Utsuki, secondly, a partial translation by Kōshō Yamamoto in the Holy Scriptures of Shinshū(Shinshū Seiten) and, thirdly, it appears scatteredly in R. Corless' translation of the Lun-chu. It should be mentioned that all three of these translations of the PLT are based on the text which appears in T'an-luan's Lun-chu(see: Introduction).

The text consists of the "Verses (gāthā) of Aspiration for Birth" (願生偈) and the treatise in prose with a more detailed exposition. The author's purpose in composing the text is: a) to expound the Verses of Aspiration in a condensed form and, b) to comply with the Buddha's teaching. The verses are traditionally said to consist of twenty-four lines, each consisting of four phrases.¹⁰ It is likely that the verses were composed in the form more easily memorized. The prose part expounds the profound meaning of the verses which, because of their condensed nature, are laden with allusions to the complex philosophy and doctrines.

At the beginning of the verses, the author expresses his own aspiration for "birth in the Sukhāvati," and takes refuge in the "Tathāgata of Unhindered Light". The rest of the verses describe the excellent features and qualities of "that Land" which consists of the Buddha Land and its inhabitants. The inhabitants are those who dwell in "that Land"-- i.e., the Buddha and the bodhisattvas. The verses end with the "aspiration" of the author, stating his

own altruistic aspiration for the "birth together with all others in that Land" and seeing the Buddha Amida.

The prose part begins as follows:

"What significance do the verses reveal ? They reveal the significance of visualizing in meditation the Land of Peace and Happiness, Sukhāvati, and seeing the Buddha Amida by virtue of arousing 'aspiration for birth' in that Land."

The purpose of the verses is, as the title indicates, to arouse the "aspiration for birth" in "that Land". The verses function as means in that they provide the material for the meditative vision. The meditation consists of a twofold process: a) visualization and perception (kuan) of the Land of Peace and Happiness, and b) seeing the Buddha Amida, or seeing the manifest appearance of that Buddha.¹¹ The latter involves a very profound "seeing", as it is the practice of the bodhisattvas, those who have and have not yet realized the Pure Mind.

Traditionally in the context of the Japanese Pure Land schools, the PLT was interpreted mainly on the basis of T'an-luan's commentary. The Lun-chu

divided the text into two: the "general exposition" (搃 [or 總] 說分) in verse form, and the "exposition of the significance" (解義分) in prose.¹² T'an-luan divided the prose part into ten sections, and his division has been traditionally utilized as a guideline for understanding the text. T'an-luan's tenfold division of the Treatise is as follows:

- I. The main purport of the Verses of Aspiration
(願偈大意)
- II. Arousing Faith by practising meditations
(起觀生信)
- III. The meditation practice: its essence and feature
(觀行體相)
- IV. Entering Purity by virtue of Aspiring Mind
(淨入願心)
- V. Salvation by skillful guidance (善巧攝化)
- VI. Separation from hindrances to Enlightenment
(離障菩提門)
- VII. Compliance with the path of Enlightenment
(順菩提門)
- VIII. The mutually embracing nature of the Name
and its significance (名義攝對)
- IX. The realization of that which is aspired for
(願事成就)

X. Complete fulfillment of beneficial practices

(利行滿足)

The above division has been adopted traditionally in most commentaries on the PLT in Japan,¹³ because of the long established authority of the Lun-chu. It should be borne in mind that it reflects T'an-luan's interpretation. In this thesis, this division will be referred to only occasionally.

The prose part is the treatise which systematically expounds the method of salvation in the Land of Amida, and the profound ontology of the bodhisattva path which underlies this teaching of the Pure Land. The path of five gates of Mindful Practices (Wu-nien-men, 五念門) is presented as the actual method of salvation to the prospective aspirants who are called "good men and women". The five gates refer to the five kinds of spiritual actions. The five gates of Mindful Practices are:

- (1) the gate of Worship (禮拜門)
- (2) the gate of Praise (讚歎門)
- (3) the gate of Aspiration (作願門)
- (4) the gate of Meditation (觀察門)
- (5) the gate of Merit-transference (迴向門)

The term "good men and women" (kulaputra and kuladuhitr, 善男子 善女人) originally meant "sons and daughters of a good family", but later within the Buddhist context came to mean the "supporters of the Mahāyāna", the devotees and the bodhisattva candidates--i.e., all the Mahāyāna followers at the initial stage.¹⁴ The purpose of these five kinds of practices is : a) to attain the meditative vision (禪見) and, b) to arouse belief (信心) and aspiration for birth. Upon completion of these practices, they are assured of their final salvation and Enlightenment through attaining birth in that Buddha Land and seeing the Buddha.¹⁵

Of the five, the two last practices are of special importance. The author later explains them separately. The practice of meditation is explained by citing the verses. The vision is described in terms of altogether twenty-nine characteristics. These characteristics, or features, of "that Land" are called the "merit-adornments" (功德莊嚴) or the excellent merits which adorn and glorify "that Land." These excellent qualities belong to

three elements of the vision--i.e., the Buddha Land, the Buddha and the Pure Land bodhisattva.

The Buddha Land is equipped with the perfection of the seventeen merits which adorn the Land, Sukhāvātī.

The seventeen perfect merits are those of:

- (1) Purity (清淨)
- (2) Expansion (量)
- (3) Nature (性)
- (4) Appearance (形相)
- (5) Manifold Things (種種事)
- (6) Excellent Form (妙色)
- (7) [objects of] Contact (觸)
- (8) Adornments (莊嚴)
- (9) Rain (雨)
- (10) Light (光明)
- (11) Sound (聲)
- (12) Lord (主)
- (13) Retinue (眷屬)
- (14) Enjoyment (受用)
- (15) No-hardship (無諸難)
- (16) [the teaching of] Great Significance (大義門)
- (17) [the fulfilment of] All Wishes (一切所求)

The Buddha is adorned with the perfection of eight kinds of merit-adornments. These adornments are:

- (1) Seat (座)
- (2) Body (身)
- (3) Mouth (口)
- (4) Mind (心)
- (5) Retinue (衆)
- (6) Superior Beings (上首)
- (7) Lord (主)
- (8) Unfailing Sustenance (不虛作住持)

The perfect merit-adornments of the Pure Land bodhisattvas refer to the perfection of their activities in the pure realm. The practices of the Pure Land bodhisattvas are called the four kinds of the "true or right practice" (正修行 , pratipatti ?). The Pure Land bodhisattvas perform the following four :

- (1) the practice of Buddha's work (i.e., salvation) constantly as the "practice which is in accordance with the truth"(如實修行常作佛事)
- (2) the practice of guidance by various Expedient means (教化衆生種種方便修行)
- (3) the practice of worshipping, revering and praising the Buddhas and Tathāgatas (供養恭敬讚歎諸佛如來)

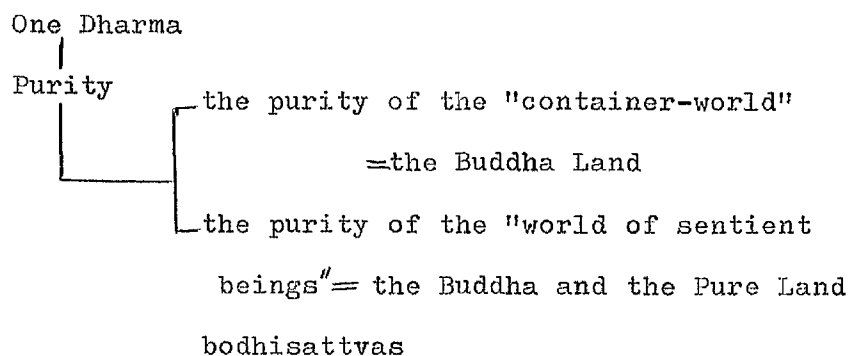
(4) the practice of showing and teaching the
 "practice which is in accordance with the truth"
 (令解如實修行)。

In this way, the vision of the Land, the Buddha, and
 the Pure Land bodhisattvas are to be visualized and, in
 meditation, perceived by way of these descriptions
 of the excellence of that Land.

After the description of the vision, the onto-
 logical explanation from the viewpoint of the Mind
 philosophy and the bodhisattva path follows. First-
 ly, the adornments of the vision are explained in
 terms of "Aspiring Mind" (願心)。Then, the real-
 ization of the vision of "that Land" is expounded
 in terms of "Purity" (清淨 [句]), which is briefly
 explained as the "One Dharma" (一法 [句]) and
 the "unconditioned dharmakāya of true Wisdom" (真實
 智慧無為法身)。

Two kinds of "world" (loka or loka-dhātu, 世間) are distinguished in Buddhism: a) the "container-world" (bhājana-loka, 樂世間) which is the natural and material surroundings and which functions as the "container for the existence of sentient beings, and

b) the "world of sentient beings" (sattva-loka or sattva-dhātu, 衆生世間) which here refers to conscious beings that are sentient, cognitive and volitional. In the ordinary states, these two "worlds" are problematic and incongruous, being full of faulty aspects, and are characterized by the universal presence of suffering. In the Pure Land, however, these two "worlds" are not only free from faults but also characterized by "purity". The constituents of the Pure Land—the Land as well as beings—are "pure" and "undefiled." The "container-world" in the Pure Land is "pure" because it is the Buddha Land equipped with the perfection of excellent merits, and so is the "world of beings" there because of the merit-adornments of the Buddha and bodhisattvas, with their presence and functions.



The author explains that the "One Dharma" thus "embraces" (攝), or includes, the twofold purity.

Hai-ving thus explained the "One Dharma" and "Purity" as the foundation of the Pure Land, the author then proceeds to what is clearly the bodhisattva practice. It should be noted, at this point, that the spiritual level of the audience for whom the teaching of the path is expounded shifts, as the author goes on expounding. To illustrate: The five gates of Mindful Practices were meant for the "good men and women" ; After the discourse on the One Dharma and Purity, bodhisattvas appear as those who practise the meditative practices of śamatha and vipaśyanā and cultivate purity of the twofold "world" ; then appear those who cultivate Compassion through the practice of "Merit-transference" and "Merit-transference by skillful means".

Through the practice of śamatha and vipaśyanā, the bodhisattvas realize the "Pliant Mind"(柔軟心) and comes to know all things as they really are.

Thereupon begins the exposition of the path of practice of "Merit-transference (pariṇāmanā) by

skillful means (upāya-kausalya)" (巧方便迴向) .

This is clearly the practice of the higher bodhisattva path, characterized by a) compassion and concern for the suffering others, and b) by the higher aspiration of ^abodhisattva:--i.e., the "aspiration for birth together in that Buddha Land" so that all others may also be delivered from suffering. Out of Compassion, the bodhisattva transfers, or re-directs, all the merits he has accumulated towards the realization of the higher goal. The actual content of the path is the guidance of other beings by teaching them the aforementioned five kinds of spiritual practices.

In performing the practice of Merit-transference by skillful means, the bodhisattva cultivates and develops these three inner attitudes:

(1) He does not seek happiness or joy for himself alone (不求自身住持之樂);

(2) He desires to remove the suffering of all sentient beings (欲拔一切衆生苦);

(3) His aspiration is to be born together, embracing the multitudes, in that Buddha Land,

Sukhāvātī (作願攝取一切衆生共同生彼安樂國)。

By cultivating and perfecting these three inner factors, the bodhisattva attains perfection in the practice of Merit-transference by skillful means.

The author then expounds the profound significance of accomplishing these three inner attitudes in relation to the process of realizing the highest ideal. The process in which the bodhisattva gradually comes to realize the highest Mahāyāna ideal is clarified in terms of accomplishing various excellent aspects of Pure Mind (清淨心)。

The three inner attitudes, or mental factors, play very important roles in the higher level of soteriology in the PLT. Firstly, the bodhisattva thereby develops the three excellent Mahāyāna factors of Wisdom, Compassion, and Expedient means. Secondly, the bodhisattva thereby separates the Mind from three kinds of "hindrances", or these which are contrary to the realization of Mahāyāna Enlightenment. The three "hindrances" are:

- (1) ego-attachment (我心貪著自身)
- (2) lack of concern for the well-being of others,

or self-centreness (無安象生心)

(3) arrogance, self-glorification, or the idolatry of self (供養恭敬自身).

Thirdly, the bodhisattva realizes the three kinds of Pure Mind, by equipping himself with the three excellent attributes of Mahāyāna mentioned above.

He realizes :

- (1) the undefiled Pure Mind (無染清淨心)
- (2) the Pure Mind of Peace (安清淨心)
- (3) the Pure Mind of Happiness (樂清淨心)

Through the practice of Merit-transference by skillful means, the bodhisattva comes to attain separation from "hindrances" and acquires excellent qualities; moreover, in doing so, he also makes great spiritual progress towards realizing the supreme Enlightenment. This is explained by the author as follows:

(1) By cultivating the three inner factors of the Mahāyāna, the bodhisattva embraces prajñā (般若), the perfect Wisdom which is inclusive of the Expedient means (upāya, 方便).

(2) By developing separation from the negative mental factors, the bodhisattva achieves separation

from those elements which hinders the "Bodhi Mind"
(菩提心), the Mind of Enlightenment.

(3) By the realization of the three kinds of Pure Mind, the bodhisattva perfectly realizes the "Mind of excellent happiness and supreme truth" (妙樂勝真心)。

The bodhisattva equips himself with the following four aspects by cultivating the excellent attributes of Pure Mind of the Mahāyāna:

- (1) the Mind of Wisdom (智慧心)
- (2) the Mind of Expedient means (方便心)
- (3) the Unhindered Mind (無障心)
- (4) the Mind of supreme Truth (勝真心)

The bodhisattva thus realizes the excellent Mahāyāna Mind, and thereby attains "birth in the Pure Buddha Land." The bodhisattvas at this higher spiritual level are referred to as the "bodhisattvas and mahāsattvas." Their actions are fully in accordance with the "Dharma-gate" (dharmaparyāya, 法門), including not only the bodily, verbal, mental actions but also the actions of Wisdom and of Expedient means. By complying with the five kinds of "Dharma-gate", the bodhisattvas and mahāsattvas attain the perfect freedom of actions which are unhindered and accords with what they

will or wish.

Lastly, the author expounds the five gates of Merit-perfection. They refer to the five paths through which those who practise the aforementioned five spiritual actions attain, in five ways, the realization of merits. The five gates of Merit-perfection and the five kinds of "merits" which are realized through the practices are :

- (1) the gate of Approach (近門)
--to attain birth in the Sukhāvātī
- (2) the gate of Great Assemblage (大會象門)
--to join the great assemblage
- (3) the gate to the Residence (宅門)
--to enter the realm of the Lotus-store (蓮華藏世界)
- (4) the gate to the Inner Room (屋門)
--to enter the "yonder"
- (5) the gate to the stage of "playing" in the Garden (園木遊戲地門)--to reach the stage of Guidance (教化地)

The actual content of practices of these "gates" are described in the text as follows, respectively:

- (1) the practice of worshipping the Buddha, in order to attain birth there;
- (2) the practice of praising the Buddha, complying with the name-content and reciting the name with the foundation of the practice in the Tathāgata's light;
- (3) the practice of śamatha and the tranquil samādhi, with the concentration of Mind and with the aspiration for birth;
- (4) the practice of vipaśyanā, perceiving in meditation the excellent adornments;
- (5) the practice of unhindered guidance in saṃsāra, out of great Compassion, by revealing transformation-bodies, and by using various extraordinary skills and abilities.

Of these five, the first four [gate-practices] perfect the "merits of entry" (入功德), and the last perfects the "merit of egress" (出功德). The bodhisattvas gradually attain "entry", or "birth", into the pure realm. He re-enters (廻入) the defiled realm of saṃsāra, out of Compassion for the suffering beings, and performs the practice of Merit-transference by skillful means in order to guide them

to deliverance by teaching them to aspire for "birth" in the Sukhāvātī.

The practice of Merit-transference by skillful means is, therefore, the path of higher bodhisattva practice which is *beneficial* in two ways--for the deliverance of others and for the realization of the bodhisattva's higher aspiration. By practising the five gate-practices, the bodhisattvas in higher stages thus benefit both themselves and others, and thereby speedily attain the perfect realization of the supreme Enlightenment.

CHAPTER IV

SALVATION IN THE TREATISE

ON

THE PURE LAND

A. Complexity of "salvation".

The major theme of the PLT lies in the guidance of all sentient beings to "salvation" by leading them to arouse "aspiration for birth" in the Land of the Buddha Amida. The text not only provides the vision of that Land, but also presents the Mahāyāna teaching which embraces, ripens, and perfects all sentient beings. This process is briefly explained by the author in terms of "Mind" and mind-attributes of Mahāyāna bodhisattva ideal, such as purity, Wisdom, Compassion, and Expedient means. The approach of the PLT to its theme of salvation is concrete and practical. It presents salvation mainly by describing "how" and "what", while leaving the theoretical "why" only to a bare minimum. The "how", or the method of salvation is the path of five kinds of spiritual practices. The "what", or the content of salvation, is described in the five gates of Merit-perfection, as the four kinds

of "entry", or birth, in that Land and as the "egress", leaving the tranquil "yonder" realm for the salvation of others.

The complexity and manifold nature of the path of practice resulted in an intriguing and highly mystifying effect on later interpretation of the text. Below is an attempt to understand the complex theory of salvation expounded in the text in the light of the bodhisattva ideal.

A.1 The method

The path of five kinds of spiritual practices plays the central role in attaining various states of salvation--i.e., "birth in that Land" of Amida Buddha. The five kinds of practices are : worship, praise, aspiration, meditation, and Merit-transferance(see chap.III,B). The path of five religious actions are initially called the five gates of Mindful Practices and later, the five kinds of actions which are in compliance with the "Dharma-gate". The path includes, therefore, not only devotional actions of piety but also the

path of Mahāyāna bodhisattvas at different spiritual levels. It is the path which spiritually guides all kinds of sentient beings, at one level or another, to deliverance, to Wisdom, to Compassion, or to the supreme Enlightenment.

A.2 Men, the "gate"

The significance of the "gate" (men, 門) should be first pointed out. Its importance in the PLT is clear in that it frequently appears throughout the short text in diverse forms. To list:

- (1) the five gates of Mindful Practices (五念門);
- (2) the three kinds of "Bodhi-gate" (菩提門), or the gate of Enlightenment, which is inclusive of the gates of Wisdom, Compassion, and Expedient means;
- (3) the "Dharma-gate" (法門);
- (4) the five gates of Merit-perfection (五種門 漸次成就五種功德).

These are all described as men (門). Men in Chinese means: door, gateway, an opening; family, a sect, a school; a profession, a skill; the key,

the turning point etc.¹ The Skt. equivalents of men are: (1) dvāra, a "gate", (2) pariyāya, a "teaching as a method", (3) mukha, "surface, face or mouth". Among them, the second pariyāya appears frequently in such Yogācāra texts as Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra and Bodhisattvabhūmi.² The "Dharma-gate" (dharmapariyāya, 法門) is explained as: doctrines or the Wisdom of the Buddha, the door to Enlightenment, a method, a sect. As beings have eighty-four hundred delusions, so Buddha provides eighty-four hundred methods.³ It is, therefore, highly likely that men in the PLT means the "teaching as a method", or the path of practice taught as a method for spiritual development.

A variety of "gates" are described in the text as follows:

(1) The five gates of Mindful Practices is the path for "good men and women", for the cultivation of mindfulness. This path is expounded as the method to give rise to belief through perceiving and observing "that Land" in meditation.

(2) The "Bodhi-gate" is the path for the bodhisattvas. This path consists of cultivation of the three factors of Enlightenment, viz., Wisdom, (prajñā), Compassion(karuṇā), and Expedient means (upāya). Through this path they realize *Enlightenment*; they cultivate Mahāyāna Compassion, teach and lead others to follow the five spiritual practices.

(3) The "Dharma-gate" is the path of the teaching of the truth for the "bodhisattvas and mahāsattvas" who are already born in the Pure Buddha Land and who have fully attained, in their actions, the unhindered state and perfection.

(4) The gates of Merit-perfection refer to practices for a variety of sentient beings who have different spiritual capacities. The five signify the diversity with regard to the spiritual states attained as the results of five kinds of practices--i.e., different kinds of "birth" in that Land. The Buddha Land is also conceived differently by each being according to his wish, expectation, or aspiration. The *practices* reveal, therefore, five different "merits", or excellent qualities which are gradually

attained and perfected by following the five spiritual practices. They also show how different wishes of all sentient beings can be fulfilled in that Land through attaining "birth".

B. Five Gates of Mindful Practices:

Wu-nien-men

B.1 Translation of the passages (T.No.1524, Vol.26, p.231)

How does one perceive in meditation ? And how does one give rise to belief ? If good men and women practise the five gates of Mindful Practices, when [the practice is] perfected, they will, finally, attain birth in the Land of Peace and Happiness, [Sukhāvati]. and see that Amida Buddha. What are the five gates of Mindful Practices ? [They are :]

- (1) the gate of Worship
- (2) the gate of Praise
- (3) the gate of Aspiration

(4) the gate of Meditation

(5) the gate of Merit-transference

(1) How does one worship ? With bodily actions, one worships Amida the Tathāgata, Arhat, the Perfectly Enlightened. One thereby gives rise to the thought of birth in that Land.

(2) How does one praise ? With verbal actions, one recites the name of that Tathāgata, which represents his Wisdom-light--in compliance with the content of that name. One thereby comes to wish to conform to the practice which accords with the truth.

(3) How does one aspire ? One aspires constantly in the mind; with one mind and with thoughts fixed, one finally reaches and is born in the Sukhāvati. One thereby wishes to practise śamatha in accordance with the truth.

(4) How does one meditate ? One meditates and perceives with Wisdom ; with the right mindfulness, one meditates that [Land]. One thereby wishes to practise vipāśyanā in accordance with the truth. There are three kinds of meditation of "that [Land]":

a) the meditation on the merit-adornments of that Buddha Land, b) the meditation on the merit-adornments of the Buddha Amida, and c) the meditation on the merit-adornments of the bodhisattvas in the Pure Land .

(5) How does one transfer merits ? One does not forsake all suffering beings; one constantly aspires in mind to transfer merits. By making this practice of Merit-transference the prime concern, one thereby realizes the mind of great Compassion.

B.2 Nien, smṛti and manaskāra

Nien

Wu-nien-men (五 念 門) is translated here as the five gates of Mindful Practices. All the five practices are covered by the word nien, and its importance is tacitly revealed by the description of the practices. The meaning of nien is examined below.

Nien (念) means in Chinese: recollection, memory, thought; to think on or of; to read out aloud, to intone.⁴ Nien generally covers mental functions related to continuous mental attention to something

which serves as an object. In the Pure Land sūtras in Chinese, nien frequently appears in compounds.⁵ It means "thoughts" or "activity of mind or heart" and it often implies the notion of "desiring or wishing", or "longing"--indicating the orientation and inclination of mind towards certain objects. Objects of nien includes bad things as well as good.⁶

Nien-fo (念佛), or "contemplation of or meditation of the Buddha", is described in the Meditation Sūtra as a practice higher than that of invocation or recitation of the name of the Buddha: "If one is unable to think of the Buddha(念佛), one should recite the name of the Buddha One should sincerely utter and intone "Namas Amida Buddha" for at least ten nien (i.e., ten times or ten thought-moments)..." (S, p.65).

Smṛti and manaskāra

The Skt. equivalents of nien are:⁷ (1) smṛti (or sometimes, anusmṛti), meaning "to be mindful of, to remember, recollection, or not to forget": (2) manaskāra (or manasikāra), meaning "paying attention to, concentration, contemplation etc."; (3) citta which is a more general term, meaning "thought, mind

etc.". It is generally assumed that the Skt. equivalent of nien in the context of the Wu-nien-men is smṛti.

Smṛti is a very important term in Buddhism. It frequently appears with such meanings as "paying attention to", "to think on or of in mind."⁸ In the Early and Original Buddhism, it concerned the mental function which was related to the things of the past, especially the Buddha's teaching or doctrines which one heard or read. In the Abhidharma Buddhism, smṛti was considered to be one of the most important mental functions in the spiritual path.⁹

In the Yogācāra, smṛti was considered to be the "preventive method against forgetting, or losing, the sacred words of the teaching".¹⁰ The purpose of the practice of smṛti was to destroy the distraction of mind so that one's mind may be "fixed" firmly on the teaching, which eventually enables one to contemplate on the real significance of the teaching and hence, to realize its truth. Smṛti is the opposite of : (i) "forgetfulness" (muṣita-smṛtā, 失念) and (ii) "distraction" (vikṣepa, 散乱).

In some cases within the "northern transmission", the word smṛti was used in the sense opposite of "losing", and meant "not to lose", hence, "maintain", often used in connection with words meaning "to explain or to clarify".¹¹

Manaskāra

Manaskāra(作意) is explained in MW as the "consciousness, especially of pleasure and pain", "attention of mind" and "devotion", and manasikāra, simply as "taking to heart."¹² Manaskāra, consisting of manas-√kr̥, is the activity of manas whose function signifies the fundamental response of the cognitive subject toward objects of external, empirical reality.¹³ In the Yogācāra manaskāra played a significant role; The soteriological significance of manas was developed and systematized in the theory of the "Store-consciousness", and the spiritual path leading to the attainment of insight into the truth was described by the four phases which indicate the gradual process of spiritual development, yoniso-manaskāra (see: Chap.II, D.3).

B.3 The vision of "that Land"

a) The merit-adornments

The text provides the vision of "that Land" by listing item by item the characteristics, or excellent merits which belong to each of the three constituents-- i.e., the Buddha Land, the Buddha, and the Pure Land bodhisattvas (see: Chap.III,b). The vision is described by citing the "Verses of Aspiration for Birth". These excellent merits are called "kung-te chuang-yen ch'eng-chiu (功德莊嚴成就)".¹⁴

Though the term ch'eng-chiu (成就) was traditionally understood simply as "perfection", it has a wide variety of meanings: (i) to embody, or to be equipped with...on one's body (yukti, or yukta); (ii) accomplishment, completion, to fulfill (siddhi, samanvaya); (iii) the realization of aims, resolutions or aspirations (krta-artha) etc..¹⁵

Japanese scholars point out that the description of merit-adornments of the Land in the PLT resembles the eighteen "perfections" (sampad, 圓淨 or 圓滿) listed in the Mahāyānasamgraha.¹⁶ Many have concluded, on the basis of this resemblance, that the author of the PLT was inspired by this text and that the

phrase ch'eng-chiu means the "perfection". The similarity between the passages is noteworthy, the easy identification, however, should be avoided.

Kung-te(功德) is translated as "merit, virtue, excellence or power." It corresponds to such Skt. words as guna, punya and sambhāra. Punya means the "virtue of good deeds and the blessedness as their fruit".¹⁷ Guna means: (i) the excellent, good quality which is acquired by the accumulation of good deeds; (ii) a sensation-data; (iii) an attribute. In the context of the PLT, kung-te indicates those excellent characteristics or qualities with which that Land is equipped, hence guna may be the most likely equivalent.

Chuang-yen(莊嚴) is an important^{term} which appears in the early Mahāyāna sūtras and in those sūtras with mystical elements.¹⁸ Its Skt. equivalents are: (i) vyūha meaning formation, distribution, orderly arrangements, and (ii) alankāra, meaning to prepare, to make ready, to decorate or adorn.¹⁹

b) The vision

The Buddha Land is presented in the text in terms of the seventeen symbolic descriptions of

excellent "features", with the use of similies and analogies--such as treasure and light.²⁰ Despite the manifold *and* diverse descriptions, the essential feature of the Land is described by the author in the first "merit of Purity" : "When I perceive(kuan) the feature of that Land, it surpasses the Three Realms of existence "(PLT, p.230). "That Land", therefore, essentially transcends this samsaric world with regard to *its* feature , and is free from "defilements" of this world.²¹ The merit-adornments of the Buddha Land are explained by the author in the following expressions:

- (1) the power which is beyond conceptual understanding (不可思議力);
- (2) the nature of that wish-fulfilling jewel, cintāmaṇi (彼摩尼如意寶性);
- (3) the semblant and relative dharmā (相似相對法);
- (4) the concrete things in phenomena (事);
- (5) the excellent realm which belongs to the highest truth (第一義諦 妙境界 [相]).²²

In connection with the meditative vision, the following suggestion may be noteworthy. It was suggested by K.Hayajima that the idea of "faith in the Buddha" (信佛) and the cult of "seeing the Buddha"(見佛)

are probably those elements which contributed in forming the development of the Pure Land teaching.²³

While referring to the well-known practice of the "meditation on impurity" (不淨觀), he also suggests that the meditative practices described in the Meditation Sūtra belong to the same category as the "meditation on ^{the} purity (parisuddhi) of Buddha's body and "contemplation on the Buddha" (buddhānusmṛti, 佛隨念).

c) Four levels of meditative practices

Four levels in meditating the vision of Amida, or Amita, are described by J.F.Pas.²⁴ The four levels of meditative activities are:

- (1) visualization or imagination (hsiang)
- (2) inspection (kuan, ti-kuan, kuan-ch'a)
- (3) vision (chien)
- (4) samādhi

They are explained by Pas, respectively:

- (1) hsiang--creation of mental image or mental construction (p.101);
- (2) kuan--"once the mental image is formed, ...study it in all details", or "with concentration of the attention, to look closely

at the visualized object, to analyze it mentally, or to inspect it"(pp.101-102); (3) chien--"conscious vision", "after artificially constructing a mental object and impressing it on the mind through close inspection, the object suddenly or slowly manifests itself, appears (mentally) in front of the meditator, as if it were really present"(p.103); (4) the explanation of samādhi is not given in detail, except that it is the "supreme experience", "inexpressible in words" etc..

In the PLT itself, the vision of "that Land" is described by the author in diverse expressions, which may indicate different levels of understanding the vision. They are (see: chap. III, β):

(1) the "Land of Peace and Happiness" (Sukhāvātī, 安樂世界 or 安樂國土). It is the realm of sukhā for those who wish and long for deliverance from samsaric sufferings.

(2) the "yonder", the realm which transcends the three kinds of worldly existence in saṃsāra. It is the realm of purity and tranquility, free from the "defilements" of ignorance and attachments. This realm is for those who aspire to attain the

non-worldly and spiritual dharma-sukhā(法樂) of higher meditative states.

(3) the "Pure Buddha Land"(清淨佛國土). It is the sphere of undefiled Wisdom of Equality and guidance. It is the sphere of activity of those bodhisattvas who have realized the highest Mahāyāna Mind of great Compassion and Expedient means. This realm is, therefore, the sphere of ^{the} highest bodhisattva stage. This vision of "Pure Buddha Land" no longer bears *duality* or "thatness"²⁵, for the bodhisattva has perfectly realized the Wisdom of Non-discrimination and Equality.

In this way the author tactfully incorporates into the text considerations for the diversity of spiritual capacity of beings in the world. As different beings desire, wish, or aspire to attain different states as the "end"(finis) of their actions and practices, the vision of "that Land", too, differ greatly. This is explained in the descriptions of the five gates of Merit-perfections, which is examined below.

C. Five gates of Merit-perfection

C.1 Translation of the passages (T.Vol.26, p.233)

Again, one should know that there are five kinds of gates through which [followers] gradually perfect five kinds of merits. What are the five ? [They are:]

- (1) the gate of Approach (近門)
- (2) the gate of great Assemblage (大會衆門)
- (3) the gate of the Residence (宅門)
- (4) the gate of the Inner Room (屋門)
- (5) the gate of the stage of "playing" in the Garden and woods(園林遊戲地門)

(see: Chap.III, B).

Through the first four gates, [followers and bodhisattvas] perfect the merit of "entry", and through the fifth, [the bodhisattvas] perfect the merit of "egress".

(1) the entry by the first gate: One worships the Buddha Amida, wishing to attain birth in that Land. One will thereby attain birth in the Land of Peace and Happiness, [Sukhāvati]. We call this the entry by the first gate.

(2) the entry by the second gate: One praises and

adores the Buddha Amida. One recites the Tathāgata's name in accordance with the significance of the name, and practises in reliance upon the Tathāgata's [Wisdom-] light. One thereby attains entry into the great assemblage. We call this the entry by the second gate.

(3) the entry by the third gate: One aspires to to be born there--with one mind and with the mind fixed--and practises śamatha and ^{the} samādhi of tranquility. One thereby attains entry into the realm of the Lotus-store. We call this the entry by the second gate.

(4) the entry by the fourth gate: One perceives in meditation--with thoughts fixed--those excellent adornments and practises vipaśyanā. One thereby reaches the "yonder" and enjoys the taste of various dharma-sukhā (法味樂), the taste of meditation. We call this the entry by the fourth gate.

(5) the egress by the fifth gate: One perceives all suffering beings with great Compassion; With transformation-bodies, one re-enters the Garden of saṃsāra amidst the woods of ignorant/attachments. Through [the free and spontaneous] unhindered activities,

using the supernormal abilities, one reaches the stage of gaudance. One thereby transfers, or re-directs, the power of Original Vows. We call this the egress by the fifth gate.

One should know that, through the four gates of entry, the bodhisattva fulfills and perfects the practices which benefit himself. One should also know that, through the fifth gate of egress, the bodhisattva perfects the practice of Merit-transference, which benefits others. In this way, the bodhisattva benefits others as well as himself through the five spiritual gate-practices, and thereby speedily attains the supreme Enlightenment of Equality (anuttarasamyaksambodhi).

C.2 Entry-Egress

Traditionally, the idea of "entry-egress" was metaphorically understood in terms of T'an-luan's interpretation in the Lun-chu. It is clear from the context that T'an-luan interpreted the "gates" only from the meanings of men (門).²⁶ The five

gates of Mindful Practices and those of Merit-perfection were understood to be of a linear, cause-result relationship.²⁷ Because of this, the five gates of Merit-perfection were traditionally called the "five gates of result" (五果門, gokamon in Jap.). The four "merits of entry" and the "merit of egress" as described in the text will be examined below in the light of the Mahāyāna bodhisattva ideal which combines Wisdom and Compassion (see: Chap.II, D).

"Entry" (See :chap. III, B)

The attainment of the four kinds of spiritual levels are referred to in the text as the four kinds of "entry" or "birth" into "that Land." The four are those of : (1) acquiring "birth" in the Land of Sukhāvātī; (2) attaining entry into the great assemblage; (3) attaining entry into the realm of the Lotus-store; (4) reaching the "yonder" and enjoying various tastes of meditation. They indicate the gradual process of spiritual elevation, or the process in which the followers of the path gradually proceed to higher spiritual levels.

When the bodhisattva has attained the Wisdom of insight into the truth, the undefiled Wisdom of

Non-discrimination and Equality, he reaches the "yonder", the realm of absolute tranquility and Equality attained in the highest level of meditation.²⁸ The bodhisattva then dwells in the undefiled pure realm, and acquires the enjoyment of meditation in his samādhi state. The text mentions two of these states: a) the "Nirvāṇa of Equality" (寂滅平等) and, b) the "samādhi of tranquility" (寂靜三昧).

"Egress"

The "merit of egress" refers to the merit of reaching the stage of unhindered activities in the world out of Compassion. It is explained, symbolic by going out of, or leaving ("egress") the "yonder realm" of purity and tranquility, and re-entering saṃsāra, the world defiled by attachments (kleśa, 煩惱). The path or the method of achieving this merit is as follows: The bodhisattva perceives in meditation multitudes of sentient beings who suffer in their states of illusions in saṃsāra. Out of Compassion, the bodhisattva transforms himself diversely to spiritually educate and lead them to deliverance. His transformation-bodies re-enter

samsāra by leaving the realm of Equality and tranquility, and actually engage in the work of guidance amidst those unenlightened beings who dwell in the darkness of ignorance and tormenting passions. The actions of these transformation-bodies are unhindered and spontaneous, being free from discrimination or attachments; they teach and show the Mahāyāna path. This is described in detail in the vision of the Pure Land bodhisattvas who are equipped with the perfection of the merits of four kinds of "right practices" (正修行).

The bodhisattva, in the realm of purity, functions as the "light" or the "Wisdom-light" of the Tathāgata ^{and sustaining} in the world, teaching the Buddha's Dharma which guides the multitude away from the samsaric suffering and leads gradually to the realm of peace and purity.

D. Diversity and Complexity

D.1 Diversity in the spiritual levels

The relationship between the descriptions of the practising agents of the five spiritual practices--viz., "good men and women" and "bodhisattva"--resulted in some doctrinal controversy in the Shin school.²⁹ The problem regarding the nature of practising subjects in the PLT is very complex and confusing. It is, however, a very important issue in order to better understand the theory of salvation expounded in the text.

The text mentions different categories of sentient beings, indicating different spiritual levels, or the qualitative differences in the performance of the five spiritual practices. An attempt is made below to examine the diversity in the spiritual level or capacities of beings who practise the Mahāyāna path of five actions.

a) Good men and women

Those who follow the path of five gates of Mindful Practices are called "good men and women" (kulaputra and kuladuhitr, 善男子善女人)(see:

chap.III, B). The phrase originally referred to the persons of Brahmin origin, and was commonly used in the filial, secular context. According to A. Hirakawa, it was rarely mentioned in Pāli texts except in the secular sense.³⁰ In the Abhidharma schools, the term kulaputra came to acquire a special significance with the meaning of "one who aspires to leave household life" or an "aspirant for the monkhood." In the Early Buddhism, therefore, the term was no longer applicable once the aspirant joined the saṅgha (Ibid.).

In the early Mahāyāna sūtras, the "good men and women" came to acquire greater importance. They were regarded as officially accepted Buddhist followers. They were described as lay followers and devotees who were encouraged to "accept and believe" (信受), "to accept and maintain" (受持) the Mahāyāna teaching and Mahāyāna sūtras.³¹ They were listed as an important category of people among the audience of the Buddha who preaches the Mahāyāna doctrine. Their importance grew so great that the demarcation line between them and the bodhisattvas became unclear in the course of development of the Mahāyāna. This is

exemplified by the appearance of the lay bodhisattvas, or the "householder" (grhapati) bodhisattvas (在家菩薩).

b) Three grades of bodhisattvas

The PLT mentions three grades, or spiritual levels, of bodhisattvas: (1) the bodhisattvas who have not yet attained the Pure Mind (未言證淨心菩薩)--those who are still on their way toward the realization of Wisdom and purity; (2) the bodhisattvas of Pure Mind (淨心菩薩)--those who have attained the Wisdom of insight, realized the Pure Mind through meditative practices, and now dwell in the pure realm; (3) the bodhisattvas of higher stages (上地菩薩)--those who perform the work of guidance, out of great Compassion, as the highest level of the Mahāyāna path.

The goals to which they aspire and the level at which they practise the path are described in the text, respectively, as follows :

- (1) They aspire to realize the undefiled Wisdom and Pure Mind, by means of meditative practices, including the practice of śamatha.
- (2) They develop Compassion and the altruistic aspira-

tion for the deliverance of suffering others, by means of meditation and the practice of Merit-transference by skillful means. They gradually equip themselves with the Mind-attributes of Mahāyāna Compassion on their Mind which has attained purity.

(3) Their aspiration is directed toward the realization of the highest goal, the supreme Enlightenment of Equality, by practicing the unhindered guiding activities of the highest Mahāyāna path as the "right practices". In doing so, they realize the highest Mahāyāna Mind of excellent happiness and supreme truth (the self-benefit aspect), and at the same time, they give peace and happiness to others by their activities of salvation and ^{by} sustaining the Buddha's Dharma in the world for the multitudes (see: chap. III, B, the vision of the bodhisattvas in the Pure Land).

It may be noteworthy that the text has three descriptions of the practice of Merit-transference, the path of Mahāyāna Compassion. It is described, firstly, as a practice of Mindfulness, then as a

practice of skillful means (upāya-kauśalya, see:chap. II, D) and, lastly, in terms of transferring the power of the Original Vows . This probably indicates the qualitative difference in the performance of the practice of Merit-transference.

When bodhisattvas practise the meditation on the adornments of the Buddha, they will come to "see that Buddha"(見彼佛), that is, to "see"(chien, 見) the Buddha appear and manifest before them.³² They will then finally attain the "dharmakāya of Equality" (平等法身) or the "Nirvāṇa of Equality"(寂滅平等), depending on their spiritual level and whether or not they have realized the Pure Mind. Those who have not yet realized the Pure Mind attain the former, and those who have, the latter.

The bodhisattvas of Pure Mind are characterized by the attainment of the eighth bodhisattva stage, the "Immovable" (acalā, 不動), which is also called the "stage of undefiled, pure Wisdom"(淨慧地).³³ They have attained the undefiled Wisdom of Non-discrimination (see: chap.II,D). They are also described in terms of realization of the highest ksānti, the

patient acceptance of the non-arisen nature of all things".³⁴ They are, therefore, no longer attached even to the goal or purpose. It may be mentioned here that the Pure Mind is often identified with "faith" or "firm belief" in Japan. Yamaguchi, for example, identifies it with "pure faith or belief" (citta-prasāda, 淨信 or 信心), which corresponds with the first bodhisattva stage.³⁵

The bodhisattvas in higher stages(上地菩薩) are those in the ninth and the tenth bodhisattva stages, and are characterized by their activity of guidance out of great Compassion(see: chap.II, D): In the ninth "stage of the Good Ones", the bodhisattva enters the ocean of Buddha's Dharma, and participates in the propagation of the teaching (Dharma) to deliver and enlighten others. He also acquires various super-normal abilities in this stage. In the tenth, highest "stage of the Cloud of Dharma", a bodhisattva "receives the great cloud of Dharma which rains upon and equally benefits all".³⁶ He is "likened to the rain which lays the dust of passion of sentient beings and produces the growth of harvest of merits", and hence

he is considered to be "identical with a Tathāgata and equal with Buddhas".³⁷

D.2 Diversity in "that which is sought"

In an attempt to propagate the Mahāyāna path, the author has tried to accommodate various expectations, hopes, and wishes which actually exist in the world and are entertained among sentient beings. In the vision of "that Land" and in the nature of practices, a variety of "that which is sought" (所求) are incorporated, by using a symbolic language. The complex and manifold nature of the vision (see: chap. IV, B.4) and the path indicates the diversity of "ends", or the states which are longed for and aspired to by various sentient beings at different spiritual levels. This included not only the realm of the "defiled," worldly sukhā and spiritual dharma-sukhā, but also the realm of Wisdom and the sphere of great Compassion and guidance.

The path of practice as the method may be divided into four phases of development in the light

of different spiritual capacities and the levels of "that which is sought".

a) "Desire or Wishes"

The path before attaining bodhisattvahood is characterised by the cultivation of piety and belief by orientating the "desire" or "wish" (欲) toward higher levels of practice. Followers (i.e., good men and women) develop the fixation and the purposiveness of mind through the path which revolve around the teaching. Their thoughts are directed toward certain aspects of the teaching (e.g., the name, the features), and they thereby come to attain various degrees of mindfulness, which in turn leads them to wish to conform to, or correspond with higher bodhisattva practices that accord with the truth (i.e., 欲如實修行相應).

It may be noteworthy, in this context, that the "desire" (chanda, 欲) is explained as something that arises from the "intention or the inclination of mind to do something" and that "desire" or "wish" (欲) is explained also as "to desire to do something" (求作), and as "that which serves as the causal factor for zealous efforts (vīrya, 精進).³⁸

b) "Aspiration"

The purposiveness of bodhisattvas is no longer called "desire" but, instead, the "aspiration" (作願) and the "Aspiring Mind" (願心). This is (probably) because the content of bodhisattva's purposive mind is the undefiled Wisdom and Compassion.

(i) The goal of Wisdom and purity is for those bodhisattvas who have not yet realized the Wisdom of insight or Pure Mind. Their aspiration is directed to practices which lead to Wisdom and into the realm of purity and tranquility. This level of practice is one that "conforms to or corresponds with" (hsiang-ying, 相應) the higher practice. It is likely that the practice at this level corresponds with the aforementioned prayoga-mārga, the second of the five Ranks of the Yogācāra path (see: chap. II, D).

(ii) Compassion, the goal beyond purity, is for those bodhisattvas of Pure Mind. They practise the path of Merit-transference by skillful means, and benefit thereby both self and others. In this way, they accomplish the highest state, gradually and eventually (i.e., "finally", atyanta, 畢竟), the "Mind of excellent happiness and supreme truth".

They cultivate the altruistic aspiration to attain "birth" in that Land together with all others.

(iii) The ultimate goal of the highest Mahāyāna bodhisattvas, the supreme Enlightenment of Equality, is for the bodhisattvas in the higher stages. It is the aspiration to perfectly realize the "Mind of great Compassion" and unhindered guidance performed as a "play". They practice the "right practice" with the perfectly unhindered Mind, free from any form of attachment or discrimination (無有分別心, see: chap.III,B on the vision of the bodhisattvas in the Pure Land).

c) "Hsiang-ying": "to be in conformity with the practice which accords with the truth"

The term hsian-ying (相應) was here translated as "to conform to or to correspond to." Its Skt.equivalents are yukta, yoga, prayoga and sam-prayoga, meaning the "union of the tallies, one agreeing or uniting with the other", or "response, correspondence, agreement "; it indicates, in the context of the Yogācāra-vijñānavāda, the relationship between

mind and the object of perception or between mind and mental functions.³⁹ In the context of the mantra-yāna, the teaching of the "holy, or true, word", the term acquired a great significance that the school was called hsiang-ying-zung (相應宗, sōōshū in Jap.) the "sect of yoga" or the "sect of mutual response" between man and his object of worship, resulting in correspondence, or agreement in body, mouth, and mind--i.e., deed, word, and thought (Ibid.).

T'an-luan understood hsiang-ying, from its Chinese meaning, to indicate sincere and authentic nature of the recitation practice which, if followed properly, reveals the efficacy of the Buddha's name and, hence satisfies all wishes.⁴⁰ The name was thus interpreted as an infallible magical formula of the all-saving Buddha, and the recitation practice acquired a special significance. In the Japanese Pure Land schools, especially, it has traditionally enjoyed the central status in the soteriological doctrine of absolute "other-power" (tariki in Jap.). Nien-fo (念佛, nenbutsu in Jap.) became popular as the "recitation or invocation of the Buddha's name" or "calling on Him by the name."

d) The higher bodhisattva practice:

"to practise in accordance with the truth"

The phrase ju-shih-hsiu-hsing (如實修行) was translated here as the "practice which accords with the truth" or "to practise in accordance with the truth." The phrase was "reconstructed" by H. Sakurabe as anudharma-pratipatti (tr. in Chin. as 隨法行), after a careful examination of other translation works by Bodhiruci.⁴¹ It is an important term in the Yogācāra, describing the higher bodhisattva path (see: chap. II, D).

It may be suggested, therefore, that the three terms, a) yü hsiang-ying (欲相應), b) hsiang-ying (相應) and, c) ju-shih-hsiu-hsing (如實修行), indicate the qualitative differences in the performance of the path of practice; They signify the three succeeding spiritual levels which followers are instructed to proceed step by step. It is highly likely, as already mentioned earlier, that they correspond, respectively, with the following three spiritual levels:

(a) the level of practice before arousing the bodhisattvas' aspiration for Enlightenment, hence

the level before the attainment of bodhisattvahood;

(b) the level of bodhisattva practice--the path of practice leading to the realization of the undefiled Wisdom, hence the level of practice leading to Wisdom and purity;

(c) the level of higher bodhisattva practice of Compassion and guidance-- the path beyond the realization of Wisdom and purity. It is characterized by the undefiled, or undiscriminating Mind and by the unhindered activities which revolve around the Dharma, the teaching of the truth.

Conclusion : The Mahāyāna path

In summary, the salvation is described, in the PLT, in terms of attaining "birth" or "entry" into "that Land", which gradually reveals its more profound (and possibly, esoteric) meanings as the treatise proceeds. The significance of the text lies in that it has incorporated a wide variety of "ends" which vary according to different sentient beings of different spiritual levels. This complexity greatly contributed to the mystifying and almost confusing later pictures of the text, which underwent a considerable acculturation and doctrinal mystification.

The text has incorporated the manifold vision of "that Land" which is perceived at various spiritual levels. This includes : a) the Land of salvation, b) the undefiled realm of meditative state, and c) the sphere of Mahāyāna Compassion and guidance which is the highest bodhisattva ideal and the vision of the "Pure Buddha Land".

The method expounded in the text is the Mahāyāna path of the five spiritual practices. Everyone can follow this path, each according to his spiritual capacity. The path thus embraces all sentient beings, by leading them gradually to the Enlightenment and, at the ^{same} time, "fulfilling" the spiritual content of their wishes and aspirations.

This Mahāyāna path of the five practices can accommodate different "depths" of practice by allowing qualitative differences in its performance. Through this path, a) some are led to the realm of sukhā, being delivered from acute samsaric sufferings; b) some are led to the realm of purity and tranquility, being delivered from "defilements" and enjoying the mental ease of higher meditative states;

c) others are led to the altruistic sphere of Mahāyāna Compassion; and c) still others perform the path as the skillful means to guide the multitude and to "sustain the treasure of Buddha's Dharma." In this way, all beings are gradually led to higher and higher spiritual levels by following the path. The path of the five spiritual actions are, therefore, abundant with various significances and involves a very complex ethical ontology in various shades and levels. By following this path, one is led to bodhisattvahood, to the realization of the undefiled Wisdom, Compassion and even to the perfect realization of guidance, which ultimately leads the bodhisattva to the supreme Enlightenment of Equality.

The PLT, therefore, not only provides an intelligible ethical ontology but also presents us with a significant insight into the nature of the Mahāyāna path of practice and the role of "aspiration" in the spiritual pursuit.

Introduction

¹ T.Vol.26, pp.230-233. (Nanjio, No.1204). Note that T.No.1960 is also titled Ching-t'u-lun, but it is by Chia-ts'ai(道才).

² This is the traditionally accepted date (see: Kaidai., p.143). Ōsuga reports that there are two possible dates: (1) 529 A.D., according to a reliable record of translation works, and (2) 531 A.D.. See: S.Ōsuga, "Jōdoron no yakuhon ni tsuite", Bukkyō Kenkyū, Vol.8, No.4, pp.511-525.

³ Two dates of his translation work in China are given: 503-533 A.D., and 508-535 A.D.. The latter is more widely accepted.

⁴ The Later Wei dynasty is also written as: 北魏 or 元魏 .

⁵ S, pp.269-278. See also: SJ, pp.189-206.

⁶ T.Vol.40, pp.826-844; S, pp.279-349.

Chapter I Vasubandhu

¹ T.No.2049, "The Life of Vasubandhu" by Paramārtha. Though Paramārtha is described as "translator", it is generally assumed that it is his account of the life of Vasubandhu.

² Puruṣapura is presently Peshawar in the northern part of West Pakistan, while Ayodhyā is situated in the north-western part of India.

³ According to Paramārtha, all of them were called "Vasubandhu."

⁴ Another source reports (see: STK, pp.3-19) that Asaṅga first joined the Mahīśāsaka school (化地部).

⁵ The historical existence of Maitreya is unclear and controversial. He is generally called "Maitreya-nātha" which can cover all the three possibilities regarding his identity. See: Kajiyama, "Kaisetsu", Seshinronshū, Butten, Vol.15, pp.416-422 ; M. Hattori, Ninshiki to Chōetsu, BS, Vol.4, pp.13-14.

⁶ Kudō says (STK, pp.7-9) that the name of this brother is also written as 獅子覺 .

⁷ The characteristics of the Sarvāstivādin school are, firstly, its strong emphasis on minute analysis of existence into various elements and, secondly, systematic classification of those elements.

⁸ C. Yamamoto, "Gandhāra kōki no jōsei to nyūjikusō tachi no kiroku", HKR, pp.157-169.

⁹ Paramārtha, op.cit..

¹⁰ STK, op.cit..

¹¹ Taranātha, History of Buddhism in India, ed.D. Chattopadhyaya(Simla, 1970), pp.149-175; 395-398.

¹² One of them is said to be the Daśabhūmika-sūtra, see: STK, p.9.

¹³ STK, pp.7-8.

¹⁴ From the fourth to the sixth century. It was destroyed by the invasion.

¹⁵ J.Takakusu tr., "Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu and the date", JRAS, 1905, pp.7-11. Takakusu suggests, concerning this imperial recognition, the king Vikramāditya who was succeeded by the king Bālāditya. But this, too, is uncertain.

¹⁶ The reports by Paramārtha and Taranātha agree on this point.

¹⁷ In the Taranātha, it^{is} a monk living like a layman, having a house and ploughing the field etc.; in Bu-ston, History of Buddhism, tr. E.Obermiller (Heidelberg, 1931) pp.142-145, a monk with a pot of wine.

¹⁸ D. Chattopadhyaya, in Taranātha's History., p.175.

¹⁹ J.Takakusu (op.cit., p.7) stated the problematic situation as follows : "Since not a single work of Vasubandhu is as yet published in the original, the date of his literary activity can only be settled by the evidence adduced from Chinese authorities. All the dates hitherto assigned to him must be either reconstructed or modified...."

²⁰ See: STK, pp.10-19.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid. Also H. Sakurabe, Sonzai no bunseki: Abidaruma, BS, Vol.2, pp.157-159.

²³ E.Frauwallner, "On the date of the Buddhist master of the Law Vasubandhu", (Serie Orientale Roma) Is.M.E.O. 1951, pp.1-69.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ P.S. Jaini, "On the theory of two Vasubandhus", BSOAS, Vol.21, 1958, pp.48-53.

²⁶ The MSS are: Abhidharmadīpa, together with a commentary, the Vibhāṣa-prabhā-vṛtti.

²⁷ Y.Kajiyama, op.cit.

²⁸ T.Kimura, Daijō bukkyō shisōron in Kimura Taiken Zenshū, Vol.6, p.142.

²⁹ Takakusu, op.cit., p.5.

³⁰ Asaṅga is considered as the founder of the Yogācāra school, with Maitreya-nātha as a co-founder.

³¹ The historical existence of "Maitreya has not been endorsed. See: the note 5 above.

³² The Chinese Fa-hsiang (法相) school adds, to this list, the works by followers of Vasubandhu, such as Sthiramati, Dignāga, and Dharmapāla.

³³ The following works are believed to reflect the influence of this philosophy: Fo-hsing-lun (佛性論), Shih-ti-ching-lun (十地經論).

Chapter II The Development of Bodhisattva Ideal (A, B, and C only)

¹ For details, see: Dayal, pp.4-9; L.de la Vallee Poussin, ERE, Vol.2, p.739.

² R.Hikata, "Bosatsu shisō no kigen to tenkai",

Konpon, pp.224-225.

³ Dayal, pp.30-43.

⁴ Ibid., p.35.

⁵ See: Conze, *Thirty.*, pp.33-47; Dayal, pp.46-49.

Also see: chap.II, D. .

⁶ BR, p.54. Robinson is of the opinion that the doctrine of the bhūmi-s was originally introduced between 130-300 A.D..

⁷ Recently, however, some scholars have begun to contemplate the possibility of certain historical personalities who might have been the kernel of the idea of these bodhisattvas. But this is still uncertain and unconvincing.

⁸ The upsurge of the cult of saviour bodhisattvas had probably much to do with certain historical situations of instability and misfortune.

⁹ Dayal, pp.43-49.

¹⁰ R.Yamada, Daijō bukkyō seiritsuron Josetsu(Kyoto, 1965), pp.145-150 ; Dayal, p.43.

¹¹ See: Dayal, pp.292-317 on "Last Life and Enlightenment".

¹² Horner, *Arahan.*, p.192.

¹³ Dayal, pp.64-67.

¹⁴ G, pp.402-411.

¹⁵ See: G, pp.402-413; R.Yamada, *op.cit.*, pp.291-293; N.Dutt, Early Monastic Buddhism, Vol.2 (Calcutta, 1945), p.305 ff.

- 16 G, pp.408-414. See also: Dutt, op.cit., p.217 ff.; Dayal, p.65.
- 17 G.Nishi Bosatsudō., pp.2-3.
- 18 Dayal, pp.64-65.
- 19 Robinson, BR, pp.58-63; Conze, Thirty., pp.33-47; Schumann, Buddhism: An Outline of its Teachings and Schools(London, 1973), pp.127-137.
- 20 See: Dayal, pp.46-49.
- 21 Dayal, pp.64-67.
- 22 Hōshakubu kyōten, Butten., Vol. 9 (Tokyo, 1974), pp.154-155.
- 23 Ibid., pp.85-86. 153-160.
- 24 Horner, Araham., pp.98-99.
- 25 Hirakawa, "introduction" in Kaidai., pp.8-12.
- 26 Horner, pp.189-191.
- 27 Butten., op. cit., pp.153-177.
- 28 Ibid., pp.89-98.
- 29 Hirakawa, "Daijō bukkūō no kyōdanshi-teki seikaku", Seiritsushi., (pp.447-482), p.454.
- 30 Robinson, BR, p.54.
- 31 Dayal, p.50.
- 32 Poussin, ERE, Vol. 2., p.749.
- 33 Dayal, p.59.
- 34 BD, pp.762-763. Cf. rūpa(蘊), kāya(身)
- 35 BD, pp.705-706.

- 36 Dayal, p.62.
- 37 Hiraakawa, op.cit., in *Seiritsushi.*; Robinson, BR, p.45; Prebish, art. in *Perspective.*, p.45.
- 38 Hiraakawa, op.cit..
- 39 *Ibid.*, Also see: Butten, Vol.9, pp.153,177.
- 40 Hiraakawa, op.cit..
- 41 See: Dayal, pp.58-59.
- 42 "生發心時便成正覺"
- 43 It came to be identified with "faith" or "belief" (śraddhā, adhimukti).
- 44 Various levels of bhūmi-s and kṣānti-s were established in the *Yogācāra*. See: chap.II, D.
- 45 For details, see: Dayal, pp.165-269.
- 46 Dayal, pp.165-167; R.Hikata, "Bōsatsu shisō no kigen to tenkai" in *Konpon*, (pp.219-240), p.233.
- 47 Horner provides us with a helpful description of the concept of the "beyond". See: "Pāra: Beyond", *Arahan*, pp.282-312.
- 48 K.Mizuno, "Buha bukkyō yori daijō bukkyō e no tenkai", *Seiritsushi.*, pp.271-273.
- 49 R.Yamada, Daijō Bukkyō seiritsuron Josetsu, pp.150-158.

Chapter II, D The bodhisattva in the Yogācāra

¹ For the details of Mind philosophy, see: M.Hattori, Ninshiki to Chōetsu: Yuishiki, BS, Vol.4 (Tokyo, 1976), pp.26-45; Y.Kajiyama, "Kaisetsu", Butten., Vol.15 (Tokyo, 1976), pp.410-428.

² Kajiyama(op.cit.) says that the appearance of this idea can be traced as early as in the passages of Dhammapada.

³ See: Mv.Nos.2016-2026.

⁴ See: G.M. Nagao, "Tenkan no ronri", Tetsugaku Kenkyū, No.405, Vol.35, 1952 ; J.Takasaki, "Ten'e", Nihon Bukkyōgakkai Nenpō, Vol.25, 1959.

⁵ Nagao, in "Ālayashiki to sanshō", Chūōkōron (May, 1974), pp.320-333.

⁶ In the Chinese Fa-hsiang (法相) school, the perfect Wisdom was described as twofold : the fundamental Wisdom of Non-discrimination (根本無分別智) and the Wisdom of discernment (後得差別智).

⁷ See: Nagao, in Seshinronshū, Butten., Vol.15, p.391. The four are described as the "world-wisdom". Also, H.Ui, Shōdaijoron Kenkyū (Tokyo, 1966), pp.634-640.

⁸ Dayal, pp.248-249.

⁹ See: Dayal, pp.248-269; Mv.Nos.759-780, 1554-1559.

¹⁰ For details, see: Katsumata. "Bosatsudō to yui-shiki-kan no jissen", Bosatsudō., pp.399-432.

¹¹ See: L.de la Vallee Poussin, "Bodhisattva", ERE, Vol.2, pp.747-748; Dayal, pp.270-291.

¹² Katsumata, op.cit..

¹³ The term kuśala meant "that which is conducive to sukhā, and hence, did not imply any notion of external "judgement" in the Buddhist context. See: I.Funabashi, Genshi Bukkyō shisō no Kenkyū (Kyoto, 1952, 1973), pp. 229-248.

¹⁴ See: Hattori, op.cit., pp.45-60.

¹⁵ Katsumata, op.cit..

¹⁶ T.No.1585, 10 chūan. The text is attributed to Dharmapāla by Hsüan-tsang.

¹⁷ The idea of these sets were probably later incorporated.

¹⁸ Katsumata, op.cit..

¹⁹ It is also described in terms of "purifying" or "neutralizing" the mental function of the defiled Ego-consciousness (manas). Through meditative practices, one gradually rids his Mind of greed, attachment, discrimination, and hence, ignorance. See: Hattori, op.cit., pp.108-136, 49-69.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Mv.Nos.1210-1215. They are listed as those which are conducive to the attainment of [the wisdom] of

discerning the truth.

²² See: SJ, pp.76-81. Cf.S, p.316 ; Tsūge, pp.142, 202.

²³ Hattori, op.cit., pp.48-49.

²⁴ MW, p.116.

²⁵ BD, p.1135.

²⁶ It is also tr. as "Transfer of Merit" (Dayal, pp.57-88) and "Turning-towards" (Corless, from the Chinese meanings, TC, p.309 ff.).

²⁷ H.Sakurabe, BgK, pp.99-109.

²⁸ BD, p.1061; BgK, p.106.

²⁹ BgK, pp.103-104.

³⁰ Nagao, Butten., Vol.15, pp.320-358.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Dayal, pp.248-269.

³³ N. Dutt, Early Monastic Buddhism, Vol.2 (Calcutta, 1945), pp.275-313.

Chapter II E. The bodhisattva in the Pure Land teaching

¹ G, pp.3-9.

² See: Conze, Buddhism: Its Essence and Development, (Oxford, 1953), pp.205-207; BR, pp.103-104 ; Takakusu, Ess., pp.166-175; A. Bloom, Shinran's Gospel of Pure Grace (Arizona, 1965).

³ For the list, see: K. Yamamoto, The Introduction to Shin Buddhism (Ube, Japan, 1963); The Other-Power (Ube, 1965).

⁴ G, pp.139-164.

⁵ S, p.931. T.No.2608. It is read as "Senjaku" in the Jōdo school founded by Hōnen, and "Senchaku" in the Shin school.

⁶ S, pp.929-932.

⁷ The texts belonging to Sthavira schools only mention the past Buddhas, and not the present and future Buddhas, G, pp.361-376.

⁸ G, pp.484-491. Fujita lists the Buddha Lands and illustrates this with the Buddha Akṣobhya's Land which is named Abhirati (妙喜). Other factors are also mentioned.

⁹ See: art. by H.Nakamura, K.Fujita et.al., "Bukkyō no seiji shisō", Seiritsushi, pp.381-393.

¹⁰ The cult of Maitreya and his Pure Land was at one time very popular in China, notably in connection with T'ao-an (道安, 312-385, A.D.). Z.Tsukamoto, et.al. Fuan to gongu : Chūgoku Jōdo (Tokyo, 1968), pp.41-44.

¹¹ The cults of these two bodhisattvas are of different character: Avalokiteśvara because of pity and compassion, Maitreya as the future Buddha in the Tuṣita heaven.

¹² G, pp.349-353. Fujita also gives as the meaning, the "one who spreads the Dharma." His name was diversely translated into Chinese as follows : 法藏 . 法積 . 法寶 . 藏 . 法處 . 作法 and 法源 .
(See : S, pp.6,75, 135, 187, 217). In Tib., it was tr. into words meaning the "place of origin of Dharma" (Chos kyi hbyuñ gnas).

¹³ The Chin. trans. of the name of this Buddha are :
世自在王 and 世饒王, meaning the "one [who acts]
freely in the world" and the "one who benefits the
world." Though the origin of this name is unclear
(G, p.351), it indicates the theme of guidance in the
world.

¹⁴ S, p.6. Cf. S, p.75 (LBy.).

¹⁵ Ibid.. In LNy. and LSy., he is described as a
monk, one of the bhikṣu-s in the assemblage of the
Buddha (S, pp. 187, 217).

¹⁶ S, p.7 (LSv.) : 具足五劫思惟 攝取莊嚴佛國
清淨之行。

¹⁷ The Mahāyāna accepts the idea that there are many
universes, hence many Buddhas and Buddha Lands. It is
unique to the Mahāyāna. The Sthavira school accepted
only certain past Buddhas who appeared before the
Buddha Śākyamuni. G, pp.361-376.

¹⁸ G, pp.379-391.

¹⁹ Ibid. (47 in the Skt. Müller edition ; 48 in
the Ashikaga edition).

²⁰ Ibid. ; art. by Kasugai and Tōdō, " Jōdo kyōten
no keisei", Koupon., pp.513-516.

²¹ LSy. is considered to be the newest tr. and
it lists 36 resolutions.

²² The lowest three gati-s are the states of hell,
animals, and hungry ghosts. To those, the state of
fighting spirits is added in LNy., and in the Skt. and
Tib. texts.

- 23 See:G, pp.431-440.
- 24 MW, p.1221.
- 25 MW, p.483.
- 26 BD, p.265.
- 27 MW, pp.1220-1222.
- 28 G, p.439.
- 29 T'ung-yung., p.376.
- 30 G, p.431 ff.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 T.No.1521, 17 ch'uan, tr. Kumārajīva. Only a section is listed in S, pp.253-265. (易行品)
- 33 S, p.254. It is traditionally understtd as the "easy path" or "easy practice" as opposed to "hard and strenuous path of practice"(難行). See, also: the Lun-chü, S, p.279 ff..
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 See: chap.IV, D.
- 36 Traditionally in the Shin school, the bodhisattvas of ōsō(往相) and gensō(還相) were mentioned.The latter,being the "bodhisattva who returns", points to the idea of the bodhisattva of Compassion. Tsūge, pp.473-476.

Chapter III The Treatise on the Pure Land

¹ T.Umehara, Part III of Fuan to gongu: Chūgoku Jōdo, BS, Vol.8.(Tokyo, 1968), pp.261-264.

² R.Corless, TC, pp.15-20.

³ See: art. by Ōsuga, op.cit..

⁴ See: Tsūge., pp.279-283 ; STK, pp.212-220, 261-272.

⁵ STK, pp.269-282.

⁶ Ibid. Also see: Kazuya Hasegawa, "Seshin Jōdoron ni okeru Jūjikyō teki yōso", IBK, Vol.6, No.2, p.182; S.Yamaguchi, art. in Konpon., pp.608-630. Yamaguchi refers to an art. by K.Tōdo, "Seshin no Jōdo-kan, Muryōjūkyō no yugaha-teki rikai", Bukkyō Kenkyū, No.4, pp.117-125.

⁷ "Jōdoron tsūge", pp.153-244; "Jōdoron-chū tsūge", pp.245-777.

⁸ STK, pp.220-260.

⁹ Respectively, T.No.1963 (composed in 627 A.D.) and T.No.1960 (composed at the end of the seventh century). They might have been of great help, regrettably, however, they were unavailable to me at the time of writing.

¹⁰ See: SJ, p.24; R.Yūki, art. in Kaidai., p.143.

¹¹ NP, Nos.5499, 5481. See also :Chap.IV, D.

¹² S, p.280; Tsūge, pp.256-277.

¹³ For the divisions, see: S, pp.279-348 ; SJ, pp.189-206; Tsūge., pp.166-172.

¹⁴ A. Hirakawa, "Shoki daijō bukkyō no shijisha to shite no zennanshi zennyōnin," HKR, pp.213-248.

¹⁵ The cult of visualization and samādhi was popular in connection with the Pure Land teaching. For details, see : G, pp.543-565; see also, chap.IV, B.

Chapter IV Salvation in the Treatise on the Pure Land

¹ NP, No.6529.

² BD, p.1369.

³ Soothill, p.273.

⁴ Ibid., p.258; NP, No.1518. In some cases it may designate a "thought-moment", as the tr. of the Skt. term ksana.

⁵ For example, in Lsv., 心念・想念・係念 (S, pp.8-9); in the Amida Sūtra, 念佛・念法・念僧之心 (S, pp.68-69).

⁶ S, pp.30-39.

⁷ G, pp.558-562.

⁸ Ibid. ; also MW, pp.1272-1273. It also meant, outside the Buddhist context, "that which is remembered by human teachers", or the "whole body of sacred or legal tradition."

⁹ See: H.Sakurabe, Sonzai., BS, Vol.2, p.90; K.Mizuno, Bukkyō no kiso chishiki (Tokyo, 1971), p.244 ff.

¹⁰ SJ, p.81. Cf.G, pp.539-562.

¹¹ G, p.558 ; BD, p.1076.

¹² MW, pp.783-784.

¹³ See: BgK, pp.137-140. According to Sakurabe, manaskāra is explained as the orientation or the motivation of mind toward the object of perception (p.138). Cf.SJ,p.77.

¹⁴ Cf. S, p.317 ff. In the Lun-chu, the phrase appears in a different order as: chuang-yen kung-te ch'eng-chiu.

¹⁵ BD, pp.744-745; Soothill, p.237.

¹⁶ See: STK, pp.279-281 ; SJ, pp.92-100 ; S. Mochizuki, Jōdokyo no Kenkyū (Tokyo, 1914), pp.372-384.

¹⁷ Soothill, pp.370, 426, 131, 187, 241 etc.:
BD, p.260.

¹⁸ BD, p.747. Cf.Soothill, p.363.

¹⁹ MW, pp.1041, 94.

²⁰ Cf. A very good art. by Yūshō Miyasaka on "Vidyā no gogi", HKR, pp.249-265. He points out that the Buddhist conception of the light(vidyā) has its origin in Brahmanism, and that it was likened to the "eye" that sees the truth, to the "light"(āloka), the "wisdom" etc.. Also see: Issai Funabashi, Genshi Bukkyō shisō no Kenkyū (Kyoto, 1952, rpt.1973), p.93 ff.

²¹ Cf. S, p.316.

- 22 PLT, T.Vol.26, p.231.
- 23 K. Hayajima, "Jōdokyō no shōjō goōsho-kan ni tsuite", HKR, pp.231-248.
- 24 J.F. Pas, "Shan-tao's interpretation of the meditative vision of Buddha Amitāyus," History of Religion, Vol.14, No.2 (Nov., 1974), pp.96-116.
- 25 P.L. Berger, A Rumor of Angels (N.Y., 1970), p.2.
- 26 BgK, pp.108-109 ; S, p.313. Sakurabe points out that T'an-luan's interpretation of certain terms in the PLT was mainly based on the literal meanings of the Chinese text.
- 27 See: Tsūge., pp.239-244, 743-758. Cf. SJ, p.179.
- 28 Soothill, p.278 ; BD, pp.525-526, p.746.
- 29 See: Tsūge., pp.717-720 ; Yamaguchi, Konpon., pp.622-623. This is because the school maintained that its Pure Land teaching is for all the sinful and unenlightened "ordinary beings" (bonbu, in Jap.) in this defiled world.
- 30 A Hirakawa, art. opcit. in HKR, pp.213-248.
- 31 Ibid. See also: R.Mitomo, "Hokkekyō ni okeru juji ni tsuite", IBK, Vol.24, No.1 (Dec., 1975), pp.190-195.
- 32 J.F. Pas, op.cit., pp.102-103.
- 33 BD, pp.752-753.
- 34 L. de la Vallée Poussin, ERE, Vol.2, pp.739-753.
- 35 SJ, pp.129-137; Konpon., pp.617-619. Cf. Tsūge., pp.215-218.

- 36 Dayal, p.291.
- 37 Poussin, op.cit..
- 38 BgK, p.139.
- 39 Soothill, p.310 ; BD, p.865.
- 40 See: S, pp.314-315 ; Tsūge, pp.538-564. Cf.BgK,
pp.137-138.
- 41 Bgk, pp.99-109 ; SJ, pp.76-81.

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