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SI 2019 from the Serindia Collection, Petrovsky Subcollection, IOM RAS.

Youngsil Lee

Characteristics of the Term Bodhisattva in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka: Bodhi-saTTva vs Bodhi-saTvan

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Abstract: In his Glossary of Dharmarakṣa's Translation of the Lotus Sutra [*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*], Seishi Karashima describes a 開士 (*kāi-shi*) as “a man, who is on the way to enlightenment”. The term 開士 (*kāi-shi*) is generally accepted to be an older translation of 菩薩 (*pú sà*; Bodhisattva). The question remains as to why the words 開士 and 菩薩 are distinguished in Dharmarakṣa's version, even though both meanings are Bodhisattva. How was a Bodhisattva understood when Dharmarakṣa made his translation in 286 CE? In this study, I will present the characteristics associated with these usages, and examine the differences between Sanskrit manuscripts (Central Asian manuscript SI P/5 and Gilgit manuscript No. 44 in Delhi collection) and manuscripts in other languages, such as Tibetan. Then, I will present my hypothesis that the root of the difference is related to the rendering of Bodhi-saTTva as Bodhi-saTvan.

Key words: Bodhisattva, 開士, anupasthita, anuprāthika, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Dharmarakṣa, IOM RAS.

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According to Jan Nattier,¹ in Sengyou's categorizations in his early sixth-century work, the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 『出三藏記集』, he treats terms found in sources contemporary with one another as if they belonged to different periods: 舊 (old) 經「扶薩」[fú sà] 亦云「開士」[kāi-shi] or 新 (new) 經「菩薩」[pú sà]² However, this categorization by Sengyou is only seen from the perspective of characteristics of the Chinese language, and not from the

¹ NATTIER 2008: 6 n. 2.

² T: *Taishoshinshudaizokyo* 『大正新脩大藏經』 The Chinese Buddhist canon, vol. 55 no. 2145, 5a15.

content of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* itself. As is generally known, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* has been translated into many languages throughout different periods from 3 CE to 18 CE. In this study, I will examine characteristics associated with the term “Bodhisattva” in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* using older and newer Chinese translations, as well as in Sanskrit manuscripts and, if necessary, Tibetan translations.³

Part 1. What does the term 開士 mean?

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Chapter I

① One who reveals the Buddha-yāna (佛乘): Verse 23.

Dr⁴ (Dharmarakṣa: 竺法護) T 64c08:

吾復瞻見{開士}之黨: 英雄儔疋出入山谷, 分別講說演諸佛乘⁵.

Kj⁶ (Kumārajīva: 鳩摩羅什) T 3a20:

又見{菩薩}: 勇猛精進入於深山, 思惟佛道.

CA (IOM RAS : SI / P5)⁷ 18b6:

paśyāmy ahu bodhisatvā: praviśitva **vīrā**⁸ girikandareṣu• vibhāvayanta ima **buddhayānaṃ**

Ga (NAI)⁹ 5a5:

paśyāmy ahaṃ o**bodhisatvāṃ** praviśya **vīrā** girikandareṣu• vibhāvayaṃto imu **buddha jñānaṃ**

KN (Kern Nanjio)¹⁰ 12.1:

³ Research on Tibetan and Nepalese manuscripts in *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* has already been discussed in detail by many researchers. This paper uses very few Tibetan and Nepalese manuscripts. The reason is: “Probably in the 7th century and later, the old Buddhist literature was remodeled and written down in Sanskrit before the Tibetans introduced it into their country through translation”. WINDISCH 1917: 120. “The Nepalese, as Hodgson found, held the Tibetans in high esteem in religious matters”. BROUGH 1948: 339.

⁴ **Dr**: Dharmarakṣa’s translation *Zheng fa hua jing* 正法華經, *Taishoshinshudaizokyo* vol. 9, no. 263.

⁵ The very fact that this 開士 is interpreted as preaching the “**Buddha-vehicle**” [佛乘] distinguishes him from other “Bodhisattvas”.

⁶ **Kj**: Kumārajīva’s translation *Miao fa lian hua jing* 『妙法蓮華經』, *Taishoshinshudaizokyo* 9: no. 262.

⁷ **CA**: *Sanskrit Lotus Sutra Manuscripts from the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences* [IOM RAS] • Soka Gakkai • Institute of Oriental Philosophy.

⁸ **PW**: (*Böhtlingk and Roth Grosses Petersburger Wörterbuch*), **vīra** (m.): Mann; esp. **a powerful man**; hero.

⁹ **Ga, Gb, Gc**: *Gilgit Lotus Sutra Manuscripts from the National Archives of India* [GMNAI] • Soka Gakkai • Institute of Oriental Philosophy.

¹⁰ **KN**: H. KERN & B. NANJIO. eds. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. Bibliotheca Buddhica X, 1908–1912.

paśyāmy ahu bodhisattvān girikandareṣu praviśyanti dhīrāḥ¹¹ |
...vibhāvayanto imu **buddha jñānaṃ**

I (the Buddha) have seen some 開士 who are brave [英雄/勇猛] (**Dr/Kj**) [vīra] (**CA, Ga**), reveal [vibhāvayat]¹² (**CA, Ga**) [分別講說演] (**Dr**) (except **Kj** 思惟: consider) this Buddha vehicle/path [yāna] [佛乘/佛道] (**Dr/Kj** and **CA**) / Buddha-knowledge [jñāna] (**Ga, KN**). Yet, it is said in Chapter II that Buddha knowledge is possessed only by Buddhas.

② One who comprehends (逮) the unexcelled correct and true Path (無上正眞道), and achieves (成) the supremely correct Bodhi (成最正覺), has a Buddha-name, and attains (至) true and correct Bodhi (眞等正覺): **KN 21.13**

Dr 66b11: 吾滅度後「首藏開士」當逮無上正眞道成最正覺, 號「離垢體如來」至眞等正覺。

Kj 4b03: 入無餘涅槃時有菩薩名曰「德藏」... 是德藏菩薩, 次當作佛, 號曰「淨身多陀阿伽度阿羅訶三藐三佛陀。」

CA 29a1: śrīgarbho bodhisatvo mahāsatvo mamānantarād anuttarā samyaksaṃ bodhim abhisambuddhyati• vimalanetro nāma tathāgato'rham samyaksaṃbuddho loke bhaviṣyati•

Gb¹³ 7a8: śrīgarbho bodhisatvo mamān antaram anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim abhisam bhotsyate (b1)///

KN 21.13: śrīgarbho bodhisatvo mamāntaram anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃ bodhim abhisambhōts yas te vimalanetro nāma tathāgato 'rhansamyaksaṃbuddho bhaviṣyati||

After Buddha's (candrasūryapradīpa) extinguishment, this 開士 (**CA** add mahāsatva) is called Śrīgarbha [首藏/德藏] (**Dr/Kj**) and is given the name of a Buddha, called Vimalanetro [離垢體/淨身] (**Dr/Kj**). What is noteworthy here is **Kj**'s use of the transliteration [多陀阿伽度] (tathāgata) instead of [如來].

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Chapter III

③ One who attains / will attain true Bodhi (至眞覺): **KN 60.4**

¹¹ **PW:** *dhīra* (√*dhā*): constant, firm.

¹² **PW:** *bhū* — vi causative. to reveal, to show; *vibhāvayan* (= *prakāśayan*); to perceive.

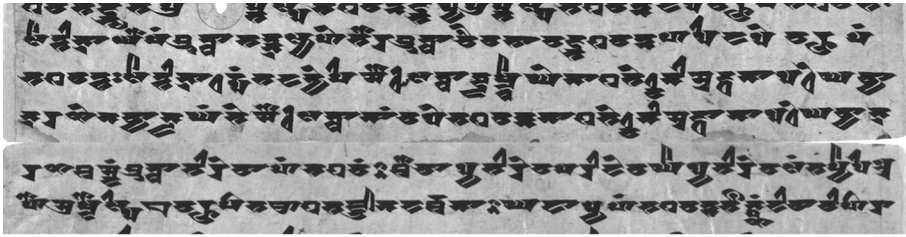
¹³ It is generally considered that there are three types of Gilgit manuscripts (**Ga, Gb, Gc**). The author is particularly researching the specificity of **Ga**, but some parts of **Ga** ms. are incomplete.

Dr 73b08: 所以者何. 常從佛, 聞法說{化導諸菩薩乘¹⁴}, 見餘開士聽承佛音德至真覺, 甚自悼感 (śoc), 【獨不豫及】 心用灼惕 (saṃtap), {所示現議所不紹逮}¹⁵ 我已永失 (bhraṣṭa) 如來之慧.

Kj 10c02: 所以者何. 我昔從佛, 聞如是法, 見諸菩薩授記作佛, 【而我等不豫斯事】 甚自感傷 (śoc), 失 (bhraṣṭa) 於如來無量知見.

Why is this so? Since long ago I have followed the Buddha, heard teachings of this kind from him, and seen bodhisattvas being assured of becoming buddhas while I and others were not included in such matters—and I have felt extremely distressed that I would not be able to attain the immeasurable knowledge and insight of a tathāgata [J. Logan]¹⁶

CA (IOM RAS SI P/5) 64b5–65a2 (pl. 1):



Pl. 1 from IOM RAS/Soka Gakkai/IOP

¹⁴ This Bodhisattva-vehicle [菩薩乘] (**Dr**: 73b09) in example ③ is found only in **Dr**. There is no equivalent term in other texts. What is important is that **Kj** does not have the term [菩薩乘] but it is sometimes uses the translation as [菩薩道] (Bodhisattva-path). Furthermore, the contents of the [三乘] (three vehicles) first mentioned in Chapter III are as in the following Chinese translations: (**Dr**: 76a7) [聲聞・緣覺・菩薩之道, 以是三乘開化] (Śrāvaka-Pratyekabuddha-Bodhisattva-Path) similar as in Sanskrit and Tibetan, while only (**Kj**: 13b9) [三乘: 聲聞・辟支佛・佛乘] (Śrāvaka-Pratyekabuddha-Buddha-Vehicle). cf. KARIYA 1983: 258 n. 79; cf. MATSUMOTO 2010: 271ff. “Since Bodhisattva seeks the Buddha knowledge, but Bodhisattva does not seek the knowledge of Bodhisattva, the term Bodhisattva-yāna [菩薩乘] is established later than Buddha-yāna [仏乘]. However, it is thought that this term was coined when it came to be understood as a path of Bodhisattva-caryā [菩薩行] (Bodhisattva practice), the path to Bodhi”, KARASHIMA 1993: 170f. There are many views that the term Buddha-yāna [仏乘] (Buddha-Vehicle) came first, and later transformed into the Bodhisattva-yāna [菩薩乘] (Bodhisattva-Vehicle). **Dr**’s use of [菩薩乘] in example ③ is unique, and his use [觀心信樂喜菩薩乘] in Chapter IV (81a19) corresponds to Bodhisattva-śabda (name with Bodhisattva) in **CA**, **Ga**, and **KN** 110.6. It can be assumed that **Dr** [菩薩乘] (Bodhisattva-yāna) was one of the [三乘] (three vehicles) and already had the concept of [Bodhisattva-yāna]. However, it should be judged from this study that this concept is the path leading to Bodhi/Buddha (vehicle) i.e. [一乘] (one vehicle), and not the path used by **Dr** as the path to Bodhisattva.

¹⁵ There is no Sanskrit equivalent here. The meaning is “not succeed [紹逮] to the instruction of the Bodhisattva-yāna [所示現議]” This is a free translation by **Dr**.

¹⁶ LOGAN Joseph’s *Flowering Lotus of the Wondrous Dharma Sūtra*, [forthcoming].

tat kasya hetor **aśrutvā** caiva tāvad bhagavann aham idam evarūpaṃ (6)bhagavantah sāntikā dharmam tad anyepi bodhisatvān dr̥ṣṭvā yenāgatedhvani buddhanāmadheya-vyā(7)**karaṇena** (= Kj: 授記作佛) vyākṛyaṃte bodhisatvānām ca me bhagavann anāgatedhvani buddhā-**nām**adheya-vyāka (1)**raṇa-śabdaṃ** (= Dr: 佛音德) śrutvātirevāhaṃ bhagavaṃn* śocāmy atireva paridevayāmy atireva saṃtapyāmi a(2)ho braṣṭosmi evarūpā tathāgatajñānadarśanān*¹⁷

The reason [why Śāriputra is amazed] is, Bhagavat, first of all, I had not heard (aśrutvā) a dharma such as this (idam) [while] near the Bhagavat. Thus (tad), [I] saw others (anye), who were Bodhisattvas/ others who will attain Bodhi¹⁸ who (ye) will be given by prophecy the name of a Buddha in the future, and O Bhagavat! when I heard a voice that was a prophecy to the Bodhisattvas about their future designation as Buddhas, O Bhagavat! I felt separated (bhraṣṭa) from the Knowledge of the Tathāgata — and I am so sad (śoca), so grieved (paridiv), and so tormented (saṃtap).

Gb¹⁹(GMNAI) 19b8–9 (pl. 2):

tat kasya hetor **aśrutvaiva** tāvad ahaṃ bhagavann imam evaṃrūpaṃ bhagavatontikā(9)d dharmam tad anyān bodhisatvān dr̥ṣṭvā bodhisatvānām cānāgatedhvani **buddhanām**am śrutvātīva śocāmy atīva santapye bhraṣṭosmy evaṃrūpāt²⁰ tathāgatajñānadarśanāt*

The reason [why Śāriputra is amazed] is, Bhagavat, first of all, I had not heard a dharma such as this (imam) [while]near the Bhagavat. Thus (tad), I saw other Bodhisattvas/others who will attain Bodhi; and hearing the name of the Buddhas those Bodhisattvas will have in the future, I felt separated (bhraṣṭa) from the Knowledge of the Tathāgata. I am greatly grieved (śuc), greatly tormented.

¹⁷ * = virāma.

¹⁸ From the previous examples ① ②, it will be understood that in the case of the translation of 開士, the explanation is given using adjectives used for **Buddhas** rather than for Bodhisattvas in general. From this point onwards, the Sanskrit corresponding to this 開士 will be compared by adding different meanings as bodhisattva [bodhisattva]/ bodhisattva [will attain bodhi]. The reason I apply my hypothesis here is that the root of the difference lies in the meaning of saTvan rather than the inflexion. If we read bodhisattva as bodhisattva, the inflexion requires **bodhi-saTvanah**. However, many manuscripts have different inflexions. Look at CA's [anye]. When used as a demonstrative pronoun for [Bodhisattvān], [anyān] would be correct according to classical Sanskrit inflexion.

¹⁹ Ga 24a8 /// (24b1) vaṃrūpaṃ bhagavato (')ntikād dharmam tad **anyā** bodhisatvān dr̥ṣṭvā bodhisatvānām cānāgate (')dhvani bu[ddha]///

The right side of the manuscript is damaged and needs about 35 syllables.

²⁰ KN add. tathāgatajñāna[gocarājñāna]darśanāt]



Pl. 2 from GANAI/Soka Gakkai/IOP

Those who will receive the title of *Buddha* in the future (CA adds the predictions [vyākaraṇa]) refers to other Bodhisattvas, as **Dr** translates “other [餘開士],” and are those who attain / will attain Bodhi (至眞覺) [bodhi-saTvan]. In Sanskrit, it is only expressed as having attained the title of Buddha [buddha-nāma], but if we read the word *Bodhisattva* as attaining Bodhi, it is the same as the understanding of [開士] by **Dr**.

Chapter III begins with Śāriputra’s expressing his joy at the words of the Bhagavat, who said, “Even *śrāvakas* will become a Buddha”²¹ in Chapter II.

In meaning ③ above, [tat kasya hetoh] expresses the reason why Śāriputra is delighted. The problem is that Sanskrit [Skt.] and Tibetan [Tib.] differ from both Chinese translations. In the Skt. and Tib.,²² Śāriputra says, [aśrutvā] “I had not heard”,²³ and both Chinese translations say, [聞] “I had heard”—**Dr**: “Constantly from Buddha, I heard teaching [法]”, and **Kj**: “Since long ago I heard from Buddha such a teaching like this [我昔從佛聞如是法]”. Therefore, **Dr** and **Kj** insert the reason, “it has not been bestowed [不豫] upon us [我等] i.e. [Śāriputra] and those with him”. **Dr** explains that what Śāriputra heard from Buddha is the guidance of Bodhisattva-vehicles [化導諸菩薩乘].²⁴ **Kj** seems like a kind of the same interpretation; [如是法] is the teaching for Bodhisattvas, since his translation “us” [我等] means *śrāvakas*, apart from Bodhisattvas.

[Chin.]

1. I heard such a teaching, i.e., the guidance of bodhisattva-vehicles — [Dr: 法說{化導諸菩薩乘}] / teaching for bodhisattvas [Kj: 如是法] — from the Buddha.

²¹ Chapter II, verse 133: “On beholding such worthy sons of Buddha (I said): Thy doubts also will be removed, and these twelve hundred (disciples) of mine, free from imperfections, **will all of them become Buddhas.**” (Kern’s trsl.). Even in Chapter II, scholars’ opinions are divided: (MATSUMOTO 2010) says that the Prose of Chapter II has the oldest ideas, and (KARASHIMA 1993) says that the Verse of Chapter II has the oldest ideas. For me, no unified thought can be discerned from the 145 gāthās. However, if Śāriputra himself is a “Śrāvaka,” we have no choice but to choose the pleasing teachings on “Śrāvaka” that are preached in the Verse.

²² **Tib. D** (MS. of Derge Kanjur, No. 113, vol. 51, mDo de, Ja.) 24b བཅོམ་ལུན་ འདས་ཕྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དབའ་གཞན་དག་གྱུང་མཐོང་ (saw)... བཅོམ་ལུན་གྱི་མཚན་ཡང་ཤོས་ཏེ་ (heard)། འདི་ལྟ་བུའི་ཆོས་ནི་ (such dharma) བཅོམ་ལུན་འདས་ལས་བདག་གིས་མ་ཤོས་པ། (not heard.) Same for **Tib. Hem** 34a6 (MS. of Hemis I Kanjur, He 58.1, mDo de, pha).

²³ “For when, **before I had heard** of this law from the Lord”. **Kern trsl.** KERN 1884. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, or The Lotus of the True Law.* Oxford: Clarendon.

²⁴ This plural form expresses the distinction among Bodhisattvas-yāna by **Dr**.

2. I saw the other Bodhisattvas [Dr: 餘開士/ who will attain Bodhi [Dr: 至眞覺/ / I saw Bodhisattvas who have a prophecy of becoming a Buddha [Kj: 授記作佛].

3. However, I [Śāriputra] was not bestowed [Dr/Kj 不豫] in that matter — I felt that I had lost [失] the wisdom of the Tathāgata.

As a result, now I am delighted since I **heard** such a teaching (in Chapter II).

[Skt./Tib.]

1. I **had not heard (aśrutvā) such a teaching** — i.e., that śrāvakas will become Buddhas, from the Buddha.

2. However, I saw other Bodhisattvas who have the prophecy of becoming a Buddha (CA) / who received the title of Buddha (Ga).

3. I felt so sad that I was far from the knowledge of the Tathāgata.

As a result, now I am delighted since I **heard** such a teaching (in Chapter II).

Comparison between [Chin] and [Skt. Tib.]

The reference of [1. **such a teaching**] is different. From the view of text flow, [1. **such a teaching**] refers to the whole of Chapter II. However, [1. **such a teaching**] [Dr 法說 {化導諸菩薩乘} / Kj 如是法] in Chinese refers to the teaching for Bodhisattvas only. Then [2. other Bodhisattvas] with the title of Buddha does not appear in Chapter II, because there is no need to preach the Buddha's teachings to those who have the title of Buddha. Therefore, in my opinion, the inference contained in the phrase "other 開士", as distinguished from the Bodhisattvas mentioned in Chapter II, is that of having already attained Bodhi.

④ One who attains / will attain Bodhi (至無上正眞之道): KN 60. 10

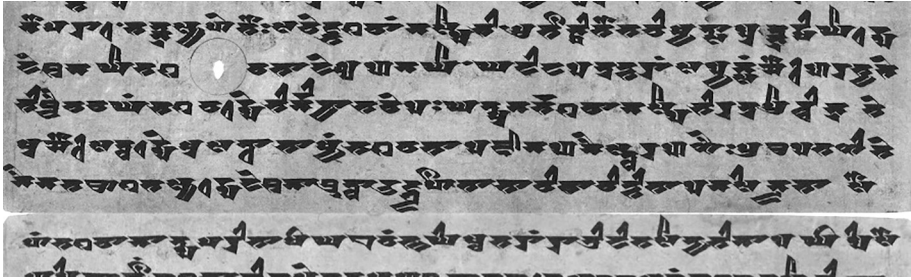
Dr 73b15: 所講演法, 大聖等心, 爲開士歎思奉尊者, 爲受第一如來訓典 堪至無上正眞之道. 我等所順而被衣服所建立, 願不以頻數. 唯然世尊! 鄙當爾時用自剋責, 晝夜寢念.

Kj 10c07: 所以者何: 若我等待說所因成就阿耨多羅三藐三菩提者, 必以大乘而得度脫. 然我等, 不解方便隨宜所說, 初聞佛法遇便(by chance), 信受思惟取證. 世尊! 我從昔來終日竟夜每自剋責.

*Why is this so? If we had waited for your teachings with regard to that on which attainment of the full dynamic of ultimate enlightenment is founded, we surely would have had **the Great Vehicle** with which to gain emancipation. But we did not understand that you were skillfully expounding with means that were appropriate for us then. When we first heard the Buddha's teachings, we immediately took them to heart, focused our minds on them, and attained a*

realization. World-honored One! I have spent long days and nights intensely questioning and struggling with myself. [J. LOGAN]

CA (IOM RAS SI P/5) 65b3–66a1 (pl. 3):



Pl. 3 from IOM RAS/Soka Gakkai/IOP

tat kasya hetoḥ saced bhagavāṃn asmābhi pratīkṣitobhaviṣyat sāmūtkarṣiṣyā dharma(4)deśanayā bhaga○vatā deśyamānaya• yad idam anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim ārabhya **te(5)bhiś**²⁵caiva vayaṃ **bhagava-dharmebhir** (= K_j 大乘?) niryā bhavema: yat punar bhagavān asmābhir²⁶anuprārthika te(6)su bodhisatva-dharmesu sandhābhāṣyaṃ bhagavatām ajānamānais tvaramānaiḥ prathamabhaṇite(7)naina²⁷ tathāgatasya dharmadeśanā śrūtvā udgrhītā bhāvitā cintitā manasikṛtā so (66a1)haṃ bhagavān ātmaparibhāṣāya evaṃ bhūyiṣṭhatarāṃ rātriditasāny atināmayāmi

Why is this so? [Why is this not the Buddha's fault?] If, Bhagavat, we had waited (pratīkṣita) for “the most excellent exposition of Dharma to be shown by the Bhagavat,” then, we would be liberated (niryā) by none other than “those Dharmas of the Bhagavat” which aim, namely, for anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim. Moreover (yat), although the Bhagavat desired (anuprārthika) these Bodhisattva-dharmas for us, / desired the dharma of attaining Bodhi (bodhi-saTvan) for us (teṣu bodhisatvadharmesu), and moreover (punar) if the Bhagavats’ purposeful intention is [what was being

²⁵ *tebhiś* < *te+ebhis* = *taiḥ*

²⁶ **PW:** *prārthya* adj. what someone (instr. gen.) desires. (WATANABE 1966–71: 99) says, “When we did **not seek [anuprārthika]** the Bodhisattva Dharma”. However, *anuprārthika* is not [**an-upārthika**]; it is [**anu-prārthika**] (anu-pra-arthin) instead. Regarding the Prakrit form of [*prārthita*] (KARASHIMA 1993: 189 (14) states that it is [*prasthita*]). There is no question that the singular suffix *-ika* in [anu-prārth-ika] (one who is desired) refers to Bhagavat, even if it is interpreted as [*prasthita*] (set forth).

²⁷ *-bhaṇitenaina* < *-bhaṇite+anaina* (*anena*).

expressed] we didn't know it. [At the time] "the first preached by him (anena)" we hastily heard as it was "the Exposition of the Dharma by the Tathāgata," and we caught, imagined, thought, and took it to heart. As such, I spend most of my time day (*ditasāni* read *divasāni*) and night criticizing myself.

Gb²⁸ 20a2–5 (GMNAI) (pl. 4):

tat kasya hetoḥ saced bhagavān asmābhiḥ pra(3)tīkṣitaḥ syāt sāmukarṣikī²⁹ dharmadeśanā katha yamāno yad idam anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim ārabhya teṣv eva vyaṃ bhagavan dharmeṣu niryātāḥ syur³⁰ yat punar bhagavān³¹ asmābhir anupasthiteṣu³² bo(4)dhisatvesu sandhābhāṣyaṃ bhagavatojānamānair³³ atvaramāṇaiḥ prathamabhāṣitā eva tathāgatasya dharmadeśanā śrutā³⁴ udgrhītā³⁵ bhāvitā cintitā manasīkṛtā• sohaṃ bhagavann ātma pari(5)bhāṣayā³⁶ eva bhūyiṣṭhena rātrndivāny³⁷ atināmayāmi•

Why is this so? [Why is this not the Buddha's fault?] If we had expectations that the Bhagavat would express "the most excellent exposition of the Dharma," that is, with Anuttarasamyaksambodhi as the aim, [then] Bhagavat, we would have emerged from "**those dharmas**". In other words (yat punar), [we are] not grasping the Bhagavat's purposeful intention, what the Bhagavat first preached when the Bodhisattvas were not present (*anupasthita*)/ to those whose desire for Bodhi (*bodhi-saTvan*) was incomplete (*anupasthita*), was carefully (**Gb**: atvara-) / hastily (**Ga**, **KN**: tvara-) heard by us as "the exposition of the Tathāgata's Dharma," and we received it, pondered it, and took it to heart. I spend most of my time day and night criticizing myself for that.

²⁸ Text corresponding to this passage in **Ga** manuscript is incomplete.

²⁹ cf. sāmukarṣikīṃ dharmadeśanāṃ **KN**.

³⁰ cf. syāma (Optative. 1st. plural) **KN**.

³¹ cf. bhagavann **KN**.

³² **PW**: *sthā* "anupasthita unvollständig (incomplete)" Śat. Br. 2, 3, 1, 13". cf. (EGGELING 1882: 330) said 2, 3, 1, 13: tad etad *anupasthitam agnihotraṃ* "Hence that Agnihotra is unlimited". The author believes that **PW**: unvollständig (incomplete) fits better than **EGGELING**: unlimited. *agnihotra* offerings are used in the sense of being incomplete, that is, not all of them are there.

³³ **Ga** 24b5 obhagavato jānamānais tvar[a]///.

³⁴ **KN** śrutvo.

³⁵ **KN** adds dhāritā.

³⁶ **KN** bhāṣaṇayaiva (-bhāṣaṇā f. singular. Instrumental).

³⁷ **KN** rātriṃ divāny.



Pl. 4 from GANAI/Soka Gakkai/IOP

The expression [anupasthiteṣa bodhisattveyu] (Kern's translation:³⁸ at the moment of the Bodhisattvas not being assembled) is one of the important discussions in Chapter III.³⁹ However, [an-upasthita] is just **one example** throughout *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*,⁴⁰ and there is no translation into either Chinese translation. In Tibetan, it is རྒྱལ་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔལ་པ་མཆོག་པོ་ [byang chub sems dpa'] (bodhisattva) [ma tshogs par] (assembled⁴¹), but in Tibetan, it is usually translated as [upasthita]: [**ñe** bar lhags] (IV v.19), [**ñe** gnas] (XVII v. 4), [**ñe** bar 'ongs pa] (XXIV v. 10), the word [**ñe**] (near) is used. This may not be considered as the negation [upasthita] as [**ñe bar mi**]. As we have seen in example ③, the use of [antika] is an example of the use of the fixed phrase "I heard the Dharma while near the Bhagavat." Furthermore, the Tibetan translation "when the bodhisattvas were not present",⁴² and Kern's translation cannot explain the point in time when Bodhisattvas were not present. Thus, the use of "Bodhisattva" in examples ③ and ④ above is surprising.⁴³ Looking at the contents of Chapter I, 1,200 śrāvaka(s), 80,000 bodhisattvas and other living beings have already gathered before the Buddha. In the verse, the śrāvaka(s) and bodhisattvas are mentioned as those **who seek Bodhi**. In Chapter II, Buddha-knowledge (jñāna) and Buddha-vehicle (yāna) are men-

³⁸ KERN, J.H. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, or The Lotus of the True Law*. Oxford: Clarendon.

³⁹ What is the meaning of "Bodhisattvas not being assembled"? (KARIYA 1983: 250 n.6) says, "Before the emergence of [Mahā-yāna] and [Bodhisattva-yāna]. The temporal order in which the two vehicles of [Śrāvaka-yāna] and [Pratyekabuddha-yāna] were mentioned first, and then the [Mahā-yāna/Bodhisattva-yāna] appeared". This view probably stems from historical thinking. According to the traditional interpretation, the [Mahā-yāna] is later than the [Śrāvaka-yāna] (the Vehicle of the Disciples). However, in the Text, before Chapter III, Bodhisattvas are already mentioned. If one thinks of it as a continuation of the story, the idea of "Bodhisattvas not being assembled" feels like it does not follow the flow.

⁴⁰ SP Index (*Index to the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra -Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese-*. Tokyo 1985–1993.) p. 45.

⁴¹ *accumulation; 'kinds' of perception*. JÄSCHKE, Heinrich August. *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*. 1881. (Reprint, Kyoto, 1993.) p. 451.

⁴² "If we had stayed when the Bhagavān was teaching the excellent Dharma, commencing with the highest, complete enlightenment, then, Bhagavān, we also would have been liberated in that Dharma. Also, Bhagavān, when the bodhisattvas were not present, we did not understand the Bhagavān's teaching that had an implied meaning. We immediately heard..." <https://84000.co/collections/kangyur> cf. **Tib. Hem** 34b5: *byang chub sems dpa'i ma tshogs par* (MS. of Hemis I Kanjur, mDo de, pha).

⁴³ cf. MATSUMOTO 2010: 35. According to Matsumoto's philosophical critical research, "the verses in Chapters II and III were also established later than the prose part in III, and the prose part in III is based on the [Mahā-yāna] thought, that is, the discriminatory idea that [Eka-yāna] = [Mahā-yāna] inherited the position".

tioned significantly. Then verses 8–17 say, even śrāvaka(s), pratyekabuddha(s), avaiartika-bodhisattva (below example ⑥) cannot reach the realm (viṣaya) of the knowledge of Buddhas (verse 17). However, the final verse part contradicts that by saying that both śrāvaka(s) and bodhisattvas will become buddhas. In other words, both śrāvaka(s) and bodhisattvas **seek Bodhi**. This is the result of the Buddha's work in his exposition of the Dharma [dharmadeśanā]. If we also consider the manuscripts, the sentence “Bodhisattva were not present” does not exist in CA ms. The word corresponding to the negative term [an-upasthita] (**Ga**) is [anu-prārthika] (**CA**). This singular form [anu-prārthika] does not correspond to bodhisattvas [teṣu bodhisattvadharmaṣu],⁴⁴ i.e., the plural form — that is, there is no negative connotation. This is the same for both Chinese translations. For comparison:

[Chin]

1. The Bhagavat's impartial mind inspires respect in him [開士], and he receives the Tathāgata's first instruction [如來訓典] and attains Bodhi [堪至無上正真之道].

2. Although we [Śāriputra] follow this and base [建立] ourselves on it.

3.

4. ...we do **not aspire** [願] to it (Bodhi) constantly [頻數].

As a result (Dr): he criticized [自剋責] himself.

1. We [Śāriputra] thought that we would attain Bodhi [成就阿耨多羅三藐三菩提]

2. ...by attaining liberation through a Mahāvāna [大乘].

3.

4. But at that time we did not understand the skilful means [方便]. When we first heard the Buddha's teachings [佛法], we immediately accepted them.

As a result (Kj): he criticized [自剋責] himself.

[Skt.]

1. If we had waited for his exposition of dharma [dharmadeśanā] with the aim of Bodhi [anuttarā samyakṣambodhi]. (**CA/Gb**)

2. Thought that we had attained liberation through the dharmas of the Bhagavat [bhagava-dharmebhir]. (**CA**)

⁴⁴ This reading is unique to the CA manuscript. cf. example ⑦. In the KN edition, bodhisattva-dharma exists only in Chapter XIV in KN 309.6, as it also exists in the Gilgit manuscripts (**Ga**) and CA ms. In addition, bodhisattva-dharma also appears in Chapter IV of the CA manuscript only, while the corresponding reading in Gilgit manuscripts (**Gb**) is esu dharmeṣu, and in **KN** it is buddha-dharmeṣu. Although it is difficult to determine which reading is correct, it would be clear that the CA manuscript reading prefers *bodhisattva(dharma)* to *Buddha(dharma)*.

3. What the Buddha desired [**anuprārthika**] was aimed at the Bodhisattva dharma [bodhisatvad**harmeṣu**] (CA) / When the Bodhisattvas were not present [**anupasthiteṣu** bodhisatveṣu] (Gb)

4. Not understanding the intentions of the Buddhas / the Buddha (CA/Gb), heard hastily that what was “first preached” was “the Tathāgata’s exposition of Dharma” [tathāgatasya dharmadeśanā]. (CA/Gb)

As a result (CA/Gb): he criticized [atināmayāmi] himself.

Interpretations are already divided between the two Chinese translations. CA-2 and Kj-2 are slightly similar. CA-2 says: ‘I thought I had attained **Bodhi** through the [**Dharmas of the Bhagavat**] (*it means Kj-2 Mahāyāna?*), without knowing that it was meant to be CA-3 [Bodhisattva’s **Dharma**]’. Perhaps the CA explains that “*those Dharmas of the Bhagavat*” are [Bodhisattva’s **Dharma**] and *sandhābhāṣya*. However, there are no texts other than the CA that *have the interpretation* a *Bodhisattvadharma*. This is also clear from a comparison with the Gilgit manuscript.

The context is easier to understand if 2 and 4 are connected, as Chinese translations do. In other words, in Gb: ‘We thought it was a Dharma to Bodhi, but it was the exposition of the Dharma [dharmadeśanā] by the Tathāgata’.

Now, let me interpret Gb-3 based on my hypothesis. The first is presented as bodhisaTTva and the second as bodhisaTvan.

[bodhisaTTva]

(1) We expected it to be the exposition of dharma to lead to Bodhi.
(4) Hastily heard it as the exposition of the Dharma by the Tathāgata, without knowing that it was (3) by intention when the Bodhisattvas were not present [**anupasthiteṣu** bodhisatveṣu].

[bodhisaTvan]

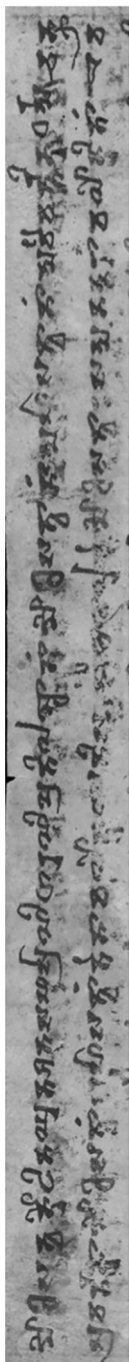
(1) We expected it to be the exposition of Dharma to lead to Bodhi.
(4) Hastily heard it as the exposition of Dharma by the Tathāgata, without knowing that it was (3) by intention for people whose aspirations for bodhi were incomplete⁴⁵ [**anupasthiteṣu** bodhi-satveṣu].

According to the above, being incomplete in the aspiration for Bodhi can be interpreted to mean being a śrāvaka, i.e. Śāriputra. This “aspire” [saTvan > √san] suggests 4. Dr [願] in the Chinese above. This is because it is understood in SP that a śrāvaka was seeking Nirvāna but not Bodhi [anuttarā samyaksambodhi].

⁴⁵ See note 32 *anupasthita*.



Pl. 5



Pl. 6

From the British Library Collection: IOL San 489 and 490

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Chapter X

⑤ One who became a Tathāgata

Dr 100b14: 爾時世尊告八萬菩薩, 因藥王開士緣, 諸菩薩等寧察斯四部衆...

In the first half of Chapter X, “藥王如來品⁴⁶” (**Dr**: 99a25-100b13) **Dr**’s translation only, this content said that “the crown prince [善蓋] (shàn gài) who gave a memorial service to King of Medicines Tathāgata [藥王如來], and after the extinguishment of King of Medicines Buddha [藥王佛] he will be a preacher of the *sūtra* named *King of Medicines Tathāgata* [藥王如來], and lead [開化] all the people of the world.” As a result, Chapter X, “藥王開士” which follows that text refers to the King of Medicines Tathāgata who became a Buddha and is distinguished from other Bodhisattvas.

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Chapter XII (**Dr**/Gb/KN): Chapter XIII (CA/Kj)

⑥ One who comprehends [逮] the Dhāraṇīs [諸總持], who preaches [講] the never retrogressing Dharma wheel: **KN** 270.8

Dr 106c15 (XII): 於時世尊, 顧眄八十億姪百千, 逮諸總持開士講「不退轉法輪。」時諸菩薩見佛照臨。

Kj 36b08 (XIII): 爾時世尊, 視八十萬億那由他諸菩薩摩訶薩: 是諸菩薩, 皆是阿惟越致,⁴⁷ 轉「不退法輪」得諸陀羅尼。

IOL San⁴⁸ 489v8–490 (XII) (pl. 5, 6):

atha khalu bhagavā [ye]na tāny aśīti(1)bodhisatvakotīnayutaśatasahasrāṇi **dhāraṇīpratilabdhānām**⁴⁹ bodhisatvānām mahāsatvānā[m]m avaiarttika-dharmacakkra-(2)pravartakā-bodhisatvām [ma]hāsatvām tenāvaloka[ya]ti sma atha khalu te bodhisatvā: ...

⁴⁶ Cf. MAEGAWA 2015: 157.

⁴⁷ This word is used in only two instances. In Chapter XV, **Kj**’s [阿惟越致-地] (42b21) is thought to be a transliteration of [avaivartya-bhūmi] (stage of never-retrogressing). Although **Dr** translates it as [不退轉-地] (113b18), **Kj**’s translation in Chapter II is as [不退-諸菩薩] (6a16) for [avaivartika bodhisatva].

⁴⁸ Photo by IDP International Dunhuang Programme. <https://idp.bl.uk/collection/>. This corresponding Reading in CA (SI P/5, SI P/10) cannot be found. Although, Toda, Hirofumi in *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra Central Asian Manuscripts, Romanized Text*. TOKUSHIMA 1981: 133 shows. “atha khalu bhagavām yena tāny aśītibodhisatvakotīnayutaśatasahasrāṇi **pratilabdhānām bodhisatvānām mahāsatvānā** avaiarttika-dharmacakra-pravartakā-bodhisatvā-mahāsatvās tenāvalokayati sma|| atha khalu te bodhisatvāḥ.” It is not known which manuscript he used.

⁴⁹ Hoernle without number; edition Wille, Klaus. “Weitere kleine *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*-Fragmente aus der Sammlung Hoernle (London)” *Indica et Tibetica* 35, SWISTAL-ODENDORF 1998: 248: 2 /// [h] (a) sr[ā] + <<**dhāraṇī**>>[p]r(a)tilabdhānām bodhi + /// **dhāraṇī** is inserted interlinearly.

Gb (GMNAI) 74a4 (XII):

atha khalu bha(5)////+++++[śī]tim bodhisatvaśatasahasrāṇi
dhāraṇīpraṭi labdhānām bodhisatvānām avaivartya-dharmacakra-
 pravartakānām tenāvaloka yāmāsa:)) atha khalu te bodhisatvā mahāsattvā...

KN 270.8 (XII):

atha khalu bhavagān yena tāny aśītibodhisattvakoṭīnayutaśatasahasrāṇi
dhāraṇīpratīlabdhānām bodhisatvānām avaivartikadharmacakra-
 pravartakānām tenāvalokayāmāsa| atha khalu te bodhisattvā mahāsattvāh...

Thereafter the Lord looked towards the eighty hundred thousand Bodhisattvas. Bodhisattvas who were endowed with Dhāraṇī and were able to move forward the never-retrogressing Dharma wheel. Thereafter the Lord looked towards the eighty hundred thousand Bodhisattvas. They were endowed with Dhāraṇī, achieved(saTvān) Bodhi, and were able to move forward the never-retrogressing Dharma wheel.

In the Gilgit manuscript, the number of Bodhisattvas is the same as 80,000 [[śī]tim...śatasahasrāṇi] Bodhisattvas in Chapter I, which explains the characteristics of Bodhisattvas. For this part, **Dr** translates; 1) [菩薩八萬 (80,000) 皆不退轉 (never retrogressed), 堅住無上正真之道] and 2) [逮總持法 (comprehends Dharma of a magical formula⁵⁰) 得大辯才, 常讚歎不退轉法輪] (63a15, in Chapter I). As seen in ⑥ [八十億姪百千] is more than 80,000. **Dr** may have distinguished the characteristics of the Bodhisattvas who never retrogressed [不退轉]⁵¹ and ⑥ [開士] who have comprehended Dhāraṇī [總持] and also preach the [不退轉法輪].

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Chapter XIV(**Dr/Gb/KN**): Chapter XV(**CA/Kj**)

⑦ One who obtains the Great Path (成大道): **KN** 309. 4

Dr 112a21: [諸菩薩大士衆...(a22)皆集]忍界吾始逮無上正真道成最正覺時, 勸悅斯等, 立不退轉, 使成大道教授化立, 族姓(kulaputrā)開士大士⁵²之衆, 處于下方而於其中。

⁵⁰ KARASHIMA's Dictionary. *A Glossary of Dharmarakṣa's Translation of the Lotus Sutra*. The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology Soka University, Tokyo 1998.

⁵¹ "The Bodhisattva confirmed that he will become a Buddha and attain complete enlightenment, and who will never turn back from that state". WATANABE 1966–71: 106.

⁵² Although there are many terms, [開士大士] appears over 100 times in Dharmarakṣa's *Guang zan jing* (GZJ) 『光讚經』 Taisho No. 0222, Vol. 08, (147a–16b), they can be found in Chapter 3 [last] [行空品第三下] (156a). Unfortunately, this part is not in the scope of ZACCETTI'S [2005] very detailed annotated translation. According to his research, Chapter 1 in the GZJ portion is entirely made up of phrases shaped in the form "the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva who wishes to [do or achieve a certain thing]" should train himself in the *prajñāpāramitā*

Kj 41b02: 我於是娑婆世界得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提已,教化示導是諸菩薩,調伏其心令發道意。此諸菩薩皆於是娑婆世界之下此界虛空中住。

I taught, nurtured, instructed, and guided these bodhisattvas in this Sahā world after I attained the full dynamic of ultimate enlightenment. I disciplined their hearts and minds, and caused them to awaken a will for the Way. All of these bodhisattvas have been living in the realm of space beneath the ground of this Sahā world. [J. Logan]

CA (IOM RAS SI P/5) 296a7:

mayai (1)/// ++ ajita bodhisa(tvā ma)hāsadvā sarve iha sahe lokadhātāv anuttarām samyaksaṃ bo(2)[dhi]m abhisaṃbuddhya samā[da]pitā anuttarāyām samyaksaṃbodhau pariṇāmitā mayā (3)eva ajita **ete bodhisatvā** atra **bodhisatvadharmaṣu** paripācitā niveśitā• (4)pratiṣṭhā pitā◦parisaṃsthāpitā anuttarāyām samyaksaṃbodhau• avatāritāḥ (5)[pa]ribodhitā• **ete cājita bodhisatvā mahāsadvā**• sarve iha sahāyām lokadhā(6)tau heṣṭi-m-ākāśadhātuparigrahe prativa+nta///

Ga (GMNAI) 112b7:

mayai te ajita sarve te bodhisatvā mahāsadvā asyām sahāyām lokadhātāv anuttarām samyaksaṃbodhi(8)m abhisaṃbuddhya ⁵³ samādāpitānuttarāyām samyaksaṃbodhau• pari ṇāmitā mayai **te kulaputrā** ⁵⁴ asmiṃ **bodhisatvadharma** paripācitāḥ pratiṣṭhāpitāḥ niveśitāḥ parisaṃ sthā(113a)pitā: avatāritāḥ paribodhitā: **ete cājita bodhisatvā mahāsadvā**: asyām sahāyām lokadhātāv adhastād ākāśadhātu-parigrahe prativasate sma•

Ajita! Indeed, ever since I realized anuttarām samyaksaṃbodhim in this Sahā world, all of those great Bodhisattvas have been established and developed toward anuttarām samyaksaṃbodhim. By me, O kulaputrā! They are the ones who have been fulfilled (pari-pac), inspired (pra-sthā), entered into (ni-viś), stimulated (parisaṃ-sthā), and crossed over to (ava-tar) and awakened (pari-budh) in this Bodhisattva Dharma / Dharma of attaining (saTvan) Bodhi. And Ajita! These Bodhisattva Mahāsattvas filled and resided in the realm of space beneath the ground of this Sahā world.

(ZACCHETTI 2005: 45). He called this “textual module,” and says it allows the text to easily give sections and modify them by repeating, adding, or removing. If my hypothesis allows, in this module in Chapter 1, the subject is *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva* [菩薩摩訶薩], which is continued in Chapter 3 [first] [行空品第三上]. And after the training in Chapter 3 [first] i.e., in the *prajñāpāramitā*, the *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva* [菩薩摩訶薩] will be called [開士大士] in Chapter 3 [last].

⁵³ KN added *samuttejitāḥ sampraharṣitā*.

⁵⁴ Although we can read *kulaputrā* as a Vocative, the following sentences describe it as a Nominative. However, CA interprets only this *kulaputrā* as *bodhisattva*.

Usually in SP, [kulaputrā] (people of good intent) is used as a vocative case to express an audience. In Chapter XIV, it is necessary to distinguish between *Bodhisattvas* who rose and emerged from beneath [族姓開士大士之衆] (**Dr**) and *Bodhisattvas* such as *Maitreya* [諸菩薩大士衆] (**Dr**). Therefore, after the Buddha called *Ajita* (Maitreya), the former became vocative as kulaputrā [族姓]. The problems are: 1) The following *bodhisattva-dharma* [使成大道/令發道意] (**Dr/Kj**) is the Sanskrit word that only appears here throughout *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*.⁵⁵ 2) Both Chinese give the translation of way [道], no translation of dharma [法], despite the many translations with [菩薩法]. The first problem can be attributed to the fact that in the second half of *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, the term “Bodhisattva” gradually becomes more prominent. Of these, a unique interpretation of the **CA** manuscript can be seen in ④. The strong tendency towards the term “Bodhisattva” is accompanied by the flowering of Bodhisattva thought in Khotan.⁵⁶

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Chapter XIX, XXII, XXVI

They are all Bodhisattva Mahāsattvas ⑧ who give statements for Bodhisattva practice ⑨ who acquire Samādhi ⑩ who acquire the total command of wondrous capabilities

⑧ Chapter XIX (**KN** 377.12):

This is the *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sadāparibhūta* (Never Belittle Bodhisattva⁵⁷)

Dr (XIX) 122c23: 何故名之常被輕慢, 其開士見比丘比丘尼清信士清信女, 每謂之曰: 諸賢無得憍慢自高.

⑨ Chapter XXIII (**KN** 435.11):

This is the *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara* (Wondrous Sound Bodhisattva)

Dr (XXII) 128b28: 其諸菩薩與妙音開士俱發來者. 尋時皆逮現入衆像三昧正定.

⑩ Chapter XXVI (**KN** 472.1):

⁵⁵ SP Index: 743.

⁵⁶ “Khotan was a major center of **Mahāyāna studies**... That Buddhism flourished there in the ninth and tenth centuries we know from Khotanese sources... it is not surprising that virtually all the surviving literature is Buddhist in content and that even the secular documents are usually in some way colored by Buddhism”. EMMERICK 1979: 5. Cf. See note 14 KARASHIMA 1993: 170f.

⁵⁷ This translation is given in LOGAN Joseph’s *Flowering Lotus of the Wondrous Dharma Sūtra*, [forthcoming].

This is the *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Samantabhadra* (All-embracing Goodness Bodhisattva):

Dr (XXVI) 132c22: 承其開士其大神足無極變化。

From the above examples, **Dr**'s distinction between [開士 *kāi-shì*] and [菩薩 *Bodhisattva*] should be clear. The origin of the idea of “Bodhisattva” is still difficult to elucidate,⁵⁸ but the meaning that appears in the translation [kāi-shì] is the same for all of the previous examples ① to ⑩. That is, someone who attains Bodhi and is certain to become a Buddha. The author compared the Sanskrit word corresponding to [kāi-shì] as meaning “Bodhisattva” [saTTva] and “obtaining Bodhi” [saTvan] using both interpretations. As you can see, **Dr** has distinguished Bodhisattvas who attain Bodhi by calling them [kāi-shì]. In this way, a [kāi-shì] is one who can attain Bodhi. The meaning of obtaining Bodhi, reaching Bodhi, and attaining Bodhi can be said to correspond to the meaning of [saTvan] from √*san*.

Part 2. saTTva from √*as* (participle *sant*) or saTvan from √*san*

In Central Asian manuscripts and Gilgit manuscripts from the 5th to 7th cc., [saTTva] is always written as [saTva]. The same is true of the older Nepalese manuscripts after the 11th century.⁵⁹ The redactor in the edition had no doubt restored the [saTva] written in manuscripts to [saTTva] by convention. Even by convention, [tatva] is also written as [tattva], but since there is no word [tatvan], we will not discuss it here. The Pāli [satta] is due to the phonology with -tta as an assimilation of -tva.⁶⁰ In the Pāli dictionary **PED**⁶¹ [satta] is explained: “(cp, Vedic *sattva* living being, **satvan** ‘strong man, warrior,’ fr. *sant*),⁶² (1) m. a

⁵⁸ “I believe that the idea of a Bodhisattva was conceived in response to the Buddha’s prediction of the Dīpaṃkara (燃燈仏授記). Shākyamuni who obtained the prediction sought Bodhi and attained Buddhahood, and he knows this himself, but he is not yet a Buddha. He is distinguished from those who have **not received the prediction**. The word “Bodhisattva” may have been coined out of necessity for this distinction... However, **the combination *Shākyamuni-Bodhisattva* was not used** much in the Record of the predictions of the Buddha”. HIRAKAWA 1968: 170.

⁵⁹ However, there is no need to prove it strictly from the manuscript, since the proofreader will never doubt the word, *Bodhisattva*.

⁶⁰ PISCHEL § 298 Suffix *tta* = -tva. PISCHEL R. *Grammatik Der Prakrit-Sprachen*. Karl J. Trübner, Strassburg.

⁶¹ **PED** (*Pāli English Dictionary*. Pali Text Society. London 1921–1925.)

⁶² Regarding the dictionary differences about the root of *satvan*: In **PED**: *satvan* is derived from √*sant* (*atthi*, **being, existing**). The root is the same as in **GW** (GRASSMANN, H.G. *Grassmann Wörterbuch zum Rig Veda*. Harrassowitz. Wiesbaden 1873): *sátvan* explained from √*sát* (**as, sein, existieren**). However, the meaning of the root and *satvan* is completely different.

living being, (2) nt. soul.”⁶³ The R̥g-veda dictionary GW: “√*san* is divided into two: ‘acquire’ and ‘gift,’ especially where gods are the subject. It is difficult to decide between the two, since according to the Vedic view, obtaining from the gods also results in giving”.⁶⁴ It is possible that √*san* was also considered the actual notation, especially in the Gilgit manuscript. Accordingly, I do not think that the sense of [saTvan] (warrior) as a noun is not used as much as Har DAYAL states.⁶⁵ I think that the meaning of √*san*, to “acquire,” was strongly retained in [saTvan]. √*san* also has the additional meaning of “reach your goal happily, achieving what you desire”.⁶⁶ In other words, √*san* was probably constructed as a -van suffix adding /t/ and was mostly understood as agent-words, adjectives, nouns and action-nouns.⁶⁷ Language changes from moment to moment, depending on the region and the times. It cannot be said to be used in Buddhism in

GW’s usage of *satvan* is: [rv01.173.05 *tam u ṣṭuhīndraṃ yo ha satvā yaḥ śūro maghavā yo ratheṣṭhāḥ* | Diesen Indra preise, der ein **Soldat**, der ein freigebiger Held, der ein Wagenkämpfer ist, (Praise this Indra, who is a **soldier**, who is a generous hero, who is a chariot warrior).] In this example, *satvā* and *maghavā* both use the suffix -van. And *satvan* is an expression of praise to Indra. It seems unlikely that a word expressing such *strength* could be derived from the √*sat* (being). According to PW: *satvan* is derived from √*san* (win, obtain). I agree with this.

⁶³ [(2) neutral. soul] of Pāli *satta* is the same as Ardhamāgadhī *satta*, but Ardhamāgadhī also includes the meaning of **strength** equal to *satvan*. *Ardhamāgadhī Dictionary* vol. 4 (Muni Ratnacandraji. *An Illustrated Ardha-māgadhī Dictionary*. Probsthain & Co. London 1977: 567): *satta* (*satva*) neutral. (1) The four immobile souls viz the earth etc. (2) Being, (3) Enthusiasm, (4) **Prowess, strength**. In Jainism, which flourished at the same time as Buddhism, *satta* is a neuter noun, and it is also an important word from Jainist thought. Especially, (1) means Non-souls. All existing things are roughly divided into souls and non-souls, and the latter is further divided into four types: conditions of motion, conditions of rest, void, and matter, and together they are called “the five masses of existence”. YAJIMA 1987: 184.

⁶⁴ GW p. 1465 √*san*: Der Begriff spaltet sich in die zwei: „erlangen“ und „schenken“, und bisweilen, namentlich wo Götter Subject sind, hält es schwer, zwischen beiden zu entscheiden, da nach vedischer Anschauung das Erlangen von Seiten der Götter auch das Schenken zur Folge hat.

⁶⁵ DAYAL 1932: 4–9. He analyzes the existing theories on the word Bodhisattva, especially *sattva*, **into seven categories**. “Now [bodhisattva] in the Pāli texts seems to mean ‘a **bodhi-being**.’ But [satta] here does not denote a mere ordinary creature. It is almost certainly related to the Vedic word [satvan], which means ‘Krieger,’ a strong or valiant man, hero, warrior”.

⁶⁶ GW p. 1465 √*san*: 1) **acquire** [A., once, 416.7, partitive gen.] 2) to acquire, capture, win through battle [A.]; 3) **to obtain something** [A.] from someone [L., Ab.], to receive it as a gift; 4) Receive good things (without obj.); 5) **reach your goal happily, achieve what you want**; 6) give something [A.] to someone [D., once (1018,10) L.]; 7) give [A.]; 8) Give well, donate (without obj.).

⁶⁷ WHITNEY: § 1169. WHITNEY W.D. *A Sanskrit Grammar*. Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipzig 1879. cf. MW p. 1465 √*san*: san in a compound for √*sat*. (MONIER William. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. The Clarendon Press. Oxford 1899.)

the same sense as it is used in the Ṛg-veda. Confusion between the double meanings of bodhisattva, [saTTva], and [saTvan] may also have been the cause, as might be expected from the differences found in **Dr**'s translations.

The following usage examples are from *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, Chapter VII and illustrate the difference in usage and different interpretations of [saTTva] and [saTvan] from √*san*.

[**Ga** (GMNAI) 71b2]

tataḥ [sa] deśiko **tām puruṣāṃ** viśrāntāṃ viditvā **tam** ṛddhimayaṃ nagaram anta[rdhā]payeyam antardhāpayitvā ca **tān puruṣānn** evaṃ vaded āgacchantu bhavaṃtaḥ satvā abhyāse sa mahāratnadvīpaḥ idaṃ tuṃ mayā **mahā**nagaraṃ yuṣmākaṃ viśrāmaṇartham abhinirmitam iti

*Therefore, the guide, knowing that **the people (puruṣa)** have rested: [I (=guide)] will make the magic city disappear; and after it has disappeared, [he] will say to **the people**. “Go ahead! sirs, Obtaining (saTvan) is near; this **great** treasure island,⁶⁸ but this, which is a **great** city, was made by me to give you rest”.*

[**KN** 188. 8]

tatas **tān** sa deśiko viśrāntān viditvā **tad** ṛddhimayaṃ nagaraṃ antardhāpayed antardhāpayitvā ca tān puruṣān evaṃ vadet| āgacchantu bhavaṃtaḥ sattvā abhyāsanna eṣa mahāratnadvīpaḥ| idaṃ tu mayā nagaraṃ yuṣmākaṃ viśrāmaṇartham abhinirmitam iti||

*After a while, when the guide perceives that their fatigue is gone, he causes the magic city to disappear and says to them: ‘Come, sirs, there you see (saTTvā) the great Isle of Jewels quite near; as to this **great(!)** city, it has been produced by me for no other purpose but to give you some repose.’ [Kern trsl.]*

Throughout this parable, puruṣa is used to refer to travellers. The word “see” in Kern's translation is not in Sanskrit. Regarding the reading of **Ga**, I think [mahā] (great) is used to emphasize the Great Treasure Island [mahā-ratnadvīpaḥ] and Great Magic City [mahā-nagaraṃ], the same as CA. In this parable, there is no conclusion of arriving at Treasure Island. This is because Treasure Island is Buddha-knowledge [Buddha-jñāna]. To obtain that great Buddha-knowledge they were made to see a great Magic City in order to rest.

⁶⁸ Which means “To reach the treasure island is near”.

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Chapter VII, Verse 79 can be considered as the meaning of the Vedic word [saTvan] as a noun mentioned by Har DAYAL⁶⁹.

[Ga (GMNAI) v. 79]

yathā vyaṃ lokavidū bhavema yathaiva tvaṃ sarvajinānam uttama: ime ca satvā bhavet⁷⁰ sarva evaṃ yathaiva tvaṃ vīra-m-anantacakṣuḥ

How shall we [śrāmaṇera] become knowers of the world, as if we were the highest of all living beings, like you? And shall they (ime) all be so vigorous (saTvan), as brave, and with infinite eyes, as you?

[KN 193.1 v. 79]

yathā vyaṃ lokavidū bhavema yathaiva tvaṃ sarvajinānam uttama| ime ca sattvā bhavi sarvi eva yathaiva tvaṃ vira viśuddhacakṣuḥ

'That we may become sages, knowers of the world, such as thyself art, O supreme of all Jinās, and that all these beings (saTTvā) may become such as thyself art, O hero, O clear-sighted one.' [Kern trsl.]

In the following example, the term **Bodhisattva** is intentionally **omitted**. This is because what the Śrāvaka seeks is the knowledge of the Tathāgata, not the knowledge of the Bodhisattvas.⁷¹

[Ga (GMNAI) 70b2]

ca mama parinirvṛtasyānāgatedhvani śrāvakā bhaviṣyanti• bodhisatvacaryāṃ ca śroṣyanti• na cāvabhotsyante• kiṃ cāpi bhikṣavaḥ...

And at the time of my Parinirvṛta in the future, [they] will become śrāvaka and [will] hear the deeds of those who attain Bodhi.⁷² On the other hand, they will not realize [Bodhi].

⁶⁹ DAYAL 1932: 7. (7) "Sattva" may mean *satvan* "strength, energy, **vigour**, power, courage".

⁷⁰ From my research, there are many cases where KN [bhavi] corresponds to Ga [bhavet] as a singular form. This third-person singular of Ga [bhavet] will also validate my research. Regarding [ime] and [satvā], occasionally the verb will agree with the noun-predicate when adjacent to it, instead of agreeing with the subject. cf. *Sanskrit Syntax* § 27, 2. SPEIJER, J.S. (*Sanskrit Syntax*. Motilal Banarsidass, 1886 (Reprint, Delhi, 1998). According to the CA, after [bhavet], it is read as [evam], not [sarva].

⁷¹ See note 14, KARASHIMA 1993: 170f.

⁷² This translation is for [bodhi-saTvan-caryāṃ]. Because only Ga does not have an object of the verb [avabhotsyante] (to realize). KN, CA, and Gc 3a8 (See note 73) have an object, which means that we do not realize that "we are bodhisattvas". However, this object term is not found in either of the two Chinese translations. [Dr 92b12: 當來末世, 或有發意學弟子乘 (Śrāvakayāna), 成爲聲聞。後不肯聽受菩薩之教 (bodhisatvacaryā?), 不解佛慧, 不行菩薩] *In future lives, those who become śrāvaka through intent to learn the śrāvakayāna. Later, they are unwilling to listen to the Bodhisattvas's teaching, will not understand the wisdom of Buddha, and will not practice the Bodhisattva(?)*. [Kj 25c13: 我滅度後未來世中, 聲聞弟子是也。我滅

[KN 186.3]

ye ca mama parinirvṛtasyānāgatedhvani śrāvakā bhaviṣyanti
bodhisattvacaryām ca śroṣyanti na cāvabhotsyante **bodhisattvā** **vayam iti**
kiṃ cāpi te bhikṣavaḥ...

*And those who shall be my disciples in future, when I shall have attained complete Nirvāṇa, shall learn the course (of duty) of Bodhisattvas, without conceiving **the idea of their being Bodhisattvas**. And, monks... [Kern trsl.]*

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Chapter VII, Verse 81

Although [saTvan] does not appear in the following example, it is given to show the intentional **omission of the word Bodhisattva** in only the **Ga**⁷³ among Gilgit manuscripts. **Ga** v. 81 has only two sentences, “a” pāda and “c” pāda. Many verses in the Gilgit manuscripts have skipped readings due to the repetition of the same letters. However, there are no similar words here. In this context, its verbs [prakāśayī] (v. 80) and [darśayī] (v. 81) are considered to be causative aorist form.⁷⁴ As the prose shows, the process by which Jina leads the princes to such a state and creates such a situation is ‘depicted’ by the princes’ gradual shift from persuasion to conviction.⁷⁵ In other words, the timing of the monologue is during the explanation given by *Buddha*, and not when the princes are in action.

The reasons for the lack of the word *Bodhisattva* in **Ga** are as follows:

1) In prose, princes are called *Bodhisattvas* when they preach the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* at their respective Dharma seats (KN 182.9).

2) Verses 80 to 83 (KN 193.3-8) are scenes in which *Jina* explains *Bodhi* to the princes, so it would be impossible to explain that *Jina* is a *yathā Bodhisattva*.

度後復有，弟子不聞是經，不知不覺菩薩所行] along with those who will be shrāvaka-disciples in the future after I have left this shore. Following my extinguishment there will also be followers who will not have heard that sutra, and they will neither know nor be aware of the practices of bodhisattva. (J. Logan). The Chinese translation (and **KN**) suggests that after becoming a śrāvaka, he becomes a bodhisattva. However, the conclusion of the text continues, “Through producing their concepts of parinirvāṇa possessed by the śrāvaka, they will attain parinirvāṇa”. In conclusion, the word bodhisattva does not seem to be necessary.

⁷³ cf. **Gc**: GNOLI 1988. “The Gilgit Manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtram*” Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Roma, 1987. **Gc** 4a7 (verse. 81) hetu sahasrair upadarśayanto abhijñājnānam ca **prakīrtayanta**• bhūtām carim darśayī lokanātho ya + + + nto **vidubodhisattvā**•). Since **CA** 186a7 has only “a” pāda (verse. 81) hetu sahasrair upadarśayanta. This **CA** reading further reinforces the **Ga** reading. Moreover, it strengthens the work of the author who argues in favor of the specificity of the **Ga** reading.

⁷⁴ cf. **KSG** § 424ff. KIELHORN, Franz. *A grammar of the Sanskrit language*. 1888.

⁷⁵ This represents an aspectual function that I discussed. <https://komazawa-u.repo.nii.ac.jp/records/2033918>

[Ga (GMNAI) 73a2]

so caj-jino āśayu jñatva teṣāṃ kumārabhūtāna tathātma-jānām* prakāśayī
uttamam agra-bodhiṃ drṣṭānta-hetū-nayutair anekaiḥ ||80||

hetū sahasrair upadarśayaṃta: bhūtāṃ [ca]rin darśayi lokanātho ||81||⁷⁶

idam eva saddharmasupunḍarīkaṃ vaipulyasūtraṃ [bha]ga[vā]n uvācaḥ

And, knowing their intentions, by means of many myriads of parables (drṣṭānta) and causes (hetu) the highest superior enlightenment was explained (prakāśayī) by the Jina for his own young sons [80]

By making [the young sons] see (upadarśayaṃtaḥ) by means of thousands of causes, The Protector of the World has shown (darśayi) true practice. [81]

This is the True Lotus Sūtra of great extent, delivered by the Blessed One.

[KN 193.5 v. 81]

so cā jino āśayu jñatva teṣāṃ kumārabhūtāna tathātma-jānām* | prakāśayī
uttamam agra-bodhiṃ drṣṭānta koṭī-nayutair anekaiḥ ||80||

hetū sahasrair upadarśyanto **abhi-jñā-jñānaṃ ca pravartayantaḥ** | bhūtāṃ
carim darśayi lokanātho yathā caranto vidubodhisattvāḥ ||81||

idam eva saddharmasupunḍarīkaṃ vaipulyasūtraṃ bhagavān uvāca |

And the Jina, considering the wish of his sons, the young princes, explained the highest superior enlightenment by means of many myriads of kotis of illustrations. [80]

*Demonstrating⁷⁷ with thousands of arguments and elucidating **the knowledge of transcendent wisdom**, the Lord of the world indicated the veritable course (of duty) such as was followed by the wise Bodhisattvas. [81]*

This very Sūtra of great extension, this good Lotus of the True Law, was by the Lord delivered. [Kern trsl].

Conclusion

The term Bodhi-saTTva does not have the meaning of being a Buddha. If the term bodhi-saTvan (attains / will attain Bodhi) existed first, it would have the same meaning as becoming a Buddha. In light of this, the meaning of bodhi-saTvan [開士], which expresses the person who is certain to become a Buddha in the future, i.e. someone who attains Bodhi, was probably concealed

⁷⁶ Both *pādas* are the same *Triṣṭubh* metre.

⁷⁷ Kern uses [the Lord of the world] as the subject and agent of this present tense [upadarśayaṃto]. However, this present tense is plural, and the persons who are acting, the ones who had to see it, were Princes [kumārabhūtā].

in the term bodhi-saTTva [菩薩], until the term bodhi-saTTva came to have its distinct characteristics.

What is important in Saddharmapuṇḍarīka is “Buddha knowledge” [Buddha jñāna], and the way to that attainment is expressed as “Buddha vehicle” [Buddha yāna]. “Buddha vehicle” indicates a way toward Bodhi rather than merely toward nirvāṇa.

In **Dr**, [開] is used to mean guiding (someone): [開化] for [vinaya] (leading), [開導] for [paripac] (bringing to maturity). For this reason, **Dr** [開士], refers to someone who leads like a Buddha. Even in the 『光讚經』⁷⁸ Guang zan jing, translation of the Larger Prajñāpāramitā, from the same period as the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, the distinction between [菩薩摩訶薩] (great bodhi-sattva) and [開士] (one who attains Bodhi / is certain to become a Buddha) is clear across its Chapters.

In the editions we currently use, it is customary for saTva to be seen as saTTva, so it is unlikely that we will ever find an example of usage based on san. However, in the **CA** manuscripts, which are written as saTva, there is a strong tendency toward the use of Bodhisattva.⁷⁹ Looking at the title of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka,⁸⁰ the words “instructing Bodhisattvas” [bodhisatvā-vavādaṃ (**Ga**)] in Gilgit and Nepal manuscripts have all become “creating

⁷⁸ Taisho vol. 8 no. 222.

⁷⁹ DAYAL 1932: 11. “There are three yānas or ‘ways’, which lead an aspirant to the goal. The third yāna was at first called the **Bodhisattva-yāna**, but it was subsequently re-named **mahā-yāna**. The other two yānas were spoken of as the Hīna-yāna. In the later treatises, the term **Bodhisattva-yāna** is very rare, as mahā-yāna has taken its place. This is sometimes called the Tathāgata-yāna”. Although his research refers to Sanskrit (**KN**) and some Tibetan, in his statements we see several terminological developments (unfortunately his example for *Tathāgata-yāna* shows *mahā-yāna* only). Still, the last term, *Tathāgata-yāna* is not found in SP. Cf. KARASHIMA 1993: 154ff.; MATSUMOTO 2010: 282ff. However, the following only appears in the **CA** manuscript: [trīyaṃ parinirvāṇaṃ vā anyatra **tathāgatayānaṃ** eva **tathāgata-parinirvāṇaṃ** eva (VII, **CA** 181a1)] *there are not three Parinirvāṇa, neither the other Tathagata's vehicle nor the other Tathagata's Parinirvāṇa*. Before this proposition, **CA** says [ekam evetaḍ yānaṃ yad idaṃ tatathāgataparinirvāṇaṃ (**CA** 180b7)] *There is only one vehicle, the Tathagata's Parinirvāṇa*. That is, **CA** interprets is [One vehicle = Tathagata's Parinirvāṇa] and states that it was implied (sūca) by [tathāgata yāna]. Still, there are also additions in other places that can only be known through **CA**'s interpretation. In other words, a whole translation based only on **CA** would be necessary.

⁸⁰ [saddharmapuṇḍarīkaṃ nāma dharmaparyāyaṃ sūtrāntaṃ mahāvaipulyaṃ bodhisattvā-vavādaṃ sarvabuddhaparigrahaṃ] v. l. ①saddharma puṇḍarīkaṃ ②dharmaparyāyaṃ ③sūtraṃ (**CA**) / sūtrāntaṃ (G) ④mahāvaitulyaṃ (**CA**) / mahāvaipulyaṃ (G) ⑤**bodhisatvotpādaṃ** (**CA**) / **bodhisatvāvavādaṃ** (G) ⑥sarvabuddhaparigrahaṃ this sentence appeared in Chapters I, III, VII, and XX in SP. especially ⑤ G means “instruction for *Bodhisattvas*,” while **CA** means “creating *Bodhisattvas*”.

Bodhisattvas” in CA [bodhisatvotpādaṃ]. On the other hand, in the Gilgit Manuscripts, where the word saTva is also written, the inflexion of van-stem is used when (Bodhi)saTTva (a-stem inflexion) has been omitted because it does not match the context.⁸¹ HIRAKAWA⁸² states the Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣā Śāstra (T1545), and Abhidharma kośabhāṣya (T1558) which are like encyclopedic works on Abhidharma, do not mention the [Bodhisattva-yāna]. Even though these treatises were created after Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka itself has existed throughout many years in various linguistic texts. In this way, there is a large amount of linguistic material available. Since there are regional and chronological differences in the interpretation of saTva between the Gilgit manuscripts from the 6th to 7th cc. and the CA manuscripts from the 7th to 10th cc. when Bodhisattva ideas were dominant, what is imperative is individual comparison and understanding.

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⁸¹ As in the example in *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* Chapter VII above.

⁸² HIRAKAWA 1982: 8 菩薩乗と仏乗 (Bodhisattvayāna and Buddhayāna) <https://cir.nii.ac.jp/crid/1050850556203405056>. Many words of *Bodhisattva* appear in *Mahāvibhāṣā*, HIRAKAWA’s concludes that “Around the time of the 150 AD, when the *Mahāvibhāṣā* by Sarvāstivāda of Kāśmīra was established, important early Mahāyāna sūtras had already been established. The Sarvāstivāda adopted the term *Bodhisattva* later than other schools, but due to other influences later on, the *Mahāvibhāṣā* adopted the term *Bodhisattva* and developed many *Bodhisattva*-theories”. HIRAKAWA 1991: 463ff.

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