

**Metaphorical Interpretations of “Kalyāṇamitra”**  
**in the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra***

〈 in English 〉

**Jianrong SHI**

Assistant Researcher, International Centre for Hua-yen Studies

**Abstract**

In both Pāli and Mahāyāna traditions, *kalyāṇamitra*—a spiritual benefactor/friend, good companion—has been depicted as a crucial element which has the most decisive impact upon one's religious practice. Although the concept of *kalyāṇamitra* is present in all Buddhist traditions, a significant difference can be observed in the way it is symbolized. The aim of this study is to analyze how the various features of *kalyāṇamitra* are revealed through the metaphors in the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* within the framework of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. According to the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor, each of various metaphors partially structures a concept and jointly provides a coherent understanding of the concept as a whole. This paper investigates metaphors with *kalyāṇamitra* as the target domain from two angles: 1) it summarizes the source domains which are mapped to the *kalyāṇamitra*; and 2) examines the diversity of perspective takings, i.e. the prominent features in the source domain that get mapped onto the target domain.

Through the analysis of the single target projected from multiple sources, this study demonstrates that specific features in a source domain which are mapped onto *kalyāṇamitra* are mainly activated by a verb or verbal phrase in sentences. As for this linguistic category, the mapping relationships between *kalyāṇamitra* and its multiple source domains in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* can be characterized by the following schemas: KALYĀṆAMITRA IS A GUIDE, KALYĀṆAMITRA IS A PROTECTOR, and KALYĀṆAMITRA IS A GENERATOR. These conceptual mappings are grounded on a cognitive perspective that a purposeful LIFE is the unifying concept of a JOURNEY, which occurs in all Buddhist traditions and provides the basis for various metaphorical conceptualizations.

# Metaphorical Interpretations of “Kalyāṇamitra” in the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*\*

Jianrong SHI

**Keywords:** *kalyāṇamitra*, *shanzhishi*, Metaphor, *Gaṇḍavyūha*,  
Conceptual Metaphor Theory

## Introduction

The aim of this study is to analyze how the various features of *kalyāṇamitra* are revealed through metaphors in the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* (hereinafter referred to as *Gv*) within the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. In both Pāli and Mahāyāna traditions, *kalyāṇamitra* (Pāli *kalyāṇamitta*, Ch. *shànzhīshi* 善知識) —a spiritual benefactor, good companion— has been depicted as a crucial element which has the most decisive impact upon one’s religious practice. Although the concept of *kalyāṇamitra* is present in all Buddhist traditions, a significant difference can be observed in the way it is symbolized.<sup>1</sup> Visiting *kalyāṇamitras* and seeking after their teachings is the theme of *Gv*. As a result, this sūtra is frequently referred to as the textual evidence for showing the importance of *kalyāṇamitra* on one’s spiritual path. In the course of search for the next spiritual counsel, the seeker, Sudhana (Ch. *Shàncái* 善財), several times contemplates manifold virtues of *kalyāṇamitras*, describing them by means of multiple metaphors.

Similes (Skt. *upamā*) and metaphors (Skt. *rūpaka*) play an indispensable role in the mode of reasoning Buddhist scriptures employ. It is often seen in the Pāli Canon that the Buddha expounds a viewpoint (Skt. *kāraṇam*) by providing a simile (Skt. *upamā*), introducing it with the standard formula: “As to that, friend, I shall give you a simile, for some wise men understand the meaning of a statement by means of a simile.”<sup>2</sup> Both

\* I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the reviewers for their comments which helped to improve the quality of the original manuscript. My special thanks to Sasha Lyapina for correcting English of this paper and her valuable suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd, 1932), 63; Douglas Edward Osto, *Power, Wealth and Women in Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism: The Gaṇḍavyūha-sutra* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 25.

<sup>2</sup> This formulaic expression in Pāli texts, with minor variations, is expressed as “*tena hi x upamaṃ te karissāmi, upamāyapidhekkacce viññū purisā bhāsitaṃ atthaṃ ājānanti*.” Friedrich Grohmann, “‘Zhìzhě’ wèi bì yǒu zhìhuì—tántán ‘yǐ piyù dé jiě’” 「智者」未必有智慧——談談「以譬喻得解」, 法光 [=Dharma Light Monthly] 304 (January 2015).

metaphors and similes are often used to make unfamiliar familiar, by taking a concrete concept (source domain) to describe an abstract concept (target domain).<sup>3</sup> However, a conceptual domain can be presented from a number of different perspectives. When a subtle comparison reveals a hidden connection or resemblance, metaphor can make us reconsider a familiar concept or experience by disclosing some essential aspects of it. Indeed, in terms of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), “metaphor is a set of cross-domain mappings.”<sup>4</sup> It is customary to represent such mapping relationships with the notation of A IS B.<sup>5</sup> For example, a journey is a conventional metaphor for life, and in the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, the interaction between the target and source domains can be illustrated in the following schema.<sup>6</sup>

| The source domain: JOURNEY   | The target domain: LIFE          |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Traveler                     | The agent, person leading a life |
| Fellow-travelers             | Friends, partners                |
| The beginning of the journey | Birth                            |
| The end of the journey       | Death                            |
| To reach destination         | To achieve a goal                |
| Crossroads                   | Dilemma, the necessity of choice |
| Obstacle                     | Difficulties                     |
| Ups and downs (on the road)  | Good and bad situation           |

Adopting the view of CMT that each of various metaphors partially structures a concept and jointly provide a coherent understanding of the concept as a whole,<sup>7</sup> this paper investigates metaphors with the *kalyāṇamitra* as the target domain from the two angles: 1) it summarizes multiple source domains which are mapped onto *kalyāṇamitra*; and 2) examines the diversity of perspective takings, i.e. the prominent features in the

<sup>3</sup> J. I. Saeed, *Semantics* (London: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1997), 303.

<sup>4</sup> Zoltán Kövecses, *Language, Mind, and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 116.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> The schema is revised from diagrams of E. Subbotina (“CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR,” *ScoDis*, accessed August 31, 2020, <http://scodis.com/for-students/glossary/conceptual-metaphor/>) and Kövecses (*Language, Mind, and Culture*, 116).

<sup>7</sup> Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2003), 89.

source domain that get mapped.

This approach reveals a divergence in how the concept of *kalyāṇamitra* is perceived and metaphorical structured in early Buddhist texts and *Gv*; and allows to explore some peculiar implications of the *kalyāṇamitras*’ metaphorical imagery in *Gv*.

### 1. *Kalyāṇamitta/kalyāṇamitra* in Pāli Literature and Chinese Āgamas

Before we go into the subject, it would be helpful to have a brief overview of the *kalyāṇamitta* in Pāli literature, which we shall later compare with the use of the concept in *Gv*. According to the study of Steve Collins, the term *kalyāṇamitta* in the Pāli canon often stands for “someone who acts in more or less specific ways as a ‘helper on the Path.’”<sup>8</sup> With a comprehensive survey of the use of term in all major Pāli texts, Collins divides the meanings of *kalyāṇamitta* into three levels: 1) a simple sense, “in which trustworthiness, reciprocity and perhaps a consequent mutual regard are extolled,” 2) a “Buddhicised” level, “in which such sentiments are set within the framework of Buddhist morality,” and 3) a specifically Buddhist sense, applied “to someone who helps another on the Buddhist Path.”<sup>9</sup> Moreover, Collins points out that the term of *kalyāṇamitta* can be read as either a descriptive compound (Skt. *karmadhāraya*) or in a possessive format (Skt. *bahuvrīhi*). When *kalyāṇamitta* is read as a descriptive compound, it refers to four types of helpers 1) the Buddha, 2) other famous monks as exemplars, 3) any monk or layperson who advises and encourages, and 4) the giver of a meditation subject.<sup>10</sup> In the *bahuvrīhi* morphological interpretation, Collins cites a verse of the *Theragāthā* to demonstrate that *kalyāṇamitta* can be read in *bahuvrīhi* sense meaning “one who has a good friend.”<sup>11</sup>

Although Collins provides an elaborate analysis of *kalyāṇamitta*, examples of its metaphorical elaborations are lacking in his study. It is probable that the concept of *kalyāṇamitta* is rarely represented in a metaphorical way in the early canon. In fact, there are two examples which can only be found in the Chinese Āgamas. Firstly, in the *Madhyama-āgama* (Ch. *Zhōngāhán-jīng* 中阿含經) discourse 69, *Sutra of Thirty Similes* (Ch. *Sānshíyù-jīng* 三十喻經),<sup>12</sup> the Buddha compares sublime precious objects that a

<sup>8</sup> Steve Collins, “Kalyāṇamitta and Kalyāṇamittatā,” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* XI (1987): 51.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 51-53.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> The discourse 69 only exists in the Chinese collections, translated by Gautama Saṃghadeva (Ch. *Qūtānsēngqiétípó* 瞿曇僧伽提婆) of the Eastern Jin Dynasty. According to Bhikkhu Ānalayo’s study, the *Madhyama-āgama* contains more discourses than the *Majjhima-nikāya*. See Bhikkhu Ānalayo, *A Comparative Study of the Majjhima-nikāya* (Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation, 2010), 7-8.

king and his chief ministers possess to the factors which monks and nuns need for the purpose of abandoning evil and cultivating the good. There is one simile pertaining to *\*kalyāṇamitra*<sup>13</sup> (Ch. *shànzhīshì*):

- (1) Sāriputta! Just like a king and his chief ministers have bathing helpers, who constantly [provide the service of] cleaning their body. Sāriputta! In the same way, monks and nuns shall consider *\*kalyāṇamitras* as bathing helpers. If monks and nuns achieve [the perception] of *\*kalyāṇamitras* as bathing helpers, they are able to abandon evil and cultivate the good.<sup>14</sup>

Lakoff and Johnson point out that the metaphorical structuring of concepts is necessarily partial, i.e. there are a “used” part and an “unused” part in a metaphor.<sup>15</sup> Apparently, the source domain “having bathing helpers” is mapped to the advantages of having *kalyāṇamitras*; however, the simile does not to reflect the inferior status of bathing helpers in the court. In this case, a *kalyāṇamitra* is regarded as a spiritual assistant in Collins’s third sense: “someone who helps another on the Buddhist Path.”

A different example occurs in the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse 148, *The Clarification of Dukkha* (Ch. *Hékǔ-jīng* 何苦經),<sup>16</sup> where a Brāhman asks the Buddha about how to look on a *\*pāpamitra* (Ch. *èzhīshì* 惡知識, a bad friend) and a *\*kalyāṇamitra* (Ch. *shànzhīshì*). The short answer for this is that “one shall look on a *\*pāpamitra* like the moon,”<sup>17</sup> and the identical source domain “the moon” is applied to the target domain of *\*kalyāṇamitra* as well. Next, the Buddha distinguishes a *\*kalyāṇamitra* from a *\*pāpamitra* as the waxing moon, while a *\*pāpamitra* is like the moon in its waning phase.<sup>18</sup> The metaphor is explicated as the following:

- (2) Brāhman! Just like the moon in its waxing phase: the sliver of the new moon is bright, and its illuminated area is increasing day by day. Then the entire moon is lit up on the fifteenth day of the lunar month. In the same way, a

<sup>13</sup> Hereafter, the asterisk (\*) indicates a reconstructed Sanskrit equivalent of the Chinese, which has not been attested by an original Indic manuscript.

<sup>14</sup> Accentuation by the author. The original Chinese at T1.26.519 a 23-27: 「舍梨子！猶如王及大臣有沐浴人，常使洗浴。舍梨子！如是，比丘、比丘尼以善知識為沐浴人。舍梨子！若比丘、比丘尼成就善知識為沐浴人者，便能捨惡，修習於善。」

<sup>15</sup> Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 52.

<sup>16</sup> The same substances of this discourse can be found in three other Chinese parallels. See T2.99.25 c 3-26 a 2, T2.100.465 b 6-c 4, and T2.125.584 c 11-585 a 5.

<sup>17</sup> The original Chinese at T1.26.660 a 17: 「梵志！當觀惡知識猶如月也。」

<sup>18</sup> The metaphor of *\*pāpamitra* is explicated at T1.26.660 a 19-27.

\**kalyāṇamitra* accepts the Buddha’s teachings (Dharma and Vinaya) with a confident mind. Then he obeys, venerates [the Buddha], follows [the teachings], leans on attentiveness, practices in accordance with the Dharma. His faith, pure observance of the precepts, erudition, generosity and wisdom are growing. At some point, this \**kalyāṇamitra* achieves the completion of all good virtues, like the moon on the fifteenth day. Brāhman! In this way, you should look on a \**kalyāṇamitra* like the moon.<sup>19</sup>

On the moon’s journey from the new to full moon, we see its illuminated part “growing” into a full moon circle. Referring to the four types of “helpers” classified by Collins, the quoted passage suggests that a *kalyāṇamitra* is an exemplar who demonstrates how to grow and complete all virtues along the Buddhist Path. Applying Lakoff and Johnson’s view to this case, the metaphor of “the moon’s waxing phase” refers to the three metaphorically based models of CMT, i.e. LIFE IS A JOURNEY, TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT, and MORE IS BETTER.<sup>20</sup> This metaphor represents two aspects of the concept of *kalyāṇamitra*. Firstly, based on the metaphorical expressions of “increasing day by day” (progress) and “to achieve the completion” (goal), a *kalyāṇamitra* is conceptualized as a SUCCESSFUL TRAVELER. Secondly, in respect of accumulation of virtues (content), a *kalyāṇamitra* is metaphorical structured as a CONTAINER.<sup>21</sup>

Either in the case of “bathing helpers” or “the moon’s waxing phase,” each metaphor can be used to manifest a specific aspect of *kalyāṇamitra*. In the following section I shall classify the source domains for *kalyāṇamitra* in *Gv*. It is peculiar that in *Gv* “full moon” as a source domain appears with considerable frequency; however, *kalyāṇamitra* is never one of its target domains.<sup>22</sup> Given that Theravāda and Mahāyāna

<sup>19</sup> Accentuation by the author. The original Chinese at T1.26.660 b 1-8: 「梵志！猶如月初生，少壯明淨，日日增長。梵志！或時月十五日，其殿豐滿。梵志！如是善知識於如來正法、律得信，彼得信已，而於後時孝順恭敬，所行隨順，立於正智，趣向法、次法。彼增長信，持戒、博聞、庶幾、智慧亦復增長。梵志！有時彼善知識善法具足，如十五日月。梵志！如是當觀善知識猶如月也。」

<sup>20</sup> George Lakoff, “The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor,” in *Metaphor and Thought*, ed. Andrew Ortony (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 222; Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 22 and 42.

<sup>21</sup> Lakoff and Johnson propose that there is coherence between two aspects of a single concept. For example, the JOURNEY and CONTAINER metaphors are used to focus in detail on different aspects of an ARGUMENT (goal and progress versus content), but it is possible in some cases to focus jointly on both the JOURNEY (progress) and CONTAINER (content) aspects of an ARGUMENT. See Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 91-92.

<sup>22</sup> There is an example which compares “the teaching of *kalyāṇamitra*” to “the full moon” (T10.279.351 b 10-11); in most cases, the simile of “the full moon” is taken to indicate the flawless, perfection of Buddhas’ virtues (T10.279.94 c 22, T10.279.95 c 19 or T10.279. 385 c 20-21).

have different goals and emphasize distinct factors of the spiritual life, the mapping relationships between *kalyāṇamitra* and its source domains shall reflect a change in the values of a “helper on the Path” in *Gv*.

## 2. The Data and Category of *kalyāṇamitra* Metaphors

The data for this study mainly come from Thomas Cleary’s English translation of the *Avataṃsaka-Sūtra*, known as *The Flower Ornament Scripture*. Cleary’s translation is supposedly from the Chinese text of Śikṣānanda, but the quotations from the last chapter, “Entering into the Realm of Reality,” used in our study suggest that the source text for this part of Cleary’s translation is primarily P. L. Vaidya’s Sanskrit edition of *Gv*. The same source-text reference is also indicated for “The Ten Stages” chapter of *The Flower Ornament Scripture*.<sup>23</sup> By comparing these three texts – Śikṣānanda’s Chinese, the Sanskrit edition, and Cleary’s translation – we can consider Cleary’s work as “a translation of dynamic equivalence,” which is designed to provide “the closest natural equivalent to the source-language message.”<sup>24</sup> One prominent goal of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory is to reveal the conceptual structures denoted by linguistic expressions. This is an important factor in the adoption of Cleary’s translation in this paper, which is praised among Western scholars of Buddhism for an eloquent communication of the conceptual structures underlying the Chinese and Sanskrit.<sup>25</sup> This feature of Cleary’s translation is elucidated by examples in section 2.2 of the current study.

Additionally, in order to compensate for the lack of annotation in Cleary’s

<sup>23</sup> When Bhikṣu Dharmamitra introduces his annotated English translation of Śikṣānanda’s “The Ten Grounds Chapter” (Ch. *Shīdī-pīn* 十地品), he gives an overview of the three available versions, and remarks: “Regarding this ‘Ten Grounds Chapter’ itself, Thomas Cleary’s translation is represented as a translation from the Chinese of the Śikṣānanda edition of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*. However, it is no such thing. His translation of Chapter 26 which he calls ‘The Ten Stages’ chapter appears to instead be a loose translation of the P. L. Vaidya Sanskrit edition of the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*.” See Bhikṣu Dharmamitra, *The Ten Bodhisattva Grounds: The Avataṃsaka Sūtra Chapter 26* (Seattle: Kalavinka Press, 2019), 22.

<sup>24</sup> Derived from traditional dichotomies between “sense-for-sense” and “word-for-word” translating, Eugene Nida advocates two basic orientations in translating: formal equivalence and dynamic equivalence. Nida defines that a formal equivalence translation is “basically source-oriented” and “it is designed to reveal as much as possible of the form and content of the original message.” In contrast, a translation of dynamic equivalence “aims at complete naturalness of expression” and “must clearly reflect the meaning and intent of the source.” See Eugene Nida, “Principles of Correspondence,” in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 144, 149 and 151.

<sup>25</sup> For example, although Bhikṣu Dharmamitra’s translation is based on Śikṣānanda’s Chinese, he also consults the surviving Sanskrit edition for translating some Chinese technical terms. He mentions: “... it was for the most part possible to trace the antecedent Sanskrit terms and then choose somewhat more accurate English technical term translations than would have resulted from simply trying to translate Śikṣānanda’s terms directly from Chinese.” See Bhikṣu Dharmamitra, *The Ten Bodhisattva Grounds: The Avataṃsaka Sūtra Chapter 26*, 24.

translation, some of English quotations will be supplemented with footnotes to highlight the parallels to Sanskrit *Gv*, as well as its differences with Śikṣānanda's *Rūfǎjiè-pīn* 入法界品.<sup>26</sup>

## 2.1 Data

Unlike the Pāli texts, numerous *kalyāṇamitra*-related metaphors can be found in *Gv*. Among them are metaphors of *kalyāṇamitras* themselves, of their instructions, virtues, and the way of worshipping *kalyāṇamitras*. When we narrow our focus on the *kalyāṇamitra* metaphors with multiple source domains, there are some significant passages come into view. These are presented as follows.

The first set of *kalyāṇamitra* metaphors occurs in Sudhana's reflection prior to his encounter with a laywoman Asha (Skt. *Āśā*, Ch. *Xiūshě* 休捨):

- (3) Seeing spiritual benefactors as teachers of the elements of omniscience,<sup>27</sup>  
seeing spiritual benefactors as eyes to see the sky of buddhahood.<sup>28</sup>

The second set of metaphors we can find in the section where Sudhana expresses his admiration of *kalyāṇamitras* to a seer named Bhishmottaranirghoṣa (Skt. *Bhīṣmottaranirghoṣaḥ*, Ch. *Pímùqūshā* 毘目瞿沙):

- (4) Looking upon spiritual benefactors as the door to omniscience because they  
guide one on the true path, looking upon omniscience as coming from the  
teaching of spiritual benefactors because they lead to the stage of all-

<sup>26</sup> Due to the fact that there are considerable similarities between Vaidya's Sanskrit edition of *Gv* and Śikṣānanda's *Rūfǎjiè-pīn* 入法界品, unlike “The Ten Stages” chapter, Cleary's “Entering into the Realm of Reality” chapter still has a significant degree of correspondence with Śikṣānanda's Chinese. Hereafter, the references will be provided in the following order: the position in Thomas Cleary, *The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sutra* (Boston & London: Shambhala Publication, Inc., 1993); in the Sanskrit P. L. Vaidya ed., *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* (Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute, 1967); and in the Śikṣānanda's Chinese T10, 279.

<sup>27</sup> According to our selected data, Cleary generally translates Sanskrit term *sarvajñatā* as “omniscience.” Here, the phrase “the elements of omniscience” is equivalent to Sanskrit *sarvajñatā-dharmesu*. (Vaidya, *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, 79) Śikṣānanda's Chinese reads as “Buddhas' features” (Ch. *zhūfǎfǎ* 諸佛法, T10.279. 343 a 12).

<sup>28</sup> Accentuation by the author. For the original texts, see Cleary, *The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sutra*, 1208; Vaidya, *ibid.*; T10.279.343 a 11-13. According to the Chinese text, there is one more metaphor which compares *shànzhīshì* to *jīnjī* 津濟 “landing” (Skt. *\*tīrtha*). Śikṣānanda's Chinese reads: “Spiritual benefactors are my landings, leading into to the lotus pools of enlightenment.” (善知識者是我津濟, 令我得入諸佛如來蓮華池故, T10.279.343 a 13-14). This metaphor can also be found in Buddhahadra's Chinese (T9.278.769 b 20-21).

knowledge,<sup>29</sup> looking upon omniscience as coming from the guidance of spiritual benefactors because they lead to the jewel land of the knowledge of the ten powers,<sup>30</sup> looking upon omniscience as illumined by the torch of spiritual benefactors because they produce the light of knowledge of the ten powers,<sup>31</sup> looking upon spiritual benefactors as the path to omniscience leading unbroken to the city of omniscience,<sup>32</sup> looking upon spiritual benefactors as lamps on the way to omniscience because they show the level and the uneven, looking upon spiritual benefactors as a bridge to omniscience because the peril of falling is eliminated,<sup>33</sup> looking upon spiritual benefactors as parasols of omniscience because they produce coolness by the power of great love, looking upon spiritual benefactors as streams of omniscience because they give rise to great compassion,<sup>34</sup> looking upon the satisfaction of the vision of omniscience as coming from spiritual benefactors because they illumine the principle of the inherent nature of phenomena.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>29</sup> The preceding clause “looking upon omniscience as coming from the teaching of spiritual benefactors” corresponds to Sanskrit *kalyāṇamitra-anuśāsanī-adhīnām sarvajñatām sampaśyan*; the following clause is equivalent to Sanskrit compound word *sarvajñatā-bhūmi-upanayena*. (See Vaidya, *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, 87.) Śikṣānanda’s Chinese reads: “Spiritual benefactors are vehicles that tend toward omniscience, because they cause me to arrive at the stage of Tathāgata” (善知識者，則是趣向一切智乘，令我得至如來地故, T10.279.345 b 10-11)

<sup>30</sup> The phrase “coming from the guidance of spiritual benefactors” is interpreted from Sanskrit *kalyāṇamitra-dāsa-adhīnām*, and “the jewel land of the knowledge of the ten powers” is equivalent to Sanskrit *daśa-bala-jñāna-ratnadvīpa-upanayena* (Vaidya, *ibid.*). Śikṣānanda’s Chinese reads: “Spiritual benefactors are boats that tend toward omniscience, because they cause me to arrive at the jewel land of wisdom” (善知識者，則是趣向一切智船，令我得至智寶洲故, T10.279.345 b 11-13). (Accentuation by the author.) It is worth noting the different representations of the source domain in the three texts. Despite the fact that it is written as *dāsa* (usually meaning “demon” or “slave”) in the Vaidya Sanskrit edition, this does not fit the context. Cleary may consider it as a misreading of *deśa*, and renders it as “the guidance.” Śikṣānanda’s Chinese reads as “boats” (Ch. *chuán* 船), related to the Sanskrit word *dāsa*.

<sup>31</sup> It is obvious that in the Sanskrit edition and in Cleary’s translation, the above three lines are constructed differently from the other sentences, while the Chinese text maintains a coherent information structure. Due to the fact that *kalyāṇamitra* is not the target domain in these three lines, they are excluded from the following discussion.

<sup>32</sup> The English counterpart “leading unbroken to the city of omniscience” is equivalent to Sanskrit *akṣuṇṇa-sarvajñatā-pura-prāpaṇatā* (Vaidya, *ibid.*). The clause in Śikṣānanda’s Chinese reads as “because they cause me to enter the city of nirvāṇa” (令我得入涅槃城故, T10.279.345 b 15).

<sup>33</sup> The clause “because the peril of falling is eliminated” corresponds to Sanskrit *sarva-prapāta-bhaya-vigamanatayā* (Vaidya, *ibid.*). Śikṣānanda’s Chinese reads as “because they enable me to cross over perilous places” (令我得度險惡處故, T10.279.345 b 17).

<sup>34</sup> The clause “because they give rise to great compassion” corresponds to Sanskrit *mahākaruṇā-samjānanatayā* (Vaidya, *ibid.*). Śikṣānanda’s Chinese reads as “because they cause me to fulfill the waters of great compassion” (令我滿足大悲水故, T10.279.345 b 21).

<sup>35</sup> Accentuation by the author. For the original texts, see Cleary, *The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sutra*, 1214-1215; Vaidya, *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, 87; T10.279.345 b 9-21.

Thirdly, before Sudhana visit the Bodhisattva Maitreya, two masters, Shrisambhava (Skt. *Śrīsaṃbhava*, Ch. *Déshēng* 德生) and Shrimati (Skt. *Śrīmati*, Ch. *Yōudé* 有德), exhort him to approach spiritual benefactors with the following thoughts in mind:

- (5) Spiritual benefactors are mothers, giving birth to the family of buddhas; they are fathers, producing great benefit; they are nurses, protecting us from all evils; they are mentors, elucidating the learning of enlightening beings; they are guides,<sup>36</sup> leading us into<sup>37</sup> the path of transcendence; they are physicians,<sup>38</sup> relieving us of the maladies of afflictions; they are like the Himalaya Mountains, growing the herb of knowledge;<sup>39</sup> they are heroic warriors, protecting<sup>40</sup> us from all perils; they are ferrymen, ferrying us across the torrents of the mundane whirl; they are helmsmen, delivering us to the treasure island of omniscience.<sup>41</sup>

Furthermore, Shrisambhava and Shrimati deliver an expanded lecture, made up of ten formulations, on how to contemplate *kalyāṇamitras* within an interrelated conceptual framework. Each formulation, which is using parallelism, contains four factors: [practitioner] himself, spiritual benefactors, their instructions and the practices.<sup>42</sup> One

The position of the final metaphor, “looking upon the satisfaction of the vision of omniscience...,” in Sanskrit *Gv* is different from that in the Chinese texts. Clearly obviously follows the Sanskrit edition to arrange it in the end of this set of metaphors. In Buddhahadra’s and Śikṣānanda’s Chinese, it is located before the source domain “streams.” (See T09.278.699 c 15-16 and T10.279.345 b 19-20.) Since *kalyāṇamitra* is not the target domain in this line, this metaphor is excluded from the following discussion.

<sup>36</sup> The English term “guides” appears to be translated from the Sanskrit *daiśika* (Vaidya, *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, 365). Śikṣānanda’s Chinese reads as “expert guides” (Ch. *shàndǎo* 善導, T10.279.421 b 28).

<sup>37</sup> The verbal phrase “leading us into” is interpreted from the Sanskrit *avataraṇatā* (Vaidya, *ibid.*). Śikṣānanda’s Chinese reads as “those capable of showing us” (Ch. *néngshí* 能示, *ibid.*).

<sup>38</sup> The English term “physicians” appears to be translated from the Sanskrit *vaidya* (Vaidya, *ibid.*). Śikṣānanda’s Chinese reads as “good doctors” (Ch. *liángyī* 良醫, T10.279.421 b 29).

<sup>39</sup> The phrase “growing the herb of knowledge” is equivalent to the Sanskrit *jñāna-oṣadhi-vivardhanatā* (Vaidya, *ibid.*). Śikṣānanda’s Chinese reads as “growing all herbs of wisdom” (增長一切智藥, T10.279.421 b 29-c 1).

<sup>40</sup> The English term “protecting” is equivalent to the Sanskrit *ārakṣaṇatā* (Vaidya, *ibid.*). Śikṣānanda’s Chinese reads as “exterminating” (Ch. *tiǎnchú* 殄除, *ibid.*).

<sup>41</sup> Accentuation by the author. For the original texts, see Cleary, *The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sutra*, 1450; Vaidya, *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, 365; T10.279.421 b 25-c 3. The English term “omniscience” is equivalent to the Sanskrit *sarvajña-jñāna-jñāna* (Vaidya, *ibid.*). Śikṣānanda’s Chinese reads as “wisdom” (Ch. *zhìhuì* 智慧, T10.279.421 c 2).

<sup>42</sup> In the Sanskrit *Gv*, these four elements are formed in the case of locative, i.e. *ātmani*, *kalyāṇamitreṣu*, *anūśāsanīṣu* and *pratipattiṣu*. See Vaidya, *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, 365-366.

formulation should suffice to illustrate the pattern of contemplating these four elements.

- (6) Think of yourself as crossing over to the other shore, and think of spiritual benefactors as boatmen; think of their instructions as a ford, and think of their practices as a boat.<sup>43</sup>

The metaphorical frame which summarizes the ten formulations is schematically represented in Table 1.

**Table 1. Concepts and metaphors of ten formulations<sup>44</sup>**

| Practitioner                         | Spiritual benefactors       | Instructions | Practices                            |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------------|
| sick                                 | <b>physicians</b>           | medicines    | getting rid of disease               |
| a traveler                           | <b>guides</b>               | the road     | going to the land of the destination |
| one crossing over to the other shore | <b>boatmen</b>              | a ford       | a boat                               |
| a farmer                             | <b>water spirits</b>        | a rain       | ripening of the crops                |
| a pauper                             | <b>the givers of wealth</b> | wealth       | getting rid of poverty <sup>45</sup> |
| an apprentice                        | <b>mentors</b>              | arts         | accomplishments                      |
| a fearless <sup>46</sup> one         | <b>heroic warriors</b>      | attack       | vanquishing enemies                  |

<sup>43</sup> Accentuation by the author. For the original texts, see Cleary, *The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sutra*, 1450; Vaidya, *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, 366; T10.279.421 c 25-26. There is a mapping discrepancy: Cleary's translation is corresponding to the mapping relationships given in the Sanskrit text; in Śikṣānanda's translation, a ford (Ch. *dàoàn* 到岸) is mapped to the practices, while a boat (Ch. *zhōuji* 舟楫) serves as instructions.

<sup>44</sup> For a complete description in the original texts, see Cleary, *Ibid.*, 1450-1451; Vaidya, *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, 365-366; T10.279.421 c 20-422 a 11.

<sup>45</sup> The English counterpart "getting rid of poverty" is equivalent to Sanskrit *dāridrya-apanayana* (Vaidya, *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, 366). Śikṣānanda's Chinese reads as "affluence" (Ch. *fùráo* 富饒, T10.279.421 c 29).

<sup>46</sup> The English term "fearless" is equivalent to Sanskrit *abhīru* (Vaidya, *ibid.*). Śikṣānanda's Chinese reads as "fearful" (Ch. *kǒngbù* 恐怖, T10.279.422 a 3).

|            |                                                             |                          |                                                                                                                                        |
|------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a merchant | <b>ship captains</b>                                        | treasure                 | obtaining treasures                                                                                                                    |
| a good son | <b>parents</b>                                              | the family business      | perpetuation of the family business                                                                                                    |
| a prince   | <b>the chief ministers of a spiritual king<sup>47</sup></b> | the precepts of kingship | putting on the turban of truth adorned with the crest of knowledge and overseeing the capital of the spiritual sovereign <sup>48</sup> |

## 2.2 Category

Examples (3)-(6) and Table 1 demonstrate how the concept of *kalyāṇamitra* is distinctly depicted by multiple source domains, in spite of the repetition of some source domains such as teacher/mentor, mother and father/parent, guide, physician, heroic warrior, or helmsman/ship captains. Based on the semantic feature [ $\pm$  sentence] of these concrete objects, the set of source domains mapping the single target domain *kalyāṇamitra* are listed in Table 2.

**Table 2. The set of source domains**

| Semantic feature<br>[ $\pm$ sentence]  | The source domains                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Sentient objects</b><br>[+sentence] | teacher/mentor ( <i>ācārya</i> ), eyes ( <i>cakṣu</i> ), mother ( <i>mātr</i> ), father ( <i>pitṛ</i> ), nurse ( <i>dhātṛ</i> ), guide ( <i>daiśika</i> ), physician ( <i>vaidya</i> ), the givers of wealth ( <i>vaiśravaṇa</i> ), heroic warrior ( <i>śūra</i> ), ferryman ( <i>dāśa</i> ), helmsmen/ ship captains ( <i>karnadhāra</i> ), boatmen ( <i>nāvika</i> ), water spirits ( <i>bhujagendra</i> ), parents ( <i>mātāpitṛ</i> ), the |

<sup>47</sup> The English phrase “the chief ministers of a spiritual king” is equivalent to Sanskrit *dharma-rāja-agra-amātya* (Vaidya, *ibid.*). Śikṣānanda’s Chinese reads as “the chief ministers” (Ch. *dàchén* 大臣, T10.279.422 a 9).

<sup>48</sup> The first English phrase “putting on the turban of truth adorned with the crest of knowledge” is equivalent to Sanskrit *jñāna-rāja-makṣa-alamkāra-dharma-paṭṭa-śiro-bandhana*; the next phrase “overseeing the capital of the spiritual sovereign” is translated from Sanskrit *dharma-rājanagara-vyavalokana* (See Vaidya, *ibid.*). Śikṣānanda’s Chinese reads as “thinking of putting on the crown, wearing the Royal garments, binding up the Royal turban, and sitting in the Royal palace” (冠王冠想、服王服想、繫王繪想、坐王殿想, T10.279.422 a 10-11).

|                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                | chief ministers of a spiritual king ( <i>dharmarājāgrāmātya</i> )                                                                                                                                        |
| <b>Insentient<br/>objects<br/>[-sentience]</b> | door ( <i>dvāra</i> ), path ( <i>mārga</i> ), lamp ( <i>pradīpa</i> ), bridge ( <i>setu</i> ),<br>parasol ( <i>chatra</i> ), stream ( <i>vega</i> ), the Himalaya Mountains<br>( <i>himavatparvata</i> ) |

Among of these sentient objects, there are two terms worth our attention: “the givers of wealth” (Skt. *vaiśravaṇa*) and “water spirits” (Skt. *bhujagendra*). The Sanskrit word *vaiśravaṇa* stands for “a guardian of the north and lord of yakṣas,”<sup>49</sup> which is equivalent to *Pīshāmén wáng* 毘沙門王 in Śikṣānanda’s translation. According to the definition in *A Dictionary of Asian Mythology*, *vaiśravaṇa* is associated with wealth in Hinduism.<sup>50</sup> There is another case that depicts the target domain *bodhicitta* by means of a similar metaphorical expression: “It [*bodhicitta*] is like the god of wealth, because it puts an end to all poverty.”<sup>51</sup> Considering the Hindu sense of “the god of wealth” and the given instances in which *vaiśravaṇa* performs as an agent who gives wealth to paupers, Cleary’s translation here, “the givers of wealth” evidently manifests the specified aspect of the metaphor.

Literally, the *bhujagendra* means “serpent (Skt. *bhujaga*)-king (Skt. *indra*),” which is often rendered as *lóngwáng* 龍王 (“dragon king”) in Chinese.<sup>52</sup> The English counterpart “water spirits” apparently doesn’t correspond to the literal sense of *bhujagendra*. However, when we examine the occurrences of *lóngwáng*, “water spirits” seems a well-grounded English translation. Some examples from the *Avatamsaka* which take *lóngwáng* as a source domain are given below:

- (7) Multiplying their bodies,<sup>53</sup> they fill all lands,  
Emanating pure light to remove the darkness of the world.

<sup>49</sup> Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), 513.

<sup>50</sup> David A. Leeming, *A Dictionary of Asian Mythology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 183.

<sup>51</sup> Accentuation by the author. For the original text, see Cleary, *The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sutra*, 1477. The teaching of Maitreya at the end of *Gv* is another rich source of metaphors. In his teaching to Sudhana, Maitreya provides more than thirty metaphors for *bodhicitta*.

<sup>52</sup> The three Chinese parallels all have *lóngwáng* as the corresponding term.

<sup>53</sup> According to the context “Once the enlightening beings have roused the supreme aspiration, They can...” (Cleary, *The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sutra*, 414), the agent of the action “multiplying their bodies” is “the enlightening beings” (*bodhisattvas*). In this case, “dragon kings” serves as a source domain to map the target domain *bodhisattvas*.

- Like dragon kings producing great clouds,  
 They shower wonderful rains, filling and refreshing all.<sup>54</sup>
- (8) They are in the position of preachers of the Teaching,  
 Like lions, like bulls, like majestic mountains;  
 They shower the sweet rain of the elixir of immortality,  
 Just as the water spirits fill the sea.<sup>55</sup>
- (9) It [*bodhicitta*, the determination for enlightenment] is like the chief water spirit,  
 causing the clouds of the Teaching to shower.<sup>56</sup>

In the *Avataṃsaka*, the *lóngwáng*, or *bhujagendra*, refers to a spirit who is capable of producing great clouds and bringing the rain. Cleary captures this feature by paraphrasing it into “water spirits” which is not evident in the calque from Chinese “dragon king.”

In sum, the English expressions of “water spirits” and “the givers of wealth” are both translated under a particular perspective, and the trigger of what a perspective is taken may be mainly attributable to the understanding of the context. In the same manner, we regard the contextual meaning conveyed by sentences as an important factor for comprehending what aspects of the source domain that get mapped. Based on the data investigated, the mapping relationships between *kalyāṇamitra* and its multiple source domains in *Gv* can be characterized by the following schemas: KALYĀṆAMITRA IS A GUIDE, KALYĀṆAMITRA IS A PROTECTOR, and KALYĀṆAMITRA IS A GENERATOR. In what follows, we aim to provide an explanation for the interrelation of the various metaphors via additional information revealed by the context.

### 3. Conceptual Metaphors and Their Linguistic Expressions

It is evident that there can be different correspondences between the source and target domains.<sup>57</sup> As examples (3)-(6) illustrate, the target domain *kalyāṇamitra* have several domains as its source, while examples (7)-(9) show that a source domain *bhujagendra*

<sup>54</sup> Accentuation by the author. For the original texts, see Cleary, *The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avataṃsaka Sutra*, 417. Śikṣānanda’s Chinese at T10.279.93 a 23-24.

<sup>55</sup> Accentuation by the author. For the original texts, see Cleary, *Ibid.*, 786; Śikṣānanda’s Chinese at T10.279.204 b 14-15.

<sup>56</sup> Accentuation by the author. For the original texts, see Cleary, *Ibid.*, 1478; Vaidya, *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, 396; T10.279.430 b 15-16. The English phrase “the clouds of the Teaching” is equivalent to Sanskrit *dharma-megha*. Śikṣānanda’s Chinese reads as “the rain of sublime teachings” (一切妙法雨).

<sup>57</sup> Kövecses claims: “The relationship of the source and the target is such that a source domain may apply to several targets and a target may attach to several sources.” See Kövecses, *Language, Mind, and Culture*, 120.

may apply to different targets,<sup>58</sup> such as bodhisattvas, preachers, and bodhicitta. In the view of CMT, only certain aspects of either the source or target domain are involved in metaphors.<sup>59</sup> Thus, multiple sources represent manifold qualities of a single target domain; on the other hand, individual source domains are only meant to highlight certain aspects of the target concept. Here a question arises: how can we decide which features of the source domain have participated? Su suggests that there are correlations between the proposition-schemas and their linguistic manifestations, such as noun, adjective or verb.<sup>60</sup> In our case, we take the verbs (or verbal phrases) as a criterion for characterizing conceptual metaphors.

As above-mentioned instance (4) shows, each sentence consists of a main phrase “Looking up spiritual benefactors as *x*,” and a clause of reason “because they *y*.” Example (5) structures information with a main clause “spiritual benefactors are *x*,” and an adjective clause “[who are] *y*.” While an antecedent in the main clause points out the subject matter (i.e. what the source domain is), the clause at the end of sentence provides descriptive details about what the certain quality of the source domain *x* possesses and what it can do. As a result of this, the information given by the adjective/adverbial clause seems to be as important as the main clause/phrase. Su proposes that the linguistic categories of noun, adjective, and verb point to three aspects in the source domain: the essence, the quality, and the function.<sup>61</sup> When we examine the verbs or verbal phrases used in our data, this linguistic category indicates how the particular function/aspect of source domain can benefit spiritual practitioners. These are presented forthwith.

### 3.1 KALYĀṆAMITRA IS A GUIDE

McMahan indicates that *Gv* provides a way for thinking of the positive portrayal of buddhahood in terms of a *place* or *domain* rather than an abstract and intangible state of consciousness.<sup>62</sup> Under such conceptualizing circumstances, for one who has set his mind on attainment of the Supreme Perfect Enlightenment (*anuttarā saṃyaksambodhi*),<sup>63</sup> finding a guide is a necessary first step in the bodhisattva’s career.<sup>64</sup> Strictly speaking, a

<sup>58</sup> Kövecses calls the former case “the range of the target,” and the latter “the scope of the source.” *Ibid.*, 121.

<sup>59</sup> Lakoff and Jonson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 10; Kövecses, *Language, Mind, and Culture*, 124.

<sup>60</sup> Lily I-wen Su, “What Can Metaphors Tell Us About Culture?”, *Language and Linguistics* 3, no. 3 (2002): 602.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 603.

<sup>62</sup> David L. McMahan, *Empty Vision Metaphor and Visionary Imagery in Mahāyāna Buddhism* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2002), 120.

<sup>63</sup> This is synonymous with attainment of omniscience (*sarvajñatā*).

<sup>64</sup> After Sudhana aroused the aspiration for enlightenment and asked Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī to show him the way to attain this goal, the first piece of advice given by Mañjuśrī is that “attending and serving

guide cannot take people to a place where he has not been himself, thus only buddhas are well-qualified leaders. However, according to Sudhana’s fixed questions, the emphatic quality of *kalyāṇamitras* in *Gv* is equipped with a practical, solid understanding of the bodhisattva’s path (*bodhisattvamārga*) and the bodhisattva’s conduct (*bodhisattvacaryā*). In the conceptual metaphor KALYĀṆAMITRA IS A GUIDE, the specific function of *kalyāṇamitras* is signified by the following verbs or verbal phrases.

**Table 3. Verbal expressions of GUIDES**

| The source domain      | Verbs/Verbal phrases |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| eyes                   | [cause] to see...    |
| lamps                  | show...              |
| mentors/teachers       | elucidating...       |
| the door               | guide...             |
| the path               | leading to...        |
| guides                 | leading into...      |
| helmsmen/ship captains | delivering to...     |

The metaphorical conceptualization of “eyes” and “lamps” is closely related to our visual sense. Sweetser claims that verbs related to vision often develop abstract senses of mental activity, and this development is based on the strong connection between the physical nature of sight and knowledge.<sup>65</sup> Following this viewpoint, the mapping features of eyes and lamps indicate that *kalyāṇamitras* illuminate the teachings of buddhas and cause practitioners to see/understand them clearly. As for the verbal expression “elucidating,” the metaphor of mentors/teachers indicates the same function.

The verbal expressions used in the metaphors of the door, the path, and guides not only signify that *kalyāṇamitras* as beings who have gained significant attainments on the spiritual path, but also imply that *kalyāṇamitras* go ahead of a spiritual practitioner to lead on the way. In addition, the source domain “helmsmen/ship captains” is related to the proposition-schema LIFE IS AN ONGOING VOYAGE, and the adjective clause “delivering us to the treasure island of omniscience” highlights that *kalyāṇamitras* are in a responsible position, and they are capable of sailing passengers to the destination.

The way of thinking “buddhahood is a place” structures the imagery of the goal of

spiritual friends is the beginning, the logical course, for the accomplishment of omniscience.” See Cleary, *The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sutra*, 1178.

<sup>65</sup> Eve Sweetser, *From Etymology to Pragmatics: Metaphorical and Cultural Aspects of Semantic Structure* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 33.

the spiritual life. When practitioners take their route to this aim, they may get lost or stray away from the right path. Here, *kalyāṇamitras* are conceptualized as experienced guides that lead practitioners to approach the goal via elucidating the means to access the enlightening liberation they master.

### 3.2 KALYĀṆAMITRA IS A PROTECTOR

In the proposition-schema LIFE IS AN ONGOING VOYAGE, “ferryman” apparently shares the same properties as “helmsmen/ ship captains,” but the post-head attributive clause in example (5), “ferrying us across the torrents of the mundane whirl,” manifests that the metaphor of ferryman is tied closely with the proposition-schema SAMSARA IS THE SEA. Because THE SEA is full of terrors and hazards, the main feature of ferryman metaphor is “to secure passengers from the dangers on a VOYAGE.”

The metaphor of boatmen in example (6) is functionally equivalent to that of ferryman. Although the informational structure of metaphors varies, in particular, there are no adjective/adverbial clauses, the verbal phrases can be inferred from other components of the sentence or vivid imagery of the nouns. Here, a practitioner should see himself as one who is aiming for “crossing over to the other shore,” so the main feature in the source domain “boatmen” that get mapped maybe the function of “delivering passenger (from the sea) to the shore.”

As specified by the descriptive information in the above examples, the source domains “a bridge,” “the chief ministers,” “nurses,” and “heroic warriors” serve some protective functions. This set of multiple source domains, given in Table 4, represent that *kalyāṇamitras* play a protective role “guarding practitioners from all perils” as well as “preventing them from all evils.”

**Table 4. Linguistic expressions of PROTECTORS**

| The source domain   | Linguistic expressions                            |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| ferryman            | ferrying across the torrents                      |
| boatmen             | [ferrying over the sea]                           |
| a bridge            | the peril of falling is eliminated                |
| the chief ministers | [protecting from all wrong actions] <sup>66</sup> |
| nurses              | protecting from all evils                         |
| physicians          | relieving/getting rid of disease                  |

<sup>66</sup> This is deduced from the mapping relation between the target domain “instruction” and the source domain “the precepts of kingship.” The chief ministers can take the precepts to advise the prince against wrong actions.

|                 |                            |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| heroic warriors | protecting from all perils |
|-----------------|----------------------------|

It is quite obvious that mapping features are associated with the partial nature of *kalyāṇamitras* and the circumstances a spiritual practitioner finds himself in. Additionally, the preposition “from,” indicated by the Sanskrit declension ending “-ayā,”<sup>67</sup> not only manifests a starting point at which the action takes place, but also points to the state that a practitioner has being in or may fall into.<sup>68</sup> For example, the metaphorical expressions “the torrents” and “disease,” which can be classified as the dangers of the sea or a voyage, correspond to AFFLICTIONS of samsara or OBSTACLES in bodhisattva’s path and to bodhisattva’s conduct. Take another example from the case where *kalyāṇamitra* serves as a source domain to map the target domain *bodhicitta*.

(10) It [*bodhicitta*] is like a benefactor, freeing you from the bonds of the mundane whirl.<sup>69</sup>

When *bodhicitta* is conceptualized as *kalyāṇamitra*, as in example (10), the prominent mapping feature of *kalyāṇamitra* is the capability to liberate spiritual practitioners from SAMSA. This set of metaphorical expressions imply that a practitioner is undergoing many difficulties along the bodhisattva’s route, and multiple source domains emphasize the safeguarding or protective aspect of a *kalyāṇamitra*.

### 3.3 KALYĀṆAMITRA IS A GENERATOR

Osto claims that the protective role is reinforced by the metaphors “the good friends (*kalyāṇamitras*) are true mothers, fathers and nurses.”<sup>70</sup> However, when we look into their verbal phrases, i.e. “giving birth,” “producing,” or “protecting” provided by adjective or adverbial clauses, they suggest that only the source domain “nurses” points to a protector. As Table 5 presents, the mapping features of this set of source domains are distinguished by their creation verbs.

<sup>67</sup> Vaidya, *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, 365.

<sup>68</sup> Various states are often conceptualized as containers. This ontological metaphor is reflected by common English expressions such as: “He *fell into* a depression” or “We’re *out of* trouble now.” See Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 30-32.

<sup>69</sup> Accentuation by the author. For the original texts, see Cleary, *The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sutra*, 1477; Śikṣānanda’s Chinese at T10.279.430 b 7-8.

<sup>70</sup> Osto, *Power, Wealth and Women in Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism: The Gaṇḍavyūha-sutra*, 27.

Table 5. Linguistic expressions of GENERATORS

| The source domain      | Linguistic expressions                |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| mothers                | giving birth to the family of buddhas |
| fathers                | producing great benefit               |
| parents                | [establishing a family business]      |
| the Himalaya Mountains | growing the herb                      |
| water spirits          | [creating rain]                       |
| the givers of wealth   | [giving the wealth]                   |
| streams of omniscience | [to] give rise to great compassion    |
| parasol                | [to] produce coolness                 |

The source domains “parasol” and “streams” are of particular interest, since these metaphors highlight “great love” and “great compassion” of *kalyāṇamitras*. We put the metaphor of parasol into this category on the basis of its verb “to produce;” also a parasol (Skt. *chattrā*) may play a protective role, for the reason that “shelter”<sup>71</sup> is one of its aspect. And the noun “coolness” indicates that *kalyāṇamitras* relief spiritual practitioners from the heat, which is related to another schema AFFLICTIONS ARE HEAT, as is often indicated by the Chinese *rèǎo* 熱惱 (“feverish”). In brief, this group of metaphors reflects that *kalyāṇamitras* are not only competent but also willing to provide abundant spiritual means to practitioners.

## Conclusion

It has been mentioned by Dayal that a *kalyāṇamitra* is necessary, useful and valuable for a bodhisattva’s career at all time.<sup>72</sup> Dayal’s statement is grounded on a cognitive perspective that a purposeful LIFE is the unifying concept of a JOURNEY, which occurs in all Buddhist traditions and provides the basis for numerous metaphorical mappings. In such basic schema, a *kalyāṇamitra* is commonly conceptualized as a GUIDE. There are different types of guides corresponding to a variety of journeys, such as a sea voyage or a desert trip, *etcetera*; moreover, the movement from an initial state to a final state is often depicted as a treacherous course. The *Gv* placing the practitioner in various circumstances reveals various ways of perceiving *kalyāṇamitras* and how they can protect, inspire and take care of spiritual needs of a practitioner.

In the current paper, we demonstrate that the context provides important

<sup>71</sup> M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1899), 404.

<sup>72</sup> Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, 63.

information for understanding what the prominent features in the source domain that get mapped. The simile of “bathing helpers” in the *Madhyama-āgama* depicts *kalyāṇamitras* as experts, skillful in helping to “abandon evil and cultivate the good.” The simile is analogous to the conceptual metaphor KALYĀṆAMITRA IS A GUIDE or A PROTECTOR in *Gv*. However, the service bathing helpers provide to a king and his chief ministers is not as vital as what guides, ferrymen, or physicians can offer. Another metaphor in the *Madhyama-āgama* which compares a *kalyāṇamitra* to “the moon’s waxing phase” brings in focus virtues that a *kalyāṇamitra* grows and completes along the Buddhist Path. Even though there is the same verbal phrase “growing” in the metaphorical expressions for GENERATOR, the descriptive information in *Gv* puts an emphasis on the benefits *kalyāṇamitras* are ready to supply, instead of the qualities they possess.

Taking into account the various features of *kalyāṇamitras*, undoubtedly only buddhas perfect all the virtues. Osto points out that in *Gv* “most of the references mention ‘good friends’ in the plural,” while Pāli and many Mahāyāna sources use only its singular.<sup>73</sup> Nevertheless, I would argue with Osto’s conclusion that *Gv*’s guidance is to accumulate “many good friends”.<sup>74</sup> The numerous *kalyāṇamitras* personify endless variety of bodhisattva practices and attainments. Furthermore, the metaphors discussed in the paper highlight manifold aspects of auspicious mentalities with which a bodhisattva should approach a spiritual benefactor. From this perspective, it seems wise to imitate what Sudhana performs: he attends different *kalyāṇamitras* with purified devotional attitude, rather than seeks for one perfect *kalyāṇamitra*.

### Bibliography

- Anālayo, Bhikkhu. *A Comparative Study of the Majjhima-nikāya*. Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation, 2010.
- Cleary, Thomas. *The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sutra*. Boston & London: Shambhala Publication, Inc., 1993.
- Collins, Steve. “Kalyāṇamitta and Kalyāṇamittatā.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* XI (1987): 50-72.
- Dayal, Har. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd, 1932.
- Dharmamitra, Bhikshu. *The Ten Bodhisattva Grounds: The Avatamsaka Sūtra Chapter 26*. Seattle: Kalavinka Press, 2019.

<sup>73</sup> Osto, *Power, Wealth and Women in Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism: The Gaṇḍavyūha-sutra*, 28.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

- Edgerton, Franklin. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.
- Grohmann, Friedrich (高明道). “‘Zhìzhě’ wèi bì yǒu zhìhuì—tántán ‘yǐ pìyù dé jiě’” 「智者」未必有智慧——談談「以譬喻得解」. 法光 [=Dharma Light Monthly] 304 (January 2015).
- Kövecses, Zoltán. *Language, Mind, and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Lakoff, G., and M. Johnson. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2003.
- Lakoff, George. “The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor.” In *Metaphor and Thought*, edited by Andrew Ortony, 202-251. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Leeming, David A. *A Dictionary of Asian Mythology*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- McMahan, David L. *Empty Vision Metaphor and Visionary Imagery in Mahāyāna Buddhism*. London: Routledge Curzon, 2002.
- Monier-Williams, M. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1899.
- Nida, Eugene. “Principles of Correspondence.” In *The Translation Studies Reader*, third edition, edited by Lawrence Venuti, 141-155. London and New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Osto, Douglas Edward. *Power, Wealth and Women in Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism: The Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*. London and New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Saeed, J. I. *Semantics*. London: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1997.
- Su, Lily I-wen. “What Can Metaphors Tell Us About Culture?” *Language and Linguistics* 3, no. 3 (2002): 589-613.
- Subbotina, E. “CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR.” *ScoDis*. Accessed August 31, 2020. <http://scodis.com/for-students/glossary/conceptual-metaphor/>.
- Sweetser, Eve. *From Etymology to Pragmatics: Metaphorical and Cultural Aspects of Semantic Structure*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Vaidya, P. L., ed. *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*. Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute, 1967.