

THE JOURNAL
OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
BUDDHIST STUDIES

CO-EDITORS-IN-CHIEF

Gregory Schopen
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana, USA

Roger Jackson
Fairfield University
Fairfield, Connecticut, USA



EDITORS

Peter N. Gregory
University of Illinois
Urbana-Champaign, Illinois, USA

Ernst Steinkellner
University of Vienna
Wien, Austria

Alexander W. Macdonald
Université de Paris X
Nanterre, France

Jikidō Takasaki
University of Tokyo
Tokyo, Japan

Robert Thurman
Amherst College
Amherst, Massachusetts, USA

ASSISTANT EDITOR

Bruce Cameron Hall
College of William and Mary
Williamsburg, Virginia, USA

Volume 10

1987

Number 2

CONTENTS

I. ARTICLES

1. Pure Land Buddhist Hermeneutics:
Hōnen's Interpretation of
Nembutsu, by Allan A. Andrews 7
2. Sa-skya Paṇḍita, the White Panacea and the Hva-shang
Doctrine, by Michael Broido 27
3. Indian Commentaries on the *Heart Sūtra*: The Politics
of Interpretation, by Malcolm David Eckel 69
4. Notes on Nāgārjuna and Zeno in Motion,
by Brian Galloway 80
5. Note on a Chinese Text Demonstrating the Earliness
of *Tantra*, by John C. Huntington 88
6. The Inscription on the Kuṣān Image of Amitābha and
the Character of the Early Mahāyāna in India
by Gregory Schopen 99
7. Background Material for the First Seventy Topics in
Maitreya-nātha's *Abhisamayālamkāra*,
by Gareth Sparham 139

II. BOOK REVIEWS

1. *The Genesis of an Orientalist: Thomas William Rhys Davids
and Buddhism in Sri Lanka*,
by Ananda Wickremeratne
(A.P. Kannangara) 161
2. *The Legend of King Asoka: A Study and Translation
of the "Asokavadana,"* by John S. Strong
(Bardwell Smith) 165

3. *Nāgārjuna: The Philosophy of the Middle Way*
by David J. Kalupahana
(Karen Christina Lang) 167
4. *Tibet—Bon Religion: A Death Ritual of the Tibetan Bonpos,*
by Per Kvaerne
(Michael Aris) 175

III. SPECIAL SECTION

- Title/Author Index of Vols. 1-10, compiled
by Bruce Cameron Hall 181

Background Material for the First of the Seventy Topics in Maitreya-nātha's *Abhisamayālamkāra*

by Gareth Sparham

I.

Bodhicitta (enlightenment mind) or *cittotpāda* (generation of mind) is the first of the seventy topics (Tib. *don bdun bcu*) under which Maitreya-nātha² (310–390)³ discusses the concealed meaning⁴ of the *Prajñā Sūtras* in his classic Mahāyāna text the *Abhi*. He devotes three verses (*śloka*) to the topic, only the first of which (*Abhi*:18)—explaining what *cittotpāda* is and how it is to be defined—is pertinent to the limited aim of this paper. The other two verses (*Abhi*:19–20), listing the twenty-two divisions of *cittotpāda*⁵ in correspondence with the stages of the path, go beyond the scope of the present paper.

The verse itself presents no linguistic problems either in the original Sanskrit or in Tibetan. The Sanskrit (*cittotpādāḥ parārthāya samyaksambodhi-kāmatā, samāsa-vyāsataḥ sā ca yathāsūtram sa cocyate*) literally translated reads:

Generation of mind is a desire for perfectly complete
enlightenment for the sake of others.

That and that are spoken of briefly and extensively
according to the [*Pañca*] sūtra.⁶

In this paper an attempt will be made (1) to supply the context for the verse within the *Prajñā* tradition in general and the *Abhi* in particular; (2) to give some background to the traditional exegesis of the verse by briefly explaining some of its metaphysical implications; and (3) to present two small translations—from Haribhadra's (fl. mid-ninth century) *Ālokā* and Tsong Kha pa's (1357–1419) *gSer Phreng* which explain the meaning of the verse.

II.

Broadly speaking, *Prajñā* literature passes through three stages of development: revelation (*buddha-vacana*)—the period of the *Prajñā sūtras*;⁷ systematization—the period of Nāgārjuna's (c. 150–250) *Kārikās* and Maitreya-nātha's *Abhi*;⁸ and scholasticism—stretching from Ārya-vimuktisena's (c. 500)⁹ *Vṛtti* through the Pāla dynasty into the fourteenth century Tibetan reformation.¹⁰

Our familiarity with the *Prajñā Sūtras* is without doubt the legacy of the late Dr. Edward Conze's tireless efforts to popularize these basic Mahāyāna texts.¹¹ He translated, more or less faithfully, large parts of the *Aṣṭa*, *Pañca* and *Śata* (the most important of the longer *sūtras*) as well as the *Heart Sūtra* (*Prajñā-hṛdaya-sūtra*), *Diamond Sūtra* (*Vajracchedikā-prajñā*) and other smaller condensations important in the daily religious life of ordinary Buddhists throughout Southeast and North Asia.

Dharmamitra (c. 850–900), the celebrated contemporary of Haribhadra,¹² appears to be the first writer to clearly set out two lineages of exegesis of the *Prajñā Sūtras*. In his *Prasphuṭapadā* he makes reference to a “profound” (*gambhīra*) and “vast” (*vis-tara*) tradition.¹³ This division is worked out in detail by the Tibetan Tsong Kha pa (*gSer Phreng*:3b.1–6b.1). According to his traditional explanation the “profound” tradition begins with the mythological being Mañjuśrī, emerges in the human realm with the “Six Collections of Reasons” (Tib. *rigs tshogs drug*)¹⁴ and passes down through Buddhapālita (c. 500), Candrakīrti (c. 650, Śāntideva (695–743), etc. The “vast” lineage springs from Maitreya, the mythological being who taught Asaṅga (i.e., Maitreya-nātha) the “Five Texts of Maitreya” (Tib. *byams gzhung sde lnga*)¹⁵ in *Tuṣita*. Asaṅga brought these books back to the human realm where the tradition continues with Vasubandhu (fl. 320–350), Ārya-Vimuktisena, Bhadanta-Vimuktisena (c. 650),¹⁶ Haribhadra, Dharmamitra and Abhayākaragupta (1077–1130), etc.

These two lineages of exegesis are differentiated in terms of their expressed subject matter (Tib. *dnegos bstan*). In the “profound” tradition commentaries take the actual meaning of the *Prajñā Sūtras*, i.e., *śūnyatā* (emptiness), as subject matter, while in the “vast” lineage the expressed subject matter is the concealed meaning, i.e., the seventy topics. (See notes 4 and 8.)

As a systematization of the topics of the major *Prajñā Sūtras*,

therefore, the *Abhi* occupies a pivotal position between the less-systematized and quasi-mythological Mahāyāna *Sūtras* on the one hand, and the emergence of distinct philosophical and metaphysical Mahāyāna schools on the other. In this respect its relation to the later commentaries of Ārya-Vimuktisena, etc., is roughly analagous to Nāgārjuna's *Kārikās* and the later *Madhyamaka* texts. The *Abhi* takes seven hundred years of metaphysical speculation (the *Prajñā Sūtras*) and systematizes it within an edifice comparable in size and grandeur to the cosmos of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Furthermore, the clearly delineated inner structure of the text—mirroring and formalizing the tendency of the *Prajñā Sūtras* to present the same ideas in more and less condensed fashion—becomes a distinct literary paradigm followed by most later writers in the tradition.¹⁷

The *Abhi* has itself been somewhat neglected by western scholarship. Apart from Obermiller's pioneering efforts in the earlier part of this century¹⁸ and the important spadework by Conze and Tucci there has been a singular lack of interest in this small yet arguably most influential of all the works associated with Asaṅga. Specific questions raised in the *Abhi* have been looked into deeply by some of the more distinguished names in contemporary Buddhist scholarship. Amongst modern American scholars, Dr. D. S. Ruegg¹⁹ for his work on *gotra* (lineage), the fourth of the seventy topics, as well as Dr. Jeffrey Hopkins²⁰ and his associates at the University of Virginia for their work on mental states (Tib. *sams gzugs*), the eighth topic, deserve particular mention. There is a critical edition of the first *abhisamaya* of the *Vṛtti* by C. Pensa. Also worthy of note are the earlier contributions of Japanese scholars such as U. Wogihara. More recently Hirofusa Amano and Keikai Mano, etc., have made available excellent critical tools for some of the important works. However, contemporary scholars have not dealt with the *Abhi* as a total integrated work.²¹

Expanding on and explaining in detail the *Abhi*'s seventy topics in conjunction with the *Pañca*, Ārya-Vimuktisena's *Vṛtti* marks the beginning of a scholasticism where, by and large, each later writer incorporates the work of earlier writers into a generally accepted orthodoxy, building up and increasing in dimension a massive edifice of metaphysical belief. Ārya-Vimuktisena is followed by Bhadanta-Vimuktisena and then the most

important of all Indian *Prajñā* exegetes, Haribhadra.²² His *Sphuṭārtha*, a brief explanation of the *Abhi* with explanatory transitional passages, is the basic text for many later commentaries (particularly in the Tibetan tradition) while his *Āloka* is accepted, together with Ārya-Vimuktisena's *Vṛtti* as authoritative in doctrinal matters.²³ The vast tradition ends in India with the intricate speculations of Abhayākaragupta and Dipaṅkara-atiśa, and continues in a highly systematized fashion in Tibet with the encyclopaedist Bu-ston (1290–1364) and later in the works of the scholastic reformer Tsong Kha pa and his disciples.

Concerning the structure of the *Abhi* and the context of the opening verse defining *cittotpāda* within the text itself, one finds, instead of the more usual linear development of ideas, a distinctly concentric pattern; i.e., the *Abhi* sets out its subject matter numerous times in the same order, each presentation covering the same material in successively greater detail. The eight subjects (*padārtha*) of verses three and four (*prajñāpāramitāṣṭabhiḥ padārthaiḥ samudīritā*: (1) *sarvākārajñatā* (2) *mārgajñatā* (3) *sarvajñatā tataḥ* (4) *sarvākārābhisambodho* (5) *mūrdhaprāpto* (6) *'nupūrvikaḥ* (7) *ekakṣanābhisambodho* (8) *dharmakāyaś ca te 'ṣṭadhā*) encapsulate the seventy topics (beginning with *cittotpāda*) taught in verses five to seventeen. Verses eighteen to the penultimate are in turn a more detailed presentation of each of the seventy topics listed in the preceding thirteen verses.

These three sections (*Abhi*:3–4 listing the eight subjects, *Abhi*:5–17 listing the seventy topics and *Abhi*:18–penultimate detailing the seventy topics) comprise the body of the text. They are preceded by a traditional excursus (*Abhi*:1–2) setting forth the subject matter (*abhidheya*), purpose (*prayojana*) and so forth, and a homage to *Prajñā* as mother of all *ārya* beings.

The homage describes the first three of the eight subjects (the *sarvākārajñatā*, *mārgajñatā* and *sarvajñatā*):

Homage to the mother of the Buddha together with the
collection of Hearers and Bodhisattvas:
The knower of all by which Hearers and those
desiring peace are led to peace,
The knower of paths by which those who benefit the
world accomplish the welfare of mankind,
And that by possession of which the Sages speak
this various (doctrine) in all aspects.²⁴

[*Jñatā* is a feminine abstract noun meaning literally “the state of being that which knows.” The translation “knower” in preference to “knowledge” is jarring, but is retained to avoid a potentially misleading ambiguity between what is known (*jñeya*) and that which knows (*jñā*). In Buddhist scholastic literature a knower substantially different to a knowing consciousness is generally denied. Hence “knower” does not refer to an agent but to a consciousness itself.]

Since the three knowers (*jñatā*) include the remaining five subjects²⁵ this opening homage is itself said to teach the subject matter of the entire text. And since the second two knowers (the *mārgajñatā* and *sarvajñatā*) are themselves included in the knower of all aspects, the wisdom of Buddhas, this first of the eight subjects incorporating the entire Mahāyāna doctrine is of primary importance. (See also figure one.)

The great importance of the first *abhisamaya* (the knower of all aspects) is attested to in the opening verses (*Abhi*:1–2) where the aim or purpose of the *Abhi* is stated to be “ease of understanding and cultivating the path of the knower of all aspects taught by our Teacher in the (*sūtras*)”.²⁶ Thus the position of *cittotpāda* as first of ten phenomena exemplifying the path of the knower of all aspects (Tib. *rnam mkhyen gyi mtshon byed kyi chos bcu*) becomes highly significant. It reflects the theory that *cittotpāda* is not only the start of, but also the demarcator of Mahāyāna, and that it alone, not penetration of reality or any other higher yogic practice, is the final arbiter of Mahāyāna status.²⁷ According to many Tibetan writers this theory of *cittotpāda* as entrance into the Mahāyāna (Tib. *theg chen 'jug sgo*) explains the positioning of the verse at the beginning of the third and most detailed presentation of the seventy topics. It may also be an indication that the author of the *Abhi* accepted *upāya* (in this case *cittotpāda*) alone and not *prajñā* (i.e., understanding of *sūnyatā*) as the sole unique factor in delineation of the Mahāyāna path.²⁸

III.

For Indian writers like Haribhadra this verse raises two questions: (1) what is *cittotpāda*? and (2) how is it to be defined?

The first question they consider within a division of consciousness (*viññāna*) into *citta* (main mind) and *caitta* (mental factor), and the second by analysis of the *cittotpāda*'s two objects of observation (*ālambana*, Tib. *dmigs pa*).

The division of consciousness into mind and mental factor is found in earlier texts.²⁹ It is, however, the *Vijñānavāda*, with its deep interest in the workings of perception, that develops the theory in an attempt to discover better terminology to describe the intricacies of human awareness.

In Asaṅga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya*—which, together with Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa-kārikā*, is the main source for the *citta/caitta* theory—a categorization of deeper and more clearly delineated aspects of specific perceptions within a theory of main mind and of fifty-one secondary mental factors is developed in line with the idea of specific function (Tib. *thun mong ma yin pa'i byed las*). Each mental factor is defined by a unique function carried out under the purview of mind as the main cognitive event. This idea is exemplified in later Tibetan scholastic texts by a manager and a staff of special functionaries: a store-keeper, foreman, secretary and so forth, where each are subservient to and work under the authority and direction of the manager.³⁰

Asaṅga admits fifty-one mental factors and defines twenty-six of them in terms of afflictive states (*kleśa*), eleven in terms of wholesome states (*kauśala*), and four in terms of changeable states.³¹ Of the remaining ten mental factors—the five, *vedanā* (feeling), *cetanā* (intention), *saṃjñā* (discrimination), *spṛśa* (contact) and *manasi-kāra* (mentation), and the five, *prajñā* (intelligence), *samādhi* (stabilization), *chanda* (longing), *adhimokṣa* (inclination) and *smṛti* (recollection)—Asaṅga says that only the first five are omnipresent (Tib. *kun 'gro*) and absolutely prerequisite to cognition, while the remaining five are present when there is ascertainment of an object (Tib. *yul nges*).

Tsong Kha pa says that Ārya-Vimuktisena arrived at the conclusion that *cittotpāda* was *mano-viññāna* (mental consciousness, a main mind) by a process of exclusion (*gSer Phreng*:93a.2). He eliminated the five sense consciousnesses because they view only externals, and the seventh and eighth consciousness of the *Cittamātra* system (i.e., the *ālaya-viññāna* and the *kliṣṭa-manas*) because they are, theoretically, incapable of being virtuous states

of mind. He was thus left with the sixth, mental consciousness (*mano-vijñāna*), as an instance of *cittotpāda*. Tsong Kha pa also says that Ārya-Vimuktisena and Haribhadra felt constrained, even in the face of designations such as *kāmatā* (desire, *Abhi:18*), *cetanā* (intention, *Sūtrālamkāra*) and *praṇidhāna* (resolve, *Bodhisattvabhūmi*), to posit *cittotpāda* as a main mind in order to retain the primary significance of the term.

There is, however, a theoretical basis for the idea. Within the framework of the Mahāyāna path there are ultimate *cittotpāda* and conventional *cittotpāda*, corresponding to the wisdom and method of the path. Just as the *ānantarya-mārga* (uninterrupted path) is said to be a main mind even though its primary character is the mental factor of wisdom or intellect (*prajñā*), similarly the conventional *cittotpāda* is a main mind even though its primary characteristic is compassion (*krpā*). Viewed from two angles—as wisdom realizing emptiness directly and as compassion feeling pity for sentient beings—the main mind called *cittotpāda* is the substantial cause that evolves into a Buddha's knower of all aspects (*sarvākārajñatā*).³²

Whether *cittotpāda* is a main mind or mental factor is a question largely confined to scholastic manuals. The question of the definition of *cittotpāda* within a consideration of its objects of observation (*ālambana*) is discussed more widely in religious texts since it has a direct bearing on Buddhist religious attitudes.

All Indian and Tibetan Mahāyāna writers appear to agree that a fully qualified *cittotpāda* requires two objects of observation: (1) the enlightenment the practitioner hopes to attain for the benefit of others and (2) the benefit of others itself. The former is viewed as the tool or cause for the achievement of the second. Hence the enlightenment directly sought by *bodhisattvas* is the *rūpakāya*, comprising the *sambhogakāya* which proclaims the Mahāyāna for all time and the limitless emanations of the *nirmāṇakāya* which accomplish the welfare of others.³³

IV.

Āloka:24.1-25.13

It is said,

There, first, because of the potency of
 lineage (*gotra*)
 The seed of compassion is awakened,
 And with the full complement of practice and thought
 The mind of enlightenment is apprehended.

According to this, *bodhicitta* (the mind of enlightenment) born of emptiness and compassion arises through the potency of lineage (*gotra*) and so forth, because of taking on fully the *bodhisattvas'* commitments (*samvāra*). One makes a resolve (*praṇidhāna*): "Having become a perfectly complete Buddha may I strive for the sake of others' well-being by teaching the doctrine of the three vehicles, etc." [And one thinks:] "It shall be brought to completion through practice". [*Bodhicitta*] is, therefore, characterised as a desire to attain enlightenment having in mind the welfare of others. And it has a cause and effect [division] for it says [in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*]

Just as a division into wanting to go and goer
 is set out,
 Similarly a division of these two [*bodhicittas*] in accord
 with that enumeration is to be known by scholars.

Hence *bodhicitta* is twofold: (1) resolve (*praṇidhāna*) and (2) engaging (*prasthāna*).³⁴

However, [the *Sūtrālamkāra*] says:

The intention (*cetanā*) of *bodhisattvas* which has great
 enthusiasm (*mahotsāhā*),
 Great undertaking (*mahārambhā*), great purpose
 (*mahārthā*)
 Then great emergence (*mahodāyā*), and which has
 Two aims, is the birth of a mind (*citta-sambhavaḥ*).

This is perhaps [saying] that *cittotpāda* is a [main] mind with associated intention and the discernment of a special object.

[*Objection:*] Desire for perfectly complete enlightenment (*samyaksambodhi-kāmatā*, [*Abhi*:18.1]) is a yearning (*prārthanā*) for that [enlightenment]—the mental factor (*caitasika*) of longing (*chanda*) for virtuous phenomena. How could that [desire] be *cittotpāda*?

[*Response:*] True. However, there is no fault for the following reason. Here the result [*cittotpāda*] is being indicated by the cause [desire to benefit others] since one who sees humanity leaderless and sunk in the ocean of misery and intends to lift it up has a yearning characterized as a longing for virtuous phenomena. It is on account of that that he or she generates the thought to be a Buddha. [Hence, *cittotpāda* is designated desire] in order that it will be known that all virtuous phenomena increase for *bodhisattvas* with such a longing and yearning.

Alternatively, the resolve (*prañidhāna*) or yearning is desire for perfectly complete enlightenment, and the *cittotpāda* which functions simultaneously with it is taught by way of that yearning. This is because yearning is foremost at the time of *cittotpāda*. Viewed from this point of view it is tenable [to call *cittotpāda* desire] since that [*bodhi*] mind is produced simultaneously with the resolve.

What, then, is this perfectly complete enlightenment? What is the well-being of others? What is the nature of the desire, and towards what purpose is *cittotpāda* directed?

I will answer in accord with the *Pañca Sūtra*. In it, the brief explanation of perfectly complete enlightenment says:

Śāriputra, a great *bodhisattva* wishing to fully enlighten all phenomena in all respects should apply himself to practice of the perfection of wisdom.

The extensive explanation of it says:

Śāriputra, a great *bodhisattva* abiding here in the perfection of wisdom through the mode of non-abiding should make complete the perfection of giving (*dānapāramitā*) through the mode of non-benevolence since what is given, the giver and the receiver are not observed . . .

The brief explanation of the well-being of others says:

A great *bodhisattva* who wishes to place in complete *nirvāṇa* as many beings as there are in worlds as numerous as the sands of the river Ganges in each of the ten directions, in a *nirvāṇa* where there is no remaining aggregate (*anupadhiśeṣa*), should practice the perfection of wisdom.

The extensive explanation of this says:

A great *bodhisattva* who wishes to place in benevolence those who are miserly, in ethical conduct those who are immoral, in patience those beings who are malicious, should practice the perfection of wisdom.

The *Abhi* therefore says:

Generation of mind is a desire for perfectly complete enlightenment for the sake of others.
That and that are spoken of briefly and extensively according to the (*Pañca*) *Sūtra*.

V.

gSer Phreng: 92b.5–94a.6

WHAT IS *Cittotpāda*³⁵

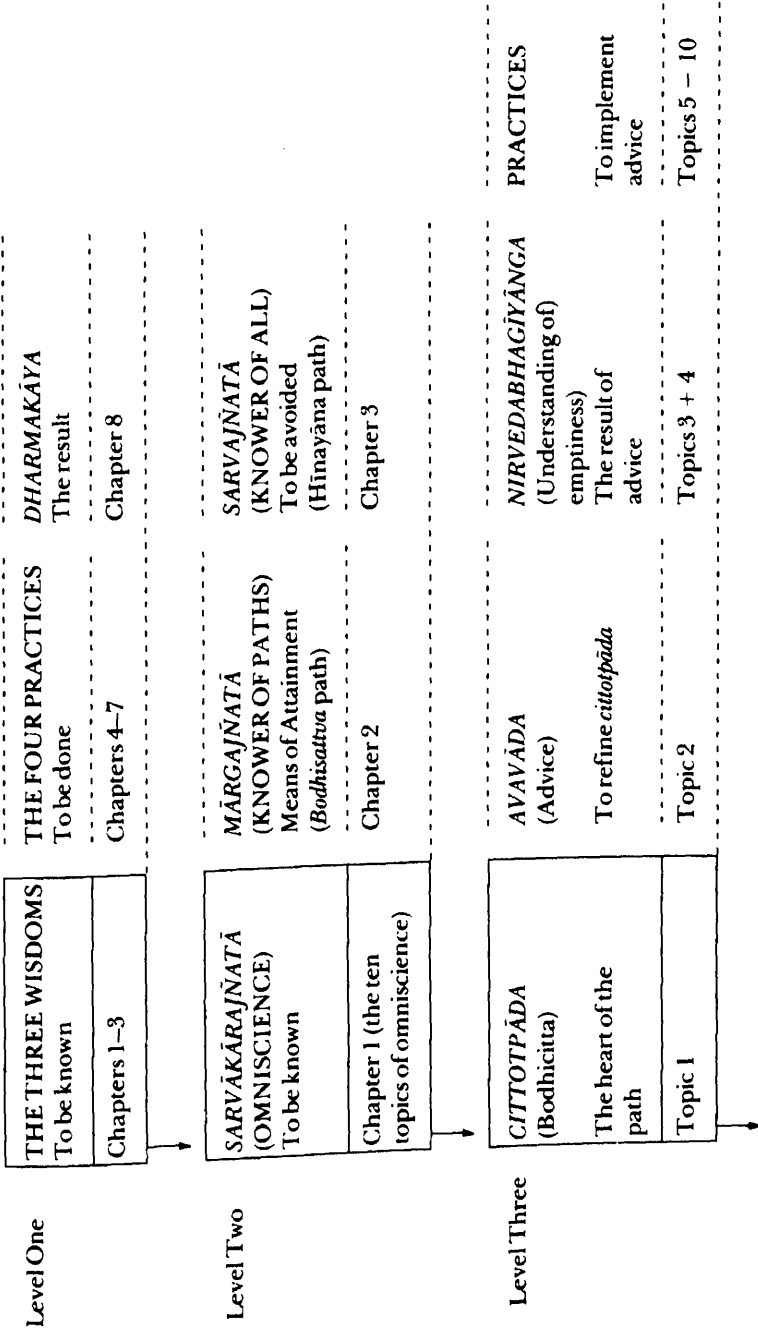
Explanation of the Other Masters [Asaṅga and Vasubandhu]

Asaṅga, in his *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, says: “*cittotpāda* is the *bodhisattvas*’ finest resolve (Tib. *smoṅ lam*)”. He is therefore of the opinion that *cittotpāda* is in its nature a resolve. And Vasubandhu comments in his commentary on the *Alamkāra*³⁶ that, “*cittotpāda* is an intention that has three qualities and is concerned with two objects”. He thus takes the position that it is in its nature an intention (Tib. *sems pa*). In the *Sūtrālamkāra* it says:

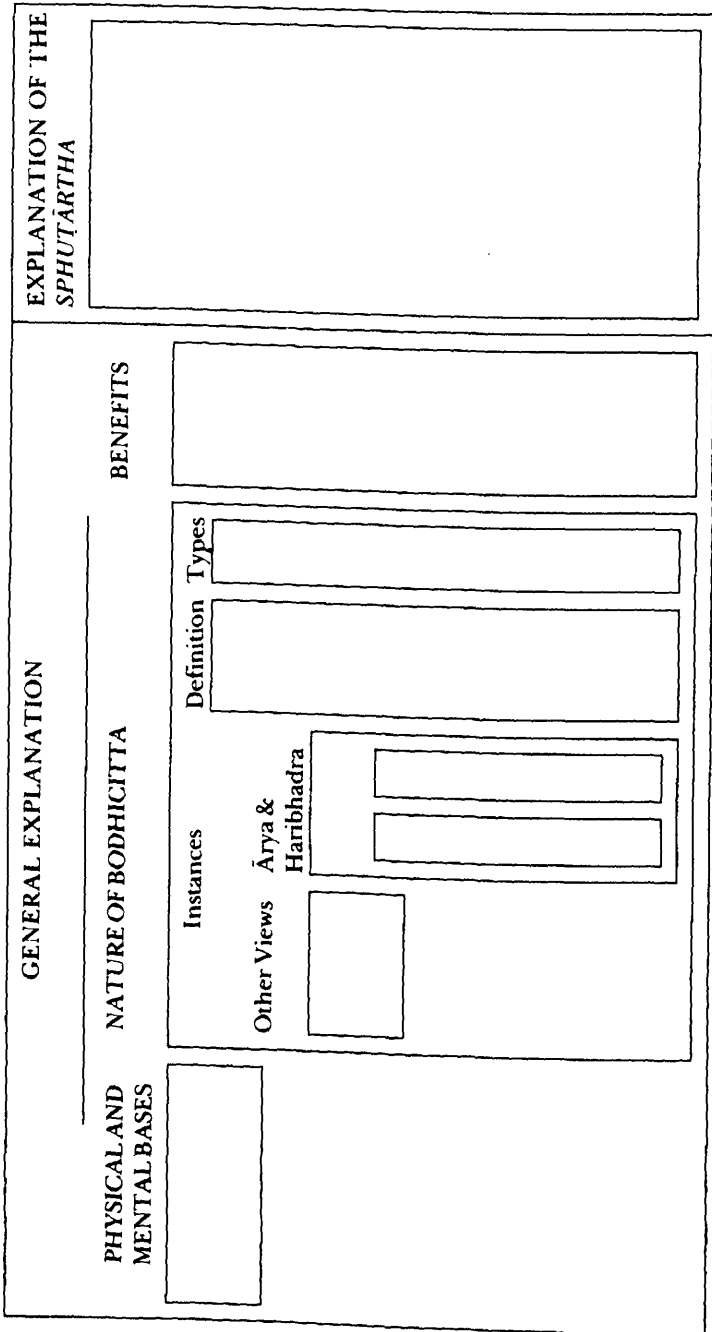
The resolve of the steadfast ones
Is an intention together with longing.

Thus it describes the resolve [i.e., *cittotpāda*] as an intention aided by longing. It seems, therefore, that Asaṅga’s opinion and the opinion of Vasubandhu are equivalent.

OUTLINE OF TSONG KHA PA'S ANALYSIS OF THE ABHI (Chart One)



CITTOTPĀDA: THE HEART OF THE PATH



Explanation Based on the Present Text [Abhi]

This has two parts: explanations of those who concur with Ārya-Vimuktisena and explanations of those who differ from him.

Explanations of those who concur with Ārya-Vimuktisena. [In his *Vṛtti*] Ārya-Vimuktisena explains *citta* (mind) and *utpāda* (generation) in the following manner. He says:

Citta (mind) is consciousness (*viññāna*) since it is a particular awareness (*vibuddhi*). Of the [eight] consciousnesses it is mental consciousness (*mano-viññāna*) because that which is concerned with wholesome phenomena would be [of that sort]. *Utpāda* (generation) lets it be known that something has been generated anew. Hence it is to indicate the initial thing, [i.e.,] when the mind [newly] realizes the phenomenon.

Ārya-Vimuktisena thus takes the view that a mental consciousness suited to be a basis for wholesome phenomena is an instance of *cittotpāda* since he considers the five sense consciousnesses to be concerned only with externals, and the *ālaya-viññāna* and *kliṣṭa-manas* to be neutral (Tib. *lung ma bstan*). Furthermore, in explaining why desire for enlightenment [in the *Abhi*] seems to be *cittotpāda*, he structures an argument [in resolution of which] he says that “desire” (*kāmatā*) is merely used to designate *cittotpāda* but is not *cittotpāda* itself.

Bhadanta-Vimuktisena gives a similar instance [of *cittotpāda*] in his *Vārttika* and *Haribhadra*, both here [in his *Sphuṭārtha*] and in his *Ālokā* quotes the argument set out by Ārya-Vimuktisena and asserts that desire is merely used to designate [*cittotpāda*] which is in fact a [main] mind.

Abhayākara-gupta in his *Marmakaumudī* also presents the entire argument [of Ārya-Vimuktisena], and the *Pañjikā* sets forth mental consciousness as an instance.

Dharmamitra, in his *Prasphuṭa-padā* does follow Ārya-Vimuktisena, but is a bit obscure. He says:

According to some, [the word desire is used] for *cittotpāda* in order to teach the primary thing in the actual *cittotpāda*, i.e., longing and so on. According to others it is imputed to that aid which increases *cittotpāda*, i.e., benevolence and so on. And according to others it is imputed to the result, i.e., the path that all traverse.

Explanations of those differing from Ārya-Vimuktisena. Buddhaśrī³⁷ [in his *Pradīpāvali*] contradicts Ārya-Vimuktisena and Haribhadra. He says:

Since yearning is itself awareness it is enough that such a designation is used. Others say that the name of the cause is given to the result or the name of the simultaneous aid is given, but how does that establish its true character?

Since he is asserting yearning (*prārthanā*) to be a mind he is asserting mind and mental factors to be substantially the same.

Śāntipa,³⁸ in his *Śuddhamatī*, says:

This thing *cittotpāda* is a mind, i.e., mental [consciousness] (*manas*), and it is desire.

and

Therefore, *cittotpāda* is characterised as a desire focused on perfectly complete enlightenment for the benefit of others.

He thus asserts [*cittotpāda*] to be both mental consciousness and longing.

Why do Ārya-Vimuktisena and Haribhadra feel constrained to state that it is a mind?

They contend that if it were a mental factor the basic signification of the word would be lost. For Haribhadra in particular there is the underlying suspicion that the last line of the following verse from the *Sūtrālamkāra* is talking about a mind.

The intention (*cetanā*) of *bodhisattvas* which has great enthusiasm,
Great undertaking, great purpose
Then great emergence, and which has
Two aims is the birth of a mind (*citta-sambhavaḥ*).

For he quotes this in his *Ālokā* in the context of Ārya-Vimuktisena's argument and says:

This is perhaps [saying] that *cittotpāda* is a [main] mind with associated intention and the discernment of a special object.

He seems to be conjecturing that this quotation teaches that *cittotpāda* is a mind aided by intention.

In the verse from the *Sūtrālamkāra*, "great enthusiasm" means being armed with enthusiastic perseverance and not becoming depressed at having to work diligently for a long time. "Great undertaking" means accomplishing, by enthusiastic perseverance for the task at hand, what one is armed for. "Great purpose" means it is for the benefit of [both] oneself and others, and "great emergence" means it goes to great enlightenment. The first two [i.e., great enthusiasm and undertaking] teach that it produces [enlightenment], the third [i.e., great purpose] teaches the purpose it fulfills, and the fourth [i.e., great emergence] teaches that [*cittotpāda*] is in charge of enlightenment.

NOTES

1. Abbreviations and List of Principal Indian and Tibetan Sources (Usual abbreviations for Tib. titles of Indian works are first given in parenthesis, followed by the author. An asterisk before the Sanskrit indicates the work is no longer extant in the original.)

P. *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition*. Reprinted under the supervision of the Otani University, Kyoto. Ed. by D. T. Suzuki, 168 vols. (Tokyo and Kyoto 1955-1961).

Tib. Tibetan

Abhi *Abhisamayālamkāra-nāma-prajñāpāramitā upadeśasāstrakārikā* (mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan) (Maitreya-nātha) P. 5187. Ed. in Sanskrit and Tib. by T. Stcherbatsky and E. Obermiller (Bibliotheca Buddhica, 23) (St. Petersburg 1939); trans. with Sanskrit-Tib. index by E. Conze (Serie Orientale Roma, 1) (Roma 1963). The Sanskrit edition of the *Abhi* found in Unrai Wogihara's *Ālokā* has been used for this paper. Wogihara's numbering of the verses has been followed even though he appears to have inadvertently omitted the first two verses from consideration (*Āloka*:1,7-10) and begun his enumeration from verse three.

Ālokā *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-vyākhyābhisamayālamkāra-ālokā* (rgyan gyi snang ba) (Haribhadra) P.5189. Ed. by U. Wogihara (Tokyo 1932-1935). Cf. the earlier edition by G. Tucci (Geakward Oriental Series, 62) (Baroda 1932).

Aṣṭa *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (rgyad stong ba) P. 734.

gSer Phreng *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan 'grel ba dang bcas pa'i rgya cher bshad pa*. 'Legs bshad gser gyi phreng ba' shes bya ba (Tsong Kha pa) P.6150. A blockprint edition in the

library of the Buddhist School of Dialectics, Dharmasala, Indian has been used for this paper.

- Kārikā Prajñā-nāma-mūlamadhyamakārikā* (rtsa ba shes rab) (Nāgārjuna) P.52.
 **Marmakauṃudī Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-vṛttimarmakauṃudī* (gnad kyi zla 'od) (Abhayākara Gupta) P.5202.
Pañca Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā (nyi khri) P.731.
 **Pañjikā Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-pañjikāsāratamā* (snying po mchog) (Śāntipa > Ratnākaraśanti) P.5200.
 **Pradīpāvalī Abhisamayālamkāra-bhagavālī-prajñā-pāramitā-upadeśa-sāstra-vṛtti-prajñā-pradīpāvalī* (shes rab sgron me'i phreng ba) (Buddhaśrī) P.5298.
 **Prasphuṭapadā Abhisamayālamkārikā-prajñāpāramitā-upadeśa-sāstra-ṭikā-prasphuṭapadā* (tshig gsal) (Dharmamitra) P.5194.
Prajñā Prajñāpāramitā (sher phyin).
Ratnāvalī Rāja-parikathā-ratnāvalī (rin chen 'phreng ba) (Nāgārjuna) P.5658.
Śata Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā (bum) P.730.
 **Sphuṭārtha Abhisamayālamkāra-nāma-prajñāpāramitā-upadeśa-sāstra-vṛtti* ('grel ba don gsal) (Haribhadra) P.5191. Partial reconstruction, Hirofusa Amano, *A study on the Abhi-Vṛtti* (Japan Science Press, 1975). Cf. also (Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica, 2) Sarnath 1977.
 **Suddamatī Abhisamayālamkārikāvṛtti-suddamatī* (dag ldan) (Śāntipa) P.5199.
Sūtrālamkāra Mahāyāna-sūtrālamkāra-nāma-kārikā (mdo sde rgyan) (Maitreya-nātha) P.5521.
 **Vārttika Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-upadeśa-sāstra-abhisamayālamkāravārttika* (nyi khri rnam 'grel) (Bhadanta-Vimuktisena) P.5186.
Vṛtti Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-upadeśa-sāstra-abhisamayālamkāravṛtti (nyi khri snang ba) (Ārya-Vimuktisena) P.5185. The first *abhisamaya* ed. by C. Pensa (Serie Orientale Roma, 37) (Roma 1967).

* * *

- Abhidharmakośakārikā* (mdzod) (Vasubandhu).
Abhidharmasamuccaya (mngon par kun btus) (Asaṅga).
Bodhisattvabhūmi (byang sa) (Asaṅga).
Bodhicaryāvatāra (spyod 'jug) (Śāntideva).
Dharmadharmatāvibhāṅgikārikā (chos dang chos nyid rnam 'byed) (Maitreya-nātha).
Madhyamakāvatāra (dbu ma la 'jug pa) (Candrakīrti).
Madhyāntavibhāṅgikārikā (dbu miha' rnam 'byed) (Maitreya-nātha).
Mahāyānotāraṅgastāra (rgyud bla ma) (Maitreya-nātha).
Sūtrālamkārabhāṣya (rgyan gyi 'grel ba) (Vasubandhu).
Śūnyatāsaptatikārikā (stong nyid bdun bcu pa) (Nāgārjuna).
Vaidalyasūtra (zhib mo rnam 'thag) (Nāgārjuna).
Vigrahavyāvartanikārikā (rtsod bzlog) (Nāgārjuna).
Yuktiṣṭikārikā (rigs pa drug bcu pa) (Nāgārjuna).

2. For convenience, in this paper Maitreya-nātha and Asaṅga are used

as different names for the same person. The former refers to Asaṅga in an exalted state directly inspired by Maitreya, while the latter refers to Asaṅga in a personal capacity. As suggested by Dr. Kawamura of the University of Calgary, Maitreya-nātha may be a *bahuvrīhi* adjective meaning "he whose lord is Maitreya." Dr. Hayashima of Nagasake University however points out that one would expect, in that case, to find it at least once together with the noun it modifies, while such an instance is not forthcoming. A survey of traditional and modern discussions of this problem is found in D.S. Ruegg, *La Théorie du Tathāgatagarbha et du Gotra* (Paris: 1969) 50–55.

3. Dates for Indian authors are taken from K. Potter, *Bibliography of Indian Philosophy* (Delhi: 1971) and Tāranātha, *rGya gar chos 'byung*, trans. Lama Chimpa and A. Chattopadhyaya (Simla: 1970). The date 310–390 is associated with Asaṅga not Maitreya (who is, one should point out, traditionally understood by the name Maitreya-nātha).

4. Tib. *sbas don* means the hidden or concealed meaning; i.e., the sequence of the eight clear realizations (*abhisamaya*). See E. Obermiller, "The Doctrine of *Prajñā* as exposed in the *Abhi* of Maitreya", *Acta Orientalia* 11 (1932) 7 and 341. An additional signification is as follows. Since *sbas don* is contrasted with *dnegos don* (explicit meaning)—which is emptiness—an esoteric/exoteric contrast becomes possible. The detailed explanation of the path (the esoteric) would then be understood as concealing the ultimate nature (the esoteric). See also note 8 below.

5. A. Wayman has compared the twenty-two *cittotpādas* to other *samādhi* lists.

6. The clumsiness of "that and that" is not evident in the Sanskrit in which the feminine *sā* evidently refers to the feminine *kāmatā* (desire for enlightenment), and the masculine *sa* to *parārtha* (the benefit of others).

7. See E. Conze, *Selected Saying From the Perfection of Wisdom* (London: 1978) 12–14. New *sūtras* were revealed in the classical period, but the most important are prior to the *Kārikās* and *Abhi*.

8. *gSer Phreng* 6a: "Therefore one can say, with Dharmamitra, that in regard to the subject matter of the *Prajñā* there is the essential meaning (*snying po'i don*)—the ultimate truth, and the vast—the sequence of the clear realizations. The former is dealt with in the "Six Collections of Reasons" and the latter in the *Abhi*".

9. Ārya-Vimuktisena was probably a contemporary of Bhāviviveka who lived ca. 570–590. See Tāranātha, p. 177.

10. The tradition continues even today, though on a much smaller scale, amongst Tibetan refugees in India as a recent publication of Khensur Pema Gyaltzen, *bLo gsal dga' bskyed snying gi nor bu* (Mundgod: 1980) makes abundantly clear. The culmination of the Tibetan scholastic tradition, however, is to be found in the works of Tsong Kha pa and his disciples in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century.

11. For an exhaustive bibliography of the works of E. Conze see *Prajñā and Related Systems: Studies in Honour of Edward Conze*, ed. by Lewis Lancaster (Berkeley: 1977).

12. Dharmamitra's exact dates are unclear. Since his *Prasphuṭapadā* is a commentary on Haribhadra's *Sphuṭārtha* it is likely he flourished slightly after

him, towards the end of the ninth century. See D.S. Ruegg, "The *gotra*, *ekayāna* and *tathāgata* theories," *Prajñā and Related Systems*, p. 284.

13. *Prasphuṭapadā*, P.5194, vol. 91, 65.2.8–66.3.2: *de la snying po'i don ni mdo sde zab mo 'am gsal par bstan cing 'phags pa klu sgrub kyi zhal snga nas dbu ma rtsa ba'i shes rab la sogs par . . . gang du mngon par rtogs pa'i don bstan pa ni rab tu rgyas pa dang zab par ldan pas . . . don 'di nyid 'phags pa byams pa . . .*

14. *Kārikās*, *Vigrahavyāvartanikārikā*, *Ratnāvalī*, *Śūnyatāsaptatikānkā*, *Yuktiśaṣṭikārikā* and *Vaidalyasūtra*.

15. *Abhi*, *Sūtrālamkāra*, *Madhyāntavibhangakārikā*, *Dharmadharmatāvibhangakārikā* and *Mahāyānottaratantra-śāstra*.

16. Contemporary with Candrakīrti (flourished ca. 650). See Tāranātha, p. 212.

17. In fact, the *Abhi* presents the same subject matter six times in basically the same order: the homage, condensed presentation (*Abhi*:3–4), slight expansion (*Abhi*:5–17), detailed explanation (*Abhi*:18-penultimate), and condensation into three categories in the last verse.

18. Besides his "Doctrine of *Prajñā*," Obermiller's *Analysis of the Abhi*, Calcutta Oriental Series, 27 (London: 1933–1936) stands out as a masterpiece of *Prajñā* scholarship.

19. See particularly part 1, chapter 3, "La Théorie du *gotra* dans L'*Abhi* et Ses Commentaires" and part 2, chapter 2, "La Théorie de L'éveil Universel et de L'*ekayāna* dans Les Commentaires de l'*Abhi* in his *La Théorie*."

20. J. Hopkins et al., *Meditative States in Tibetan Buddhism: The Concentrations and Formless Absorptions* (London: 1983); with Denma Locho Rinpoche and L. Zahler, "The Seventy Topics" (unpublished manuscript); with G. Newland, "Achieving Through Armor" (unpublished manuscript), etc. "The Seventy Topics" is described as a translation of *Mi pham bla ma'i zhal lung* with a transcription of an oral explanation. "Achieving Through Armor" is a translation of the *samnāha* (Tib. *go sgrub*) section of bSod nam grags pa's *Phar phyin spyi don*.

21. Obermiller is the exception but unfortunately his untimely death prevented the completion of his work.

22. An assessment shared in common by Obermiller, Conze and Ruegg.

23. Ārya-Vimuktisena and Haribhadra are collectively referred to as '*Phags seng* in the Tib. tradition and their common assertions as '*Phags seng gi lugs*. Although there are occasional divergences in their view both are said to be *Yogācārya-Svātantrika-Mādhyamika* (Tib. *rnal 'byor spyod pa'i dbu ma rang rgyud pa*).

24. *yā sarvajñatayā nayatī upasamam śāntaiśiṅgaḥ śrāvakān, yā mārgajñatayā jagad-dhīta-kṛtām lokārtha-sampādikā, sarvākāram idaṃ vadanti munayo viśvam yayā samgatāḥ, tasyai śrāvaka-bodhisattva gaṇiṇo buddhasya Mātre namaḥ*. Tib. translation of *jñatā* is *shes pa* or the more usual honorific *mkhyen pa*. It is explained as *shes byed* and not as *shes bya*. The translation "knower" or "exalted knower" is borrowed from J. Hopkins.

25. *Sphuṭārtha*, p.5: *de la thams cad mkhyen pa nyid gsum gyis ni don brgyad bsdus la, de dag kyang shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa yin zhing*.

26. *Abhi*:1–2 *sarvākārājñatā-mārgaḥ śāsinā yo 'tra deśitāḥ . . . sukhena pratīpatsīrann ity ārambha-prayojanam*.

27. This theory of *cittotpāda* as the entrance into Mahāyāna informs the opening lines of homage in Candrakīrti's (a *Mādhyamika*) *Madhyamakāvatāra* [translated in part by J. Hopkins, *Compassion in Tibetan Buddhism* (London: 1980); also partial French translation by L. de la Vallée Poussin (Museum, 1907–1910)], and explains Dignāga and Dharmakīrti's (*Cittamātrīn*) apparent fixation with compassion as the primary proof of Buddha's existence. The theory states that *cittotpāda* is basic to all Mahāyāna paths. In this form it is a view held by all Mahāyānists.

28. This analysis is particularly important in understanding the development of Tib. ideas after Tsong Kha pa. In the *dGe lugs pa* explanation of *Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika* the theory of *cittotpāda* is carried a step further and it is said that there is no difference between Hinayāna and Mahāyāna paths in terms of view (Tib. *lta ba*), only in terms of method (Tib. *thabs*). [See Tsong Kha pa's *sNag rim chen mo*, translated in part by J. Hopkins, *Tantra in Tibet* (London: 1977).] Although Tibetans generally regard the *Abhi* as a *Svātantrika-Mādhyamika* teaching, and although it cannot be characterized as a uniquely *Prāsaṅgika* text, there are a number of distinctly *Prāsaṅgika* passages (e.g., *Abhi*:37), so both aspects of the assertion that *cittotpāda* is the entrance into Mahāyāna are applicable to a greater and lesser degree.

29. dGe 'dun grub, in his *mDzod tik thar lam gsal byed* (Varanasi: 1973) 98 quotes "a *sūtra*" which in Tib. says: *sems las byung ba mad par ni, sems ni nam yang mi 'byung ste. Nyi ma dang ni 'od zer bzhin*. See also E. Frauwallner, *History of Indian Philosophy* (Delhi: 1984) 164.

30. Lobsang Gyatso, *Rigs lam che ba blo rigs kyi rnam gzhag nye mkho kun btus* (Dharmśāla, 1974) 121 ff.

31. *vitarkaḥ* (coarse investigation), *vicārah* (subtle investigation), *middham* (sleep) and *kaukrtyam* (regret). See *Mahāvīryūtpatti*:1980–1984.

32. This explanation is based on a conversation with H. H. the Fourteenth Dalai Lama in June, 1985. Although the *ānantarya-mārga* is clearly an instance of ultimate *cittotpāda* (Tib. *don dam sems bskyed*) a clear scriptural reference to it necessarily being a main mind (Tib. *rtso sems*) has not been found.

33. For the idea that the *rūpa-kāya* is the main goal of *bodhisattvas* see Tsong Kha pa's *Lam rim chen mo*, *gSung bum* ed. (New Delhi: 1980), vol. Pa, p. 350:5–6.

An investigation of Indian and Tib. views about resolve (*pradnīdhāna*) and engaging (*prasthāna*) *cittotpāda*, though necessary, is beyond the scope of this paper. A summary of the views of earlier Indian writers on the criteria for the division is to be found in *gSer Phreng*:94b.1–96a.2. It concludes: "Therefore resolve *cittotpāda* is posited on the small path of accumulation (*tshog lam*) and engaging *cittotpāda* from the middle [path of accumulation] . . . This master [Haribhadra] also quotes from Śāntideva in explaining resolve and engaging [*cittotpāda*], so Indian scholars also arrived at this same point of view [i.e., that resolve and engaging *cittotpāda* are delineated in terms of the small and middle paths of accumulation, respectively]". This and other relevant passages in the Tibetan tradition have been masterfully analysed by Lobsang Dargyay in his article "The View of Bodhicitta in the Tibetan Tradition", in *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhism*, ed. L.S. Kawamura (Waterloo, Ontario: 1981), pp. 95–110.

p.u.p. drop 11 points to note 34.

34. *Ālokā* 24:4–10 *samyaksambuddho bhūtvā yathā-bhavyatayā parārtham prati tri-yāna-dharma-deśanādibhir yatnam kuryām iti praṇidhānam kṛtvā pratipatyā sampādayed iti parārthālambanaḥ sa-hetu-phalaḥ samyaksambodhy-adhigama-kāmatā-lakṣaṇo* “*gantv-kāmasya gantus ca yathā bhedaḥ pratīyate, tathā bhedo 'nayo jñeyo yathāsamkhyena paṇḍitaiḥ.*” *iti praṇidhi-prasthāna-svabhāvo dvividhaḥ cittotpāda.*

Tsong Kha pa interprets this “cause and effect” (*sa-hetu-phalaḥ*) as referring to the resolve and engaging *cittotpāda* respectively. (*gSer Phreng*:99a.6–99b.2) “This is the way the mind is generated. [One thinks] ‘In the future I will become a Buddha and for the sake of sentient beings I shall teach the doctrines of the three vehicles, etc., presevering exactly in accordance with individual aptitudes’. This wish is the first causal *cittotpāda*. Then, ‘I shall complete the full means of accomplishing the enlightenment thus wished for’, is the way in which the resultant, engaging *cittotpāda* arises”.

Alternatively, the cause and effect could be the two stages of achievement implied by the two *ālambana*: first, the enlightenment to be attained for the benefit of others, and second, the benefit itself.

35. Subtitles are based on the *sa bcas* (outline) of the text of *gSer Phreng*. See chart 2.

36. Lobsang Dargyay “The View of Bodhicitta”, p. 104, says Tsong Kha pa conjectured that for Vasubandhu *citta-sambhava* (Tib. *sems las 'byung*) (*Sūtrālamkāra*:4.1) was used to mean not that *cetanā* was “a birth or arising of [bodhi]citta”, but rather the “origin of [bodhi]citta”. Dargyay thus translates *cittotpāda* as “rising mind” and says, *Ibid.*, pp. 106–107:

The Tibetan scholars . . . concluded that mind is lucid, motionless and mere perceiving. When the wish for enlightenment arises in the Bodhisattva this motionless *citta* becomes elevated, moved. The cause for this ‘Rising Mind’ (*cittotpāda*) is the wish for enlightenment (*praṇidhi*). This wish is a mental factor (*cāitta*) not mind as such.

37. *Buddhaśrijñāna* —> *Buddhajñānapāda* —> *Buddhajñāna*: a disciple of Haribhadra, flourished mid-ninth century.

38. *Śāntīpa* —> *Ratnākaraśānti*, flourished late eleventh, early twelfth century.