Errata and Addendum

To: Kazuo Kano *"Buddha-nature and Emptiness" rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab and A Transmission of the Ratnagotravibhāga from India to Tibet* (2016)

pp. 20–21
Zhaoxinzhai 趙欣宅
→
Zhao Xin's residence

p. 21, l. 8
Mingsengyun 名僧伝
→
Mingseng zhuan 名僧伝

p. 21, l. 8
Jing lu yi xiang 經律異相
→
Jing lü yi xiang 經律異相

p. 21, n. 13
jingcang
→
jingzang

p. 55, n. 44
This suggests that the six kept watch at the monastery in Bodhgayā, not in Vikramaśīla.
→
This suggests that the six did not necessarily kept watch in Vikramaśīla.

p. 138
This reconstruction is supported by the titles of other works included in the same set: *Sūtrālaṃkāra-paricaya* and *Pratibandhasiddhiparicaya*, which have a common commentarial style.
→
This reconstruction is supported by the titles of other works included in the same set: *Sūtrālaṃkāra-paricaya* and *Pratibandhasiddhiparicaya*, which have a common commentarial style. The author of the *Pratibandhasiddhiparicaya* might be identified with Mahājana, for Mahājana's *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayā-rthaparijñāna* (or rather **Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaparicaya*, taking *don yongs su shes pa* as an equivalent for **paricaya* in the sense of "familiarity with" or "knowledge of") refers to two of his own works which are hitherto unavailable: ***'Brel pa grub pa chung ngu'i yongs su shes pa*** (**Laghupratibandhasiddhiparicaya*) and *rNam par nges pa'i yongs su shes pa* (**Viniścayaparicaya*); see D 3822, 309a4–5. Accordingly, the works (i.e. the *Pratibandhasiddhiparicaya*, *Sūtrlālaṃkāraparicaya*, and *Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya*) with title ending with *paricaya* preserved in the same codex might be composed by Mahājana. If this is the case, writings of Mahājana are:

(Mahājana's authorship is testified by colophons:)

Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayārthaparijñāna (or **Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaparicaya*): Tib.
Sūtrālaṃkārādhikārasaṅgati: Skt. complete

(Authorship is not testified in colophons, but probably belongs to Mahājana:)
Pratibandhasiddhiparicaya: Skt. incomplete
Sūtrlālaṃkāraparicaya: Skt. incomplete
Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya: Skt. incomplete
**Viniścayaparicaya* (*rNam par nges pa'i yongs su shes pa*): yet to be available

p. 209, n. 88
Takeuchi & Iuchi (forthcoming)
→
Takeuchi & Iuchi (2016)

p. 388, n. 16
vāsanāpagamac
→
vāsanāpagamāc

p. 406, l. 7
Anonymous *Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya*
→
Mahājana (?)*Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya* (see ERRATA AṢND ADDENDUM to p. 138)

p. 408, ll. 3–4
Nyang-brang-pa Chos kyi-ye-shes (12th cent.)
Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi tshig dang don gyi cha rgya cher bsnyad pa phra ba'i don gsal ba (93 fols. *'Bras spungs*, p. 1405)[14] / *rGyud bla ma'i ṭikka* ('Gos 4.23; 574.5; A-khu 11334)
extant
→
Nyang-brang-pa Chos kyi-ye-shes (12th cent.)
rGyud bla ma'i ṭikka ('Gos 4.23; 574.5; A-khu 11334)[14]
unavail.

p. 408, n. 14
According to gZhon-nu-dpal, he is a disciple of Zhang [Tshe-spong-pa Chos-kyi-bla-ma] (see *'Gos* 574.5). The '*Bras spungs dkar chag* suggests that the author of the present work was a disciple of Zhang Tshe-spong-pa Chos-kyi-bla-ma (*shākya'i dge slong chos kyi bla ma'i zhabs rdul spyi bos len pa dge slong*).
→
According to gZhon-nu-dpal, he is a disciple of Zhang [Tshe-spong-pa Chos-kyi-bla-ma] (see *'Gos* 574.5).

p. 436, l. 33, p. 443, l. 15 and l. 20, p. 445, l. 4, p. 449, l. 30, p. 451, l. 6
Daijōsōgonkyōron
→

Daijōshōgonkyōron

p. 438, l. 27
櫻部健
→
櫻部建

p. 448, l. 33
teksuto
→
tekusuto

p. 451, l. 12
OKI, Kazushi
→
OKI, Kazufumi

p. 451, ll. 33–34
ヴァスヴァンドゥ
→
ヴァスバンドゥ

p. 453, l. 7
SASAKI, Sizuka
→
SASAKI, Shizuka

p. 460, l. 1
WANG SENG 王森
→
WANG SEN 王森

p. 460, l. 25
吉川忠雄
→
吉川忠夫

*I am grateful for valuable suggestions to Prof. Toru Funayama.

This *corrigenda* and *addendum* was published in *Kōyasan University Library Bulletin* (*Kōyasandaigaku toshokan kiyō* 高野山大学図書館紀要) vol. 1 (2017): 25–27.

Addendum

2 Aug. 2025

p. 20, l. 1

all verses.

→

mostly the commentarial verses.

p. 131, n. 138

D 3880 Sha 194a6–7; P [100] 5282 Sha 231a7–8

→

D 3880 Sha 194a6–7; P [100] 5282 Sha 231a7–8 = Skt. frag. (De Jong, J.W. “La légende de Śāntideva.” *Indo Iranian Journal* 16-3 [1975]: 171)

p. 199, l. 1

the king [of Kashmir]

→

the king [of Kashmir] (the king on the throne in 1076 was Kalaśa [reg. 1063-1089], according to Kalhaṇa)

p. 410, ll. 4–5

unavail.

→

avail. See BDRC:W3CN3014, 88 ff. (v. 3, img. 241–416). This is included in his *gsung 'bum*: W3CN26813 (I owe this to Pascale Hugon in personal communication on 1 June 2023.)

* * *

Book Review: Pascale Hugon. (*Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient*, Tome 104, 2018, pp. 389–392.)

As for the updated version of the Sanskrit text and annotated translation of Sajjana's *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa*, see Sajjana's *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa*: A Reading Sanskrit Text and Annotated Translation. Klaus-Dieter Mathes and Kemp Camp (eds.). *Tathāgatagarbha across Asia*. Wien: WSTB, 2022, pp. 55–91.

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HEFT 91

KAZUO KANO

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rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab and

A Transmission of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* from India to Tibet

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WIEN 2016

WSTB 91

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GEGRÜNDET VON
ERNST STEINKELLNER

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
BIRGIT KELLNER, KLAUS-DIETER MATHES
und MICHAEL TORSTEN MUCH

HEFT 91

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ARBEITSKREIS FÜR TIBETISCHE UND BUDDHISTISCHE STUDIEN
UNIVERSITÄT WIEN

Herausgeberbeirat / Editorial Board

Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Leonard van der Kuijp, Charles Ramble,
Alexander von Rospatt, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, Jonathan Silk,
Ernst Steinkellner, Tom Tillemans

Copyright 2016 by Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien / Kazuo Kano
ISBN: 978-3-902501-29-5

IMPRESSUM
Verleger: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien
Universitätscampus, Spitalgasse 2-4, Hof 2, 1090 Wien
Herausgeber und für den Inhalt verantwortlich:
B. Kellner, K.-D. Mathes, M. T. Much
Spitalgasse 2-4, Hof 2, 1090 Wien
Druck: Ferdinand Berger & Söhne GmbH, Wiener Straße 80, 3580 Horn

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Acknowledgements

The present doctoral dissertation is based in part on my M.A. thesis, "The Reception and Doctrinal Developments of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* in Tibet," submitted to Kyoto University in 2001 under the direction of Prof. Katsumi Mimaki. On the basis of this M.A. thesis, I wrote a doctoral thesis entitled "rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab's Summary of the *Ratnagotravibhāga*: The First Tibetan Commentary on a Crucial Source for the Buddha-nature Doctrine" under my *Doktorvater* Prof. David Jackson and submitted it to the University of Hamburg in 2006.

The present book is an improved version of my PhD thesis. I have excluded from it a critical edition and annotated translation of rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab's *Ratnagotravibhāga* commentary along with a number of appendices (i.e. critical editions of Vairocanarakṣita's and Sajjana's works on the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, and an edition and translation of passages of Jñānaśrīmitra's *Sākārasiddhiśāstra* relevant to the *Ratnagotravibhāga*), all of which were included in my PhD thesis. I will publish them separately.

I wish to thank Prof. David Jackson for permitting me to continue research on this and related themes at the University of Hamburg, and for his constant encouragement and instruction. Nor could I have finished my study without the long-lasting support of my teachers of Kōyasan University: Prof. Ryūjun Fujimura, Prof. Chishō Namai, Prof. Yoshihito Muroji, Prof. Junji Ochi, Prof. Kōkan Fujita, Prof. Hitoshi Inui, and Prof. Yasunori Tanigawa. I am deeply grateful to Prof. Khang dkar Tshul khrims skal bzang of Ōtani University who taught me the traditional Tibetan approach to his own culture's texts, and to Prof. Dorji Wangchuk of Hamburg University for his philological suggestions on a number of Tibetan passages. For their help over hurdles in Sanskrit texts, I am indebted to Prof. Lambert Schmithausen, Prof. Harunaga Isaacson, Prof. Diwakar Acharya, Prof. Somdev Vasudev, Dr. Kengo Harimoto, Prof. Taiken Kyuma, and Prof. Siglinde Dietz. My thanks are also due to Prof. Jikidō Takasaki, Prof. Francesco Sferra, and the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek for their generosity in providing me with valuable photographic copies of Sanskrit manuscripts, and to Dr. Li Xuezhu for the courtesy of sharing his upcoming transcriptions of Sanskrit texts including the *Munimatālaṃkāra*.

I would like to thank Prof. Klaus-Dieter Mathes, Prof. Leonard van der Kuijp, Dr. Orna Almogi, Dr. Pascale Hugon, Prof. Kevin Vose, Mr. Ralf Kramer, Ms.

Anne Burchardi, Dr. Alexander Schiller, Dr. Volker Caumanns, Dr. Jörg Heimbel, and Dr. David Higgins for much valuable information regarding Tibetan material. Thanks to Prof. Mathes's invitation to Vienna University to fill a Numata guest professorship in 2015, I could concentrate on finalizing the present thesis.

Weekly reading sessions of Tibetan texts with Dr. Marc-Henri Deroche in 2014 were very helpful. For a number of valuable suggestions about the origin and doctrinal developments of the Buddha-nature teaching in Mahāyāna sūtras, I am grateful to Dr. Michael Radich.

For the proofreading of my English, I am indebted, first of all, to Mr. Philip Pierce, without whose support I would not have been able to finish this thesis. I am also grateful to Mr. David Reigle, Dr. Anne MacDonald, Mr. Dennis Johson, Ms. Casey Kemp, Ms. Alison Joyce Melnick for their very valuable English proofreading with deep reflection.

Eisaku Okada, Yūki, Takatsukasa, Genkai Hayashi, Keiki Nakayama, and Shiori Ijūin greatly helped me to finalize this book by checking through chapters and the bibliography and by preparing the indices.

It is also my pleasure to express my warm thanks, for proofreading my final manuscript to Volker Caumanns, Jörg Heimbel, Pascale Hugon, Jowita Kramer and for their various forms of encouragement and assistance, to Martin Delhey, Achim Bayer, Michael Zimmermann, Jinkyoung Choi, Kazunobu Matsuda, Stefan Baums, Gregory Max Seton, Shin'ichiro Miyake, Maho Iuchi, Tuguhito Takeuchi, Shōko Mekata, Kōichi Takahashi, Ikkō Arai, Noritoshi Aramaki, Shōryū Katsura, Tōru Funayama, Yushō Wakahara, Masaaki Nōnin, Osamu Hayashima, Shōbun Naitō, Shōdō Fujita, Yoshihiko Nasu, Susumu Ōtake, Ryūhei Ueno, Satoshi Hayashima, Mitsuru Kenchū, Shun'ei Matsushita, Nobuchiyo Odani, Akio Minoura, Susanne Götz, Rebecca Hufen, Mathias Fermer, Christine Sommerschuh, Shen Weirong, Péter-Dániel Szántó, Kenichi Kuranishi, Ayako Nakamura, Carola Carstens, Hans-Jörg Stein, Ryūgen Tanemura, Kei Kataoka, Toru Tomabechi, Kaie Mochizuki, Iain Sinclair, Izumi Miyazaki, Akira Saitō, Gudun Melzer, Hong Luo, Kazushi Iwao, Giuliana Martini, Jung Lan Bang, Seiji Kumagai, Takeshi Yokoyama, Shaoyong Ye, Martina Draszczyk, Philippe Turenne, Kazuhiro Kawasaki, Ritsu Akahane, Kiyokuni Shiga, Akimasa Tsuda, Akimichi Eda, and all participants headed by Prof. Ernst Steinkellner at a workshop "From Kashmir to Tibet: A set of proto-Śāradā palm leaves and two works on the *Ratnagotravibhāga*" held by me and organized by Pascale Hugon on 21 April 2015 at the Institut für Kultur-und Geistesgeschichte Asiens of the Österreichische

Akademie der Wissenschaften.

I would finally like to express my gratitude to Birgit Kellner, Klaus-Dieter Mathes, Michael Torsten Much, and Helmut Tauscher, the editors of the WSTB (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde) series, for allowing the present dissertation to be published in it.

My research was financially supported by the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, the Dr. Gishō Nakano Foundation of Kōyasan University, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (Project Nrs. 20820060, 23720030, 23520075, 22320014, 26284008, 25370059, 24520060), and the Mitsubishi Foundation, Mishima Kaiun Foundation, Nakamura Hajime Tōhōkenkyūjo, and Heiwa Nakajima Foundation. The present publication was funded by a Kōyasan University grant for academic publications.

Kōyasan, April 2016

Introduction

"All sentient beings have Buddha-nature (or a buddha within, *tathāgatagarbha*)." This teaching was first pronounced in the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* (second half of the third century),[1] further developed in other Mahāyāna sūtras such as the *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta* and *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra*, and systematized by the *Ratnagotravibhāga-Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra* (abbr. RGV).[2] This treatise establishes a philosophical framework for understanding Buddha-nature, one mainly based on the three named sūtras, but also on a number of other Mahāyāna sūtras (mainly from the Mahāsannipāta Sūtra collection *Dajijing* 大集經), including the *Dhāraṇīśvararāja* and the *Jñānālokālaṃkāra*, which do not directly mention the term *tathāgatagarbha*. It uses terms common to the Abhidharma[3] and Yogācāra, though there are some discrepancies with Yogācāra doctrine.[4] One of the RGV's

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1 For the dating of this sūtra, see Zimmermann 2002: 79. According to Takasaki (1974), it was the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* that first pronounced this teaching, and Zimmermann (2002) followed him. However, Stephen Hodge and Michael Radich (2015) in their recent studies claim that the use of the term *tathāgatagarbha* in the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* precedes that of the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* (cf. Zimmermann 2014: 98). In his recent study, Zimmermann (2014: 112–113) also concedes the possibility that the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* borrowed the term *tathāgatagarbha* from the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*.

2 For the meaning of the term *tathāgatagarbha*, see Takasaki 1974: 55–59, Zimmermann 2002: 39–46, and Zimmermann 2014: 116–112. The RGV understands the term as "possessing a buddha (or Buddha's wisdom) inside," as indicated by RGV I.27c: the spiritual disposition (*gotra*) in ordinary beings is only metaphorically called (*upacāra*) *tathāgatagarbha*, because it is not a full-fledged Buddha. That is, only the possession of a full-fledged Buddha (i.e. by Buddha himself) is properly called *tathāgatagarbha*. Silk (2015) investigates the textual history of the *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta*. For the full title of the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra*, see a Sanskrit fragment of Schøyen collection (Matsuda 2000: 67), fol. 392r4: *samāpta(ṃ) śrīmālādevīsiṃha[nāda]nirde[śa](sūtraṃ)*.

3 Sasaki (1991) traces the teaching in the RGV regarding the order in which defilements originate (with *ayoniśomanasikāra* "an inappropriate bringing to mind" being identified as a cause of ignorance) back to Abhidharma doctrine. Sasaki regards a passage in the *Apidamo pinleizu lun* 阿毘達磨品類足論 (T vol. 26, 702b) as the original source of this discussion, and points out similar discussions found in such Mahāyāna sūtras as the *Jñānālokālaṃkāra*. See also Miyazaki 2012: 120–135.

4 The author of the *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* (abbr. RGVV; the Chinese tradition ascribes both RGV and RGVV to a single author, Sāramati, though this raises some unresolved problems;

distinguishing stylistic features not found in Yogācāra and Abhidharma treatises is an attitude that stresses its direct link to passages of the Mahāyāna sūtras, rather than wishing to be a free philosophical discussion; the verse portion of the text strictly follows the doctrine of the Mahāyāna sūtras, and the prose part quotes a number of passages from the sūtras. In line with these Mahāyāna sūtras, the RGV (I.156 and 158–160) counters the position taken by the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*s, reinterpreting their teaching that everything is empty by nature. It narrows down the sense of emptiness to one of "extrinsic emptiness"; that is, Buddha-nature is void of adventitious stains, but not empty of its own nature.[5] The RGV (I.160) thereby

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see Chapter 1) was obviously familiar with the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (abbr. MSA; see RGVV 55.16–17 (*ṣaḍāyatanaviśeśaḥ sa tādṛśaḥ paraṃparāgato 'nādikāliko dharmapratilabdha iti*) ≈ *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (ed. Dutt), p. 2.5–6; RGVV 71.1–4 = MSA IX.15; and RGV 71.16–17 = MSA IX.37). Matsumoto (2013: 98, 123, 144) points out the author's familiarity with the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

The RGVV and *Madhyāntavibhāga* commonly use the technical term *sarvatraga* "all-pervasion" of the *dharmadhātu* with reference to the first bodhisattva stage. See RGVV 15.12–13 (on I.13c): *tac ca darśanaṃ bodhisattvasya prathamāyām eva bodhisattvabhūmāv utpadyate sarvatragārthena dharmadhātuprativedhāt* and *Madhāyāntavibhāgabhāṣya* (abbr. MAVBh; on II.14a): *yad uta sarvatragārthe | prathamayā hi bhūmyā dharmadhātoḥ sarvatragārthaṃ pratividhyati |*.

Comparing the RGV/RGVV with the other works of Maitreya, Nagao (1978) notes a difference in their use of the term *avaśiṣṭa* "something remaining" (which is crucial to one's understanding of emptiness). He concludes that the meditation prescribed in the *Madhyāntavibhāga* with regard to *avaśiṣṭa* is a repeating process of determining ultimate reality, whereas the RGV delineates a straightforward process of freeing the Buddha-nature of adventitious stains.

The term *āśrayaparivṛtti* is also treated differently: In the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, the basis (*āśraya*) is the *ālayavijñāna* (an expression that appears in the commentaries but not in the Maitreya basic texts themselves), which is said to dissolve at the end of the path, while in the RGV the basis is Buddha-nature, which survives. By contrast, the RGV and the *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga* (abbr. DhDhV) are comparatively close: In DhDhV 99.11–16, the essential characteristic (*svabhāva*) of *āśrayaparivṛtti* is defined as the removal of adventitious defilements, and this seems to accord with the definitions of *āśrayaparivṛtti* in the RGVV 21.9–10; 38.17–39.1; 79.10–11; 80.15–16 (with, in these passages, the terms *nirmalā tathatā* and *vimalā tathatā* being obviously analogous to *tathatāvaimalyatva* in the DhDhV).

[5] See also RGV I.154–155. This type of emptiness had been taught in some Mahāyāna sūtras, including the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra* (abbr. ŚMS, T vol. 11, 677a19–29; T vol. 12, 221c12–23; D 92, 272a5–b4; P 760, 278b2–279a1), *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (abbr. MPMS, Habata 2013: 202 [§280] and 269–270 [§369], T vol. 12, 395b25–c2 and 406c7–19; T vol. 12, 875a10–20 and 883a2–12; D 76b6–77a5 and 101b3–102a1; P 78b1–8 and 104a5–b3), *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* (abbr. AMS, T vol. 2, 527a27–c15; D 159a7–160b2; P 166b6–167b7), and *Mahābherīsūtra* (abbr. MBhS, T vol. 9, 296b18–21; D 108a7; P 113a3–4 etc.). See Suzuki 2000 and Kano 2000: 69. This understanding of emptiness is found as a traditional formula in *āgama*s and *nikāya*s (*Majjhimanikāya*, vol. III, 104–105; T vol. 1, 736c–738a etc.). Furthermore, it is used in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (ed. Dutt, p. 32), *Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya* (MAVBh 3), and RGVV (76.17–

implies the superiority of its own doctrinal position to that of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*s (as suggested, too, by its title, *Mahāyānottaratantra* "the supreme Mahāyāna doctrine").[6] It holds that it itself belongs to the third turning of the wheel of the Dharma, and so goes beyond (or critically supersedes) the second turning (i.e. *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*s).[7]

In the Indian context, one of the original motives for teaching Buddha-nature may have been simply to encourage believers to engage in active Buddhist practice.[8] This is indicated by certain verses in the RGV (I.35cd, 40–41, 156–167) and

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77.8). See Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 313–318 and Takasaki 1989: 335–336 n. 1. Concerning the expression "extrinsic emptiness," see Wangchuk 2004: 172–173 n. 3.

6 See RGV I.160: *pūrvam evaṃ vyavasthāpya tantre punar ihottare | pañcadoṣaprahāṇāya dhāvastitvaṃ prakāśitam ||*. Frauwallner (1956: 256) rendered the term *uttaratantra*: "Die vorzüglichere Lehre." In the *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra*, too, Aṅgulimāla rebuts Mañjuśrī (who propounds the understanding of emptiness according to the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*), in an attempt to establish the superiority of extrinsic emptiness (AMS, D 159a7–161b7; P 166b6–169a6; T 527a27–528b19). The *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra* for its part criticizes the *śrāvaka*s' understanding of emptiness but does not directly refer to that propounded in the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* (ŚMS, D 272b2; P 278b7).

7 The RGVV quotes a passage from the *Dhāraṇīśvararājasūtra* (T no. 397, vol. 13, 21c9–20; no. 398, 439b19–c6). RGVV 6.1–7: *evam eva kulaputra tathāgato 'py apariśuddhaṃ sattvadhātuṃ viditvānityaduḥkhānātmāśubhodvegakathayā saṃsārābhiratān sattvān udvejayati | ārye ca dharmavinaye 'vatārayati | na ca tāvanmātreṇa tathāgato vīryaṃ praśrambhayati | tataḥ paścāc chūnyānimittāpraṇihitakathayā tathāgatanetrīm avabodhayati | na ca tāvanmātreṇa tathāgato vīryaṃ praśrambhayati | tataḥ paścād avivartyadharmacakrakathayā trimaṇḍalapariśuddhikathayā ca tathāgataviṣaye tān sattvān avatārayati nānāprakṛtihetukān avatīrṇāś ca samānās tathāgatadharmatām abhigamyānuttarā dakṣiṇīyā ity ucyanta iti |*. This sūtra passage is also quoted in the *Sūtrasamuccaya* (pp. 129–130 and T no. 1635, vol. 32, 65a28–b16) and is glossed by Ratnākaraśānti (see *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya*, D 3935, 298b3–299b5; P 5331, 348a–349a4).

8 Zimmermann 2002: 75–77 and 79. See *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* (abbr. TGS) §8.6: "Apply energy (*vīrya*) firmly! Soon you yourselves will become Victorious Ones. At some point [you will] attain the essence of awakening. Then [you] will proceed to liberate myriad living beings." (*khyed cag brtson 'grus brtsam pa brtan gyis dang || rang lus ring por mi thogs rgyal bar 'gyur || dus zhig byang chub snying po thob gyur nas || srog chags stong phrag bye ba grol byed 'gyur ||*). See also TGS §§3.3, 3.4, 4.5, 6.4, 7.5, and 7.6.

Discussing the doctrinal background of the term *tathāgatagarbha*, Takasaki (1974: 575) points out the significant influence of the **Tathāgatotpattisaṃbhavanirdeśa* (for the name of the sūtra, see *Gaṇḍavyūha* 216: *sarvabuddhotpādasaṃbhavo nāma sūtrāntaḥ*). This sūtra teaches that the Buddha-gnosis (*buddhajñāna*) completely pervades each sentient being, in a passage (P 761-43, 117a5–118b3) quoted in RGVV (22.10–12) and alluded to in RGV I.27 (*buddhajñānāntargamāt sattvarāśes*), one of the most important verses in the RGV. Zimmermann (2002: 61–62), noting the close relation between the sūtra and the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*, points out the shift of emphasis from the Buddha to sentient beings. The term *tathāgatagarbha* itself had earlier been used in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (before the TGS) as an epithet of Sudhana (*Gaṇḍavyūha* 170: *ayaṃ sa tathāgatagarbha āgacchati*). See Takasaki 1974: 67 n. 24. Of

passages in related sūtras.[9] From the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*, the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* adopted the term *tathāgatagarbha* and equated it with *buddhadhātu*.[10] The *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* and *Mahābherīsūtra* followed suit.[11] The *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta* and *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra* (which also

course, the origin motive of the use of the term *tathāgatagarbha* is more complex (e.g. the link with the relic cult), and is beyond the scope of the present thesis. See, for instance, Takasaki 1974, Shimoda 1997, Radich 2015 (part II).

[9] The encouragement offered in the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* is echoed in the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra*, which teaches that were it not for the Buddha-nature, one could neither escape *saṃsāra* nor wish for *nirvāṇa* (ŚMS, D 274b5; P 281a8–b1 ≈ RGV I.40–41).

The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* and *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* stress the ethical ramifications of the Buddha-nature doctrine. The latter, in particular, asserts that people maintain ethical-moral discipline (*śīla*) because of it (AMS, D 195a5; P 202b2–3: *de bzhin du 'jam dpal de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po yod pa'i phyir mi rnams tshul khrims srung zhing* ... ; on *brahmacarya*, see AMS, D 195a5–196b2; P 202b3–203b7, T 540a17–c2; on *prāṇātipāta*, see D 196b2–197a3; P 203b7–204b1, T 540c2–c22; on *māṃsabhakṣaṇa*, see D 197a3–198a3; P 204b1–205b1, T 540c22–541a26). Similarly, the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* teaches that *dhātu* (i.e. Buddha-nature) abides only in those who maintain ethical-moral discipline etc., so that this sūtra rejects any notion that the practice might be superfluous (MPMS, Habata 2013: 257 [§351], D 97a2; P 99b1–2: *khams yod du zin kyang sbyin pa dang | tshul khrims dang | shes pa dang | chos dang ldan pa rnams la yod par zad do || zhes brjod par bya'o*). See also MPMS, Habata 2013: 257f., T vol. 12, 404c9–19; T vol. 12, 881c1–8; D 97a2–5; P 99b1–7. For the details of this discussion, see Kano 2000: 70; and Schmithausen 2003.

In the *Tarkajvālā* (on MH II.4), too, Bhāviveka refers to Buddha-nature's sustaining function (see Heitmann 2004: 64–65). Zimmermann (2002: 76) points out that the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* lays down no concrete ethical guidelines: "This absence of ethical implications indicates that the (early) Buddha-nature theory centered on the importance of the individual's behavior." See also Zimmermann 2002: 76–77 n. 155 and Seyfort Ruegg 1980.

[10] The technical term *buddhadhātu* is said to have developed out of the term *tathāgatadhātugarbha* ("a vessel containing relics of the Buddha," i.e., a *stūpa*). Shimoda (1997) documents how the Buddha's relics gradually came to be regarded as an innate characteristic of all sentient beings. See also Radich 2015 (chapter 5). For the recent studies that claim the antecedence of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* to the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*, see above Introduction, n. 1.

[11] The central themes of the group of such sūtras as the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*, *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra*, and *Mahābherīsūtra* are the Buddha's eternity and Buddha-nature. This sets them apart from the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*, *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra*, *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta*, and RGV, which attach greater importance to Buddha-nature (see Takasaki 1974; Shimoda 1997; and Suzuki 2000).

The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* and *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* are Mahāyāna revivals of famous *āgama* stories, but they give the original stories a paradoxical twist: The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* reinterprets the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* (i.e. his impermanence) as an "eternity," while the *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* justifies Aṅgulimāla's activities as meant to protect the Dharma (i.e., the Buddha-nature doctrine) against "non-Buddhists" (*ya mtshan can*, *pāṣaṇḍika*, obviously an unspecified group of Buddhists opposed to sentiments expressed in the *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra*) and *icchantika*s, thereby reconstructing the original story that Aṅgulimāla killed

were closely related to the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*) developed Buddha-nature into a universal basis of both *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*.[12] The author of the RGV (be he Sāramati or Maitreya) systematized the doctrines taught in the sūtras on Buddha-nature, having thus assigned primary significance to this sūtra tradition, while leaving unaddressed the doctrinal systems of the Madhyamaka or Yogācāra.

In the course of doctrinal development, however, the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (abbr. LAS) tied the Buddha-nature teaching in with that of the threefold [gate] for

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people to make a finger-necklace (some modern scholars wrongly take the moral of this sūtra to be that even a murderer has its place in Buddha-nature, because Aṅgulimāla is not a murderer at all in this sūtra, but a buddha/bodhisattva). See AMS, D 126a5–141a6; P 133b7–148a7; T 512b14–521a3 (Aṅgulimāla's act of killing); D 142b7–143a3; P 150a1–5; T 521b27–c24 (a justification of the attack on the non-Buddhists in order to protect the Dharma); D 161a4–b7; P 168b1–169a6; T 528b11–19 and D 205a6–206a6; P 213a2–214a6; T 543b27–544a15 (the act of killing in the form of illusions); D 162a1–3; P 169a6–8; T 528b20–25 (a presentation of Aṅgulimāla as a great bodhisattva).

This strict stance against the enemies of the Dharma in the *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* probably was motivated by statements in the two chapters of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* titled "Vajrābhedyakāya" and "Dīrghāyus" ("**Ahiṃsā nāma skandha*" in the Tibetan rendering). There, measures to protect the Dharma are provided justification, the injuring (*hiṃsā*) of enemies of the Dharma being interpreted as "non-violence" (*ahiṃsā*), and so even able to generate a cause of eternal life or an indestructible *vajra* body in the perpetrator. Such paradoxical teaching is scattered throughout this group of sūtras (the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra* was also strongly influenced by them). Its purpose was doubtless to send a jolt through its readership. See Kano 1999 and 2000.

This approach is succinctly summed up by the technical term *saṃdhāvacana* ("implicative words/teaching"); that is, the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*, *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra*, and *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra* freely interpret the Buddha's words on the basis of their own doctrinal positions, and in particular ascribe the Buddha-nature doctrine to the Buddha's original discourses, e.g. the *Dhammapada*. See MPMS (Habata 2013: 387–407 [§§546–581], D 143b6–150a7; P 149a1–156a3; T vol. 12, 897a24–899b12; T vol. 12, 425a21–428a9), AMS (D 193b6–195a4; P 201a5–202b2; T 539c1–540a17), and ŚMS (D 264b4–265a6; P 269b5–270b1, T vol. 11, 675b10–24, T vol. 12, 219c24–220a8). See also Kano 1999 and 2000: 70. Concerning *saṃdhāvacana*, see Seyfort Ruegg 1989. In my opinion, the term is singularly relevant to why the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* or *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* should have revised the famous *āgama* story.

The same approach had already been used in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, as is alluded to in one of epithets of this sūtra's title: *yamakapuṭavyatyastanihāra*, "that which offers paradoxes in the form of vessels containing a pair [of contrary notions]" (VN, Skt. Ms. fol. 76b).

[12] The *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta* equated the *tathāgatagarbha* with the *sattvadhātu* ("nature/essence of sentient beings") and the *dharmakāya* (the passage was quoted by RGVV 2.8–13). The term it usually uses, though, is *ekadhātu* "single element" (also found in AMS, D 197a6; P 204b3 [*dbyings gcig*]; T 540c2–3; 540c26–27 and RGVV 13.11). On the relation between the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* and *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra*, see Takasaki 1974: 120, Shimoda 1997, and Kano 2000: 69–70.

liberation (*vimokṣatraya*, i.e. emptiness, signlessness, and wishlessness),[13] which had been treated in the RGV as representative of the second turning of the wheel of the Dharma (whereas the Buddha-nature teaching, it will be recalled, is assigned by it to the third turning).[14] Moreover, the same sūtra declares that all the sūtras of all the Buddhas teach emptiness, non-origination, non-duality, and the lack of an intrinsic nature.[15] This differs from other sūtras which teach Buddha-nature, and is rather similar to the position advanced in the *Samādhirājasūtra* and *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* (which were preferred by Mādhyamika masters).[16] These statements in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* amounted to a turning point in the development (or integration) of the Buddha-nature doctrine; their impact upon the later reception of it in India was considerable.[17] Indeed, its integration into the Madhyamaka

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[13] LAS 78.5–8: *na hi mahāmate tīrthakarātmavādatulyo mama tathāgatagarbhavādopadeśaḥ | kiṃ tu mahāmate tathāgatāḥ śūnyatābhūtakoṭinirvāṇānutpādānimittāpraṇihitādyānāṃ*[a] *padārthānāṃ tathāgatagarbhopadeśaṃ kṛtvā* ... ([a] Guṇabhadra's Chinese translation reads *śūnyatā*, *animitta*, and *apraṇihita* as the first members of this long compound, which is understandable, given that the three form a set of related notions. Furthermore, this version adds other terms. T no. 760, vol. 16, 489b5–6: 空無相無願如實際法性法身涅槃離自性不生不滅本來寂靜自性涅槃. The word *mahāmate* inserted before *padārthānāṃ* in Nanjio's edition is obviously redundant, and it is not found in Guṇabhadra's translation). See also LAS, 77.3–5 and 79.3–5.

[14] RGVV 6.3–4: *tataḥ paścāc chūnyānimittāpraṇihitakathayā tathāgatanetrīm avabodhayati |*.

[15] LAS 77.3–4: *atha khalu bhagavān punar api mahāmatiṃ bodhisattvaṃ mahāsattvam etad avocat | etad dhi mahāmate śūnyatānutpādādvayaniḥsvabhāvalakṣaṇaṃ sarvabuddhānāṃ sarvasūtrāntagataṃ yatra kvacit sūtrānte 'yam evārtho vibhāvayitavyaḥ |*; T no. 670, vol. 16, 489a10–12: 爾時世尊復告大慧菩薩摩訶薩言. 大慧. 空無生無二離自性相. 普入諸佛一切修多羅. 凡所有經悉說此義. This was used by Candrakīrti to support his own position of Madhyamaka (see below).

[16] See Takasaki 1980: 225. The *Samādhirājasūtra* (VII.5 p. 36) and *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* (T vol. 13, 205b) are referred to in the *Madhyamakāvatāra* (200.7–10 and 201.6).

[17] The dynamic development of the Buddha-nature teaching gradually came to an end in the fifth and sixth centuries in India, even as the composition of Mahāyāna sūtras were doing so. This teaching was now systematized, and also integrated into other systems, in the *śāstra* literature. The term "Buddha-nature" was assimilated within Buddhist tantric literature as well. For instance, the *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā* (among the Yogatantra class of works) states: "All sentient beings have Buddha-nature, owing to [their] identity with Samantabhadra, the Great Bodhisattva" (*sarvasattvās tathāgatagarbhāḥ samantabhadramahābodhisattvasarvātmatayā*). See Toganō 1930: 6 (this part is lacking in the Skt. Ms. from Tibet). This passage is quoted by Dharmamitra in his *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentary. See Seyfort Ruegg 1977: 291 and 311 n. 131. Another early Buddhist tantra, the *Amoghapāśakalparāja*, states: "He (who worships Avalokiteśvara, is empowered by Avalokiteśvara, and is equated with Avalokiteśvara) should be known as having Buddha-nature (or possessing a buddha inside)" (*sa sattvas tathāgatagarbho veditavyaḥ*, Skt. Ms. 76v1). See Ōtsuka 2013: 837. Inui (1998) (2000) reports elements of the Buddha-nature teaching being found in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha,* while Wangchuk (2004: 179) lists a number of rNying-ma *tantra*s which refer to the term "Buddha-nature," such as the **Guhyagarbhatantra*.

system (or the second turning of the wheel of the Dharma) in India was probably given its initial boost with this very passage.

The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* again spells out the purpose of teaching Buddha-nature as dispelling the fear generated by the notion of selflessness in ordinary people[18] and attracting non-Buddhists who have wrongly embraced the *ātman* view[19] to the Buddhist teaching. This provided a basis for the later Indian and Tibetan view that the Buddha-nature teaching was of provisional meaning.[20] In another context, the sūtra equates Buddha-nature with the *ālayavijñāna*.[21] This was probably inspired by the view of Buddha-nature as being a universal foundation of *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra*, as taught in the *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta* and *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra*. These passages of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* were later quoted by Mādhyamika masters such as Bhāviveka (ca. 490–570), Candrakīrti (ca. 600–650), and Kamalaśīla (ca. 740–795), so that the Buddha-nature doctrine was gradually integrated into the Madhyamaka system.

As clarified by Takasaki (1980) and Eckel (2008), in *Madhyamakahṛdaya* (abbr. MH) IV (*śrāvakatattvaviniścayāvatāra*), Bhāviveka takes up *śrāvaka*s' objections

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[18] LAS 78.8–11: *tathāgatā arhantaḥ saṃyaksaṃbuddhā bālānāṃ nairātmyasaṃtrāsapadavivarjanārthaṃ nirvikalpanirābhāsagocaraṃ tathāgatagarbhamukhopadeśena deśayanti* |.

[19] LAS 79.1–3: *evaṃ hi mahāmate tathāgatagarbhopadeśam*[a] *ātmavādābhiniviṣṭānāṃ tīrthakarāṇām ākarṣaṇārthaṃ tathāgatagarbhopadeśena*[b] *nirdiśanti* | ([a] Guṇabhadra's translation seems to presuppose *°upadeśaḥ* | instead of *°upadeśam*; see T no. 760, vol. 16, 489b14–15: 是名説如來藏. 開引計我諸外道故説如來藏. [b] Guṇabhadra's translation presupposes *°upadeśaṃ* instead of *°upadeśena*). The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* stresses in the same context that Buddha-nature should not be confused with the *ātman*. Though similar statements are found in the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra* (T vol. 12, 222b) and *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (T vol. 12, 407b etc.), the thrust is completely different: The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (MPMS, Habata 2013: 81 [§104], D 33a2–33b3; P 33b3–34a2; quoted in RGVV 74.22–75.11) holds that *ātman* is a true reflection of Buddha-nature, the notion of selflessness merely being meant as a means of refuting non-Buddhists (*mu stegs pa rnams tshar gcad pa'i phyir*). This contrasts sharply with the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, which takes Buddha-nature as a means of attracting non-Buddhists (*tīrthakarāṇām ākarṣaṇārthaṃ*). See also Takasaki 1974: 770–771 and 1980: 223–224.

[20] To be sure, this contradicted the original claim made on behalf of the Buddha-nature teaching in the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*, whose author clearly did not think of his sūtra as being of provisional meaning. Cf. also Mathes 2008: 18–19.

[21] LAS 220.9–16 and LAS VI.1 (*garbhas tathāgatānāṃ hi vijñānaiḥ saptabhir yutaḥ | pravartate dvayo grāhāt parijñānān nivartate* ||). This equation was superseded by that of the *Ghanavyūhasūtra*: D 110, 55b1–2; P 778, 62b1–2: *sa rnams sna tshogs kun gzhi ste || bde gshegs snying po dge ba'ang || snying po de la kun gzhi'i sgras || de bzhin gshegs pa ston pa mdzad || snying po kun gzhir bsgrags par yang || blo gzhan rnams kyis mi shes so* ||; T no. 681, vol. 16, 747a17–19; T no. 682, vol. 16, 776a13–15. The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* regards the *cittamātra* theory as of provisional meaning. See LAS II.123 (49.2–3): *āture āture yadvad bhiṣag dravyaṃ prayacchati | buddhā hi tadvat sattvānāṃ cittamātraṃ vadanti vai* || (quoted in *Madhyamakāvatāra* 189.19–12).

that the Mahāyāna was not taught by the Buddha (MH IV.2–14),[22] and refutes them (MH IV.15–74). Bhāviveka in his autocommentary (called *Tarkajvālā*)[23] on MH IV.8,[24] sets forth the *śrāvaka*s' objections in detail: The Mahāyāna teachings go against three touchstones of the Buddha's discourse, namely (1) the teaching that all phenomena (*saṃskāra*) are impermanent, asserting as they do the eternity of the *tathāgata*; (2) the teaching that all phenomena (*dharma*) have no self, asserting as they do the all-pervasiveness of Buddha-nature and *ādānavijñāna*;[25] and (3) the teaching that the *nirvāṇa* is quiescent, asserting as they do that the Buddha has not entered *nirvāṇa*. In reply to the second objection, Bhāviveka contends that the teaching that all sentient beings have Buddha-nature implies merely that emptiness, signlessness, and wishlessness, etc., abide in the minds of all sentient beings; it does not presuppose an inherent (*antaḥkaraṇa*) eternal *puruṣa* pervading everything.[26] Bhāviveka had obviously taken note of the above-mentioned passages in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (77.13–79.9) which turned the Buddha-nature doctrine more towards Madhyamaka (though this was not his primary intention in refuting the *śrāvaka*s' objection). Bhāviveka also acknowledges another aspect of the Buddha-nature teaching in *Tarkajvālā* II (on MH II.4), that of encouraging sentient beings.[27]

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[22] Especially MH IV.7: "The Mahāyāna is not the Buddha's teaching, because it is not included in Sutra and the like (i.e. *tripiṭaka*), and because it presents a different path just like the view of Vedānta" (*na buddhoktir mahāyānaṃ sūtrāntādāv asaṃgrahāt | mārgāntaropadeśād vā yathā vedāntadarśanam ||*). Cf. Eckel 2008: 111–112.

[23] Krasser (2011) addresses problems of authorship with regard to the *Tarkajvālā* summarizing previous discussions in modern studies (the contents of which I will not detail here).

[24] MH IV.8: "Or [the Mahāyāna is not the Buddha's teaching] because it improperly denies cause and effect, like a nihilistic view. The point is clinched because it is not included in the eighteen schools." *phalahetvapavādād vā yathā nāstikadarśanam | aṣṭādaśanikāyāntarbhāvābhāvān na niścitam ||*. See Eckel 2008: 112.

[25] *Tarkajvālā* (abbr. TJ) VI, D 156a2, P 169a8: *de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying pos khyab pa nyid dang | len pa'i rnam par shes pa ston par byed pas bdag tu 'dzin pa ma spangs pa'i yang phyir ro ||*.

[26] TJ VI, D 169a1–3, P 183a2–4: *de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can zhes bya ba yang stong pa nyid dang | mtshan ma med pa dang | smon pa med pa la sogs pa rnams sems can thams cad kyi rgyud la yod pa'i phyir yin gyi | nang gi byed pa'i skyes bu rtag pa thams cad du khyab pa lta bu ni ma yin te | ji skad du | chos thams cad ni stong pa nyid dang | mtshan ma med pa dang | smon pa med pa'i ngo bo | gang stong pa nyid dang | mtshan ma dang | smon pa med pa de ni de bzhin gshegs pa'o zhes bya ba la sogs pa 'byung bas so ||*.

[27] TJ II, D 50b3–4, P 53b8–54a1: *yon tan med la'ang yon tan gyi rgyun rnams skye bar rtag tu gus pa ni skye bo yon tan ma lus pa med pa la yang sems can thams cad de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po dang ldan par mos shing 'di yang dus gzhan na yon tan dang ldan par 'gyur ro zhes yon tan gyi rgyun rnams skye bar rtag tu gus pa mi lhod pa ste |*. Heitmann (2004: 64–65) translates "'Er bringt, wenn selbst bei denen, die ohne Tugenden sind, Ströme von Tugenden entstehen, dem fortwährend Achtung entgegen': Selbst bei Lebewesen, die ohne jegliche Tugenden sind, freut

Candrakīrti's position was more rigorous with regard to the *neyārtha* discussion.[28] In his *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* (on verse VI.95[29]), the chapter on the sixth bodhisattva stage, he cites the very same passages from the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* that had been adduced by Bhāviveka to support his contention that *cittamātra*, together with the Buddha-nature teaching, are provisional (*neyārtha*). He concludes that Buddha nature was taught merely as a means of temporarily easing ordinary persons of their fear of selflessness and of attracting non-Buddhists. For this reason, the Buddha-nature teaching is provisional, whereas the teachings on emptiness, non-origination, etc. are definitive.[30]

In his *Madhyamakāloka*,[31] Kamalaśīla presents the position of an opponent[32] who takes the three-vehicle theory to be definitive. He refutes that position and makes the case for the single-vehicle theory being definitive by quoting a number of sūtra passages.[33] For his part, Kamalaśīla assents to the Buddha-nature teaching according to which the *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s are able to attain the final

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er sich, daß alle Wesen den Keim des Tathāgata (*tathāgatagarbha*) haben, und [bei sich denkend], daß, auch diese zu einer anderen Zeit Tugenden haben werden, läßt (seine) Achtung, wenn Ströme von Tugenden entstehen, fortwährend nicht nach."

[28] His discussion is outlined by Takasaki (1980: 224–227) and analyzed by Yotsuya (2010).

[29] *Madhyamakāvatāra*, VI.95: *neyārthatvaṃ cādideśāsya śāstā yuktyā yuktyā cāpi neyārthatāsya | sūtrasyānyasyāpi caivaṃvidhasya neyārthatvaṃ dyotayaty āgamo 'yam ||*.

[30] In the *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* on verse VI.95 (MA 196.13–198.13), Candrakīrti quotes the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (LAS 77.18–79.5 and 77.3–4) as clearly stating that all sūtras like the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* which are taken to be of definitive meaning by Vijñānavādins are of provisional meaning (MA 198.14–15: *de'i phyir de ltar na rnam pa de lta bu'i mdo sde rnam par shes par smra ba rnams kyis nges pa'i don nyid du khas blangs pa thams cad drang ba'i don nyid yin par lung 'dis mngon par gsal par byas*; *tad evam evaṃvidhasyāgamasya sarvasyaivaṃ vijñānavādibhir nītārthatvenābhyupetasya neyārthatvam amunāgamenābhidyotya*; I am grateful to Dr. Xuezhu Li for sharing the unpublished Sanskrit text of the *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya*).

[31] *Madhyamakāloka* (abbr. MĀl), D 146a4–147b6; P 158a4–160a1 (I am grateful to Genkai Hayashi for sharing his unpublished edition of Tibetan text of the *Madhyamakāloka*).

[32] The position of the opponent is close to that of Asaṅga. In *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* X.32, Asaṅga alludes to a single-vehicle theory as provisional and the three-vehicle theory as definitive, quoting *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* XI.53–54 in support. Haribhadra, too, regarded Asaṅga as having acknowledged more than one vehicle. See *Abhisamayālaṃkārālokā*, 135: *nānānayavādinas tv āryāsaṅgapādās*... "The venerable Asaṅga, who posits various vehicles...."

[33] MĀl, D 237a4–244a7; P 265b3–275a3. Seyfort Ruegg (1977: 289) notes the link Kamalaśīla makes in the *Madhyamakāloka* between the *gotra*, *ekayāna*, and *tathāgatagarbha*; Namai (1996: 550–559) recapitulates this discussion. Kamalaśīla quotes the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra*, for instance, to demonstrate the rebirth of an *arhat* who remains involved in *saṃsāra* because of "death in the form of an inconceivable transformation" (*acintyapāriṇāmikī cyuti*). See MĀl, D 240a4–b1; P 269b2–8 and ŚMS, D 264b6–265a2; P 269b6–270a2. The RGVV (33.2–3 and 33.14) also uses this notion, as does RGV II.25d (*acintyanamanacyutiḥ*).

awakening of the Mahāyāna: "[The teaching] 'All sentient beings have Buddha-nature' means that all [sentient beings] are able to attain the state of perfect awakening, for the term '*tathāgata*' [i.e. the first member of the compound *tathāgatagarbha*] is taken to refer to the sphere of reality (*dharmadhātu*), which is characterized by the selflessness of persons and phenomena, namely natural luminosity (*prakṛtiprabhāsvara*)."[34] The teaching "all sentient beings have Buddha-nature" is interpreted in the sense that all sentient beings are pervaded by the *dharmadhātu,* which is characterized by selflessness. In other words, the *tathāgatagarbha* is taken to be the *dharmadhātugarbha*. Though the term *dharmadhātugarbha* appears in the RGVV,[35] Kamalaśīla's interpretation seems to have been derived from a phrase in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, "the embryo of the *tathāgata*, which is selflessness" (*tathāgatanairātmyagarbha*), reinforcing the notion that Buddha-nature does not refer to *ātman* but rather to selflessness (*nairātmya*).[36] Kamalaśīla's statement had an impact on the later reception of the Buddha-nature concept, as seen in the works of

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[34] MĀl, D 242b4–7, P 272b8–273a2: *sems can thams cad ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can no zhes bya ba 'dis kyang | thams cad bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub kyi go 'phang thob par rung ba nyid du yongs su bstan te | de bzhin gshegs pa'i sgra ni chos kyi dbyings gang zag dang chos la bdag med pa'i mtshan nyid rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal ba yin par brjod par bzhed pa'i phyir ro* ||; This is paraphrased in the *Munimatālaṃkāra*, Ms. fol. 69r4–5: *tathā tathāgatagarbhāḥ sarvasattvā ity anena sarveṣām anuttarasambodhipadādhigamayogyataiva paridīpitā | tathāgataśabdenāpi pudgaladharmanairātmyalakṣaṇasya dharmadhātoḥ prakṛtiprabhāsvarasya vivakṣitatvāt* |. See Li & Kano 2014: 19. On the relation between *prakṛtiprabhāsvara* and Buddha-nature, see Takasaki 1974: 754–758.

[35] RGVV 76.16–18: *sa khalv eṣa tathāgatagarbho yathā dharmadhātugarbhas tathā satkāyadṛṣṭipatitānām agocara ity uktaṃ dṛṣṭipratipakṣatvād dharmadhātoḥ*. "Moreover, this *tathāgatagarbha*, being like the *dharmadhātugarbha*, is said to be beyond the domain of [ordinary persons, that is,] those who have fallen into the wrong view of an Ego (*satkāyadṛṣṭi*), since the *dharmadhātu* runs counter to wrong views [regarding the self and possessions (*ātmātmīya*)]." This passage presupposes the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra* (T vol. 12, 222b. See Takasaki 1989: 336 n. 4). See also RGVV 74.7–10: *tatra satkāyadṛṣṭipatitā ucyante bālapṛthagjanāḥ | tathā hi te 'tyantaṃ*[a] *sāsravān*[b] *skandhādīn dharmān ātmata ātmīyataś copagamyāhaṃkāramamakārābhiniviṣṭāḥ satkāyanirodham anāsravadhātum adhimoktum api nālam | kutaḥ punaḥ sarvajñaviṣayaṃ tathāgatagarbham avabhotsyanta iti.* ([a] Takasaki (1969) emends *atyanta°* to *atyantaṃ* based on the Tibetan; [b] Schmithausen (1971) emends *sāsravā°* to *sāsravān* based on the Tibetan).

This passage alludes to the connection between the *tathāgatagarbha* and selflessness, posited in the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra*, *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, etc. Concerning the use of *ātman* in the RGV/RGVV, see Schmithausen 1973: 135–136.

[36] LAS 78.8–9: *tasmāt tarhi mahāmate tīrthakaradṛṣṭivinivṛttyarthaṃ tathāgatanairātmyagarbhānusāriṇā ca te bhavitavyam* ||; Guṇabhadra's rendering (T no. 670, vol. 16, 489b20–21): 是故大慧、為離外道見故、當依無我如來之藏.

Abhayākaragupta and Jayānanda.[37] In another context, Kamalaśīla quotes the passage from the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*[38] cited by Candrakīrti as scriptural authority for Buddha-nature being of provisional meaning. Kamalaśīla himself, though, does not put it quite that way, stating only that, in accord with the various outlooks of sentient beings, the Buddhas taught what is a single *dharmadhātu* (or *dharmanairātmya* in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*[39]) by means of many different expressions (including the expression "Buddha-nature"), that is, in conventional terms.[40]

As in the case of the Mādhyamika masters, judgments as to whether the Buddha-nature doctrine is definitive or provisional vary among Yogācāra masters. For instance, Paramārtha (499–569) incorporates it into the core doctrine of the Yogācāra[41]; whereas a Yogācāra (referred to as an opponent in Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka*) takes it as provisional, for it contradicts the three-vehicle doctrine of Yogācāra.

It is remarkable that in Indian works from the seventh through the tenth centuries, the RGV, to the best of my knowledge, was never quoted.[42] From the early eleventh century onward, however, the teaching of the RGV suddenly started spreading as a work of Maitreya. In Chapter 1, we will see how the RGV was transmitted during this period. According to Tibetan sources, Maitrīpa rediscovered manuscripts containing the RGV and *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga*, and passed them on to *Ānandakīrti, from whom Sajjana received the teaching of the RGV.

rNgog Lo-tsā-ba Blo-ldan-shes-rab (1059–1109) (henceforth, rNgog) received the teaching of the RGV from Sajjana, translated the text into Tibetan, and composed the first Tibetan commentary on it. He thereby all but introduced the philosophical system of Buddha-nature into Tibet,[43] even though the sūtras relating

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[37] See *Munimatālaṃkāra*, D 3903, 150a6–7, P 5299, 186b4–7 and *Madhyamakāvatāraṭīkā*, D 3870, 352b1–2, P 5271, 427a5–7. For details, see Chapters 4 and 5, below.

[38] MĀl, D 162b4–7; P177a4–8 and LAS 78.6–17.

[39] LAS 78.13–16: *evam eva mahāmate tathāgatās tad eva dharmanairātmyaṃ sarvavikalpalakṣaṇavinivṛttaṃ vividhaiḥ prajñopāyakauśalyayogair garbhopadeśena vā nairātmyopadeśena vā kumbhakāravac citraiḥ padavyañjanaparyāyair deśayante* |.

[40] MĀl, D 162b3–4; P 177a3–4: *sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das rnams ni 'dul ba'i bsam pa la ltos nas chos kyi dbyings de nyid thabs sna tshogs kyis ston par mdzad de* |.

Seyfort Ruegg (1977: 300) notes that Dharmamitra (ca. ninth century), who drew on the Buddha-nature teaching from the *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā* to support the single-vehicle theory, had come under the influence of Kamalaśīla. For Kamalaśīla's discussion of the single-vehicle theory, see Matsumoto 1987 and Chapter 1, pp. 39–40, below.

[41] See below, Chapter 1 and Kano 2014: 213–217.

[42] See Chapter 1.

[43] According to most records of the transmission lineage (*gsan yig*) of the RGV, he can be regarded as having introduced the RGV to Tibet. However, there are a few *gsan yig*s that do not contain rNgog's name, such as those of sMon-lam-tshul-khrims, Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-

to the Buddha-nature teaching had already been transmitted during the imperial period.[44] His RGV commentary is highly revelatory of the initial reception of the RGV among Tibetans. bTsan Kha-bo-che (b.1021) is another disciple of Sajjana reported in the *Blue Annals* (*Deb ther sngon po*) and other sources to have independently transmitted the RGV to Tibet and established a "meditative tradition" (versus rNgog's "analytical tradition") based on it. This transmission lineage had, however, ended by gZhon-nu-dpal's time (1392–1481) and no complete text has come down to us.[45] The Tibetan doctrinal systems based on Buddha-nature have been studied by a number of modern scholars, including Obermiller (1931), Seyfort Ruegg (1969), Ogawa (1969), Hookham (1991), Mathes (2008) and Douglas (2008). However, the pertinent work of rNgog has, apart from a few exceptions, received little attention.

The purpose of the present thesis is to study the origins of the exegetical tradition relating to the RGV in Tibet by studying the earliest Tibetan commentary on it, the *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi don bsdus pa* by rNgog, and in doing so to clarify the historical and doctrinal background bearing on the transmission of the RGV from India to Tibet, and to assess rNgog's impact upon the later doctrinal development with regard to the RGV. To avoid the kinds of bias

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bzang-po, and Tāranātha. See respectively Kano 2010: 33 n. 10, *Ngor chen thob yig*, Ka, 204b5, and Kano 2010: 14.

[44] Wangchuk (2004: 178–180) has investigated the reception of the Buddha-nature doctrine during the imperial period of Tibet, noting occurrences of the term "Buddha-nature" in indigenous Tibetan works by Ye-shes-sde (who followed the *Dung phreng gi mdo* in calling the causal state of Buddha-nature the *ālayavijñāna*, and its resultant state the *dharmakāya*), dPal-dbyangs (who taught that Buddha-nature is intrinsically identical with the *dharmakāya*), and gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes. The sūtras which teach Buddha-nature were translated in this period into Tibetan. See Seyfort Ruegg 1973: 23–26. The Buddha-nature teaching during the imperial period is also investigated by Higgins (2013: 173–182), including his forthcoming article "*Bodhigarbha** (*byang chub snying po*): Preliminary Notes on an Early Rdzogs chen Family of Buddha Nature Concepts."

[45] Some relevant accounts of the doctrinal position of bTsan's tradition are found in later sources, such as gZhon-nu-dpal's *rGyud bla me long* (343.2: *btsan lugs pa rnams kyang gnas skabs 'di dag man ngag gis lam du byed par 'dod do*) and *Deb ther sngon po* (424.7–8: *btsan lugs pa rnams ni sems kyi rang bzhin 'od gsal ba bde bar gshegs pa'i snying po yin pas | de sangs rgyas kyi rgyu yang grung por bzhed*; see Roerich 1949/53: 349). Stearns (1999: 42–43) (2010: 93–94) refers to another passage relevant to bTsan's tradition, namely Kun-dga'-grol-mchog's *Khrid brgya'i skor* (104.3–5). Van der Kuijp (1983: 43) has translated an important account of bTsan by Shākya-mchog-ldan (*dBu ma'i 'byung tshul*, vol. 4, 240.2–3).

For biographical information on bTsan, see Roerich 1949/53: 347–348 and Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 36–38. bTsan went to Kashmir together with rNgog but returned to Tibet earlier. For an account of his departure to Kashmir, see Rwa Ye-shes-seng-ge, *Rwa lo tsā ba'i rnam thar*, 206.

that sometimes appeared in the course of the later doctrinal development, we need to remain mindful of the gap between the original purpose of the RGV, namely to explicate the Buddha-nature teaching in line with a group of related "Buddha-nature sūtras" (critical successors of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*s), and that of later Indian and Tibetan traditions which integrated the Buddha-nature teaching into their Madhyamaka or Yogācāra teachings in disregard of that original purpose.[46] One of the tasks of the present thesis is to explain how such a gap arose and came to be accepted by a certain tradition of Tibetan Buddhism.

Part I, the historical and doctrinal background, consists of five chapters: Chapters 1 to 5 deal with the authorship of the RGV and the history of its transmission in India up to the 13th century, using Indian and Tibetan materials. Chapter 6 studies six different Tibetan translations of the RGV, and in the process sheds light on how the RGV was transmitted from India to Tibet.

Part II, rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab and his doctrinal position on Buddha-nature, includes three chapters: Chapter 7 outlines rNgog's life and writings. Chapters 8 and 9 present rNgog's philosophical positions, as taught in his RGV commentary.

Part III, rNgog's impact on Tibetan doctrinal developments of Buddha-nature, has two chapters: Chapters 10 and 11 discuss the impact of his interpretations on later Tibetan doctrinal developments. Lastly, final considerations relocate rNgog's position in a wider context.[47]

A critical edition of the first chapter of rNgog's RGV commentary, *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi don bsdus pa* (A 1a–28b6, B 1a–46a5; excluding A 6a1–12a1; B 9a6–19a1) and an annotated translation of it (both of which were contained in Kano 2006a, along with critical editions of Sanskrit texts of Sajjana's *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa* and Vairocanarakṣita's *Mahāyānottaratantraṭippaṇī*) will be published as separate volumes.

Appendix A contains an outline of the entire text of rNgog's RGV commentary. Appendix B lists all known commentaries on the RGV.

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[46] Schmithausen (1973: 134) has pointed out this gap.

[47] For a summary of my dissertation (Kano 2006a), see Kano 2014a. For Chapter 2 and a part of Appendix D of Kano 2006a (on Jñānaśrīmitra's understanding of the RGV), see Kano 2016a. Chapter 6 (on six Tibetan translations of the RGV) was published by Kano 2014c, Chapter 3 (on Ratnākaraśānti's understanding of the RGV) by Kano 2015b, and Chapter 5 (on Kashimiri exegeses of the RGV) by Kano 2016b. For a part of Chapter 8 and an annotated translation and a reading Sanskrit text of Sajjana's *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa*, see Kano 2015a.

PART ONE

Historical and Doctrinal Background

Chapter 1

The Authorship of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* and Its Transmission in India from the 5th to the 10th Century

Basic textual materials and structure of the Ratnagotravibhāga

The currently available textual materials of the RGV are as follows:

Sanskrit manuscripts:

Ms. A: 11 fols., incomplete (only fols. 7, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 25, 26 are extant). East Indian script dated to ca. 10th–11th century. See Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1935:33 "Kuṭilā, 21⅓ x 2 (inches)"; Jinpa & Lopez 2014:42 (dGe 'dun chos 'phel, No. 41). Photographed at Ngor by Sāṅkṛtyāyana: Göttingen Xc14/1a. Ms. A is currently preserved at the Potala.[1] For Skt. Mss. of the RGV in Tibet, see Chapter 6, p. 179.

Ms. B: 55 fols. (the last folio is missing). Nepalese script from ca. 12th century. See Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1937:34 "Māgadhī, 12½ x ⅞ (inches)." Photographed at Zhwa lu Ri phug by Sāṅkṛtyāyana: Göttingen Xc14/1b; IsIAO MT 50, 51 (Sferra 2008:47).

Ms. C: 1 fol., incomplete (only fol. 3 is extant [corresponding to Johnston ed., pp. 6.16–10.8]; identified by Ye Shaoyong). See Wang 1985: Nos. 17-2, 18. The format is similar to Ms. A. Originally preserved at Zha lu Ri phug and brought to the China Ethnic Library of Beijing between the 1960s and 1990s. Now preserved at the Tibet Museum in Lhasa.

Sanskrit edition:

Johnston (ed.) 1950 (based on Mss. A and B)[2]

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[1] At present, the leaves of Ms. A seem to be divided into three parts at the Potala, according to the catalogue description: Luo 1985: 124, No. 6 (from Ngor; 5 fols., 56.8 x 5.5 cm); *ibid.* 125, No. 7 (from Ngor; of seven folios, three are from the RGV, while four are from some other work [and which is probably Xc14/1d]); *ibid.* 125, No. 8 (from Ngor; of 23 folios, only 12 folios seem to be from the RGV). This catalogue description may have suffered some confusion.

[2] Zuiryū Nakamura (1961) published a romanized version of Johnston 1950. Modern scholars including Takasaki (1966), Schmithausen (1971), and de Jong (1968) have provided sugges-

Chinese translations:

究竟一乘寶性論 (translated by Ratnamati, T no. 1611):

a) The text that consists only of the basic verses: T no. 1611, vol. 31, 813a8–802c20. It contains 18 opening verses not found in the Sanskrit manuscript and Tibetan translations.

b) The text including all verses and the prose part: T no. 1611, vol. 31, 820c21–848a27.

Tibetan translations:

a) The text that extracts the basic and commentarial verses: D 4024 (*sems tsam*, Phi, 54b–73a), P 5525 (*sems tsam*, Phi, 54b7–74b6); *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos* (translated by Sajjana and rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab).

That it very probably represents borrowings from the full-fledged text of rNgog's translation of the RGV (D 4025, P 5526) rather than a translation from an Indic manuscript is evidenced, for instance, by its inclusion of verse I.132, which is part of the prose in the Sanskrit original and was mistakenly translated as a verse by rNgog (see below, Chapter 6). The extracts were very likely made by someone other than rNgog, for they are not consistent with rNgog's own RGV commentary (see further below in this chapter, the section "Authorship in Indian Tradition from the 11th Century Onward"). Furthermore, the verse text is lacking in the list of rNgog's translations compiled by his disciple Gro-lung-pa (see Kramer 2007: 105).[3]

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tions for improving the transmitted Sanskrit text of the RGV. I am currently preparing a revised Sanskrit critical edition of the RGV, and have been collating the new suggestions and sources that were unavailable to Johnston, including citations from the RGV found in the Sanskrit texts of the *Munimatālaṃkāra* and the *Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya* (see Chapter 5).

[3] We cannot confirm when the verse text was extracted. bCom-ldan-ral-gri's (1227–1305) catalogue of translated Buddhist texts mentions with regard to the RGV "the basic verses and the commentary [on them]" (*rtsa 'grel*), but such an expression may refer to a whole text including the verses and the commentary on them (D 4025), and so does not necessarily imply any independent existence on the part of the verse text. See bCom-ldan-ral-gri, *bsTan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od*, Schaeffer & van der Kuijp 2009: 238–239: *rgyud bla ma dang chos nyid rtsa 'grel dang | byams pa'i yang dag par phul gyi chos bshad pa theg chen rtsug* [= *gtsug*] *lag phyi ma dang* ||. (If the last entry "*theg chen gtsug lag phyi ma*" is also the RGV, as Gro-lung-pa suggests [see Kramer 2007: 105, 140, fol. 12a5], then this catalogue has a double entry for the RGV.) bCom-ldan-ral-gri's disciple dBus-pa Blo-gsal (ca. 1270–ca. 1355) in his Tanjur catalogue (*bsTan bcos kyi dkar chag*) obviously takes the verses and the commentary on them as two separate texts. See *ibid*, fol. 45a4–5: *theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos* (45a5) *dang | de'i 'grel pa slob dpon thogs med* (*a sa ṅga*) *kyis mdzad pa gnyis blo ldan shes rab kyi 'gyur* (He categorizes them as Yogācāra treatises: *theg pa chen po sems tsam gyi bstan bcos*). Bu-ston's catalogue also takes the two as separate (see Nishioka 1981: 56, Nos. 683 and 684).

b) The text including all verses and prose: D 4025 (*sems tsam*, Phi, 74b–129a), P 5526 (*sems tsam*, Phi, 74b6–135b7); *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi rnam par bshad pa* (translated by Sajjana and rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab).[4] Edition: Nakamura 1967.

The text consists of three parts: (1) basic (*mūla*) verses, (2) commentarial verses[5] and (3) prose commentary (= RGVV).[6] The commentarial verses explain the basic

[4] The Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP) microfilmed manuscripts (and block prints?) of the Tibetan translation of the RGV: E 1604/17 (8.5 x 51 cm, 23 fols.), E 2115/2 (10 x 45 cm, 42 fols.), E 2349/10 (9.8 x 44 cm, 42 fols.), E 2356/15 (8.8 x 31.5 cm, 39 fols.), E 2494/2 (9 x 43.5 cm, 42 fols.), E 2533/15 (8 x 31 cm, 40 fols.), E 2565/2 (10 x 44.5 cm, 42 fols.), E 2713/6 (9.2 x 43.7 cm, 42 fols.), E 3311/2 (10 x 67 cm, 60 fols.), L 232/7(10.5 x 68.5 cm, 56 fols., old orthography). They are yet to be studied.

[5] Vairocanarakṣita calls the basic verses "*mūla*" (III.4) and the commentarial verses "*vyākhyā-śloka*" (I.64–65, 67–68). See *Mahāyānottaratantraṭippaṇī*, fols. 12v7, 13r2, 15r7. Jñānaśrīmitra calls the basic verses "*mūla*" (III.1) and the commentarial verses "*vivṛti*" (III.2–3). See *Sākārasiddhiśāstra*, 503.20–22 (see also 502.17; 503.15; 536.22; and Schmithausen 1971: 124 n. 4). rNgog calls the basic verses *rtsa ba lta bu'i tshigs su bcad pa* (see below). The *Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya* (fol. 6v7) calls the author of the prose commentary *vṛttikṛt* "commentator."

Karl Brunnhölzl's *When the Clouds Part* (p. 1010 n. 407) silently copies the present footnote from my early draft (= Kano 2006a: 17 n. 2) almost verbatim (extractions of a similar kind are scattered throughout his book). The problem of judging the academic value of Brunnhölzl's work I will discuss elsewhere in detail, not having had enough time yet to go through it. I restrict myself here to the following troubling features: Brunnhölzl silently copied large parts of my earlier translation of Sajjana's *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa* (unpublished). For instance, *When the Clouds Part*, pp. 461–472 (including notes 1121–1128 n. 1718–1803, especially, 1122 n. 1727; 1128 n. 1796 and n. 1797; p. 1074 n.1206) virtually copy portions of my unpublished draft. The translation and materials appearing on pp. 905–908 (along with p. 1221 n. 2801–2807) are based on Kano 2006a: 559–580. Further, p. 79 and p. 1003 n. 281 are again from Kano 2006a: 238f.; p. 1006 n. 319 is from Kano 2008c: 383; p. 1006 n. 320 is from Kano 2006a: 96; p. 1005 n. 304 is from Kano 2006a: 31 n. 52; p. 1010 n. 408 is from Kano 2006a: 21 n. 19, p. 1009 n. 402 is from Kano 2006a: 17 n. 3; and p. 1054 n. 1027 is from Kano 2006a: 104 n. 51 and 594 n. 8. Page 290 reproduces part of my thesis inaccurately: an outline of Sajjana's text with the omission of verse 37 (Kano 2006a: 508). Silent use was made of my list "Correction to Johnston's edition of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* based on glosses in the *Ṭippaṇī* (of Vairocanarakṣita)" (Kano 2006a: 526–527), as if it were the author's own (see *When the Clouds Part*, p. 1110 n. 1544, p. 1111 n. 1564, p. 1113 n. 1585, p. 1116 n. 1612, p. 1116 n. 1614, p. 1116 n. 1616, p. 1118 n. 1650, p. 1118 n. 1655 [with a typo °*ānusārādyā* for °*ānusārād*], p. 1119 n. 1675, p. 1120 n. 1687, and p. 1121 n. 1716).

[6] Note that the title *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* has not been attested in any Indian text. The Tibetan translation gives the title in transliteration as *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstravyākhyā*. Only the expression *ślokārthasaṃgrahavyākhyānataḥ*, which appears in the postscript to chapters I, IV, and V of the RGVV, alludes in any way to a title containing the word *vyākhyā* (the Chinese translation omits these colophons). According to Takasaki (1989: 389), this compound breaks down into *śloka* (basic verses of the RGV), *ślokārthasaṃgraha* (commentarial verses of the RGV), and their *vyākhyāna* (prose explanation of all verses = the RGVV).

verses, while the prose commentary glosses all verses. Such a structure is rare among Indian works. The basic verses could almost be recovered as a whole on the basis of the "verse text," which is preserved only in the Chinese version (T 1611, 813a–820c).[7] On the other hand, the commentarial verses have yet to be exactly determined, since they are sometimes amalgamated with verses belonging to the prose commentary.[8] Indeed, Johnston, the editor of the Sanskrit text of the RGV, upon occasion made errors when numbering the verses.[9] Nevertheless, in the present thesis I use his verse numbering without alteration. This is because his system has been accepted as standard, and more study is required before any definitive corrections can be made.[10]

The Authorship of the Ratnagotravibhāga

The Earliest Witness of the Authorship

If Ratnamati (勒那摩提), the translator of the RGV into Chinese, set off from India with a Sanskrit manuscript of the RGV, his arrival in China in 498 or 508 A.D. stands as a *terminus ante quem* of the original work.[11] According to Ui (1959:17, 21), Ratnamati translated the RGV sometime between 511 and 515 at Zhaoxinzhai

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7 This is the single trustworthy criterion for distinguishing the basic verses from the commentarial verses. In his review article of Takasaki (1966), Schmithausen (1971: 129) states: "... dieser ursprüngliche RGV ist m. E. im wesentlichen identisch mit dem in der chinesischen Überlieferung separat erhaltenen Verstext...."

8 The Tibetan translation of the verse text (D 4024) was probably composed during a later period, and hence is not a reliable work when it comes to determining the commentarial verses.

9 For instance, based on the testimony of the Chinese translation and Nag-tsho's Tibetan translation, which do not take it as a verse, RGV I.132 (which Johnston, following rNgog, does so take) should be assigned to the prose part (see Takasaki 1989: 319 n. 3 and gZhon-nu-dpal, *rGyud bla me long*, 415.26–416.1, and below, Chapter 6). Likewise, as Takasaki (1989: 258–259 n. 1) notes, I.34 should not be counted among the verses of the RGV, seeming rather to be a quotation from another source (not composed by the RGV author).

10 The distinction between parts (2) and (3) will be the focus of a future study.

11 Of course, we cannot completely exclude the possibility that Ratnamati acquired the Sanskrit manuscript after his arrival in China. The *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 (composed in 597 A.D.) provides the date of Ratnamati's arrival in China as 508 A.D. (T 2034, vol. 49, 86b27–c2: 中天竺國三藏法師勒那摩提. 或云婆提. 魏言寶意. 正始五年來在洛陽殿内譯. See also Ui 1959: 12). Ōtake (2013: 46–47) quotes the date of Ratnamati's arrival as 498 A.D. (太和二十二年), as stated in Haiyun 海雲's (d. 646) *Lingyufashi huishentadafashi hangji* 靈裕法師灰身塔大法師行記 (composed in 632 A.D.).

趙欣宅 in Luoyang 洛陽.[12] The earliest source that records this translation is the *Baochang lu* 寶唱録[13] (not extant), to which an annotation (割注) in the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 refers (T vol. 49, 86b23–24: 亦云寶性分別一乘[14]增上論. 或三卷. 於趙欣宅出. 見寶唱録).[15] The *Baochang lu* 寶唱録 is said to have been composed in 516 or 518, but it is difficult to believe that Baochang 寶唱 (the author of the *Baochang lu*) of the Southern dynasty (南朝) knew about Ratnamati, who was active in Luoyang 洛陽 of the Northern dynasty (北朝). For instance, the *Mingsengyun* 名僧伝 fragments and the *Jing lu yi xiang* 經律異相, both by the same Baochang 寶唱, do not provide any information about the activities of this author's contemporaries in the Northern dynasty.[16] Generally speaking, the contents of the *Baochang lu* 寶唱録 as reported in the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 possibly contain information added by a later hand (contamination that is difficult to verify). We need, therefore, more external evidence in order to confirm the above statement in the *Baochang lu* 寶唱録. At present, we can at best place the translation of the RGV somewhere around the early 6th century.

This earliest witness of the RGV (i.e. Ratnamati's translation), however, does not bear the name of the author. If Ratnamati himself brought the Sanskrit text from his home province Madhyadeśa (中天竺),[17] the likely implication would be

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[12] See Ui 1959: 4. Silk (2015: 7 n. 25) doubts Ui's dating and suggests a date around 520 A.D., inasmuch as Ratnamati's translation of the RGV "contains quotations which clearly demonstrate familiarity with the Chinese translation of the AAN (i.e. *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta* translated in 520 A.D.), and not just its Indic text."

[13] This is probably the catalogue called *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目録(四卷), or *Hualin fodian mulu* 華林佛殿目録, which lists scriptures preserved at the Hualin fodian 華林佛殿 (or Hualinyuan baoyun jingcang 華林園宝雲經藏) library in the royal palace of Jiankāng 建康. (I am grateful to Prof. Toru Funayama for this suggestion.)

[14] For the variant reading 七乘 instead of 一乘, see Ui 1959: 4. Reading 大乘 is another possible conjecture (cf. the Sanskrit title *Mahāyānottaratantra*).

[15] See Ui 1959: 3–4. Although later Chinese catalogues, such as the *Kaiyuan Shijiaolu* 開元釋教録 (composed in 730 A.D., T no. 2154, vol. 55, 540b6–7), refer to the existence of another translation of the RGV by Bodhiruci, they are in error; their editors simply misunderstood the earlier catalogues, among which the earliest is the *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目録 (also called *Fajing lu* 法經録, composed in 594 A.D., T no. 2146, vol. 55, 141b14: 寶性論四卷後魏世菩提留支譯). Ui criticizes Johnston on this point (cf. Johnston 1950: viii–ix; Ui 1959: 3–16; Takasaki 1966: 7–8). Ui (1959: 6) judges this statement in the *Fajing lu* 法經録 to be unreliable, for it contradicts the contemporary catalogue the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀, which is, in general, more precise and reliable.

[16] I am grateful to Prof. Funayama for this information. Ui (1959: 4) was also aware of the problem.

[17] For a short biography of Ratnamati, see *Xugaosengyun* 続高僧伝 (T vol. 50, 429a) and *Lingyufashi huishentadafashi hangji* 靈裕法師灰身塔大法師行記 (Ōtake 2013: 46). For the geographical range covered by the toponym 中天竺, see Yoshikawa & Funayama 2009: 25 n. 3.

that the tradition of the province (in the late 5th to early 6th century) regarded it as an anonymous work. This accords with the fact that the Sanskrit manuscript (Ms. A) belonging to the tradition of East India in around the 10th to 11th century also lacks a reference to the author's name.[18] The authorship of the RGV itself thus remains obscure, and has given rise to repeated discussions among modern scholars.

The earliest witness for the authorship is the *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 by Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597) composed in 594 A.D., which ascribes the RGV to Jianyi 堅意 (Sāramati or Sthiramati).[19] This is followed by the commentary on the *Sandhinirmocanasūtra* (解深密經疏) by Wonchuk 圓測 (613–696)[20] and the commentary on the *Dacheng fajie wuchabie lunshu* 大乘法界無差別論疏 by Fazang 法藏 (643–712), both of which attribute the work to Jianhui 堅慧 (= 娑囉末底, Sāramati). Takasaki (1999: 2) holds that Jianyi 堅意 and Jianhui 堅慧 were different renderings for the same individual, Sāramati, for both *yi* 意 and *hui* 慧 are standard equivalents for Sanskrit *mati* (he provides an example in which Ratnamati is rendered as 宝意).

One problem is that Jianyi/Jianhui 堅意/堅慧 may also correspond to the Sanskrit name Sthiramati, the name of the well-known author of Abhidharma/Yogācāra commentaries. Johnston (1950) and Sakuma (2006) identify Jianhui 堅慧 with Sthiramati.[21] A detailed analysis of the terminology and writing style of the RGV and Sthiramati's commentarial works is beyond the scope of the present thesis, but there are disparities between their doctrinal positions and commentary styles, and thus I find the identification problematic.

Jianhui 堅慧 is known as the author of the **Mahāyānadharmadhātunirviśeṣa*[22] (*Dacheng fajie wuchabie lun* 大乘法界無差別論), which was translated in 691 by the Khotanese Devendraprajña[23] (T no. 1626, vol. 31, 892a16f. = T no. 1627, vol. 31, 894b16f.: 堅慧菩薩造 大唐于闐三藏提雲般若等[24]譯), Fazang's 法藏 teacher. On the basis of their closely related doctrinal content, Fazang had little doubt about

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[18] Johnston (1950: vi) states that the script of Ms. A is "an early Śāradā" from around the 10th century and is "a further development of that in the MS. of the *Mahāyānottaratantropadeśa*," but while we can call the script of the *Mahāyānottaratantropadeśa* (or *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa*, as stated in its colophon) an early Śāradā, the same cannot be said of Ms. A (cf. Kano 2006b, Ye & Li & Kano 2013). I therefore follow Sāṅkṛtyāyana (1935: 33) who judges it to be "Kuṭilā," which includes the scripts of Magadha and Bengal in the 10th to 11th century (though the definition of Kuṭilā is again vague).

[19] T no. 1911, vol. 46, 31b18: 堅意寶性論云.

[20] *Zokuzōkyō* 続藏經, vol. 34-4, 293b.

[21] Cf. also Silk 2015, Appendix 3.

[22] For this reconstructed Sanskrit title, see Silk 2015: 9 n. 32.

[23] See Forte 1979: 297. Cf. Takasaki 1999: 39–40 (who dates it to sometime between 689 and 692).

[24] 等 is omitted in T no. 1627.

the common authorship of the **Mahāyānadharmadhātunirviśeṣa* and the RGV.

Fazang gives a biographical sketch of Jianhui 堅慧 in his *Dacheng fajie wuchabie lunshu* 大乘法界無差別論疏 (T no. 1838, vol. 44, 63c14–21):

> 三藏云. 西域相傳此是地上菩薩. 於佛滅後七百年時出中天竺大刹利種. 聰叡逸群備窮俗典. 出家學道慧解踰明[25]. 大小乘教無不綜練. 但以行菩薩行留意大乘. 以已所遊平等法界傳示衆生方為究竟廣大饒益. 是故造究竟一乘寶性論及法界無差別論等. 皆於大乘捨權歸實顯實究竟之説矣.
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> The *tripiṭakadhara* [Devendraprajña] said: "According to an account of the western region, he (i.e. Sāramati) is an upper-level bodhisattva.[26] He was born in the Madhyadeśa of India as a member of a *kṣatriya* clan **seven hundred years after the disappearance of the [Śākyamuni] Buddha**. His intelligence and perspicacity were extraordinary, and he completely mastered the mundane scriptures. After he left home and [started] practicing the Way, his wisdom and understanding [constantly] increased in clarity. There remained nothing that he had not yet mastered among the entire teaching of the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. He concentrated upon the Mahāyāna [teaching], applying himself just to the practice of a bodhisattva. He wished to benefit [sentient beings] profoundly and extensively by teaching the undifferentiated *dharmadhātu*, a [teaching] he had mastered. For this reason he composed, among other [texts], the *Ratnagotravibhāga* and the **Dharmadhātunirviśeṣa*. Based on [the teaching of] the Mahāyāna, all [the texts he composed] reject provisional [doctrines] and [so] result in substantial [doctrines]. They clarify only substantial, definitive doctrines."[27]

Fazang's 法藏 dating of Sāramati to "seven hundred years after the disappearance of the [Śākyamuni] Buddha"[28] sounds too early for the author of the RGV and the

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[25] For the interpretation of 踰明, I follow Silk (2015: 154 n. 21), who understands the word on the basis of the expression 逾明 in the *Dadailiji* 大戴禮記. Takasaki (1999: 1) offers another suggestion: that 明 be emended to 朋, yielding the reading "his wisdom exceeded those of his companions (朋)."

[26] Namely, a bodhisattva who has already entered the first *bhūmi*.

[27] For this biography, see Takasaki 1999: 1 and Silk 2015: Appendix 3. Takasaki (1966: 6–9) sketches this biography. I am grateful to Dr. Radich for his valuable suggestions about my English translation of the text.

[28] According to Antonello Palumbo (introduced by Silk [2015: 155]), that corresponds to ca. 70–169 A.D.

**Mahāyānadharmadhātunirviśeṣa*,[29] for, according to Takasaki (1989: 594), the RGV's composition is close to the period when Vasubandhu was active. This problematic dating suggests that neither Fazang 法藏 nor his informant/teacher Devendraprajña received the transmission in a direct link going back to the author of the two texts. Indeed, Fazang states that the information passed on by Devendraprajña was based on an account from the "western region" (西域相伝).

Considering this and also Ratnamati's silence regarding the authorship in his translation of the RGV, we cannot exclude the possibility that Sāramati's 堅慧 authorship of the RGV is a later attribution. At the same time, however, we should not underestimate the significance of this early reference to the RGV's authorship, for not only Fazang 法藏 but also his teacher Devendraprajña names Sāramati 堅慧 as the author of the **Mahāyānadharmadhātunirviśeṣa*, while Zhiyi 智顗 made a similar claim with regard to the RGV even earlier, in 594 A.D.

Accordingly, we can only confidently state at present that the earliest textual witness, in Ratnamati's corpus, does not refer to an author, while Chinese tradition after Zhiyi 智顗 considers the author of the RGV to be Sāramati, to whom very likely all three parts (including all verses and prose) are ascribed.[30]

The Earliest Witness Ascribing Authorship to Maitreya

On the other hand, a Dunhuang paper manuscript (Stein, Ch. 0047 = IOL Khot S5; 128 x 31 cm) preserved in the British Library ascribes the commentarial verse RGV I.1 to Maitreya. This manuscript, written in Khotanese Hybrid Sanskrit, cites four verses from other works (the second verse is *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* I.1ab; the fourth is *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* I.1; the first and the third are yet to be identified[31]) before citing RGV I.1. It then goes on to state: "Spoken by the bodhisattva Ārya Maitreya. The first *kārikā* of the *Ratnagotravibhāgaśāstra*."[32] Then the verses RGV III.1–8, 10 are cited, but with no indication of a different authorship of the basic verses (III.1, 4–10) and the commentarial verses (III.2–3).

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[29] See also Silk 2015, Appendix 3 and Radich 2014: 70 n. 156.

[30] See Ui 1959: 3ff., Takasaki 1966: 6–9, Takasaki 1999: 13–20, Suguro 1989: 143–144.

[31] The first verse runs: *rāgādidoṣaviṣadigdhakudṛṣṭiśalyagaṇḍābhinaddhahṛdayaṃ samavekṣya lokam | trātā parāśrayagatān karuṇātmako yas taṃ siddhimuktam aviṣaṃ gurum arcayāmi* ||; the third: *sarvajñāya namas tasmai parārthaprahitātmane | nirmalāya ca dharmāya dhīmadgaṇavarāya ca* ||. In the manuscript, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* I.1 is mistakenly attributed to Nāgārjuna, and *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* I.1 to Maitreya.

[32] Stein, Ch. 0047, lines 14–15 (*mitrai baudhasatvi jsa hva - rahnagautrivibhāgiśāstri hīya paḍauysa kārya*). The translation is by Bailey & Johnston (1935: 87). Cf. Ui 1959: 90, Takasaki 1966: 7.

The text is written on the reverse side of the paper; the front side contains all but a beginning portion of the Chinese text of the *Aparimitāyurdhāraṇī* (無量壽宗要經). At the bottom of the front side, the names of the Chinese scribes are written in Tibetan *dbu can* script: *heng je'u bris | le'u yi ge pa am cab lyek pa bris |*. The *Aparimitāyurdhāraṇī* was very popular in Dunhuang, 889 copies of the text having been found written in a similar fashion on the same type of oblong roll (along with more than 1,899 examples of the Tibetan version).[33] One document, Pelliot Tibétain 999, has a bearing on the date of the present manuscript: written in 844,[34] it is an agreement whereby Chinese and Tibetan manuscripts of the *Aparimitāyurdhāraṇī* were lent out from the library of Longxing si 龍興寺 for purposes of duplication, the resulting copies being dedicated to the Tibetan emperor Khri-gtsug-lde-btsan (r. 815–841 A.D.).[35] We can thus probably push back the *terminus post quem* of our manuscripts to around the 840s, correcting the date (the end of the 8th century) by Bailey and Johnston.[36] This dating is supported by the fact that the scribe's name, Heng Je'u is found in 14 copies of the Tibetan version of the same text written around this period (the first half of the 8th century) at Dunhuang.[37] Furthermore, we can identify another paper manuscript fragment Pelliot Chinois 2740, preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, as the missing part of our manuscript (Stein Ch. 0047). Pelliot Chinois 2740 contains the remaining portion of the *Aparimitāyurdhāraṇī* on its front side, and the Khotanese Hybrid Sanskrit text (containing RGV III.1–2, 19cd–23, III.5–6) on its reverse side.[38]

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[33] Nishioka 1985: 380 and Ueyama 1990: 438–439.

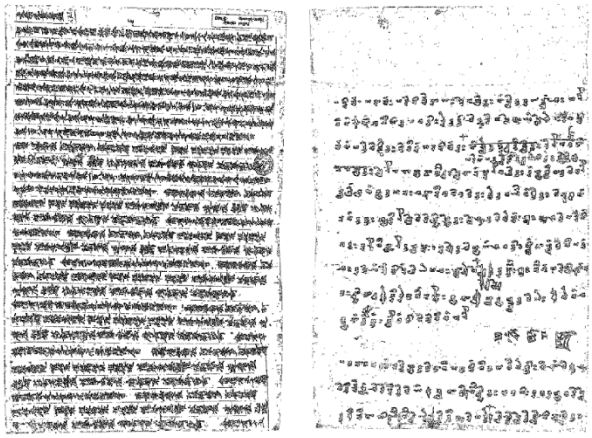
[34] Yamaguchi 1985: 499–500.

[35] It is possible that the copies stored at the monastic library were made for the merit of the Tibetan emperor before his death in 841 rather than after it. Iwao (2012: 102) says: "When the emperor passed away, sūtra copying was abandoned and these sūtras were left and stored away in the monastery in Dunhuang."

[36] Bailey & Johnston (1935: 77) state: "The Saka is of the late type found in documents of the times of the kings Viśa Dharma and Viśa Saṃbhava, about the end of the eighth century A.D. A *terminus ad quem* is given by the closing of the Tun-huang library about the beginning of the eleventh century." The copy of the *Aparimitāyurdhāraṇī* was probably made slightly before 844, since Pelliot Tibétain 999 first states: "previously, for the sake of King Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan...." (*sngun lha sras khri gtsug lde brtsan gyi sku yon du* ...). I owe many valuable suggestions on the Dunhuang manuscripts to Dr. Kazushi Iwao, and on Khotanese texts to Dr. Giuliana Martini.

[37] Ueyama 1990: 445.

[38] The Khotanese Hybrid Sanskrit texts contained in Stein Ch. 0047 and Pelliot Chinois 2740 have been transcribed by Bailey (1963: 237–242). For the details of dating of IOL Khot S5, see Kano 2012a.



recto *verso*

Pelliot Chinois 2740
(© Bibliothèque nationale de France)

IOL Khot S5 (© British Library)

Khotan is the home province of Devendraprajña, the translator of the **Mahāyānadharmadhātunirviśeṣa*, which is attributed to Sāramati (the author of the RGV according to the Chinese tradition).[39] A tradition centered on the RGV seems to have remained alive there, and the scribe of our manuscript may have been associated with it. This manuscript, which gives the title as *Ratnagotravibhāgaśāstra*, very likely did not have any impact on the later Indo-Tibetan tradition (the 11th century onward), since the latter almost always refers to the RGV as the *Mahāyānottaratantra*[40] (or *Mahāyānottara*[41]).

Authorship in Indian Tradition from the 11th Century Onward

In the Indian tradition, from the 11th century onward, not only the verses but also the prose part of the commentary tends to be ascribed to Maitreya. At least I have not found any passage in Indian works which attributes the authorship of the RGVV (including the prose commentary) to Asaṅga.[42] On the other hand, the

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[39] It is unclear why, although both belong to the same Khotan tradition, Devendraprajña ascribes the authorship of the RGV to Sāramati, whereas the Dunhuang manuscript attributes it to Maitreya.

[40] The *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra*, the alternative title of the RGV, is reflected in the rendering in the Chinese translation as 究竟一乘 (possibly a mistake for 究竟大乘) and is attested in the colophon of the Sanskrit manuscripts. This title is obviously related to the phrase in RGV I.160d: *tantre punar ihottare*. While the title *Ratnagotravibhāga* alludes to the core doctrinal sweep of the treatise (i.e. an analysis of the source—that is, Buddha-nature—from which arise the Three Jewels), the *Mahāyānottaratantra* expresses its doctrinal superiority to the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*s. The reason why the later Indo-Tibetan tradition preferred to call the work *Mahāyānottaratantra* is yet to be clarified.

[41] The Sanskrit text of Abhayākaragupta's *Munimatālaṃkāra* calls the work *Mahāyānottara*, understanding *uttara* as qualifying *mahāyāna* rather than *tantra*.

[42] The author of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* (SSBh) and Abhayākaragupta ascribed the RGVV to Maitreya. The former writes: "Ārya Maitreya also [taught] …" (*'phags pa byams pas kyang*), whereupon he quotes the verse RGV I.27; and also: "Ārya Maitreya [taught] in the *Uttaratantra* that ..." (*'phags pa byams pas rgyud bla ma las*), and goes on to elucidate the prose passage RGVV 67.9–68.6. See SSBh, D 3935, 296b6–297a1 and 325b3; P 5331, 346a2–5 and 379a1–2. Abhayākaragupta writes: "Ārya Maitreya also [taught] in the *Mahāyānottaratantra* that ..." (*āryamaitreyena ca mahāyānottare*), quoting a verse of the RGVV (91.16–17 = MSA IX.37). See Abhayākaragupta's *Munimatālaṃkāra*, Skt. Ms. 69r4; D 3903, 150a6; P 5229, 186a4–5 (see also Isoda 1991: 28).

Hookham (1991: 166) states: "According to Kongtrul it was Ratnakarasanti who attributed the RGVV to Asanga"; but Kong-sprul actually says something slightly different: Kong-sprul, *rGyud bla bshad srol*, 7a2: *bstan bcos de dag dzam bu'i gling du snang bar mdzad pa po ni | slob dpon shānti pas dbu ma'i rgyan las sa gsum pa 'od byed la gnas par bshad pa'i 'phags pa thogs*

colophon of rNgog's Tibetan translation (the last quarter of the 11th century) ascribes both the basic and commentarial verses to Maitreya but the prose commentary to Asaṅga.[43] This seems to be based on a Kashmiri tradition, given that the translation was done there, in collaboration with a Kashmiri paṇḍita[44]—although a 12th-century RGV commentary of Kashmir, the *Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya* (fol. 6v7), calls the author of the prose commentary simply *vṛttikṛt* "commentator." This position was widely accepted later by Tibetans. Judging by his own RGV commentary (*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa*), rNgog thought that both the basic and commentarial verses go back to Maitreya. He distinguishes basic verses I.63, I.66, I.79, and I.84 from commentarial verses by calling the former "quasi-basic verses" (*rtsa ba lta bu'i tshigs su bcad pa*),[45] suggesting that all verses were composed by a single author, namely Maitreya. Exceptionally, rNgog distinguishes authorship within the dedicatory verses RGV V.25–28, attributing the basic verse V.25 to Maitreya (*'phags pa*) and the commentarial verses V.26–28 (which explain V.25) to Asaṅga (*slob dpon*). Verses V.25–28 are all contained in the verse text (D 4024, P 5525), which is ascribed in its colophon to Maitreya alone. This distinction is confined to the dedicatory verses, and does not necessarily apply to the rest of the text.[46]

In other words, rNgog's own commentary (*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa*) ascribes V.26–28 to Asaṅga, whereas the Tibetan translation of the verse text (D 4024) attributes these verses to Maitreya. This inconsistency suggests that

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med zhabs te |. "He who presented these treatises (i.e. the Five Treatises of Maitreya) to the world is the Ārya Asaṅga who, in Śānti-pa's *Madhyamakālaṃkāra*, is said to have dwelled on the third stage, called Prabhākarī." Hookham's own translation wrongly reads (1991: 268–269): "According to the teacher Santipa, the one who..." All this is clear from Ratnākaraśānti's own work, *Madhyamakālaṃkāravṛtti*, D 4072, 102b2–3, P 5573, 117b7–8: *bcom ldan 'das byams pa byang chub sems dpa'i mthar phyin pa de ma thag tu mngon par rdzogs par 'tshang rgya ba dang | 'phags pa thogs med sa gsum pa dang | 'phags pa klu sgrub ni sa dang po pa yin te | rab tu dga' ba'i sa bsgrubs nas | bde ba can du de 'gro'o || zhes gsungs pa'i phyir ro ||*.

[43] The colophon of the Tibetan translation of the RGVV (tib) (219.11–12) reads: *'phags pa mgon po byams pas mdzad pa theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi rnam par bshad pa | slob dpon thogs med kyis mdzad pa rdzogs so ||*. The colophon of the verse text of the RGV (which includes basic verses and commentarial verses) reads: *theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos mgon po byams pas mdzad pa rdzogs so ||* (D 4024, 73a6–7, P 5525, 74b5).

[44] For the historical background of the translation, see Chapter 6 and Kano 2014c.

[45] Literally, "root-like verses." rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 22a2, B 34b4: *rtsa ba lta bu'i tshigs su bcad pa*; A 22a5, B 35a2: *tshigs su bcad pa rtsa ba lta bur gyur pa*; A 23a6, B 36b3: *rtsa ba lta bu'i tshigs su bcad pa*; A 23b7, B 37b3: *rtsa ba lta bu'i tshig*. The word *lta bu* implies that rNgog distinguished the basic verses from the commentarial verses but without assuming different authorship (He never uses the expression *rtsa ba'i tshigs su bcad pa*).

[46] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 39b7, B 65a4.

the extraction of verses (= D 4024) from the full-fledged text of the RGVV (D 4025) was carried out by someone else, and not by rNgog himself. If the same individual who composed the *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa* extracted the verse text (D 4024), he would have removed V.26–28 from the verse text. It is thus quite likely that the verse text is a compilation by some other hand, while the full-fledged text of the Tibetan translation of the RGVV and the *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa* are by rNgog himself.

Studies by Modern Scholars

The following table provides a register of traditional and modern opinions about the work's authorship.

[Table: Assignment of Authorship to the RGV][47]

	basic verse	comm. verse	prose comm.
Chinese tradition (after Zhiyi)	Sāramati		
Khotan tradition (mid. 9th cent.)	Maitreya		(not mentioned)
Indian tradition (early 11th cent.)	Maitreya		
Tibetan tradition (late 11th cent.)	Maitreya		Asaṅga
rNgog's commentary (late 11th cent.)	Maitreya		Asaṅga
(modern scholars)			
Obermiller 1931	Maitreya		Asaṅga
Tsukinowa 1935	Sāramati	Maitreya	Asaṅga
Johnston 1950	Sthiramati		
Frauwallner 1956; Ui 1959	Sāramati		
Nakamura 1961	Sāramati	Vasubandhu	
Takasaki 1966	Maitreya ?	Sāramati	
Seyfort Ruegg 1969	Maitreya = Sāramati		Asaṅga
Suguro 1989	compilation by Sāramati and others[48]		

Among the modern scholars, Johnston's position can be immediately rejected as

[47] For the positions of modern scholars, see Tsukinowa 1935, Johnston 1950: xi, Frauwallner 1956: 255, Ui 1959: 89–97, Nakamura 1961, Takasaki 1966: 6–9, 1974: 3–13, 1989: 392–397, 1999: 3–7 and Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 46. Takasaki (1999: 15–18) concisely reviews previous studies that have addressed the authorship of the RGV.

[48] Suguro conjectures that the RGV and RGVV are compilations by Sāramati and others, who ascribed the texts to an anonymous bodhisattva so as to conceal their own names.

unacceptable, Sāramati being confused with Sthiramati. Tsukinowa's and Seyfort Ruegg's positions are slightly problematic, in that they combine two different traditions, those of China and Tibet.[49] The hypothesis formulated by Nakamura for its part is weak on evidence.[50] Obermiller, Frauwallner, Ui, and Takasaki, by contrast, offer plausible alternatives. Of them, the position shared by Frauwallner[51] and Ui seems to be the most likely, following as they do the Chinese tradition, the oldest source referring to the authorship. But, when analyzing in more detail the doctrinal contents and terminology of the RGV, we do see some inconsistencies among the three layers (especially that the frequently occurring Yogācāra terminology in the prose is rarely found in the other layers). We cannot confirm whether or not the author of the three layers was a single individual. Moreover, when considering the lack of reference to authorship in the Chinese translation of the RGV (the earliest textual source) as well as in the Sanskrit manuscripts, it is safe to say that we still do not have the textual witnesses needed to state with absolute certainty the author of the RGV.

However, in the present thesis I shall follow the Tibetan tradition (which is my

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[49] Seyfort Ruegg (1969: 46) did not strictly equate Sāramati with Maitreya, but only proposed that the name Sāramati might be an epithet of Maitreya: "Si le nom *Sāramati mentionné par Fa-tsang et d'autres autorités pouvait alors être considéré comme une épithète de Maitreya, la divergence entre la tradition rapportée par les docteurs chinois et la tradition indo-tibétaine ne serait plus irréductible." In fact, however, Sāramati cannot be a mere epithet, for the biography of him clearly states that his name is bodhisattva Sāramati: T, vol. 44, 63c5–6: 第八造論緣起者. 堅慧菩薩者, 梵名娑囉末底. 娑囉, 此云堅固. 末底, 云慧. Seyfort Ruegg (1969: 70) concludes that the RGV was a Madhyamaka treatise in line with the dGe-lugs-pa position. As discussed in my introduction, the author of the RGV aimed to systematize neither the Madhyamaka nor Yogācāra position, but rather Mahāyāna sūtras on Buddha-nature. It is true that the author used some Yogācāra terms, but merely for purposes of supporting the Buddha-nature doctrine, and he gave them slightly different meanings (see Introduction, pp. 1–2 n. 4). Madhyamaka's emptiness was critically succeeded by the RGV (I.156 and 160). See also Schmithausen 1973: 127.

[50] A Chinese biography of Vasubandhu (T no. 2049, vol. 50, 191a) ascribes a work no longer extant called 三寶性 (**triratnagotra*) to Vasubandhu. Nakamura wishes to equate this work with the RGV, but without any other supporting evidence.

[51] Frauwallner (1956: 255) dates Sāramati's *floruit* to ca. 250 A.D., before Maitreyanātha (whom he regarded as a historical personality who flourished ca. 300. A.D.): "... weil sie [= die Schule Sāramatis] auf den eigentlichen Begründer der Yogācāra-Schule, Maitreyanātha stark eingewirkt hat." Though Frauwallner does not precisely discuss the difference between the RGV and the RGVV, he was following the Chinese tradition in attributing both the RGV and RGVV to Sāramati. The RGVV, as Schmithausen notes (1986: 264 n. 104), post-dates the MSA (whose author, according to Frauwallner, was Maitreyanātha), since it quotes two verses (or in the Chinese translation, three) from it, namely RGVV 71.1–5 (= MSA IX.15); 71.16–17 (= MSA IX.37); RGVV T vol. 31, 830a6 (= MSA IX.23).

focus) and treat Maitreya as the author of the verses of the RGV and Asaṅga as the author of the prose part. This is simply intended to ensure against unnecessary complications.

POSITIVE DESCRIPTIONS ON THE ULTIMATE AND THEIR AIM IN THE RATNAGOTRAVIBHĀGA

One of principal axes around which the later development of the Buddha-nature doctrine revolved after the RGV was the question of how to interpret and ultimately how to dissolve the ontological aspect of Buddha-nature.

The RGV is, as the title shows, a treatise analyzing (*vibhāga*) the source (*gotra*)[52] from which the Three Jewels (*ratna*) arise (*saṃbhava*) (RGV I.23). The Three Jewels are ultimately subsumed under the Buddha Jewel, that is, buddhahood (RGV I.20–21), whence *ratnagotra* means the potential to become a buddha—means, in short, Buddha-nature.[53]

The RGV never describes the ontological aspect of Buddha-nature negatively. The Buddha-qualities abiding within Buddha-nature are unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*) and ultimately existent, while only the defilements covering Buddha-nature are conditioned (*saṃskṛta*) and empty (RGV I.53, 154–155, 164, III.1–3). This is the reason why the RGV is called *Mahāyānottaratantra* "the supreme Mahāyāna doctrine," which implies the superiority of its own doctrinal position to that of the *Prajñāpāramitā* sūtras (i.e. the doctrine of emptiness).[54]

A good example of the positive existence ascribed to Buddha-nature (that is, of its genuine ontological status) is RGV I.52, which parallels *Bhagavadgītā* XIII.32. The verse replaces the word *ātman* in the *Bhagavadgītā* with Buddha-nature, both of whose referents are all-pervasive and unperceivable (for details, see below in connection with Jñānaśrīmitra). It seems as if, by recycling the well-known verse of the *Bhagavadgītā* in a slightly different form (cf. also RGV I.35ab), the author of the

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[52] Cf. Takasaki 1989: 245.

[53] RGV I.26 defines Buddha-nature as a cause that gives rise to the fruit, that is, the Three Jewels; while it teaches the Buddha-awakening, the Buddha-qualities, and the Buddha-activities as being three conditions (the three corresponding to *dravya*, *guṇa*, and *karman*, the widely known three categories of the Vaiśeṣika *padārtha* system). These seven topics, which structure the entire body of the treatise, are collectively called the seven *vajrapada*s.

[54] See above, Introduction, pp. 2–3 and RGV I.160.

RGV were claiming that Buddha-nature is a true *ātman*. This by itself would indicate that the author viewed Buddha-nature as something positively existent in ultimate terms.

As we saw above, this doctrine of admitting ultimate existence obviously contradicts the *Prajñāpāramitā* sūtras and invites the protest of Nāgārjuna's followers. It would be a conflict that motivated many later doctrinal discussions.

It is certainly easy to write off the Buddha-nature doctrine by pointing out its similarity to the non-Buddhist concept of *ātman* and how it seemingly contradicts such widely accepted Buddhist doctrines as emptiness and impermanence, but we should not forget the intention underlying it. The ontological aspect of Buddha-nature is inseparable from the core of the RGV doctrine, and it is this very undeniable existence (*astitva*) that promises the attainability (*śakyatva*) of buddhahood for beginning bodhisattvas and inspires them to practice (RGV I. 35, 40, 41, 161, IV.23, V.7–10, RGVV, p. 5.6). Ensuring the presence of the resultant qualities already existent in Buddha-nature as a potential state (*guṇavattva*) is apt to enhance devotion to the *ratnagotra* (RGVV p. 5.6). In other words, trusting to the existence of innate Buddha-nature encourages one to generate the resolve to become a buddha and also to practice for the sake of oneself and others. In this regard, the Buddha-nature doctrine of the RGV is an ideological but pragmatic teaching meant to motivate Buddhists to engage in the bodhisattva path. The shift of devotional object from the external Three Jewels etc. to the internal Buddha-nature as an innate disposition[55] was probably motivated by just such a pragmatic function.[56]

The RGV inherited this function from the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* (the eighth simile), the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra* (quoted in RGVV[57]), and the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (which restrains all Buddha-nature possessors—all beings—from performing misdeeds[58]). The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* further teaches the

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[55] Cf. Shimoda 1997.

[56] In the present context, I do not discuss the *neyārtha/nītārtha* issue. In a series of studies, Shirō Matsumoto judges the Buddha-nature doctrine to be non-Buddhist in nature, terming it a "*dhātuvāda*," and thereby seems to downplay the above-mentioned function. This is reflective of the oversimplified methodology of his studies, which on the one hand provides a useful and clear-cut model of the Buddha-nature doctrine, but on the other lets rich aspects of the doctrine go unnoticed.

[57] RGVV, p. 73.7–8: *yad āha | tathāgatagarbhaś ced bhagavan na syān na syād duḥkhe 'pi nirvin na nirvāṇecchā prārthanā praṇidhir veti vistaraḥ*. Cf. RGV I.40, 41.

[58] This function is also made clear in the *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra*. See above, Introduction, p. 4 n. 9 and also Suzuki 2000a.

identity of a practitioner with the Buddha (in the form of a stūpa) who encompasses all the Three Jewels.[59] This has very probably influenced Tantric practices involving practitioners identifying themselves with a stūpa, maṇḍala, Buddha, or deity, as, for instance, in the *svādhiṣṭhāna* practice.[60] For such self-identification practices, the real existence of the innate disposition towards buddhahood is a crucial factor. In the course of doctrinal development, however, this pragmatic function has gradually faded into the background against the more prominent philosophical discourse.

DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN THE RATNAGOTRAVIBHĀGA

Before discussing the transmission of the RGV in India, I shall point out certain textual developments within the RGV itself. We see clear differences between the content of the basic verses of the RGV (T no. 1611, vol. 31, 813a8–820c20) and the full-fledged text (i.e. RGVV including the commentarial verses and prose parts; *ibid*. 820c21–848a27), especially as regards the use of Yogācāra terminology in the latter (i.e. the prose parts). It does not teach the Mind-only theory, but merely adopts the Yogācāra terminology, thereby seemingly framing the Buddha-nature doctrine within a philosophical system.[61]

The Buddha-nature doctrine systematized by the RGV, however, did not develop into an independent doctrinal school; rather, it was gradually integrated into two schools, Yogācāra and Madhyamaka. When first sketched roughly, it was first linked to the Yogācāra doctrine, but was later also integrated into Madhyamaka.

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[59] MPMS, Habata 2013: 287–290, §§391–394, D 108a2–109a7.

[60] In Buddhist tantric scriptures of the *kriyā* and *yoga* classes, the practice of self-identification with Vairocana (who is often symbolized as a stūpa) is found, for instance, in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*. The former scripture probably integrates the idea of the ritual of *mantranyāsa* (the self-transformation into a deity by placing mantras on one's own body) from early Śaiva Tantrism. Cf. Davis 1992 and Einoo 2005.

[61] See above, Introduction, pp. 1–2 n. 4. It is, of course, not impossible to interpret that the Buddha-nature teaching and that of Mind-only are compatible; but I shall just point out here the fact that the RGV does not teach *cittamātra*.

The 5th and 6th Centuries: An Approach to the Yogācāra Doctrine

A number of texts that date from either the 5th or 6th century were composed under the influence of the RGV.[62] These include the **Mahāyānadharmadhātunirviśeṣa* of Sāramati 堅慧 (*Dacheng fajie wuchabie lun* 大乘法界無差別論, T nos. 1626, 1627), the **Anuttarāśrayasūtra* (*Wushangyijing* 無上依經, T no. 669), and the **Buddhadhātuśāstra* (*Foxing lun* 佛性論, T no. 1610). They are available only in Chinese translation.[63]

*The *Mahāyānadharmadhātunirviśeṣa*

The **Mahāyānadharmadhātunirviśeṣa*, translated by Devendraprajña in 691,[64] was composed by Sāramati 堅慧, the same Sāramati who, according to the Chinese tradition after Zhiyi 智顗, was the author of the RGV (see above). It was probably composed around the 5th century. The work teaches Twelve Topics as its main theme, a further development of the ten Buddha-nature topics (*artha*) taught in RGV I.29–94,[65] and combines the topics with a discussion of the qualities of *bodhicitta*, the resolve to become a buddha. *Bodhicitta*, in this case also called *dharmadhātu*, abides in all beings equally (**nirviśeṣa*) throughout all three states, that is, that of ordinary beings, bodhisattvas, and Buddhas. Hence the title **Dharmadhātunirviśeṣa* (法界無差別). Given the doctrinal content and structure shared by the RGV and this treatise, the Chinese tradition that ascribes the two to the same individual is plausible. This work was very likely authored after the RGV, because it focuses on *bodhicitta*, which was hardly discussed in the RGV, and modifies the structure of the RGV in summarizing it.[66]

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[62] See Takasaki 1966: 45–54, 1989: 412–415, 1999: 22–24, Kano 2014: 213–217.

[63] On the date of the translation of these works, see Takasaki 1989: xxxviii–xli, 1999: 34–36, Forte 1979: 297.

[64] Takasaki (1999: 34–36) judges from parallel quotations shared by the **Mahāyānadharmadhātunirviśeṣa* and the RGV that the quality of the Chinese translation of the former by Devendraprajña is better than that of the latter by Ratnamati.

[65] The Twelve Topics are *phala*, *hetu*, *svabhāva*, *paryāya*, *abheda*, *avasthāprabheda*, *asaṃkliṣṭa*, *nitya*, *yoga*, *anarthakriyā*, *arthakriyā*, and *ekatva* (or *ekadhātu*) (果, 因, 自性, 異名, 無差別, 分位, 無染, 常恒, 相応, 不作義利, 作義利, 一性). See Takasaki 1966: 45 and 1999: 28–34.

[66] For the RGV's influence on this work, see Takasaki 1966: 45–46, 1999: 24–26. Takasaki points out that both the **Anuttarāśrayasūtra* and the **Buddhadhātuśāstra* may have been composed by Paramārtha. The former is quoted in the latter (see Takasaki 1966: 52 n. 85).

*The *Anuttarāśrayasūtra*

The **Anuttarāśrayasūtra* translated by Paramārtha (眞諦 499–569) is a brief sūtra teaching the supreme foundation (*anuttarāśraya*), i.e., four inconceivable topics relating to Buddhas, namely, Buddha-nature, Buddha-awakening, Buddha-qualities, and Buddha-activities (which are respectively taught in the four main chapters: 如來界品, 如來菩提品, 如來功德品, 如來事品). These four are both the themes of Chapters 1 to 4 of the RGV and the last four (of the seven) *vajrapada*s. Not only the structural similarity between this sūtra and the RGV, but also sūtra passages cited in common by the two works confirm the close relationship between them. Takasaki (1966: 49–53) concludes that the author of the sūtra reworks the RGV in the style of a Mahāyāna sūtra, and at the same time combines RGV doctrine with stūpa worship. Shimoda (1997: 85–86) points out that the author applies the framework of the **Adbhutadharmaparyāya* (*Shen xiyou jing* 甚希有經, T no. 689) to that of the **Anuttarāśrayasūtra* and equates three qualities, namely those of the Buddha's relics (*tathāgatadhātu*) inside a stūpa, those of the Buddha-element (*buddhadhātu*) inside sentient beings, and those of *tathāgata*s. Since this sūtra is quoted in the *Foxing lun* 佛性論, the date of its composition must lie between the first half of the 5th century and the first half of the 6th century; it is indeed possible that the work is by the translator Paramārtha himself.

*The *Buddhadhātuśāstra*

The **Buddhadhātuśāstra* (*Foxing lun* 佛性論), again translated by Paramārtha, is ascribed to Vasubandhu (天親) by the translator, but according to modern studies it was composed by an individual who was familiar with the doctrine propounded by Vasubandhu.[67] Regarding its basic structure, this treatise is a modified version of Chapter 1 of the RGV. The **Buddhadhātuśāstra* has four chapters, and its last chapter adopts the ten Buddha-nature topics of the RGV (I.29–94) as its framework and describes Buddha-nature as being consonant with the core Yogācāra doctrines, such as the Three Nature (*trisvabhāva*) theory (which does not appear in the RGV at all).

The Doctrines of Buddha-nature and Yogācāra

These three texts composed under the influence of the RGV each develop the Buddha-nature doctrine in different directions. It is the **Buddhadhātuśāstra* that

[67] See Takasaki 1966: 47–49. Cf. also Takasaki & Kashiwagi 2005: 60–61.

most clearly tries to demonstrate its link to Yogācāra doctrine, although it does not systematically teach the doctrine.[68] As shown by the widespread identification of Buddha-nature with the *ālayavijñāna* as this latter was taught in the *Laṅkāvatāra* and the *Ghanavyūha*, the link between Buddha-nature and Yogācāra in Indian Buddhist scriptures is not limited to texts directly relevant to the RGV.

Still, the traditions of Buddha-nature and Yogācāra have different origins, and their core ideas are not necessarily the same, and in part can indeed be seen as incompatible. Roughly speaking, the Buddha-nature doctrine centers on the Buddha's salvation of beings, whereas the Yogācāra doctrine focuses on an analysis of the practitioner's mind and its cultivation. And whereas Buddha-nature is unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*), the *ālayavijñāna* is conditioned (*saṃskṛta*); furthermore, the two traditions have a different understanding with regard to, among other concepts, *āśrayaparivṛtti*, *śūnyatā*, and *śraddhā*.[69] For all effort to unify the two doctrines, one will necessarily incline one way or the other, but not both, given their fundamental differences. The reason the three texts mentioned above (the **Mahāyānadharmadhātunirviśeṣa*, **Anuttarāśrayasūtra*, and **Buddhadhātuśāstra*) are drawn naturally to the Buddha-nature doctrine is because they are at pains to stress the innate purity of the mind.

The Single Vehicle vs. the Three Vehicles

In addition to the above-mentioned differences, there is a more serious incompatibility between Buddha-nature and Yogācāra: the Single Vehicle (*ekayāna*) doctrine vs. the Three Vehicles (*yānatraya*) doctrine. The Buddha-nature doctrine asserts the equal attainability of a buddha's awakening (i.e. *anuttarasaṃyaksaṃbodhi*) for all beings—that is, the Single Vehicle doctrine. Mādhyamikas also take this position, though their reasoning in doing so is not exactly the same as that of the RGV. On the other hand, Yogācāras support the view that there are three different types of awakening depending on an individual's disposition (i.e. *śrāvaka*, *pratyekabuddha*, and bodhisattva)—that is, the Three Vehicles doctrine, and they also accept the existence of a class of beings that lacks a spiritual disposition (*agotra*).

Although it appears at first glance that the RGV supports the Single Vehicle position, its definitive position remains obscure, for it sometimes suggests a position redolent of the Three Vehicles and never uses the word *ekayāna*[70]; furthermore,

[68] See Takasaki 2010: 94 (Collected papers of Takasaki, vol. 6).

[69] See above, Introduction, pp. 1–2 n. 4.

[70] Takasaki 1974: 118 = 2009 (Collected papers of Takasaki, vol. 4): 149, Matsumoto 2013: 216 n. 93.

the opening verse (only preserved in the Chinese translation) explicitly accepts the awakening of the Three Vehicles (T no. 1611, vol. 31, 813a17: 順三乘菩提 "following the three kinds of awakening"). It should also be noted that RGV I.41 (*agotra*), I.153 (*acakṣus*), and IV.41 (*śrotravikala*) mention sentient beings who have no chance of realizing Buddha-nature or of attaining a buddha's awakening.[71]

Paramārtha's Translations

The influence of the RGV upon Paramārtha's Chinese translations is both explicit and significant. It is quite possible, specifically, that Paramārtha, having been influenced by the RGV, implanted ideas of his own based on it into the Indian works that he translated into Chinese—among them, Vasubandhu's commentary on the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* (T no. 1595), the *Shibakong lun* (十八空論, T no. 1616), the *Sanwuxing lun* (三無性論, T no. 1617), the *Xianshi lun* (顯識論, T no. 1618), and the *Niepanjing benyou jinwu jie lun* (涅槃經本有今無偈論, T no. 1528).[72] From these works it is clear that the RGV was already making itself felt during this early phase, and that Paramārtha played a significant role in this, linking it to Yogācāra doctrine.

One might doubt that some of his translations are of indigenous Indic texts, suspecting that they may instead have been composed (or reworked) by himself or others in his close circle after his arrival in China in 546. Still, we cannot exclude such translations from a list of works by Indian authors influenced by the RGV; indeed, there are no other such works as these which so clearly show the RGV's influence.

THE LATE 6TH TO THE 10TH CENTURIES: THE RATNAGOTRAVIBHĀGA DISAPPEARS FROM VIEW

To my knowledge, no Indian text from the late 6th to the 10th century exists that

[71] Matsumoto 2013: 121–150, 92–96, 167, 217 n. 112.

[72] Takasaki 1964, 1979, 1982: 175–178, 1999: 23, Kano 2014: 216–217. We may add the *trikāya* chapter of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*. The chapter (*sku gsum rnam par 'byed pa* or 分別三身品) is not included in the Sanskrit version (ed. Nobel), Dharmakṣema's Chinese translation (T no. 663), or the Tibetan translation (D 557, P 176), but it is contained in two Chinese translations by Paramārtha and Yijing 義浄 (T nos. 664, 665) and two Tibetan translations. Takasaki holds that the chapter was later added to the sūtra under the influence of the RGV. See Takasaki 1974: 331–349.

quotes passages from the RGV. Hence it is difficult to discuss the textual transmission of the RGV in this period.[73] Some Tibetan scholars maintain that the transmission of the RGV was interrupted some centuries after its composition, and that it began again in the 11th century with the rediscovery of a Sanskrit manuscript. gZhon-nu-dpal writes in this regard:

> Thus the *Uttara*[*tantra*] and [*Dharma*]*dharmatāvibhāga* did not spread in the Land of noble ones (i.e. India) before [the period of] the master Maitrīpa. There is not the slightest sign of the two [texts] in such extensive treatises as the great commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*[*prajñāpāramitā*] (i.e. Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṃkārālokā*).[74]

Later, too, Paṇ-chen bSod-nams-grags-pa stated:

> A later [scholar] who composed commentaries on the *Uttaratantra* and *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga* [maintains] that the expositions [of the two texts] did not spread during the time of [Indian authors] such as Ārya Vimuktisena[75] and Haribhadra, inasmuch as in their *Nyi snang* and *rGyan snang*[76] not the slightest scriptural quotation from either occurs.[77]

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[73] There do exist, however, three texts which suggest that the transmission of the RGV indeed continued during this period. The first is the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (late 7th to 8th century; see Matsunaga 1980: 187ff.), in which terms such as *garbha*, *dhātu*, and *ratnagotra* are used along the same lines as in the RGV (see Inui 1998 and 2000). The second is the above-mentioned Dunhuang manuscript from about the middle of the 9th century, which quotes verses from the RGV. The third is what is called the *Bṛhaṭṭīkā* (D 3808, P 5206), ascribed to Daṃṣṭrasena, translated by Surendrabodhi and Ye-shes-sde in the 9th century, which equates the *tathāgatagarbha* with *tathatā* as admitting of three states, namely the impure state of ordinary beings, the pure but still impure state of bodhisattvas, and the pure state of Buddhas (*ibid*. 52a3–4); this parallels RGV I.47. The three are, of course, not sufficient in themselves to establish that the transmission was continuous. Even if there was continuity, it is safe to say that it was only limited. The teaching of the RGV may have been deliberately ignored by Indian scholars because of the theories the text contained; or else it was superseded by sūtras such as the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* as scriptural authority for the teaching of Buddha-nature.

[74] gZhon-nu-dpal, *rGyud bla me long*, 4.18–20: *de ltar na bla ma dang chos nyid rnam 'byed gnyis po mnga' bdag mai trī pa'i snga rol du 'phags pa'i yul du ma dar te | brgyad stong 'grel chen la sogs pa'i bstan bcos chen po rnams su yang gnyis po zur tsam yang ma byung ngo ||*. Cf. Roerich 1949/53: 340.26–32.

[75] Ārya Vimuktisena is said to have been a 7th-century master, though Tibetan tradition holds him to be one of Vasubandhu's disciples. See Hyōdō 2000: 2–3.

[76] The *Nyi snang* is Ārya Vimuktisena's *Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛtti* and the *rGyan snang* is Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṃkārālokā*.

[77] bSod-nams-grags-pa, *rGyud bla dka' 'grel*, 2b6–3a1: *rgyud bla ma dang chos dang chos nyid rnam*

To a certain extent, these arguments are acceptable, but the lack of quotations does not necessarily mean a complete break in the transmission. Indian scholars did refer during this period (the late 6th–10th cent.) to the teaching of Buddha-nature, not as filtered through the RGV but through such sūtras as the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*.[78] This makes sense, since generally the scriptural authority of sūtras ranks higher than that of *śāstra*s. In the 11th century, though, the RGV for some reason seems to have bucked this trend.

Mādhyamikas' Integration of the Buddha-nature Doctrine

Although the late 6th to the 11th century is a period for which we have so far been unable to find any quotations from the RGV in extant Indian works, it was unquestionably a transitional one for the development of the Buddha-nature doctrine. For the Buddha-nature doctrine was starting to be taken seriously by Mādhyamikas, having long since (before the 6th century) been integrated into Yogācāra doctrine by Paramārtha.

As we saw in the Introduction, passages dealing with Buddha-nature are found in the *Tarkajvālā* (ascribed to Bhāviveka, ca. 490–570), the *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* by Candrakīrti (ca. 600–650), and the *Madhyamakāloka* by Kamalaśīla (ca. 740–795). Their discussions can be classified under three topics: (1) identification of Buddha-nature as emptiness, (2) integration of Buddha-nature into the Single Vehicle doctrine, and (3) judgement as to whether the Buddha-nature doctrine belongs to the definitive teaching or the provisional teaching.

(1) Whereas the RGV simply teaches that Buddha-nature (as opposed to defilements covering it) is not empty, the *Tarkajvālā*'s author defines Buddha-nature as characterized by the three door to deliverance (*trivimokṣamukha/vimokṣatraya*, i.e., emptiness, signlessness, and desirelessness), while Kamalaśīla understands it as the *dharmadhātugarbha*, the *dharmadhātu* therein being characterized by selflessness.[79]

(2) Kamalaśīla, having embraced the *ekayāna* doctrine, seeks support for it in

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par 'byed pa gnyis la ni phyis kyi ṭikka mdzad pa kha cig | nyi snang rgyan snang la sogs pa'i bstan bcos rnams su gnyis po'i lung 'dren zur tsam yang ma byung bas | 'phags seng sogs pa'i dus su bshad pa ma dar la |...

[78] The *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra* was used, in particular, to support the Single-Vehicle theory, e.g. the rebirth of an *arhat*. See above, Introduction, p. 9 n. 33.

[79] See above Introduction, p. 10 n. 34: *tathāgataśabdenāpi pudgaladharmanairātmyalakṣaṇasya dharmadhātoḥ prakṛtiprabhāsvarasya vivakṣitatvāt*.

the Buddha-nature doctrine (which he judges to be definitive).[80] By contrast, a Yogācāra opponent mentioned by Kamalaśīla, while in accord with the *ekayāna* doctrine and in conflict with Yogācāra's own *yānatraya* doctrine, takes the Buddha-nature doctrine as provisional.[81] Dharmamitra (during the late 8th to the early 9th century) also uses Buddha-nature in support of the Single Vehicle doctrine, quoting the *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā*.[82]

(3) In contrast to Kamalaśīla, Candrakīrti defines the Buddha-nature doctrine as provisional, thereby following the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*.[83] In refuting Yogācāra doctrine, he judges the *ālayavijñāna* to belong to the provisional teaching (*neyārtha*), and so too Buddha-nature (which is equated with the *ālayavijñāna* in the *Laṅkāvatāra* etc.). Takasaki holds that the author of the *Tarkajvālā* also categorizes the Buddha-nature doctrine as provisional, for he, like Candrakīrti, takes the *Laṅkāvatāra* as an authority.[84]

The Mādhyamikas made use of Mahāyāna sūtras, including the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, in this period, and their integration of the Buddha-nature doctrine came to involve the RGV in the succeeding period, that is, from the 11th century onward.

A Summary and Further Considerations

To sum up, there is no reference to the author's name in the earliest available source relating to the RGV, namely Ratnamati's Chinese translation of it (the early 6th century). The earliest such witness is Zhiyi's 智顗 *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀(594), which ascribes the authorship to Jianyi 堅意. The Khotanese Devendraprajña (于闐三藏提雲般若), according to his disciple Fazang 法藏 (643-712), names the author of both the RGV and the **Mahāyānadharmadhātunirviśeṣa* as Jianhui 堅慧 (娑

[80] *Madhyamakāloka*, D 242b4–7, P 272b8–273a2. Cf. Matsumoto 1987: 22 and Li & Kano 2014: 19.

[81] *Madhyamakāloka*, D 147b4–5, P 159b7–160a1: *kha cig las sems can thams cad ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can no zhes 'byung ba gang yin pa de yang de bzhin nyid kyi mtshan nyid de bzhin nyid la dgongs nas gsungs pa yin no || de lta bas na don dam par theg pa gsum yang yod pa nyid la chos thams cad kyang ngo bo nyid dang bcas pa nyid do zhes zer te | phyogs snga ma yin no ||*. See also Matsumoto 1987: 11 (sections [14] and [15]).

[82] Seyfort Ruegg 1977: 291, 1981: 103.

[83] See above, Introduction, p 9.

[84] Takasaki 2010 (Collected papers of Takasaki, vol. 6): 520.

囉末底, Sāramati). Wonchuk 圓測 (613–696) agrees with this ascription. These Chinese traditions (between the late 6th and the late 7th centuries) ascribing it to Jianyi/Jianhui 堅意/堅慧 (Sāramati) do not seem to distinguish the authorship of the verses from that of the prose part (RGVV).

On the other hand, a Mahāyāna verse collection in Khotanese Hybrid Sanskrit discovered in Dunhuang (separately preserved as IOL Khot S5 and Pelliot Chinois 2740) ascribes RGV I.1 to Maitreya; it can be dated to between the early 9th and the 11th century on the basis of the Chinese text of the *Aparimitāyurdhāraṇī* (無量壽宗要經), containing a Tibetan colophon, written on the front side of it. This ascription accords with the later East Indian tradition from the 11th to 12th century (Jñānaśrīmitra, the author of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya*, and Abhayākaragupta), which also names Maitreya as the author. Finally, the colophon of the Tibetan translation of the RGV by rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab (in the last quarter of the 11th century) attributes the authorship of the verses to Maitreya, and the prose commentary (RGVV) to Asaṅga.

Doctrinal development is seen within the three layers of the RGV, with the prose commentary making use of Yogācāra terminology that the basic verses never do. The **Mahāyānadharmadhātunirviśeṣa* (大乘法界無差別論), the **Anuttarāśrayasūtra* (無上依經), the **Buddhadhātuśāstra* (佛性論), and the translations of Paramārtha (眞諦 499-569) are works clearly composed under the influence of the RGV in the 5th and 6th centuries. They tend to apply Yogācāra terminology more frequently and develop the doctrine in accordance with each tradition's particular concerns.

However, we can find no trace of the transmission of the RGV in India between the late 6th and 10th centuries. In the development of the Buddha-nature doctrine, the Mādhyamikas (the *Tarkajvālā*'s author, Candrakīrti, and Kamalaśīla) put forward their own interpretations of Buddha-nature, centering them on the Madhyamaka doctrine. The Madhyamaka interpretations of Buddha-nature in the *Tarkajvālā* and *Madhyamakāloka* offer the foundation for the later development of the understanding of Buddha-nature, linking up further down the line to rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab's interpretation.

Chapter 2

The Resurrection of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* in India in the Early 11th Century: Maitrīpa and Jñānaśrīmitra

From the 11th century onward Indian masters frequently quote the RGV. Tapping Tibetan sources, Seyfort Ruegg and others have drawn attention to the historical aspects of the transmission of the RGV during this period. Based on these studies and several other sources, I shall describe somewhat more precisely the transmission and diffusion of the RGV. In the process, I shall attempt to verify the historicity of the Tibetan accounts by comparing them with more primary sources, particularly Indian works that quote the RGV. In order to clarify transmission lineages as well as to specify dates and areas of this treatise's spread, I shall also try to establish in detail the biographical background of the masters who were familiar with the RGV.

Maitrīpa
(b. 1007/1010)

In this final phase of the spread of the RGV in India, Maitrīpa was one of the earliest masters to become familiar with the RGV.[1] The *Amanasikāra-yathāśruta-krama*, a Sanskrit hagiography of Maitrīpa by an anonymous Nepalese hand,

[1] On the dating of Maitrīpa's lifetime, see Tatz 1987: 697. Hadano (1987: 172–173) conjectures 947/986–1065/1077. Kragh (2010: 221–222 n. 72) states: "With a life-span of 69 or 70, the resulting possible years of his death are: 1064/ 1067/ 1072/ 1075 or 1076/ 1079/ 1084/ 1087."

Maitrīpa was also called Dāmodara in his youth, Martabodha (for this name, see Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 62–63 n. 14), Maitrīgupta (his ordination name), Maitreya, Maitreyanātha, or Advayavajra (his tantric initiation name). For the details of his name, see Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 59. In Tibetan, his name is normally transliterated as "Maitri-pa," and I adopt in the present thesis Maitrīpa as his name, for in the context of the transmission of the RGV he is quite often called so. In other contexts, he is also called by a title, Avadhūtipa, distinguished from four other Avadhūtipas, i.e, Kumāracandra, Sūryagupta, and two unspecified Avadhūtipas (see Kragh 2010: 218–219 n. 63).

sketches his life:[2] Maitrīpa was born as a Brahman, at Jhāḍakaraṇī, near Padma-Kapilavastu, and given the name Dāmodara. In his youth he took the name Martabodha and became a Brahmanical renunciant, immersing himself in Brahmanical treatises. But then he sought out the Buddhist scholars of Vikramaśīla, including Nāropa, Jñānaśrīmitra, and Ratnākaraśānti. Eventually he took full monastic ordination (*upasaṃpadā*) under the name Maitrīgupta, and settled down in Vikramapura. One day Tārā said to him in a dream, "Go to Khasarpaṇa." When he had complied, Tārā spoke again in a dream: "Go now, son of a noble family, to the south, to the twin mountains of Manabhaṅga and Cittaviśrāma, where Śabareśvara dwells. He will favour you [with instruction]" (*gaccha tvaṃ kulaputra dakṣiṇāpathe manabhaṅga-cittaviśrāmau parvatau tatra śavareśvaras tiṣṭhati. sa ca tavānugrāhako bhaviṣyatīti*).[3]

Despite painstaking endeavors, he was unable to locate Śabareśvara. Finally, in despair,[4] he attempted suicide. At that very moment, Śabareśvara appeared and performed a tantric initiation on him, giving him the name Advayavajra. Even after practicing for seventeen days, however, Maitrīpa still clung to false conceptions. Thus Śabareśvara told him, "Attainment in this life is not for you; go give sermons and expositions" (*śabarādhipa āha*: *taveha janmani siddhir nāsti deśanāprakāśanāṃ kuru*).[5]

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[2] The Sanskrit text of the *Amanasikāra-yathāśrutakrama* is contained in Lévi 1931, Tucci 1930, and Pandey 1990. According to Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 421, Sāṅkṛtyāyana also edited this text in 1957, contained in his edition of the *Dohākośa*. These four editions are collated and critically re-edited on the basis of the Sanskrit manuscript by Isaacson & Sferra 2014 (appendix 7).

A single palm-leaf manuscript of four leaves is preserved at Kaisar Library (No. 142) in Kathmandu, and its facsimile image is reproduced by Isaacson & Sferra (2014: 429–430). Tatz (1987: 696) regards the manuscript as being nearly contemporaneous with Maitrīpa, but Okuyama (1991: 481 n. 2) places it in the 12th or 13th century. Okuyama's position better accounts for the manuscript recording a transmission line of the *Vajrayoginī* (*vajrayoginīguru-paraṃparā*) which extends to eleven generations after Śabaranātha (fl. early 11th cent.). Okuyama (1991: 568) further hypothesizes that the hagiography was composed by someone who belonged to the lineage of Vajrapāṇi, and thus was a disciple of Maitrīpa.

Recently, a Tibetan hagiography of the masters of the transmission lineage of Saraha's *dohā*s was edited and published by Passavanti (2008), and this work contains Maitrīpa's hagiography, in which many events parallel the *Amanasikāra-yathāśrutakrama*. Passavanti tentatively dates this work to the first half of the 13th century. A facsimile reproduction of the text and an annotated translation are included in appendix 8 of Isaacson & Sferra 2014.

[3] Skt. Ms. fol. 1v3–4, Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 425.9. See also Lévi 1931: 424.4–6, Tucci 1930: 153.1–2, Pandey 1990: 11.12–13. Tucci and Lévi reads *manobhaṅga°* instead of *manabhaṅga°*, and Tucci and Lévi read *tatrānugrāhako* instead of *tavānugrāhako*. Cf. Tatz 1987: 700.

[4] Or in order to see Śabareśvara in the intermediate state or in a future life. See Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 67–68 n. 40.

[5] Skt. Ms. fol. 2v1–2, Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 425.9–10. See also Lévi 1931: 424.29–30, Tucci 1930:

Though the Sanskrit hagiography ends with Śabareśvara's instruction, the Tibetan sources carry the narrative further.[6] Maitrīpa returned from retreat to the academic world in Vikramaśīla, only to become involved in a dispute with Ratnākaraśānti, from which he emerged victorious. Later he retired to a hermitage, although some sources report that Atiśa expelled him from Vikramaśīla. It was after his passing away, at the age of 75, that he at long last attained *siddhi*.

There is a famous story about Maitrīpa's connection with the RGV: Maitrīpa recovered a manuscript containing the RGV along with the *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga* (or *Dharmadharmatāpravibhāga*, abbr. DhDhV) from a stūpa.[7] Of several known versions of the story,[8] one of the earliest is by sKyo-ston sMon-lam-tshul-khrims (1219–1299)[9]:

154.3, Pandey 1990: 11.27–28. Tucci reads *śabalāpidha* for *śabalādhipa*. Lévi reads *nāmni* for *nāsti*. *Deśanāprakāśanāṃ* is a conjecture by Lévi and Isaacson & Sferra for *darśanāprakāśanāḥ* in the Ms. and Tucci's edition. Ms. reads *kuruḥ* for *kuru*.

6 See Tatz 1988.

7 Although *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga* is the widely known title in modern publications, *Dharmadharmatā**pra**vibhāga* is the attested title in Sanskrit manuscripts: The colophon of a 14th-century paper manuscript of the DhDhV (fol. 13r5) reads: *dharmmadharmmatāsūtrāṇy āryamaitreyapādasya || dharmmadharmmatāpravibhāgasūtraṃ samāptam |* (the manuscript is yet to be found, but the colophon was transcribed and published by Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1938: 163 n. 1); and Jñānaśrīmitra's *Sākārasiddhi* refers to the work under the title *dharmadharmatāpravibhāga*, ascribing its commentary to Vasubandhu: *Sākārasiddhi*, 432.5f. (see below, p. 57 n.50). The Sanskrit manuscript of the *Sākārasiddhi* reads *dharmadharmatāpravibhāge*, though the editor Thakur mistakenly prints it as *dharmadharmitā*°. For details, see below, the section on Jñānaśrīmitra in the present chapter.

The spread of the DhDhV in India can be traced from the two sources mentioned above and also from Vairocanarakṣita's glosses on the DhDhV (see Kano 2008b). The DhDhV Sanskrit manuscript was, according to Sāṅkṛtyāyana (1938: 163), contained in a bundle preserved at sPos khang monastery that also contained the basic verses of the *Madhyāntavibhāga* and the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. This bundle has an extra folio in Tibetan script, which runs "ya-tse-bas-phul-bahi (= presented by ya-tse-ba) Mṅon-rtog-rgyan, Chos-chos-ñid-rnam-ḥbyed, Dbus-su-mtha' rnam bṣhugs" (Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1938: 162–163 n.1). This Ya-tse-ba is, according to the Sanskrit colophon of the bundle, to be identified as Ripumalla (r. 1312–1314) a king of the Khasa Malla dynasty in West Nepal's Surakṣetra (Surkhet). The colophon further mentions the scribe's name, Śrījīvadhara, and a date corresponding to 2 February 1314 (see Petech 1984: 108–109). All of this points up that the DhDhV was transmitted along with two other Maitreya works in West Nepal in the 14th century.

8 See gZhon-nu-dpal, *Deb sngon*, Cha, 9b4–5 (Roerich 1949/53: 349); bSod-nams-grags-pa, *rGyud bla dka' 'grel*, 3a1–2; Ngag-dbang Blo-gros-grags-pa (Fifth Dalai Lama), *Ṭhob yig*, 27b2–6; Klong-rdol, *Ṭhob yig*, 923.5–924.4; Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen, *Ṭhob yig*, 172a3–6; Mipham, *Chos nyid rnam 'byed*, 3a5, 307a5; Kong-sprul, *rGyud bla rnam 'grel*, 8a3–5.

9 The editor of the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum* attributes this work (*Ṭheg chen rgyud bla ma'i gdams pa*) to sMon-lam-tshul-khrims, and I tentatively follow this attribution. In the colophon of

The history of [the transmission of the Buddha-nature] teaching: When the great paṇḍita Maitreyanātha (*byams pa'i mgon po*) was residing at a monastery in Magadha, he saw in a dream [the following vision]: Both sets of instruction [i.e. manuscripts(?)] of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* and *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga* entered a four-storey sandalwood stūpa, and then Maitreya [manifested and] directly taught [him both]: as general [instruction], Maitreya gave him instruction on both the cause and the conditions, and the three results[10]; as particular [instruction], [Maitreya gave him] instruction on the immutability of the cause [i.e. Buddha-nature], that is, *dharmatā*, and the instruction on the four inconceivable characteristics [of Buddha-nature][11].

[Maitreyanātha] then awoke [from the dream] and realized that he had received some teachings, but could not understand[12] [exactly what these teachings meant]. Therefore, he thought: Even though I was directly sustained by the compassion (*thugs rjes bzung*) of Ārya [Maitreya], I am not able to grasp [the precise meaning of] the teaching.

Then [he visited] a stūpa which he had previously worshipped, [and saw] that it was emitting a light that had not been there previously. And thinking that it might contain instruction, he opened [the door of the stūpa], and [the manuscripts (?) of the two named texts] appeared.

The paṇḍita Ānandakīrti (or Anantakīrti, *a nan ta ghir ti*)[13] thought: I will spread [the instruction of Maitreya] and give it to my disciple Ākaraśānti (*a kar ra shan ti pa*). Afterwards, when he went to Kashmir, the master Sajjana respectfully paid homage to [Ānandakīrti]. Thereupon [Ānandakīrti] asked, "What do you want from a beggar like me?"

He [i.e. Sajjana] answered: You have the instruction of the *Uttaratantra*

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this work, however, the transmission lineage of the teaching of the RGV and the DhDhV ends with sMon-lam-tshul-khrims's disciple Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan, i.e., bCom-ldan-ral-gri, to whom, therefore, there is reason to attribute this work instead.

[10] This refers to the causation within the seven *vajrapada*s. According to RGV I.26, the cause is Buddha-nature; the conditions are the Buddha-awakening, the Buddha-qualities, and the Buddha-activities; and the results are the Three Jewels.

[11] The four inconceivable characteristics of Buddha-nature can be found in RGV I.24–25.

[12] I conjecture *ma go ba* for *ma rga ba* (the manuscript reading). Mathes (2012: 203), accepting the latter, renders: "he did not grow older."

[13] His name is rendered as dGa' ba'i grags pa or dGa' ba grags pa (*Ānandakīrti) in later literature, such as gZhon-nu-dpal's *Deb ther sngon po* (422) or Klu-grub-rgya-mtsho's *bsTan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed* (113.13–18). The name Ānandakīrti is otherwise found only as the author of a grammatical treatise, the *Tyādyantakriyāpadarohaṇa* (D 4452; P 5897).

and *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga*. And he requested [Ānandakīrti to give him this instruction]. [Ānandakīrti] replied, "You are very proud to be called a paṇḍita, and so are not fit to receive instruction on the clarity of the nature of the mind.

[Sajjana] asked, "Then how can I destroy my pride?"

[Ānandakīrti] replied, "I think that you know the Five Treatises of Maitreya, but you don't understand even a single point."

[Ānandakīrti] gave a lesson on the Dharma and destroyed [Sajjana's] pride. Afterwards he gave [the instruction of Maitreya to Sajjana].

[Sajjana] explained the teaching [of Maitreya] to gZu dGa'-ba-rdo-rje, [who was active as a translator at dPe med[14] in Kashmir]. He [i.e. gZu dGa'-ba-rdo-rje] gave the teaching to the novice monk [bTsan kha-bo-che] Dri-med-shes-rab of Tho ling gser khang in sPu rangs, who had wished to study this [teaching of Maitreya] for a long time, and so had requested [the teaching]. This novice monk gave [the teaching] to the one called Lho-pa of La stod. He [i.e. Lho-pa] gave [the teaching] to Do-pa rNyan. He [i.e. Do-pa rNyan] gave [the teaching] to the teacher (*bla ma*) [and eighth abbot] of sNar-thang monastery, [that is, sKyo-ston sMon-lam-tshul-khrims]. This illustrious one gave [the teaching] to Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan [i.e. bCom-ldan-ral-gri (1227–1305)].[15]

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[14] For dPe med (*Anupamapura, located west of Cakradhara), see Chapter 6, p. 163 n. 35.

[15] sMon-lam-tshul-khrims, *Theg chen rgyud bla ma'i gdams pa* (*bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 50, pp. 154.8–156.1): *chos 'di'i lo rgyus ni paṇḍi ta chen po* {marginal note: *rgyal ba byams pa'i chos gnyis yod pa'i*} *byams pa'i mgon po zhes bya ba ma ga ta'i dgon pa cig na bzhugs pa la rmi lam* (155.1) *tsan ḍan gyi mchod rten khri 'phang bzhi pa cig gi nang du rgyud bla ma dang | chos nyid kyi gdam ngag gnyis bcug nas byams pa dngos kyis ngo sprod byas te | spyir rgyu rkyen gnyis 'bras bu gsum du dril nas ngo sprod pa dang |* (155.2) *bye brag tu rgyu chos nyi* [= *nyid*] *mi 'gyur bar ngo sprod pa dang | bsam mi khyab bzhi la ngo sprod mdzad do ||*

phyis gnyid sar pa dang chos 'ga' sems la byung kyang ma rga [= *go?*] *ba las | 'phags pa dngos kyi thugs rjes* (155.3) *bzung kyang nga la chos 'dzin pa'i nus pa med do snyam mo || de nas sngar skor ba byed pa'i mchod rten cig la | 'od snga na med pa de nas byung ngo || de nas gdams ngag yod dam snyam nas phye bas byung ngo ||*

paṇ ḍi ta a (155.4) *nan ta ghir ti des bsam pas nga rgyas pas nga'i slob ma a kar ra shan ti pa la gtad do snyam nas | des kha cher byon pa dang bla ma sa sdza nas bsnyen bkur mang du byas pas | nga sprang po cig la khyod re ltos ci yod gsung ngo ||* (155.5) *des rgyud bla ma'i gdam ngag dang chos dang chos nyid kyi gdam ngag yod mchi ba zhu byas pa dang | khyed paṇ ḍi ta bya ba nga rgyal che ba yin pas | sems nyid 'od gsal du ngo spod du mi btub mchi'o || 'o na nga* (155.6) *rgyal ji ltar gcag zhus pas | khyod kyis byams pa'i chos lnga shes so snyam ste don gcig kyang mi shes so zhes gsung | chos gtam byas pas nga rgyal chag go || de nas gnang ngo ||*

des gzu rga [= *dga'*] *ba rdo rje* {*kha che'i grong khyer dpe med du lo tsha ba* (in the marginal note)} *la bshad | des spu rangs* (155.7) *tho ling gser khang gyi dge tshul dri med shes rab kyis sngar nas 'di mkhyen par mdzod cig byas nas zhus so || dge tshul des la stod lho pa gcig la gnang | des do pa rnyan*

In this version, the paṇḍita who received the teaching on the RGV and DhDhV from Maitreya is called Maitreyanātha (*byams pa'i mgom po*). The transmission lineage of Maitreya's teaching runs: Maitreya→Maitreyanātha ...[16] Ānandakīrti (or Anantakīrti)→Sajjana→gZu rGa-ba-rdo-rje→bTsan kha-bo-che Dri-med-shes-rab→Lha-stod-lho-pa→Do-pa-rnyan→sMon-lam-tshul-khrims→Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan, a.k.a., bCom-ldan-ral-gri. The second oldest version of the story is by Rong-ston Shākya-rgyal-mtshan (1367–1449):

> Both the *Uttaratantra* and *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga*, after disappearing for a long time, were recovered by Aṇarakṣita, a disciple of Paṇḍita Maitreyanātha, from the fourth storey of a sandalwood stūpa[17] which emitted both sound and light. [Later] the master Sajjana received [it from Aṇarakṣita] and transmitted [it] to his son Mahājana.[18]

The discoverer of the RGV is again not Maitrīpa but this time one Aṇarakṣita. The third oldest version is found in a work of gZhon-nu-dpal composed in 1473:

> With regard to both the *Uttaratantra* and *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga* together with their commentaries, it is stated as follows: The master Maitrīpa saw light being emitted from the hole of a stūpa. [He] thought, "What is up there where the light is coming from?" Upon searching, he came upon the manuscripts of the two treatises. Delighted, he invoked the Illustrious One, whereupon [Maitreya] appeared in person amidst clouds and gave [him] a complete

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la gnang | de bla ma snar pa {*brgyad par byon pa* (in the marginal note)} *la* (156.1) *gnang | de btsun pa chos kyi rgyal mtshan* {*ze'u*} *la gnang pa'o || i th'i ||*. For studies of this and related texts ascribed to sMon-lam-tshul-khrims, see Kano 2010a: 33 nn.10, 11, Brunnhölzl 2011: 180–194, and Mathes 2012: 203–211. For the problematic academic value of Brunnhölzl's *When the Clouds Part*, see above, p. 19 n. 5. At the beginning of the same work we find a similar story, this time with Maitreyanātha receiving only the teaching of the RGV from Maitreya. See sMon-lam-tshul-khrims, *ibid.*, pp. 154.8–156.1.

16 The link between Maitreyanātha and Ānandakīrti is not defined.

17 An alternative translation is: "a sandalwood stūpa containing four storeys."

18 Rong-ston, *Chos nyid rnam 'byed* 11b1–2: *rgyud bla dang | chos dang chos nyid rnam par 'byed pa 'di gnyis sngon yun ring du nub pa las phyis paṇḍita byams pa mgon po'i slob ma aṇarakṣitas tsan dan gyi mchod rten bang rim bzhi pa sgra dang 'od 'byung ba zhig las bton pa | bla ma sa nyja nas zhus te | sras ma hā dza na la byin no ||*. Cf. Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 39, Hakamaya 1986: 247, Kawamura 1984: 13, 17 n. 19, Mathes 1996: 164. Aṇarakṣita is unidentified. Mahājana is a son of Sajjana and collaborated with him in the translation of the *Dharmadharmatāvibhāgavṛtti* (P 5529).

oral transmission.[19]

In this version of gZhon-nu-dpal's, Maitrīpa is described as the discoverer. Later Jo-nang Kun-dga'-grol-mchog (1507–1566) filled in details:

> Among the Five Treatises of Maitreya, the texts of the *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga* and the *Uttaratantra* do not seem to have been extant at the time of Ācārya Haribhadra. This can be inferred from the fact that the *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga* and *Uttaratantra* are not even mentioned by name, whereas the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, and *Madhyāntavibhāga* are quoted repeatedly in [Haribhadra's] great commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*[*prajñāpāramitā*].
>
> When the great master Maitrīpa was restoring (*zhig gsos mdzad*) a dilapidated stūpa which had been emitting rays of light on auspicious days (*dus bzang po*), he saw a rainbow emerging (*phyir thon pa*) from a cleft [in (or patch of) the stūpa]. Upon investigation, [the source] turned out to be an old manuscript written on bark (*shing shun*). Having found no one (lit. no object) from whom he could receive the oral transmission [of the texts] (*lung*), he with one-pointed mind invoked Maitreya. [Maitreya] then revealed himself from amongst clouds and gave a reading transmission, instruction, and additional instruction[20] (*bka'i lung dang gdams pa dang rjes gdams*). This account is known to all Indian paṇḍitas; whence the lineage [could smoothly] be transmitted to bTsan Kha-bo-che. [This pair of texts] has been propagated without interruption in the land of Tibet.[21]

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[19] gZhon-nu-dpal, *rGyud bla me long* 4.8–11: *rgyud bla ma dang | chos dang chos nyid rnam par 'byed pa gnyis po 'grel pa dang bcas pa ni mchod rten zhig gi bug pa las 'od byung ba mnga' bdag mai trī pas gzigs te 'od byung sa nas* (read *na*) *ci zhig yod snyam du btsal bas bstan bcos gnyis po'i dpe byung ste | dgyes nas rje btsun la gsol ba btab pa las sprin gyi mthongs su mngon sum du byon te lung legs par stsal to zhes grag go || ...* Cf. *ibid.* 473.

[20] The word *rjes gdams* can also mean "permission" (cf. *rjes gnang*).

[21] Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, *Khrid brgya'i skor* 101.6–102.5: *byams pa'i chos lnga las chos nyid rnams* (read *rnam*) *'byed dang | rgyud bla ma'i dpe gnyis ni | slob dpon seng ge bzang po bzhugs pa'i dus nyid na yang med par mngon te | rgyu mtshan brgyad stong 'grel chen du mngon rtogs brgyan | mdo sde rgyan | dbu mtha' rnam 'byed kyi lung yang yang drangs nas | chos nyid rnam 'byed dang | rgyud bla ma'i mtshan tsam ma smos pas rtogs la | mnga' bdag mai tri pa chen pos mchod rten gog po dus bzang po la 'od zer 'phro ba zhig 'dug pa la zhig gsos mdzad pas de'i ser kha'i gsang* [= sgang? or gseb?] *nas 'ja' phyir thon pa gzigs pas rtags dpyad gnang bas | de nas shing shun la bris pa'i dpe rnying byung zhing | der lung zhu ba'i yul gzhan ma dmigs par byams pa la gsol ba rtse gcig btab pas | nam mkha'i sprin gyi go bar nas zhal bstan te | bka'i lung dang gdams pa dang rjes gdams yang rtsal zhes rgya gar gyi paṇḍi ta yongs la gtam du grags pa las brgyud de btsan kha bo che | sa bod yul su spel ba'i rgyun ma chad pa zhig go ||.*

In this version, Kun-dga'-grol-mchog points out the interruption of the transmission lineage of both the RGV and the DhDhV during Haribhadra's time, and clearly describes the material used for the manuscript as "bark" (*shing shun*).

The core element shared by these different versions is the discovery of the RGV and DhDhV at a stūpa,[22] with the discoverer then receiving instruction (*gdams ngag*) relating to the texts directly from Maitreya. In the two oldest known accounts, those by sMon-lam-tshul-khrims and Rong-ston, however, the discoverer is not Maitrīpa but Maitreyanātha or Aṇarakṣita; from the third oldest account (gZhon-nu-dpal's) onward, the discoverer is identified as Maitrīpa[23]:

sMon-lam-tshul-khrims's account:
Maitreya→Maitreyanātha (discoverer)→Ānandakīrti(/Ananta°)→Sajjana

Rong-ston's account:
Aṇarakṣita (discoverer), a disciple of Maitreyanātha→Sajjana→Mahājana

gZhon-nu-dpal's account:
Maitreya→Maitrīpa (discoverer)→*Ānandakīrti (dGa' ba'i grags pa)→Sajjana

Rāmapāla's commentary on Maitrīpa's *Sekanirdeśa* identifies Maitrīpa with Maitreyanātha as one and the same figure,[24] thereby, aligning sMon-lam-tshul-khrims's and gZhon-nu-dpal's accounts, with Rong-ston's account left fending for itself.[25]

We do not exactly know when the rediscovery narrative entered Tibet and how it spread there; we only know that it was known by the time of sMon-lam-tshul-khrims and came to be widely accepted by later Tibetan authorities, including Klu-grub-rgya-mtsho, Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, Tāranātha (Shākya-mchog-ldan followed gZhon-nu-dpal but omitted *Ānandakīrti). [26]

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[22] Discoveries of Buddhist manuscripts from stūpas are not rare (example sites include the stūpa or library at Naupur in Gilgit, the stūpa at Tho ling monastery in Western Tibet, and the stūpa at Khara Khoto). Discoveries of scholastic literature from stūpas have, however, hardly been reported.

[23] Though gZhon-nu-dpal was a disciple of Rong-ston, their accounts of the lineages of the transmission of the RGV differ.

[24] Rāmapāla's *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* (ed. Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 116.8, Skt. Ms. = University Library, Cambridge, Or. 149, fol. 1v3): *ihāyaṃ mahāpaṇḍitāvadhūtaśrīmanmaitreyanāthaḥ kriyācaryāyogayogottarayoganiruttaratantreṣv anuttaragurur*. See also Isaacson 2009: 99.

[25] Aṇarakṣita might be a corrupt spelling for Ānanda-/Anantakīrti (or Ānandarakṣita?).

[26] Klu-grub-rgya-mtsho, *bsTan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed*, 113.13–18: *spyir byams chos lnga'i brgyud* [= rgyud] *bla dang chos nyid rnam 'byed kyis* [= kyi] *dpe rgya gar du yang bar skabs su nub nas med pa la | mai tri pas mchod rten gyi khong gseng nas 'od dang bcas te de nyid kyi dpe rnyed | slar*

The purpose of these accounts is very likely to have been to underpin the legitimacy of Maitrīpa's transmission of the rediscovered texts and the claim that Maitrīpa had received their "reading transmission" (*lung*) directly from Maitreya (gZhon-nu-dpal writes: *lung legs par stsal*; Kun-dga'-grol-mchog: *bka'i lung dang gdams pa dang rjes gdams yang rtsal*). Generally speaking, no one probably needed such a reading transmission in order to receive such "non-tantric" texts in India (though it is normal for Tibetan *gsan yig*s to record the transmission lineages of non-tantric works, if available, as well as those of tantric works).[27] Such a transmission (*guruparamparā*) was essential only for tantric teachings (or initiations) in Indian Buddhism.[28] In any event, the story has a somewhat legendary tone. But if we follow

byams pas mngon sum du gnang | des paṇḍi ta dga' ba'i grags pa la gnang | des bram ze sadzdza na la gnang des btsan rngog gnyis la gnang ste phyi dar ba yin zer |.

Tāranātha's *Zab mo gzhan stong dbu ma'i brgyud 'debs* is apparently based on sMon-lam-tshul-khrims's account. Tāranātha lists as *gzhan stong* teachers: Maitreya → Asaṅga → dGa'-ba-grags-pa → Byung-gnas-zhi-ba → Sajjana → gZu dGa'-ba'i-rdo-rje → bTsan-kha-bo-che Dri-med-shes-rab → Dar-ma-brtson-'grus → gNyen Ye-shes-'byung-gnas → 'Jad-ston Byang-chub-skyabs → 'Jad-ston gZhon-nu-byang-chub → sKyo-ston sMon-lam-tshul-khrims → bCom-ldan-rig-pa'i-ral-gri → sKyi-ston 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs → Dol-po-pa.... This list was earlier studied by van der Kuijp (1983: 41), who inserted rNgog Blo-ldan-shes rab after bTsan. This mistake was obviously caused by the illegible state of the material he used. The text (*Zab mo gzhan stong dbu ma'i brgyud 'debs*, 3b3) runs *btsan rigs kha bo che dri med shes rab*, and there are the additional letters "*cha lo tsa ba*" in the upper margin, whereas the copy used by van der Kuijp (1983: 280 n. 139) reads *btsan nags kha bo che lo tsa ba shes rab*. For details, see Kano 2009: 32 n. 3.

The two figures dGa'-ba-grags-pa and Byung-gnas-zhi-ba (who appear between Maitrīpa and Sajjana in the list of Tāranātha) correspond to *a nan ta ghir ti* and *a kar ra shan ti pa* in sMon-lam-tshul-khrims's account. These two figures are not well known, and Tāranātha's eulogy of them is helpful for learning a bit about them (though we do not know whether Tāranātha used reliable sources). See *Zab mo gzhan stong dbu ma'i brgyud 'debs*, 3a5–8: *gnyis 'dzin 'khrul ba'i dri ma gtan nas spang || brtul zhugs spyod mdzad a wa dhū ti ba || mi pham zhal gzigs phyogs kun rgyu ba'i tshul || dga' ba grags pa'i || theg mchog gzhung lugs rgya mtsho'i pha rol son || tshangs spyod dpal gyis brgyan pa'i dge slong ste || gnas lugs zab mo'i don gzigs kha che ba || byung gnas zhi ba'i ||*.

Shākya-mchog-ldan, *dBu ma'i byung tshul*, vol. 4, 239.5–7: *gong ma'i bla ma gzhan gyi gsung las | chos de nyid gsar du rnyed pa'i byams pa'i mtshan can de ni | rgyal sras mai tri pa chen po yin la | gzhung de dag ni phyag rgya chen po'i bstan bcos te | bram ze rin chen rdo rje'i dbon po sad dza na zhes pas mai tri pa la gsan cing | rngog lo chen pos sad dza na nyid las gsan cing 'grel pa dang bcas pa'i 'gyur mdzad do |*.

[27] Note that *lung* is common enough even in regard to non-tantric texts (cf. *rjes gnang*). Still, it is possible that the asserted manifestation represented a felt need on the part of Maitrīpa to buttress the claim that the rediscovered texts were genuine compositions of Maitreya.

[28] There are records of tantric transmissions preserved in Sanskrit. See Lévi 1931, Tucci 1930, and Okuyama 1991. In my opinion, Tibetan *gsan yig*s were composed under the influence of such registers of *guruparaṃparā*s. For the historical background of the *gsan yig* genre, see van der Kuijp 1995.

the account, the rediscovery may have occurred during the period of Maitrīpa's study or else after it (i.e. after the 1010s).

That Matrīpa possessed knowledge of the RGV is confirmed by a citation of the text in his own work[29]; in the *Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivaraṇa*, he quotes RGV II.61:

> This very basic cognition, like the stainless sky at midday in autumn, is to be established for Nirākāravādins. It is taught: "[This cognition] is empty of [all] conceptualized nature, without appearance, and formless (or giving rise to no images). This consciousness of pure bliss is confused by the accumulation of images (*ākāra*) in the post-meditative state."
>
> It is said [in the *Uttaratantra*]: "[The first quality, profundity (*gāmbhīrya*), corresponds to the *dharmakāya*], while the latter two, [extensiveness (*audārya*) and magnanimity (*māhātmya*),] correspond to the two kinds of material body (*rūpakāyau*). [Just as all kinds of visible matter result from space, so the latter two (*rūpakāyau*) result from the first (*dharmakāya*).]" (RGV II.61).
>
> Furthermore, it is taught: "The Great Sage's *dharmakāya* is free from proliferation and appearance, while his two *rūpakāya*s, arisen from it, remain like illusions in the post-meditative stage."[30]

Maitrīpa equates the five Buddhas with the five aggregates (*pañcaskandha*), and states that the first four aggregates are included within the fifth, mind (*vijñāna*), through which one comes to understand the teaching of mind-only (*vijñānamātra*). Then, referring to the position of Nirākāravādins (*nirākāravādināṃ*), he equates the *dharmakāya* with "gnosis without appearance" (*niravabhāsajñāna*) and

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[29] Seyfort Ruegg (1969: 340) points out that AA V.21 (an almost parallel verse to RGV I.154) is quoted in the *Dohakośapañjikā* attributed to Maitrīpa (p. 70.1–2): *nāpaneyam ataḥ kiñcit prakṣetavyaṃ* (*upaneyaṃ* in RGV) *na kaścana | draṣṭavyaṃ bhūtato bhūtaṃ bhūtadarśī vimucyate ||*. Cf. Mathes 2012: 200–201. The *Caturmudrāviniścaya*, which also quotes AA V.21 (p. 102.2–3), is included in a printed edition of Maitrīpa's collected works (*Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, ed. Haraprasad Shastri, 1927), but it is a work of Nāgārjuna, not of Maitrīpa.

[30] *Pañcatathāgata*, 46.10–47.1: *idam eva śaradamalamadhyāhnagaganāyamānaṃ* (°*gaganāyāmaṃ* in Taisho ed.) *nirākāravādināṃ maulaṃ jñānaṃ sādhyam | tathā coktam | śūnyaṃ kalpitarūpeṇa nirābhāsam anākṛti | satsaṃvit sātamātraṃ vai pṛṣṭhākāracayākulam || tad uktam |* ***rūpakāyau tu paścimāv*** *iti | api ca | niṣprapañco nirābhāso dharmakāyo mahāmuneḥ | rūpakāyau tadudbhūtau pṛṣṭhe māyeva tiṣṭhataḥ || iti |*. RGV II.61: *prathamo dharmakāyo 'tra* ***rūpakāyau tu paścimau*** *| vyomni rūpagatasyeva prathame 'ntyasya vartanam ||*. Isoda (1979: 131) first identified RGV II.61 in this work of Maitrīpa's. *Gāmbhīrya*, *audārya*, and *māhātmya* are among the eight qualities of awakening (*bodhi*) (cf. RGV II.1). On *rūpagata*, see RGV I.50 and remarks on it by Mikogami (1978).

the two kinds of material body (*rūpakāyau*) with "illusion (*māyā*) that arises in a post-meditative state (*pṛṣṭhalabdha*)."[31] This same phrase is found in his *Tattvaratnāvalī*, in a verse (19) representing the Nirākāravādins' position. It is in this connection, and in order to clarify the relationship between the two *kāya*s, that Maitrīpa quotes the verse RGV II.61b. From this quotation we know that in Maitrīpa's time the RGV was accepted as an authoritative text.

If Maitrīpa had in mind a particular Nirākāravādin who was quoting the RGV, there would have been someone who knew about the RGV preceding Maitrīpa's composition of the *Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivaraṇa*.

It is indeed remarkable that Maitrīpa quotes the RGV as if it were already so widely known that he did not feel compelled to mention its title at all (just stating: *tad uktam ... iti*), and this even though he quotes only *pāda* b of RGV II.61. If knowledge of the RGV had widely spread before Maitrīpa's time, as suggested by this quotation style, the rediscovery story of Maitrīpa, in which the RGV is portrayed as having long been forgotten by the Indian tradition, might seem doubtful. Maitrīpa's quotation of the RGV in his work, then, does testify to his knowledge about the RGV, but leaves the rediscovery story as a historical fact in the balance.

Shākya-mchog-ldan (or the source he uses) suggests that Maitrīpa regards the RGV and the *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga* as *mahāmudrā* treatises,[32] and Seyfort Ruegg (2000: 83) posits a similar link between Maitrīpa and the RGV,[33] but we cannot in fact find any clear suggestion in Maitrīpa's extant works that this was so.[34] None of Maitrīpa's works directly discusses the Buddha-nature doctrine, and apart from his discovery story of the RGV, it is hard to detect any impact that he

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[31] Maitrīpa here simply introduces the Nirākāravāda position, but not in such a way as to make his own Madhyamaka position clear.

[32] Shākya-mchog-ldan, *dBu ma'i byung tshul*, vol. 4, 239.5–6: *gong ma'i bla ma gzhan gyi gsung las | chos de nyid gsar du rnyed pa'i byams pa'i mtshan can de ni | rgyal sras mai tri pa chen po yin la | gzhung de dag ni phyag rgya chen po'i bstan bcos te |*. Note that the phrase "these texts (i.e. the RGV and DhDhV) are *māhāmudra* treatises" represents a claim made by "some other previous teacher" (*gong ma'i bla ma gzhan*) and not by Shākya-mchog-ldan himself.

[33] Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 83: "It is noteworthy that in some sources both the *tathāgatagarbha* teaching of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* and a tradition of *amanasikāra* have been linked with Maitrīpa.... The bKa' brgyud pa tradition upheld by Karma Mi bskyod rdo rje (1508–1554) has moreover made Maitrīpa along with Saraha/Rāhulabhadra a major link in the chain of one of the traditions of the Madhyamaka that it recognized."

[34] Mathes (2012: 200–201) draws attention to a passage of the *Dohakośapañjikā*, attributed to Maitrīpa, which explains the word *sahaja* and quotes *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* V.21 that almost parallels RGV I.154 (with a variant in *pāda* b). See below, Chapter 8, p. 215 n. 14.

may have had on the later doctrinal development of the Buddha-nature teaching.[35]

Jñānaśrīmitra
(ca. 980–1030)[36]

Jñānaśrīmitra is another early master who quotes the RGV. According to the *Amanasikāra-yathāśrutakrama*, he was one of the teachers of Maitrīpa:

> Later [Maitrīpa] went to Vikramaśīla and, under the great paṇḍita Jñānaśrīmitra, studied the latter's compositions for two years. Then he proceeded to Vikramapura and became a monk within the Sammatīya school, taking the monastic name Maitrīgupta.
> *paścād vikramaśīlaṃ gatvā mahāpaṇḍitajñānaśrīmitrapādānāṃ pārśve tatprakaraṇaṃ śrutaṃ varṣadvayaṃ yāvat. tato vikramapuraṃ*[37] *gatvā sammatīyanikāye*[38] *maitrīguptanāma bhikṣur babhūva*.[39]

Tāranātha says of Jñānaśrīmitra of Gauḍa that he was at first a learned master of the *Saindhava (*sendha pa*) school of *śrāvakayāna*—according to Skilling, possibly the Sāmmatīyas.[40] After converting to Mahāyāna, he mastered the whole works of Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga, along with many tantras. He possessed clairvoyance (*mngon shes*),

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[35] Mathes (2012: 198–202), seeing a link between Maitrīpa and rNgog, relates Maitrīpa's understanding of non-affirming negation (*prasajyapratiṣedha*) to rNgog's interpretation of Buddha-nature. See also *ibid*. 201: "one possible explanation would be that Blo ldan shes rab equates buddha-nature with the form of emptiness implied by non-affirming negations, in a way compatible with *gzhan stong*."

[36] Kajiyama 1966: 2–7 (I follow its reprint version in 1998).

[37] *vikramapuraṃ* Ms., Tucci 1930, Lévi 1931; *vikramapure* Pandey 1990.

[38] *sammatīyanikāye* Ms., Tucci 1930, Pandey 1990; *sammatīyanikāya* Lévi 1931.

[39] *Amanasikāra-yathāśrutakrama*, Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 425.2–5, Skt. Ms. fol. 1r6–1v1. See also Tucci 1930: 152.10–12, Lévi 1931: 423.33–35, Pandey 1990: 11.8–9. Cf. Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 37–38 n. 5, Tatz 1988: 473, Okuyama 1991: 470, Passavanti 2008: 463 and 2014: 433.

[40] Skilling (1987: 16) states: "Tāranātha refers several times to large numbers of 'Sendha-pa' Śrāvakas residing at Vajrāsana and Odantapurī, from the time of King Dharmapāla (c. 800 A.D.) up to the Sena period, when as many as 10,000 assembled for the rains-retreat (*varṣāvāsa*) at Vajrāsana. Although the significance of 'Sendha-pa' is not clear, the most probable derivation is from the Sanskrit *saindhava*, 'residents of Sindh': since both Hsüan-tsang and I-ching state that Sāmmatīyas were predominant in that area, the Saindhava-śrāvakas could possibly have been Sāmmatīyas." See also Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 65 n. 26.

thanks to which he once prophesied a fire in the temple of Vajrāsana in Bodhgayā.[41] He was a teacher of Ratnakīrti (ca. 1000–1050).[42] Atiśa and 'Brog-mi Lo-tsā-ba Shākya-ye-shes (993–1077?) are also said to have studied under Jñānaśrīmitra.[43] At Vikramaśīla, Jñānaśrīmitra was active as one of the six "gatekeeper" paṇḍitas.[44]

Quotations from the Ratnagotravibhāga in the Sākārasiddhiśāstra

In the *Sākārasiddhiśāstra* and *Sākārasaṃgraha* (a versified summary of the *Sākārasiddhiśāstra*), which establish his own philosophical position with regard to Sākāravāda,[45] Jñānaśrīmitra repeatedly quotes the RGV, the relevant passages of which,

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41 Tāranātha, *rGya gar chos 'byung*, 183.11–17.

42 Kajiyama 1999: 5. His *Apohaprakaraṇa* is quoted by Abhayākaragupta. Li & Kano 2015: 19 n. 67.

43 Jñānaśrīmitra gave 'Brog-mi tantric instruction in *'byang ba lus 'khrugs bsrung ba'i man ngag*. See Stearns 2001: 209, Davidson 2005: 172, and Sobisch 2008: 110. Jñānaśrīmitra's works are quoted, for instance, in the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* of Rāmapāla (11th cent.) and the *Laṭakamelaka* of Śaṅkhadhara (first half of the 12th century), who worked under the king Govindacandra (1104/1109?–1151) of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty (references supplied by Prof. Isaacson and Prof. Vasudeva, respectively; see Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 171).

44 The other five are Ratnākaraśānti, Vāgīśvarakīrti, Prajñākaramati, Nāropa, and Ratnavajra. See, for instance, gZhon-nu-dpal, *Deb ther sngon po*, 257 (*bi kra ma śī la'i mkhas pa drug po | shar na shānti ba | lho na ngag gi dbang phyug grags pa | nub na shes rab 'byung gnas blo gros | byang na nā ro paṇ chen | dbus na rin chen rdo rje dang | dznyā na shrī rnams bzhugs pa*); Roerich 1949/53: 206; Stearns 2001: 85ff., nn. 20–22; Davidson 2006: 171–172, etc. For the time being we cannot be absolutely certain of the Indian origin of the notion of the "six gatekeeper paṇḍitas."

One of the earliest sources which alludes to it is the colophon of Prajñākaramati's *Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛttipiṇḍārtha* (D 3795, 275a6–7, P 5193, 315a5–7: ***nub kyi sgo glegs dpal mkhas pa chen po shes rab 'byung gnas blo gros kyis*** *mdzad pa mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi bshad pa bsdus don rdzogs so* || || *paṇḍi ta chen po su ma ti kī rti dang | lo tstsha ba blo ldan shes rab kyis bsgyur ba'o* ||) (reference supplied by Prof. Izumi Miyazaki). The translators' (i.e. Śāntibhadra and Shākya 'od) colophon of the *Madhyamakālaṃkāropadeśa* refers to Ratnākaraśānti as "the chief among the contemporary **four great gatekeepers**" (D 4085, 231a2–3, P 558, 266b3: *dus mtshungs pa'i* ***sgo srung chen po bzhi*** *las kyang gtso bor gyur ba*).

Another early source is the *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud* of Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer (ca. 1124–1192), 437–438. This religious chronicle mentions 'Brog-mi Lo-tsā-ba's visit to the Vajrāsana (*rdo rje gdan*) of Bodhgayā and his study under Ratnākaraśānti, who is called one of the "six gate[keeper] paṇḍitas of Magadha" (*ma ga dha'i mkhas pa sgo drug*). This suggests that the six kept watch at the monastery in Bodhgayā, not in Vikramaśīla.

45 Sākāravāda is one sub-school of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda, and opposed to another sub-school, Nirākāravāda. Vijñānavāda teaches that "the external reality is not existent at all, the world being nothing but our ideas which are the sole reality" (Kajiyama 1965: 426), and that the images (or mental representaions, *ākāra*) we are cognizing are inside our minds (i.e. *svasaṃvedana*). Regarding perception (*vijñāna*) accompanied by images of cognition, the Sākāravādin asserts, according to the *Tarkabhāṣā* of Mokṣākaragupta (11th or 12th century), that "the truth consists in the knowledge which, though possessed of [various] images (*ākāra*), is

in the *Sākārasiddhiśāstra*, I shall now review.[46] These passages are summarized in his previously mentioned *Sākārasaṃgraha*. For the Sanskrit text, I have used Anantalal Thakur's edition of the *Jñānaśrīmitranibandhāvalī*, correcting it against the plates of the original Sanskrit manuscript (a *codex unicus*) on which Thakur's edition is based (photographed by Sāṅkṛtyāyana at Zhwa-lu monastery; positive prints are preserved at Göttingen under shelf-mark Xc14/25). A critical edition of selected passages along with an annotated translation is included in Kano 2006a, Appendix D: Translations of Relevant Passages from Jñānaśrīmitra's *Sākārasiddhi* and *Sākārasaṃgraha*.[47]

Sākārasiddhi (1): 431.19–432.5 (cf. *Sākārasaṃgraha* II.65–75)

Jñānaśrīmitra claims that the similarity between buddhahood (or awakened mind) and the sky (or space) is only in regard to its freedom from adventitious stains; he quotes RGV II.29 ("like the sky, buddhahood is free from conceptualization") in support of this.[48]

He then quotes RGV IV.73–74, which he interprets in a subtle way. These verses teach that the sky appears, through the influence of dust and fog, as if it had low and high regions, but in reality the sky has no such sub-divisions; likewise, the

freed from the imaginary relation of cognitum and cognizer" (*parikalpitagrāhyagrāhakabhāvarahitaṃ vijñānaṃ sākāraṃ satyam iti*); while the Nirākāravādin criticizes this, claiming that "those images of cognition (*ākāra*) are indeed not real, and [only] become perceptible (or shine forth), being shown, because of nescience (*avidyā*)" (*ākārās tv amī vitathā evāvidyayā darśitāḥ prakāśante*) (for the text and translation, cf. Kajiyama 1965: 424f.).

The Sākāravādin further asserts that when a person is emancipated his knowledge is accompanied by *ākāra*s (blue, etc.), though these do not enter into conceptual constructions (see Kajiyama 1999: 7). To the Sākāravādin, thus, the image (*ākāra*) is ultimately existent (Jñānaśrīmitra equates the *ākāra* with Buddhas' *saṃbhogakāya*; see below). To the Nirākāravādin, on the other hand, the image is merely a product of the false imagination, and only the innate illuminating function of cognition (*prakāśa*) partakes the ultimate (Ratnākaraśānti equates the *prakāśa* with Buddhas' *dharmakāya*).

In his *Sākārasiddhi*, Jñānaśrīmitra cites Ratnākaraśānti's *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa* and criticizes the latter's stance, namely the opposing Nirākāravāda (Kajiyama 1965). For a doctrinal outline of the two sub-schools, see Kajiyama 1965 and Oki 1982 etc.

[46] For a list of the locations of the quotations from the RGV in the *Sākārasiddhi*, see p. 186.

[47] I am currently revising Appendix D of Kano 2006a for publication (texts and translations of *Sākārasiddhi* [1]–[4] are included in Kano 2016a). No complete translation of the *Sākārasiddhiśāstra* and *Sākārasaṃgraha* has so far been published; Kakei (1970) has translated the beginning portion of *Sākārasiddhiśāstra* chapter 6 (Thakur ed., pp. 483.1–488.2) into Japanese, and Arai (2016) edited and translated *Sākārasiddhiśāstra* chapter 5 (*ibid.* pp. 470.18–478.12).

[48] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid.* 431.19–21: *āgantu*[a]*malaprapañcavigamenaiva hi vihāyaḥsādṛśyam iti darśitaṃ prāk | ata eva mahāyānottaratantre nirdiṣṭenaiva sādharmyeṇa sarvatra vyomopamā, yathā vyapagatavikalpaṃ gaganavad ityādi |* ([a] *āgantu*°] Ms; *āgantuka*° Ed.).

Buddhas are not divided into similar classes, any such appearance being the result of superimposition or misguided exclusion.[49] The problem here is that the adjectives used to describe the sky (*arūpin*, *nirābhāsa*, *akiñcana*, etc.), if taken as adjectives to describe the Buddhas, are inconsistent with Jñānaśrīmitra's doctrinal Sākāravāda position (which maintains that the Buddha-body is represented by an *ākāra*). Faced with this problem, Jñānaśrīmitra claims that the group of adjectives (*arūpin* etc.) in RGV IV.73, all grammatically singular, qualifies "sky" (*vyomni*, sg.) alone and not "the Buddhas" (*buddheṣu*, pl.).

Jñānaśrīmitra continues that even if the adjectives do relate to the Buddhas, they still do not mean that the Buddhas lack form (*rūpa*) and appearance (*ābhāsa*). Rather, the adjectives *nirābhāsa* and *arūpin* should be interpreted in the same way that Vasubandhu interprets them in his commentary on the *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga*[50] (in his gloss on *nirvikalpajñāna* "non-conceptual wisdom"), namely *arūpin* in the sense of "ineffable" (*nirūpayitum aśakya*), and *anābhāsa* (i.e. *nirābhāsa*) in the sense of "without object" (*aviṣaya*).[51] As for *akiñcana* ("having nothing"), it could be understood as "being free from *rāga* and so forth." The remaining adjectives are, according to Jñānaśrīmitra, unproblematic.[52]

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[49] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 431.22–25 (= RGV IV.73–74): *akiñcane*[a] *nirābhāse nirālambe nirāśraye | cakṣuṣpatha*[b]*vyatikrānte 'py arūpiṇy anidarśane*[c] *|| yathā nimnonnataṃ vyomni dṛśyate na ca tat tathā | buddheṣv api tathā sarvaṃ dṛśyate na ca tat tathā ||* ([a] *akiñcane* Ms./Ed.; *niṣkiṃcane* RGV; [b] *cakṣuṣpatha°* Ms. = RGV; *cakṣuṣy atha* Ed.; [c] *anidarśane* Ed; *anidarśene* Ms.).

[50] Jñānaśrīmitra seemingly ascribes the *Dharmadharmatāpravibhāga* to Āryeśa (i.e. Maitreya, cf. p. 69 n. 111), and its commentary to Vasubandhu. See *Sākārasaṃgraha*, III.8ab: *āryeśanītivivṛter arūpyanābhāsavarṇanārīteḥ* and *Sākārasiddhi*, 432.5–7: *ācāryavasubandhupādair dharmadharmatāpravibhāge nirvikalpajñānalakṣanaprastāve ... iti vibhaktam*. My argument in Kano 2016a: 11 n.15 is to be improved.

[51] Here he makes use of Vasubandhu's intrepretation of the word *nirābhāsa* (*aviṣayatvād anābhāsam*), for the literal meaning ("without appearance") of the word is incompatible with his doctrinal position, Sākāravāda, according to which the Buddha-body does appear.

[52] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 432.5–8: *yathā tv ācāryavasubandhupādair dharmadharmatā*[a]*pravibhāge nirvikalpajñānalakṣanaprastāve dvayena grāhyagrāhakabhāvena nirūpayitum aśakyatvād arūpi, aviṣayatvād*[b] *anābhāsam iti vibhaktam, tatheha buddha iti prayukte 'py astu | akiñcanatvam apy āgantukarāgādivigamāj jñeyam | śeṣam aviruddham |* ([a] *°dharmatā°*] Ms.; *°dharmitā°* Ed.; [b] *aviṣayatvād*] Ms. (cf. *Sākārasaṃgraha*, p. 534.16: *agocaratvena*); *saviṣayatvād* Ed.). Cf. *Sākārasaṃgraha*, II.65–66 and DhDhVV (Ed. Mathes) Skt. 103.105 (*dvayena grāhyagrāhakabhāvena nirūpayitum aśakyatvāt*) = Tib. 85.444–445; Tib. 85.446.

He quotes here two sentences from Vasubandhu's *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga* commentary (one of which is not available in the Sanskrit original), i.e. the phrase *aviṣayatvād anābhāsam*; this corresponds to DhDhVV (ed. Mathes) 85.446f.: *yul ma yin pa'i phyir snang ba med pa ste*. The passage Jñānaśrīmitra quotes here parallels, according to Matsuda (1996: 155, 158, 160 n. 11), a passage in the *Nirvikalpapraveśadhāraṇī*, which, in turn, is based on one in the *Kāśyapaparivarta*.

Jñānaśrīmitra's aim is to show that the RGV is an authoritative text that supports the *sākāra* view, that is, that the Buddha-body is to be represented by *ākāra*s that exist ultimately.[53] Jñānaśrīmitra is arguing against an assumed opponent (i.e. Nirākāravādin) who takes RGV IV.73–74 to mean that the Buddhas are not susceptible to any such thing.[54]

Sākārasiddhi (2): 434.11–24 (cf. *Sākārasaṃgraha* III.1–7)

Jñānaśrīmitra claims that the relationship between the Buddha (here equated with his *saṃbhogakāya*) and the *dharmakāya* is *tādātmya* (identity), whereas the relation between the Buddha and the *nirmāṇakāya* is *tadutpatti* (causality).[55] Quoting RGV III.37ab ("The [Buddha-]qualities are produced from the *dharmakāya*"), he (or an opponent) says that the relationship between the *dharmakāya* and *saṃbhogakāya* can also be defined as *tadutpatti*.[56] However, one should revere the *dharmakāya* not only for its functioning as a means (*sādhana*, i.e. meditation that realizes the Buddha-qualities) but also for its being *tattva* (that is, "reality" and "identity").[57] Replying to the question of how the goal and the means (*sādhyasādhana*) can be identical, Jñānaśrīmitra explains that they are so because the goal is to directly perceive the *dharmakāya/tattva*, while the means is meditation on the same *dharmakāya/tattva*.[58] The *dharmakāya/tattva* fulfills its own purpose (i.e. to make a buddha appear) only through the Buddha's primal body (i.e. the *saṃbhogakāya*), which is the possessor (*dharmin*) of its qualities (*dharma*, i.e., the *dharmakāya*).[59] And then, Jñānaśrīmitra goes on to claim that the *dharmakāya* is nothing other than a quality, called "the Buddha," just as "king" is called heroic energy itself (i.e.

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[53] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 432.3: *sugate tu bhagavati yathoktākāra*[a] *eva* ([a] °*ākāra* em.; °*ākāre* Ms/Ed.).

[54] For instance, Ratnākaraśānti (who is a Nirākāravādin) takes all three Buddha-bodies to be *nirākāra*, like space (*khasama*). See Ratnākaraśānti, *Khasamatantraṭīkā* (Ed. Jagannāth Upādhyāya), pp. 231–232.

[55] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 434.12: *tad asya bhagavati tādātmyaṃ saṃbandho, nirmāṇasya tu tadutpattiḥ*. Jñānaśrīmitra returns to the same argument in a later passage. See *ibid*. 495.6–15. Jñānaśrīmitra here makes use of the terms *tādātmya* and *tadutpatti*, assigning a key role to these two core notions that underpin *pramāṇa* in the *buddhakāya* context.

[56] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 434.13–16: *yadā tu sadātanaṃ tadrūpaṃ sakalaśukladharmākāratayā vivakṣitam, tadā tatrāpi tadutpattir eva | yathoktam, dharmakāyaprabhāvitā guṇā iti |*.

[57] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 434.17–18: *evaṃ ca sati yady api sādhanam api tat, tathāpi na tanmātreṇa tatrādaraḥ, kiṃ tu tattvam ity eva |*.

[58] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*., 434.18–20: *sādhyasādhanayor ananyabhāvo*[a] *'pi kuta iti cet? tattvasākṣātkārasyaiva sādhyatvāt, tadbhāvanāyā eva ca sādhanatvāt, tadabhāve 'niścaye vā tayor eva lopāsakteḥ*[b] *|* ([a] *ananyabhāvo* em.; *anantabhāvo* Ms./Ed. [b] *lopāsakteḥ* Ms.; *lopāśakteḥ* Ed.)

[59] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*., 434.19: *tasya ca pratibhāsinaiva dharmiṇā caritārthatvāt*.

the quality of a king) (*pratāpa eva rājetyādivat*). Reinforcing the inseparability of the property (*dharma*) and its possessor (*dharmin*) from one another, against the wrong view that the two might be different (*arthāntara*), is a passage from the RGV he quotes that teaches that "the universal ruler (i.e. *dharmin*) has a manifoldness [in the form of] the [32] major marks and the like (i.e. *dharma*)."[60] He suggests that the *dharmakāya* cannot fulfill any purpose without the *saṃbhogakāya*,[61] and states: "Therefore, the designation of the *dharmakāya*, too, is [merely] a 'borrowed ornament' (*yācitakamaṇḍana*) for the [*saṃbhogakāya*]" (*tato dharmakāyasaṃjñāpy asya yācitakamaṇḍanam*); that is, the *dharmakāya* is merely a quality of the Buddha. He then concludes that this notion of the dual body of the Buddha does not at all agree with the *nirākāra* view.[62]

Jñānaśrīmitra here clearly raises the *saṃbhogakāya* above the *dharmakāya*. Indeed, he states in his *Sākārasaṃgraha* II.109: "If the *saṃbhogakāya* ceases, its properties, [constituting] the *dharmakāya*, no [longer] exist, and its result, the *nirmāṇakāya* does not [exist], either" (*saṃbhogabhaṅge taddharmo dharmakāyo na vidyate | tatkāryaṃ na ca nirmāṇaṃ*).[63] He further defines the *saṃbhogakāya* as the Buddha himself and the *dharmakāya* as emptiness[64]; and asserts that the *saṃbhogakāya* really is existent (*paramārthasat*), whereas the *dharmakāya* is only nominally so (*prajñaptisat*).[65]

Sākārasiddhi (3): 478.10–12

Jñānaśrīmitra summarizes RGV I.9,[66] which teaches that the Jewel of the Dharma is the object of individual self-awareness (*pratyātmavedya*), and equates it with self-awareness (*svasaṃvedana*), an epistemological term (here used, however, not within

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60 Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid.*, 434.21–22: *lakṣaṇādicitratā hi cakravartinīty uttaratantram*. This is a summary of RGVV 84.4–5 (on II.29; see Takasaki 1984: 346).

61 Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid.*, 434.24: *na caivam arthāntarasya kathañcit sattve 'pi kaścid upayogaḥ*.

62 Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid.*, 434.25: *na nirākāradarśanānurodhaḥ kaścit*.

63 The verse continues: this is a peaceful end of Buddhism (*sādhvī bauddhakṛtāntatā*: II.109d). The next verse (II.110) is an objection from the Nirākāravāda position: "If the *saṃbhogakāya* ceased, then the *dharmakāya* ought to be without image. And it is precisely for this reason that the *nirmāṇakāya* and the *saṃbhogakāya*, too, are based on it (i.e. the *dharmakāya*)." (*nanu astam etu saṃbhogo dharmakāyo 'stv anākṛtiḥ | tata eva ca nirmāṇaṃ saṃbhogo 'pi tadāśritaḥ*).

64 See Jñānaśrīmitra, *Sākārasaṃgraha* II.134ab: *svabhāvaḥ śūnyatā dharmaḥ saṃbhogaḥ sugataḥ svayam*. It is on the combined authority of RGV I.145 and MAV I.12 that he equates the *dharmakāya* with emptiness. See *Sākārasaṃgraha* II.145–148 and *Sākārasiddhi* 493.13–20.

65 See Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid.* 494.20–21: *tasmāt prajñaptisan dharmakāya iti*, and 500.4–9, etc. See below. Cf. also *Sākārasaṃgraha* III.4: *tasmāt svalakṣaṇaṃ buddho dharmaḥ sāmānyalakṣaṇam*.

66 Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid.* 478.10–13: *uttaratantre ca, pratyātmavedyo dharma ity evākṣaram*.

an epistemological discourse but rather in a soteriological one).

Sākārasiddhi (4): 487.11–488.2 (cf. *Sākārasaṃgraha* II.53–57)[67]

At the beginning of the sixth chapter, Jñānaśrīmitra writes: "I can accept neither the superimposition of even a jot of non-manifestation nor the denial of a tittle of manifestation within the mass of *citraprakāśa* (multifarious manifestation)."[68] In support of this stance, Jñānaśrīmitra quotes, among Maitreya's works, the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, *Madhyāntavibhāga*, *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, and RGV,[69] and in particular *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* V.21 and RGV I.154 (two almost parallel verses): "There is nothing to be removed from it[70] and absolutely nothing to be added. The real should be seen as real, and seeing the real, one is released." After explaining *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* V.21 within its context, Jñānaśrīmitra goes on to explain RGV I.154, in turn, within the context of the RGV.[71]

Jñānaśrīmitra quotes the RGVV ad RGV I.154 as teaching two mistaken positions with regard to the mode of emptiness of Buddha-nature, namely (a) those who wrongly deny existent *dharma*s, and (b) those who superimpose non-existent *dharma*s. He then applies these two mistaken positions to cover (a') those who wrongly deny existent images (or mental representation, *ākāra*) and (b') those who superimpose non-existent perception that lacks images.[72]

An opponent then quotes the RGVV: "From this, the Buddha-element (*tathāgatadhātu*), there is nothing to be removed, namely defiling factors, and there is nothing to be added to it, namely purifying factors," thereby suggesting that the subject of RGV I.154 is Buddha-nature, not images (*ākāra*).

Jñānaśrīmitra replies that even as a property (*dharma*) implies its possessor (*dharmin*), so too the Buddha-element or Buddha-nature (*tathāgatadhātu*), i.e., emptiness, implies a possessor of it, namely "[the image] that is grasped in the process

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[67] Kakei (1970) has translated this portion into Japanese, but his translation often differs from mine at crucial points.

[68] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid.* 483.12–13: *atra hi citraprakāśarāśau nāprakāśakaṇasyāropaḥ sahyo, nāpi prakāśaleśasyāpavādaḥ*.

[69] Jñānaśrīmitra quotes MAV (Nagao ed.) I.1 and I.8ab; MSA XI.15–23; AA V.20–21; and RGV I.154 (see *Sākārasiddhi*, 483.18–488.5).

[70] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid.* 486.21: *ataḥ* [= *prakāśamānāt*] ... *citrāt*.

[71] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid.* 487.16–17: *nāpaneyam ataḥ kiñcid upaneyaṃ na kiñcana | draṣṭavyaṃ bhūtato bhūtaṃ bhūtadarśī vimucyate ||* (= RGV I.154).

[72] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid.* 487.19–20: *tatra sata evākārasyālīkatām āsthāya paścād ucchedānupagamān na prathamo vipralambhaḥ śūnyatārthe | nāpi dvitīyaḥ, nirākāravedanādivad vyatiriktānupagamāt*[a] | ([a] °*ānupagamāt* em.; °*ānugamāt* Ms/Ed).

of the development of thought (*cittavivartagrāhya*)" [73]; "this is because no one could even think of the possibility of superimposing and misguided exclusion with regard to pure emptiness, which is not involved in mental construction" (*kalpanā-aniveśin*).[74] He contends here that both Buddha-nature and emptiness are properties of the image, and that the misguided exclusion and superimposition taught in the RGV relate to the image rather than to Buddha-nature. To back up this assertion, he quotes another passage from the RGVV (p. 75.9–11), and concludes: "Therefore, there is no negation of the luminous form (*prakāśarūpa*). And this is precisely the meaning of the "Middle Way".[75] These same passages of Jñānaśrīmitra were summarized, later, by Yamāri, who also attempts to refute the *alīkākāra* position.[76]

Here it is notable that Jñānaśrīmitra suggests that Buddha-nature is nothing but emptiness. His purpose in mentioning emptiness is not, of course, to equate it with Buddha-nature but merely to associate the characteristics of emptiness and Buddha-nature with one another, both of which are impervious to misguided exclusion and superimposition; in the process, he shifts the subject of RGV I.154 from Buddha-nature to the image (as justified by its property of emptiness). As we shall see below in Chapter 9, this association of Buddha-nature and emptiness is the main argument discussed by rNgog, who, for instance, states: "the [mental] continuum which is characterized by emptiness is the *dhātu* (i.e. Buddha-nature)."[77]

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[73] This suggests that the *tathāgatadhātu* is nothing but *śūnyatā*, both being properties of the *ākāra*.

[74] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid.* 487.22–24: *kiṃ tu dharmeṇa dharminirdeśāt tathāgatadhātuśabdena śūnyatādharmā cittavivartagrāhya eva grāhyaḥ, kalpanāniveśini śūnyatāmātre kasyacit prakṣepādiśaṅkāvirahāt.*

Emending *cittavivartagrāhya eva grāhyaḥ* to *cittavivarta eva grāhyaḥ* (taking the first *grāhya* as a dittography) is a possible conjecture, but the result does not further his argumentation that emptiness (or the *dharmakāya*) is a property of the image (or the *saṃbhogakāya*). This sentence must mean: "However, since a property (*dharma*) points toward its possessor (*dharmin*), one should understand (*grāhya*) that the word 'Buddha-nature' (*tathāgatadhātu*) [has reference] only to [the image] that is grasped as the process of the development of thought (*cittavivartagrāhya*), which [image] has emptiness as its property."

The term *cittavivarta* denotes either mudane thought in all its variety or, from the viewpoint of the Mind-only theory, the whole gamut of mundane phenomena, and both are characterized by emptiness. For the expression *cittavivarta*, see Jñānaśrīmitra's *Vyāpticarcā* (JNA 174.23: *na tu cittavivartaḥ pramāṇāpramāṇadvārāyātaḥ*); Lasic (2000: 32.7; 122) renders *cittavivarta* as "eine Umformung des Denkens" (I owe this reference to Prof. Kyuma).

[75] Near the end of the sixth chapter, Jñānaśrīmitra places the positions of Yogācāra and Madhyamaka on an equal footing, asserting that the teaching of Yogācāra is for those who have succumbed to misguided exclusion, while the teaching of Madhyamaka is for those who have succumbed to superimposition (Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid.* 511.8–11).

[76] Yamāri, *Suparišuddhā*, D 4266, Me, 2a4–3b5; see below, Chapter 4, p. 101ff. and Hayashi 2002.

[77] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 3b3; B 5b3: *'di ltar stong pa nyid kyi rang bzhin du gyur pa'i sems kyi rgyud ni khams yin no* ||. See also Kano 2010b: 271 n. 70 and 2014a: 224–225.

Sākārasiddhi (5): 493.11–14 (cf. *Sākārasaṃgraha* II.143–148ab)

In a discussion of the *dharmakāya*, an opponent asks: "Who then is this *dharmakāya* that you are demonstrating, who in the *Uttaratantra* is called *sattvadhātu*, *bodhisattva*, and *buddha* corresponding to the accumulation, diminution, and complete diminution of defilements, [respectively]?"[78] In replying, Jñānaśrīmitra quotes RGV I.145, which teaches that the *dharmakāya* is twofold, namely, both (a) the completely immaculate *dharmadhātu* (i.e. ultimate reality itself) and (b) its natural outflow, that is, the profound and manifold teachings (i.e. scriptures derived from ultimate reality).[79] Jñānaśrīmitra accepts only the first (a) of these (i.e. *dharmakāya* = *dharmadhātu*), and, quoting *Madhyāntavibhāga* I.14, takes this *dharmadhātu* to be synonymous with emptiness.

According to the present passage (5) and above passage (4), Jñanaśrīmitra treats *dharmakāya*, *dharmadhātu*, *śūnyatā*, and Buddha-nature as synonyms.

Sākārasiddhi (6): 495.13–497.1 (cf. *Sākārasaṃgraha* II.128–142)

Jñānaśrīmitra claims that only an *ākāra* has the ability to produce everything, including both pure and impure *dharma*s, while the realization of true reality (*tattvāmukhīkāra*) is just an attendant condition (*sahakārin*) for the production of pure *dharma*s.[80] A Nirākāravādin objects that everything can arise from precisely the same realization (or true reality) in which no image takes place.[81] Jñānaśrīmitra replies: "I have already shown you that there is no authoritative teaching (*āgama*), and neither is there any logical reasoning (*yukti*), [to support your *nirākāra* position]."[82] Furthermore, he insists that Maitreya has already criticized the Nirākāravāda position in *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* VI.4, which teaches that although

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[78] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 493.11–12: *kas tarhi uttaratantre kleśopacayāpacayātyantāpacayāt sa evāyaṃ dharmakāyaḥ sattvadhātur bodhisattvo buddha iti cocyate iti darśitaḥ*? Cf. RGV I.47: *aśuddho 'śuddhaśuddho 'tha suviśuddho yathākramam | sattvadhātur iti prokto bodhisattvas tathāgataḥ ||*.

[79] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 493.13–14: *dharmakāyo dvidhā jñeyo dharmadhātuḥ sunirmalaḥ | tanniṣyandas*[a] *ca gāmbhīryavaicitryanayadeśanā ||* ([a] *tanniṣyandaś* RGV/Ed(em.); *tanniṣyaś* Ms).

[80] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 495.13–15: *na cākāram antareṇa kvacid arthakriyopalambhaḥ | samastaśukletaradharmotpattau tasyaiva sāmarthyadṛṣṭeḥ | tattvāmukhīkaraṇasya śukladharmajanmani sahakāritvam |*. This last sentence (the realization of true reality is an attendant condition for the rise of the pure *dharma*s) suggests that the *ākāra* is a core cause (*upādāna*) of the production of pure *dharma*s.

[81] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 495.15: *tata eva nirākārāt sarvasaṃbhava iti cet |*. This expresses the notion that the universal cause from which everything arises is *nirākāra*.

[82] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 495.15–16: *nātrāgama iti darśitam, nāpi yuktiḥ kācit |*.

everything is produced in accordance with dependent origination, some people mistakenly think that everything is produced from "some other [unique] cause"; they see the unreal but fail to see the real.[83]

The Nirākāravādin then says that *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* VI.4 is directed against Ātmavāda, not Nirākāravāda, whereupon Jñānaśrīmitra replies: "Is there any other Ātmavāda apart from this [i.e. Nirākāravāda]?"[84] The Nirākāravādin comes back: "This is not so, inasmuch as [we] do not accept [the Ātmavāda concepts of] eternity (*nityatā*) and all-pervasion (*vibhutā/vyāpitva*)."[85] Jñānaśrīmitra quotes a verse intimating that not only eternity and all-pervasion but also other characteristics of the *ātman* are in line with the teaching of Nirākāravāda.[86] As for eternity, Jñānaśrīmitra continues, without acceptance of the true manifestation of *ākāra*s there can be no efficacy (*arthakriyā*); and something which has no efficacy cannot be momentary; that is, it is eternal, like the *ātman*. *Pramāṇavārttika* III.50 is cited in support.[87]

The Nirākāravādin then sets out to defend his own position by appealing to the same *āgamas*, namely *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* IX.66[88] and RGV I.49–50,[89] which

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[83] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 495.17–22: *pratītyabhāvaprabhave 'py ayaṃ janaḥ samakṣavṛtti śrayate 'nyakāritam | tamaḥprakāraḥ katamo 'yam īdṛśo yato 'vipaśyan sad asan nirīkṣate* || (= MSA VI.4).

[84] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 495.22–23: *nanv ayam ātmavādādhikāreṇa sūtrālaṅkāraślokaḥ | kim ato 'py anya ātmavādo nāma |*.

[85] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 495.23–24: *nityavibhutayor anaṅgīkārān*[a] *neti cet* | ([a] *°kārān* Ms.; *kāran* Ed.).

[86] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 495.24–26: *na, citratvād ātmavādinām | yataḥ, kartā*[a] *bhoktā ca dṛṣṭebhyo bhinno 'haṅkāragocaraḥ | nirañjanas tadekāvaśeṣā muktiś ca yoginām* || ([a] *°kartā* Ed.[em.]; *kartā ca* Ms.[unmetric]).

[87] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 496.1–3: *kiṃ ca, pṛthaksvarūpanirbhāsābhāve 'rthakriyāyāṃ kvacid upayogānanubhavād bhavān naiva kṣaṇikatām asya svīkuryāt | tad ayaṃ niṣkalātmavat jñānamātrārthakaraṇe 'py ayogyam ityāder viṣayaḥ |*. Cf. *Pramāṇavārttika*, III.50 (ed. Miyasaka): *jñānamātrārthakaraṇe 'py ayogyam ata eva tat | tad ayogyatayārūpaṃ tad dhy avastuṣu lakṣaṇam* ||. See Kyuma 2005: 75–76 n. 95. The expression *niṣkalātmavat* ("like the partless *ātman*") is meant to suggest that the *ātman* does not produce the result, perception.

[88] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 496.4–8: *yadā tu nityavibhutayor api dharmakāyasya pratipādanam āgame, tadā kim uttaram*? *na ca pravāhanityatā, prakṛtinityatāyā eva nirdeśāt | tathā ca tatraiva, prakṛtyāśraṃsanenāpi prabandhena ca nityatā* (= MSA IX.66cd) *| iti | atra ca bhāṣyam, prakṛtinityatā svābhāvikasya, svabhāvenaiva nityatvāt | aśraṃsanena*[a] *sāmbhogikasya, dharmasambhogāvicchedāt | prabandhena nairmāṇikasya, antardhāpya*[b] *punaḥ punar nirmāṇasaṃdarśanād iti |* (= MSABh 46.13–15) ([a] *aśraṃsanena* MSABh; *aśraṃsane* Ms/Ed; [b] *antardhāpya* Ms/Ed; *antardhāya* MSABh).

[89] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 496.8–19: *vibhutā coktaiva yathottaratantram, sarvatrānugataṃ yadvan nirvikalpatayā nabhaḥ | cittaprakṛtivaimalyadhātuḥ sarvatragas tathā* || (= RGV I.49) *anena kiṃ darśayati*? *taddoṣaguṇaniṣṭhāsu vyāpi sāmānyalakṣaṇam | hīnamadhyaviśiṣṭeṣu vyoma rūpagateṣv iva* (= RGV I.50) || *iti | rūpagateṣv ity atra mṛdrajatasuvarṇabhājaneṣv iti bhāṣyam | gataśabdaś ca prakārārtho veditavyaḥ | yathā*[a] *harater gatatācchīlya*[b] *ity atra patañjalir gatavidhaprakārā ekārthā iti | gata*[c] *tācchīlya iti rūḍhiḥ | nirvikalpatayetītthambhūte tṛtīyā | cittasya prakṛtivaimalyam*[d]

teach the eternity of the *dharmakāya* and the all-pervasion of Buddha-nature, respectively.[90] As for the eternity of the *dharmakāya*, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* IX.66 teaches that the *svābhāvika-kāya* (i.e. *dharmakāya*) is eternal by its intrinsic nature (*prakṛtinityatā*). The Nirākāravādin distinguishes this intrinsic eternity from "eternity by succession" (*pravāhanityatā*), which relates to the *ātman*. As to all-pervasiveness, RGV I.49 teaches that Buddha-nature pervades everything, just as space does, while RGV I.50 delcares that Buddha-nature pervades sentient beings regardless of their states, just as space promiscuously pervades all forms. The Nirākāravādin implies here that Buddha-nature is identical with the *dharmakāya*.

Jñānaśrīmitra states in rebuttal: "Well then, if the *dharmakāya* is nothing but an entity, how can you avoid *ātmavāda*?" and that the expressions "eternity, all-pervasiveness etc." as features of the *dharmakāya* apply only to the conventional level (*sāmvṛta*).[91]

Jñānaśrīmitra continues to state the following three points: (1) the characteristics taught in RGV I.49 refer to a *dharmin*[92]; (2) even if one does not accept all-pervasion, one can, like Digambara, be regarded as an Ātmavādin[93]; (3) and even if one is not an Ātmavādin, one cannot avoid the fault criticized in *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* VI.4d ("seeing the unreal and failing to see the real") that Jñānanaśrīmitra highlighted at the beginning of the disputation.[94]

This disputation is testimony to the fact that Indian Buddhists hotly debated the similarity between the *dharmakāya* and *ātman*. A similar discussion is found in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, in which Mahāmati wonders whether Buddha-nature is indeed identical with the *ātman*.[95] Related issues were later tackled by Tibetan scholars, including Sa-paṇ and Bu-ston.

It is true that the RGV itself retains Brahmanic elements: for instance, RGV I.52

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eva dhātus tathatā | tasmān nityavyāpitvaṃ mukhyam evoktam | ([a] *yathā* Ms; om. Ed. [b] *gatatāccḥīlya* Ed; *gatitāccḥīlye* Ms. Cf. *Mahābhāṣya* on *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.3.21: *harateḥ gatatāccḥīlye*; cf. also Mikogami 1978. [c] *gata°* Ed; *gati°* Ms. [d] *°vaimalyam* Ms; *°vaimanasyam* Ed).

90 From this we know that the opponent of Jñānaśrīmitra (very likely Ratnākaraśānti) regarded the MSA and RGV as *āgama*s, just as Jñānaśrīmitra does.

91 Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 496.18–21: *tato yadi dravyam eva dharmakāyaḥ katham ātmavādaparihāraḥ, dharmatāyās tu nityatvavyāpakatvādi sāṃvṛtam | svābhāvye 'pi yathākalpaṃ prasiddhaṃ kṣaṇitādivat* ||.

92 This implies that RGV I.49 teaches that all-pervasiveness of the *dharmakāya* is just conventional like that of space, and thus, the *dharmakya* is not an entity.

93 Digambara evidently accepted that the *ātman* is not all-pervasive.

94 Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 496.22–497.1: *atrāpi hi*[a] *hīnamadhyaviśiṣṭeṣv iti dharminirdeśaḥ | nāpi vyāpitvābhāvād anātmavādo digambaravat, na cātmavādatve 'pi nirbandhaḥ, avipaśyan sad asan nirīkṣata* (= MSA VI.6d) *iti doṣasya tadvad evāparihārasiddher iti* | ([a] *hi* Ms; om. Ed).

95 LAS 78.1–4. See also Zimmermann 2002: 83 n. 175.

and *Bhagavadgītā* XIII.32 are parallel verses and only differ in their grammatical subject, namely *ayaṃ* (i.e. the innate mind or Buddha-nature) as opposed to the *ātman*: "Just as all-pervasive space cannot be perceived because of its subtlety, so too this (*ayaṃ*) [innate mind], which abides everywhere in sentient beings (*Bhagavadgītā* reads: *ātman* which abides everywhere in the body), cannot be perceived."[96]

Sākārasiddhi (7): 499.1–500.9 (cf. *Sākārasaṃgraha* II.98cd–105)

The opponent (a Nirākāravādin) claims that the *dharmakāya* and the *saṃbhogakāya* are different states (*avasthāntara*).[97] Jñānaśrīmitra comes back that the *saṃbhogakāya* is inseparable from the *dharmakāya*, and quotes RGV II.53 and IV.53–54, which teach that the Buddha (i.e. the *saṃbhogakāya*) makes his activities perceptible to living beings by means of the *nirmāṇakāya* without abandoning the *dharmakāya*.[98] The Buddha, Jñānaśrīmitra continues, is completely pure, not in virtue of its natural purity (*prakṛtiviśuddhi*) but in virtue of its immaculate purity (*vaimalyaviśuddhi*); otherwise the Buddha would enjoy no superiority to ordinary beings,[99] since every being has innate purity (because each is pervaded by the *dharmakāya*). Jñānaśrīmitra clearly rejects any notion of there being impure aspects of the *saṃbhogakāya*; he defines the *saṃbhogakāya* as completely pure as a consequence of its immaculate purity.[100]

Citing the teaching that "the *dharma* is the Buddha," Jñānaśrīmitra pairs the

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[96] See Gokhale 1955. RGV I.52: *yathā sarvagataṃ saukṣmyād ākāśaṃ nopalipyate | sarvatrāvasthitaḥ sattve tathāyaṃ nopalipyate ||*. *Bhagavadgītā* XIII.32: *yathā sarvagataṃ saukṣmyād ākāśaṃ nopalipyate | sarvatrāvasthito dehe tathātmā nopalipyate ||*. For details, see Takasaki 1989: 283–284 n. 3. *Saukṣmya* ("subtlety, fineness") is mentioned as an attribute of the *dharmakāya* in RGV II.60 and 72. The later Tibetan scholar gZhon-nu-dpal taught that the *dhātu* is not empty of the Buddha-qualities in their "subtle form" (*rGyud bla me long*, 441.9; cf. Mathes 2002), and this, in my opinion, is relevant to the understanding of RGV I.52 (see *rGyud bla me long*, 342.14–22).

[97] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 499.2.

[98] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 499.3–14: *dharmakāyavirahitaś caivaṃ jagadarthakārī bhagavān ity āyātam | tac ca virudhyate, yad āha uttaratantram, mahākaruṇayā kṛtsnaṃ lokam ālokya lokavit | dharmakāyād avicalan nirmāṇaiś citrarūpibhiḥ* (= RGV II.53) *|| iti | jātakādīni nirvāṇaparyantāni darśayatīti vistareṇa saṃbandhaḥ | punaś ca, sarvatra devabhavane*[a] *brāhmyād avicalan padāt | pratibhāsaṃ yathā brahmā darśayaty aprayatnataḥ || tadvan munir anābhogān nirmāṇaiḥ sattvadhātuṣu | dharmakāyād avicalan bhavyānām eti darśanam* (= RGV IV.53–54) *|| ityādi punar vistareṇa |* ([a] °*bhavane* Ed/RGV; °*bhuvana* Ms).

[99] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 499.14–16: *atha prakṛtipariśuddhyapekṣayā dharmakāyāvicalanam ucyate, tadā sarvasyaiva prāṇinas tulyam etad iti ko 'tiśayo bhagavata evam ukto bhavati prabandhena | tasmād vaimalyaviśuddhyapekṣayaivāyaṃ viśeṣaḥ, kevalaṃ dharmakāyasākṣātkriyākāle |*.

[100] Cf. Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid*. 493.11–14.

dharmakāya with the word "*dharma,*" and the *saṃbhogakāya* with the word "Buddha," and repeats that these two bodies are inseparable.[101]

Furthermore, Jñānaśrīmitra understands the above-cited passage RGV IV.54cd ("[The Buddha] does not move from the *dharmakāya* etc.") in the sense that "the Buddha does not move from **the state of** a buddha (*buddhatva*, i.e., buddhahood)," comparing it with the statement "Brahmā does not move from the Brahmic state (*brāhmya-pada*)" (RGV IV.54ab). In this case, the Buddha (i.e. the *saṃbhogakāya*) or Brahmā really is existent (*paramārthasat*), whereas their states (i.e. the *dharmakāya* or *brāhmya-pada*) are only nominally so (*prajñaptisat*); but despite this difference, the Buddha (i.e. the *saṃbhogakāya*) and his state (i.e. the *dharmakāya*) are inseparable.[102]

Sākārasiddhi (8): 502.3–504.6 (cf. *Sākārasaṃgraha* II.85–97)

The opponent quotes RGV III.1 (which teaches the supreme Buddha-qualities of the two kinds of Buddha-bodies) and interprets the compound "the ultimate body [of Buddhas]" (*paramārthakāya*) and "the conventional body [of Buddhas]" (*saṃvṛtikāya*) as applying to the *dharmakāya* and the *saṃbhogakāya*, respectively; he refers to RGV III.2–3 (commentarial verses on RGV III.1) in support.[103]

To refute this, Jñānaśrīmitra quotes RGV I.151–152, claiming on the basis of these verses that the compound in RGV III.1 "the ultimate body" covers the *saṃbhogakāya* as well as the *dharmakāya*, whereas the compound "the conventional

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[101] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid.* 500.2–4: *yac coktam, dharma eva buddha iti, tatra kalpitasyāpi bhedasyābhāvād bhinnapravṛttinimittatve 'pi paryāyatvāj jinamunīndrādivat, kutaḥ kāyāntaravyavasthā?*

[102] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid.* 500.4–9: *kiṃ ca paryāyatvavirodhi dharmajinayos*[a] *tad vākyam, dharmakāyād avicalann ityādi | na hi buddhād avicalan sugata iti yuktam, buddhatvād iti tu yuktam eva | ekasya ca prajñaptisthitim āha, tac ca vākyam, yathā brahmā brāhmyād avicalan padād iti nidarśanāt | tatra hi brahmaiva paramārthasan | tatpadaṃ tu prajñaptisad eva, na hi tad vastvantaraṃ kiñcana, āśrayopakaraṇātmabhāvaviśeṣe padaprajñapteḥ |* ([a] *paryāyatvavirodhi dharmajinayos* Ms; *paryāyatvavirodhidharmajinayos* Ed).

[103] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid.* 502.8–13: *nanūttaratantre 'nuttaraṃ buddhaguṇam ārabhya ślokaḥ, svārthaḥ parārthaḥ paramārthakāyatā tadāśritā saṃvṛtikāyatā ca | phalaṃ visaṃyogavipākabhāvād etac catuḥṣaṣṭiguṇaprabhedam* (= RGV III.1) || *iti | tatra ca svārthaparārthau dharmasaṃbhogakāyāv anūdya paramārthakāyatā saṃvṛtikāyatā ca yathākramaṃ vihite, visaṃyogavipākaphalatve ca | tatra saṃbhogakāyasya sāṃvṛtatvapratipādanam anākāraṃ paramārtham upasthāpayatīti katham ucyate nirākāravāda*[a]*vārttāpi*[b] *nāstīti ? tathā ca tatraiva vivṛtiḥ, ātmasampattyadhiṣṭhānaṃ śarīraṃ pāramārthikam | parasampattyadhiṣṭhānam ṛṣeḥ sāṃketikaṃ vapuḥ || visaṃyogaguṇair yuktaṃ vapur ādyaṃ balādibhiḥ | vaipākikair dvitīyaṃ tu mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇaiḥ* (= RGV III.2–3) || *iti* || ([a] °*vāda*° conj. according to JNA 502.8 "*tasmān na nirākāravādavārtāpi*," not in Ms/Ed. [b] °*vārttāpi* Ms.; °*vārtāpi* Ed).

body" is reserved for the *nirmāṇakāya*.[104]

RGV III.1	Opponent (acc. to RGV III.2–3)	Jñānaśrīmitra (acc. to RGV I.151–152)
paramārthakāya:	*dharmakāya*	*saṃbhogakāya* & *dharmakāya*
saṃvṛtikāya:	*saṃbhogakāya*	*nirmāṇakāya*

Jñānaśrīmitra then brings in a verse of Nāgārjuna's *Trikāyastotra* which, with RGV III.1, would tend to confirm that the *saṃbhogakāya* is the basis upon which the *dharmakāya* depends.[105] In this way, he convincingly places the two bodies within the ambit of the ultimate, explaining the *dharmakāya* as the perceptual object of the ultimate wisdom (*paramajñānaviṣaya*), and the *saṃbhogakāya* as the ultimate goal to be reached (*paramasādhya*).[106] This difference is derived from a compound analysis of *paramārtha*[107]; of the three well-known kinds of compounds (*tatpuruṣa*, *karmadhāraya*, *bahuvrīhi*), Jñānaśrīmitra categorizes *dharmakāya* and *saṃbhogakāya* as respectively the first and second.

Summary of Sākārasiddhiśāstra passages (1)–(8)

(1) *Sākārasiddhi* 431.19–432.5 (cf. *Sākārasaṃgraha* II.65–75): The Buddha illustrated by the simile of the sky (on RGV IV.73–74).

(2) *Sākārasiddhi* 434.11–24 (cf. *ibid.* III.1–7): On the identity of the *saṃbhogakāya* and the *dharmakāya*.

(3) *Sākārasiddhi* 478.10–12: On the *pratyātmavedanīya*.

(4) *Sākārasiddhi* 487.11–488.2 (cf. *Sākārasaṃgraha* II.53–57): On RGV I.154.

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[104] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid.* 502.13–503.7: *tad etad dhitakāmatāmātraprayuktaṃ vyākhyānamātram, apāstaṃ ca prāg dharmakāyasya dravyadharmarūpatānirūpaṇe | kathaṃ ca buddhaguṇam ārabdho vaktuṃ nāthaḥ parārthasādhanam asādhāraṇaṃ nirmāṇakāyam anabhidhāya nirvṛṇīta? kathaṃ vā tatraiva, ratnavigrahavaj jñeyaḥ kāyaḥ svābhāvikaḥ śubhaḥ | akṛtrimatvāt prakṛter guṇaratnāśrayatvataḥ || mahādharmādhirājatvāt saṃbhogaś cakravartivat | pratibimbopamatvāc ca*[a] *nirmāṇaṃ hemabimbavat* (= RGV I.151–152) || *ity anena nirmāṇasya sāṃvṛtatvaṃ vyaktam uktaṃ vismṛtya dharmakāyād apy āyasthānīkṛtān mahādharmādhipatyena cakravartitulayotkarṣite saṃbhogakāye yojayet*? ([a] *pratibimbopamatvāc ca* Ms/Ed; *pratibimbasvabhāvatvān* RGV [= *Sākārasaṃgraha* II.97ab]). See also Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid.* 503.11–15.

[105] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid.* 503.8–20, especially *ibid.* 503.19–20: *tasyāḥ saṃbhogakāyo 'dhiṣṭhānam āśraya iti vyaktam | dharmakāyas tu tadāśrayo darśita eva |*.

[106] Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid.* 503.11–12: *svārthaparārthau dharmasaṃbhogāv anūdya paramārthakāyavyavahāra eva vidhīyate, paramajñānaviṣayatvāt paramasādhyatvāc ca tayoḥ |*. Cf. *Sākārasaṃgraha* III.21

[107] Cf. *Madhyāntavibhāga*, III.11ab: *arthaprāptiprapattyā hi paramārthas tridhā mataḥ*; and its *Bhāṣya*: *arthaparamārthas tathatā paramasya jñānasyārtha iti kṛtvā | prāptiparamārtho nirvāṇaṃ paramo 'rtha iti kṛtvā | pratipattiparamārtho mārgaḥ paramo 'syārtha iti kṛtvā*.

(5) *Sākārasiddhi* 493.11–14 (cf. *Sākārasaṃgraha* II.143–148ab): On RGV I.145.
(6) *Sākārasiddhi* 495.13–497.1 (cf. *Sākārasaṃgraha* II.128–142): Critiques to Nirākāravāda's views on eternity and all-pervasion.
(7) *Sākārasiddhi* 499.1–500.9 (cf. *Sākārasaṃgraha* II.98cd–105): The relation between the *dharmakāya* and the *saṃbhogakāya*.
(8) *Sākārasiddhi* 502.8–504.6 (cf. *Sākārasaṃgraha* II.85–97): On RGV III.1–3.

In sum, the verses Jñānaśrīmitra quotes from the RGV (III.37, I.145, I.49–50, II.53, IV.53–54, III.1–3, I.151–152) and the passages from the RGVV for the most part appear to establish his own doctrinal position concerning the teaching of the *dharmakāya* and *saṃbhogakāya*. He takes both the *dharmakāya* and the *saṃbhogakāya* as mutually inseparable (see *Sākārasiddhi* [7]). According to him, it is not the case that the *dharmakāya* produces the *saṃbhogakāya*; rather, the *dharmakāya* is merely a quality of the *saṃbhogakāya*, which in turn is the primal body (see *ibid.* [2]). The *dharmakāya* has a conventional status[108]; the *saṃbhogakāya* is the ultimate, being accompanied by the true image (*ākāra*), with the *dharmakāya* dependent on it (see *ibid.* [8]). This goes counter to the stance taken by the opponent in these passages of the *Sākārasiddhi*, according to whom it is the *dharmakāya* that produces the *saṃbhogakāya* as its outflow (*niṣyanda*). We can justifiably identify this opponent with Ratnākaraśānti[109] or a certain Nirākāravādin introduced in Maitrīpa's *Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivaraṇa* (*rūpakāyau tadudbhūtau* [*tat* referring to *dharmakāya*], *ibid.* 46.19) and in his *Tattvaratnāvalī* (verse 19).[110]

As for the Buddha-nature doctrine, Jñānaśrīmitra implies that Buddha-nature

[108] See Jñānaśrīmitra, *Sākārasiddhi*, 494.20–21: *tasmāt prajñaptisan dharmakāya iti* and *ibid.* 500.4–9. Jñānaśrīmitra, on the other hand, defines the *dharmakāya* as *paramajñānaviṣaya* "perceptual object of the ultimate wisdom" in *Sākārasiddhi* (8).

[109] For instance, we can trace to Ratnākaraśānti the opponent's view that the *saṃbhogakāya* is without an *ākāra*; see *Sākārasiddhi* (8) in Ratnākaraśānti's *Khasamatantraṭīkā* (Ed. Jagannāth Upādhyāya, p. 232): *tathā buddhānām ajalpako 'pi saṃbhogakāyaḥ svam ākāram asattayaiva paricchinatti | sa eva paricchedaḥ pratibhāsaśabdenātra vivakṣitaḥ |*). Furthermore, the opponent's view reported in *Sākārasiddhi* (6)—taking the *dharmakāya* as eternal by its own nature (Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid.*, p. 496.5–8)—is found in Ratnākaraśānti's *Muktāvalī* (ed. Tripathi, p. 14.17–18: *ata eva ca dharmakāyaḥ prakṛtinityatayā nitya ucyate*). Finally, we also find the opponent's view of the *saṃbhogakāya* as confined to the conventional level and as an outflow of the *dharmakāya* in the *Muktāvalī* (ed. Tripathi, p. 145.10–11: *ata eva śuddhalaukikavikalpaḥ saṃbhogakāyo dharmakāyaniṣyandaś ca iti*).

[110] Maitrīpa's disciple Sahajavajra introduces a buddha-body model (similar to this Nirākāravādin's view) as a Sākāravāda position (*sākārayogācārasthitisamāsa*). See Sahajavajra, *Sthitisamāsa* verse 53: *sākāravaropetagrāhyagrāhakaśūnyatām | dharmakāyaṃ sphuṭaṃ kṛtvā saṃbhoganirmitī spharet* (Iwata 2014: 43). This is not consistent with Jñānaśrīmitra's view.

shares features (or coincides) with emptiness and is a property (*dharma*) of the image (*ākāra*), which in turn is its possessor (*dharmin*) [see *ibid.* (4)]. Furthermore, following *Madhyāntavibhāga* I.14, he takes the terms emptiness, *dharmakāya*, and *dharmadhātu* as synonymous, (see *ibid.* [5]). It is this parity (or equation) of Buddha-nature with emptiness upon which rNgog's interpretation of the Buddha-nature doctrine hinges.

From the precise way in which Jñānaśrīmitra quotes from the RGV/V, we know that he was steeped in these texts and took them to be authoritative. His own position helps explain the fact that he attributes the authorship of the RGV/V to Maitreya, who is, according to him, the founder of the Sākāravāda tradition.[111]

As for the RGV's transmission lineage, the question arises: from whom did Jñānaśrīmitra receive the teaching of the RGV? Unfortunately, no historical source clarifies this. But if we accept Maitrīpa's rediscovery story of the RGV as a historical event, this master would have received the text from his own disciple, Maitrīpa (b. 1007/ 1010, according to Tatz 1987: 697). If this hypothesis is accepted, the date of composition of the *Sākārasiddhi* can be assigned to after Maitrīpa's rediscovery of the RGV, that is, to the first half of the 11th century (but this depends on Maitrīpa's dates, which have yet to be confirmed).[112]

A Summary and Further Considerations

Traces of the RGV, which fell into obscurity after the late 6th century, again begin to appear after the early 11th century. This corresponds to the period of Maitrīpa's

[111] Jñānaśrīmitra puts Maitreya at the top of his of list—as the founder—of the transmission lineage of Sākāravāda: Maitreya → Asaṅga → Vasubandhu → Dignāga → Dharmakīrti → Prajñākaragupta. Cf. Jñānaśrīmitra, *ibid.* 506.5–8: *āryāsaṅgam anaṅgajin nayavaho yad bhūpatīśo 'nvaśād ācāryo vasubandhur uddhuramatis tasyājñayādidyutat | dignāgo 'tha kumāranāthavihitāsāmānyasāhāyakas tasmin vārtikabhāṣyakārakṛtinor adyānāvadyā sthitiḥ* ||. See JNA, intro., p. 4, Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 433–434, Katsura 1969: 12, Kakei 1970: 5–6, Kakei 1981, Schmithausen 1973: 150, Arai 2012 and 2016: 5.

[112] When dating the *Sākārasiddhi*'s composition, we should also consider the chronology of Jñānaśrīmitra's works. According to Thakur (JNA, intro., pp. 12–13), the *Sākārasiddhi* refers to the *Bhedābhedaparīkṣā*, the *Īśvaravāda*, and the *Advaitabinduprakaraṇa*, while the *Apohaprakaraṇa* and the *Kṣaṇabhaṅgādhyāya* mention the *Sākārasiddhi*; but see also Kyuma 2005: LXXII n. 57, who points out problems in Thakur's chronology that arise from conflicting cross-references.

rediscovery of the RGV. We cannot confirm whether or not the rediscovery story is a historical event, but it is supported by Maitrīpa's quotation of RGV II.61b in his *Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivaraṇa*. On the other hand, the style of his quotation (quoting only one *pāda* of a verse with no reference to the work itself) suggests that the RGV was already well known again when he composed this work.[113] This contrasts with the style of Jñānaśrīmitra's quotation.

No discussion of Buddha-nature appears in Maitrīpa's works, but the *Sākāra-siddhi* of his teacher Jñānaśrīmitra describes both Buddha-nature (*tathāgatadhātu*) and emptiness as properties of the *ākāra*. This interpretation is in line with what is stated in the *Tarkajvālā* and *Madhyamakāloka*, and is close to rNgog's understanding of Buddha-nature, which identifies Buddha-nature as emptiness (or the mind that is characterized by emptiness).[114] Jñānaśrīmitra is one of the earliest to identify Buddha-nature with emptiness, but his mode of expression suggests that this equation of Buddha-nature with emptiness is not his own invention but a well-known notion.[115]

It is remarkable that both Maitrīpa (who introduces the Nirākāravāda position) and Jñānaśrīmitra (who takes the Sākāravāda position) quote the RGV in support of the buddha-body doctrine in the context of their discussions of *ākāra*. The controversy over Nirākāravāda versus Sākāravāda possibly helped trigger the revival of interest in the RGV in the early 11th century.

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[113] I do not take a quotation from AA V.21 (≈ RGV I.154) in the *Caturmudrānvaya* (for this title, see Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 95) as a witness for Maitrīpa's knowledge of the RGV. Although Seyfort Ruegg (1969: 340) refers to this quotation (together with another one of the same verse in the *Dohakośapañjikā* ascribed to Maitrīpa) and ascribes the *Caturmudrānvaya* to Maitrīpa, the *Caturmudrānvaya* was in fact composed by a tantric master Nāgārjuna, for the colophon of two manuscripts (not used by Shastri) records the author's name: *kṛtir iyaṃ nāgārjunapādānām iti*, along with a Tibetan translation of it: *slob dpon chen po klu sgrub snying po*. Seyfort Ruegg takes this work as Maitrīpa's composition probably because it is contained in the *Advayavajrasaṃgraha* (edited by Shastri). That Nāgārjuna quoted the verse from the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* is inferred from the reading *prakṣeptavyaṃ* (pāda b), which is identical with what is found in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* rather than in RGV I.154 (which reads *upaneyaṃ*). See *Caturmudrānvaya* (ed. Shiraishi 102): *tathā coktam | nāpaneyam ataḥ kiñcit prakṣeptavyaṃ na kiñcana | draṣṭavyaṃ bhūtato bhūtaṃ bhūtadarśī vimucyate ||*.

[114] Although I have not found any textual witness that confirms rNgog's knowledge of Jñānaśrīmitra, if a work titled *gNyis med thig pa* (hitherto unavailable) mentioned in the list of works that rNgog himself translated (Kramer 2007: 106, no. 36) is a translation of Jñānaśrīmitra's *Advaitabinduprakaraṇa*, it is obvious that he had such knowledge. For the details of rNgog's Buddha-nature interpretation, see Chapter 9.

[115] For instance, Jñānaśrīmitra does not discuss the grounds for the equation probably because the notion was widely known in his period.

Chapter 3

Ratnākaraśānti's Understanding of Buddha-nature

Ratnākaraśānti was a contemporary of Maitrīpa and Jñānaśrīmitra but whose interpretation of Buddha-nature was uniquely his own. In this chapter we shall study his doctrinal position on the subject and his quotations from the RGV.

Ratnākaraśānti
(late 10th to early 11th century)[1]

Shortly before studying under Jñānaśrīmitra, Maitrīpa received instruction on Nirākāra from Ratnākaraśānti.

> Later, he (i.e. Maitrīpa) studied the system of the Nirākāra[2] for one year under a great paṇḍita, the venerable Ratnākaraśānti.
> *paścān mahāpaṇḍitaratnākaraśāntigurubhaṭṭārakapādānāṃ pārśve nirākāravyavasthāṃ śrutvā varṣam ekaṃ yāvat.*[3]

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1 On these dates, see Mimaki 1992a: 297 n. 1 and Isaacson 2001b: 457 n. 2.

2 See, for instance, Kajiyama 1965.

3 *Amanasikāra-yathāśrutakrama*, Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 425.1–2 (cf. 64–65), Skt. Ms. fol. 11r5–6 (see also Tucci 1930: 152.9–10, Lévi 1931: 423.31–33, Pandey 1990: 11.7–8). According to a 13th-century Tibetan hagiography of Maitrīpa (see Passavanti 2008: 463, 2014: 433), Maitrīpa studied the *alīkākāravāda* doctrinal system of the Mind-only school (*sems tsam rnam rdzun gyi grub mtha'*) for two years under Ratnākaraśānti's ācārya (*slob dpon*) named Maṇi (*ma ni*), and Vinaya for four years under Ratnākaraśānti himself. The Tibetan text (fol. 7v7) of this passage is ambiguous and can be interpreted in different ways: *de nas rad na a ka ra shan ti'i bslob* [= *slob*] *dpon pan bi ta ma ni zhes bya ba 1* [= *cig*] *la sems tsam rnam rdzun gi* [= *gyi*] *grub mtha' lo 2su* [= *gnyis su*] *gsan no*. Passavanti (2014: 433) translates it as "He studied for three (sic) years the philosophical tenet of the Nirākāra-Cittamātrins (sic) with Ratnākaraśānti, the teacher who was the jewel among the *paṇḍita*s," whereas I understand it as "He (i.e. Maitrīpa) then studied for two years the *alīkākāravāda* doctrinal system of the Mind-only school under a scholar named Maṇi who was an *ācārya* of Ratnākaraśānti."

At Vikramaśīla, Ratnākaraśānti was active as one of the six "gatekeeper" paṇḍitas.[4] His compositions cover various fields, including Mahāyāna, *pramāṇa*, tantra, and prosody.[5] In general, Ratnākaraśānti's position is that of Vijñānavāda (in particular, Nirākāravāda).[6] It thus differs from both Jñānaśrīmitra's (who embraced Sākāravāda) and Maitrīpa's (who likely took up a Madhyamaka stance).[7] However, the doctrinal relationship among these three is very complex and beyond the scope of the present study.[8] It is interesting that Ratnākaraśānti, in his *Muktāvalī* (a

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4 For the ambiguity of Indic origin of the notion the six gatekeeper paṇḍitas of Vikramaśīla, see Chapter 2, p. 55 n. 44. He was also the main teacher of 'Brog-mi Lo-tsā-ba. See Stearns 2001: 87, 209.

5 Of his works on the Mahāyāna, the *Sāratamā*, the *Śuddhimatī*, and the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa* are available in the original Sanskrit (Dr. Luo Hong is preparing critical editions of the latter two texts); Tibetan translations of his *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, *Madhyamakālaṃkāropadeśa*, and *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa* have been translated into Japanese by Umino (2003). Another Japanese translation of the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa* (on the basis of the Sanskrit text) is being prepared by Shōryū Katsura and his study group. As to his *pramāṇa* works, the *Antarvyāptisamarthana* has been studied and edited by Kajiyama (1999), who there sketches Ratnākaraśānti's life and assesses modern studies relating to the work. The tantric works preserved in Sanskrit have been listed by Isaacson (2001b: 482–484). His *Chandoratnākara*, a handbook on Sanskrit prosody, has been edited by Hahn (1982). For more detailed references to studies focused on his works, see Mimaki 1992a: 297 n. 1.

6 Cf. Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 64 "His close contemporary Ratnakīrti refers to the position of Ratnākaraśānti with the expression *alīkākārayogin pāramārthikaprakāśamātra* (*Citrādvaitaprakāśavāda* p. 129$_6$), which we believe is an appropriate enough description of Ratnākaraśānti's view, and one which he might not have objected to." See also Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 64 n. 21 "Significant also is to note that Ratnakīrti distinguishes this view of Ratnākaraśānti from Nirākāravijñānavāda."

7 Concerning Maitrīpa's Madhyamaka leanings, his *Tattvaratnāvalī* and *Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivaraṇa* are the most revealing. Cf. also Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 103 n. 29.

8 Kajiyama (1965), for instance, points out parallel passages between Jñānaśrīmitra's *Sākārasiddhi* and Ratnākaraśānti's *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa*. As to the relation between Ratnākaraśānti and Maitrīpa, Umino (2003: 23 n. 13) opines that Ratnākaraśānti composed his doxographical text, *Triyānavyavasthāna*, under the influence of Maitrīpa's *Tattvaratnāvalī*. Umino (2003: 11) considers Maitrīpa to be a predecessor of Ratnākaraśānti, but this may be doubted in the light of the passage in the *Amanasikāra-yathāśrutakrama* quoted above; be it noted, too, that the authorship of the *Triyānavyavasthāna* has been doubted (see below).

In the tantric context, Ratnākaraśānti's *Muktāvalī* and Maitrīpa's *Kudṛṣṭinirghātana* list the same set of Mahāyāna sūtras. See *Muktāvalī*, ed. Tripathi, p. 222.18–20 (glossing *Hevajratantra* II.viii.9d): *sūtram ity anatigambhīrāṇi mahāyānasūtrāṇy ekagāthā-caturgāthā-gāthādvayadhāraṇī-ṣaṇmukhī-bhadracaryā-caturdharmaka-lalitavistara-daśabhūmikādīni* (I follow the improved text by Isaacson 2013: 1039); and *Kudṛṣṭinirghātana*, verse 26: *ekagāthāṃ caturgāthāṃ gāthādvitayadhāraṇīṃ | ṣaṇmukhīṃ bhadracaryāṃ ca triṣkālaṃ ca trikālataḥ* ||. The set comprising the *Ekagāthā*, *Caturgāthā*, and *Gāthādvayadhāriṇī* (or °*dhāraṇī*) is preserved in Nepalese manuscripts of the *Dhāraṇīsaṃgraha* (Kano 2011b provides Sanskrit editions of them); the *Gāthādvayadhāriṇī* which is parallel to *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* XII.19–23 is quoted

pañjikā on the *Hevajratantra*), interprets the term Madhyamaka from a Vijñānavāda perspective[9]: commenting on 2.8.9–10, which teaches the doctrinal hierarchy, or order of practice, beginning with the lay Buddhists' *poṣadha* vow and going up to the doctrine of the *Hevajratantra*,[10] he defines the Madhyamaka position in accordance with the *Madhyāntavibhāga*'s description of the "middle way."[11] Indeed, he repeats throughout his works that the doctrine of the Mādhyamikas and that of the Yogācāras are completely compatible.[12]

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in the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa*. Kṛṣṇa Samayavajra, who, according to Isaacson (2001b: 458 n. 4), was a pupil of Ratnākaraśānti, penned a similar statement in his *Yogaratnamālā* on *Hevajratantra* 2.8.9–10. Seyfort Ruegg (1969: 61 n. 2) points out Tsong-kha-pa's evaluation of Ratnākaraśānti's position.

9 See Isaacson 2013: 1038–1040. For Ratnākaraśānti's position as presented in his non-tantric Mahāyāna works, see Umino 2003.

10 *Hevajratantra* 2.8.9–10: *poṣadhaṃ dīyate prathamaṃ tad anu śikṣāpadaṃ daśa | vaibhāṣyaṃ tatra deśyeta*[a] *sūtrāntaṃ punas tathā || yogācāraṃ tataḥ paścāt tad anu mādhyamakaṃ diśet | sarvatantranayaṃ jñātvā tad anu hevajram ārabhet | gṛhṇīyād ādaraṃ śiṣyaḥ sidhyate nātra saṃśayaḥ ||* ([a] Isaacson [2007: 291] reads: *deśyet*). I follow the text included in Isaacson (2013: 1038), which improves on Snellgrove's *editio princeps* of the *Hevajratantra*. Isoda (1974: 66) refers to this passage along with another on *Hevajratantra* 1.8.54–56.

11 *Muktāvalī*, ed. Tripathi, p. 223.6 (cf. Isaacson 2013: 1040): *mādhyamakam iti madhyamāṃ pratipadam, tad api cittaṃ na sad dvayarūpeṇa, nāsad dvayaśūnyena rūpeṇeti*. Cf. *Madhyāntavibhāga* I.1–2. Hayashima (1978) has already pointed out that Ratnākaraśānti understood the "middle way" (*madhyamapratipat*) and emptiness the same way as the *Madhyāntavibhāga* does (see his *Madhyamakālaṃkāropadeśa*, D 225b, 224b etc.). The Ratnākaraśānti's passages quoted by Umino (2003: 14–21) reinforce this. Ratnākaraśānti is said to have refuted Haribhadra's Madhyamaka interpretation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*. See *bKa' gdams chos 'byung*, p. 68: *bla ma shanti pa phar phyin 'chad pa'i dus su | slob dpon seng ge bzang pos brgyad stong 'grel chen du dbu mar bshad pa myug byung tshad re re nas sun 'byin cing 'chad pa*.

12 See, for instance, *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa*, D 143a5, P 162a3–4: *rnal 'byor spyod pa pa rnams dang | dbu ma pa grub pa'i mtha' mtshungs pa yin no ||*; *Madhyamakālaṃkāropadeśa*, D 226a5, P 260b2: *rnal 'byor spyod pa pa dang | dbu ma grub pa'i mtha' mtshungs pa yin no*; *Muktāvalī*, ed. Tripathi, p. 15.19–20: *mādhyamikānāṃ yogācārāṇāṃ ca sadṛśaḥ siddhāntaḥ śreyān*; *Kusumāñjali*, D 240a2–3: *yang kho bo ni dngos po thams cad gsal ba'i bdag nyid kyis bden la | sngon po la sogs pa'i bdag nyid kyis mi bden pa ni dbu ma nyid kyi lam yin par smras te | rnal 'byor spyod pa 'di ltar 'dod pa*.... Isoda (1974: 69), Mimaki (1992a: 297–298 n. 1), and Isaacson (2007: 291; 2013: 1043) have made reference to these passages. A similar strategy is found in Jñānaśrīmitra's *Sākārasiddhi*. In his *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa* (D 149b7–4 , P 169b6–170a4), Ratnākaraśānti claims that Yogācāras and Mādhyamikas equally identify the supramundane wisdom (*lokottara-jñāna*) as pure luminosity (*prakāśamātra*) and that the doctrinal difference between the two groups is just whether pure luminosity exists in reality or not; since the difference is thus just that, the quarrel between the two groups is baseless. But, in reality, Ratnākaraśānti asserts that the real "Mādhyamikas" are simply *nirākāravijñaptimātravādin*s. See *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa*, D 150a5, P 170a5: *rnam pa med par smra ba'i sems tsam pa 'ba' zhig lus par 'gyur te* (I am grateful to Prof. Shōryū Katsura and Dr. Luo Hong for drawing my attention to this passage).

It has been noted that apart from the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* and *Triyānavyavasthāna* Ratnākaraśānti in general faithfully follows the traditional Yogācāra doctrine of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. Since the authorship of these two works, ascribed to him in the colophons of their Tibetan translations, has been doubted by Hayashi,[13] I shall provisionally leave these two works unconsidered, and only later focus on the differences between them and his other compositions.

Buddha-nature[14]

Apart from in the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya*, Ratnākaraśānti does not seem to quote or refer to the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, but he does use the term *tathāgatagarbha* at least twice, once in the **Guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikāṭīkā*[15] and once in the *Muktāvalī*. In the former, Ratnākaraśānti comments on the word *kula* ("family") in verse 94 of Dīpaṅkarabhadra's *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikā Lokālokakārikā* (also known as *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi*),[16] and explains:

> This means: everything is nothing but mind, sentient beings are characterized by the mind's continuum, and sentient beings, further, have Buddha-nature. Therefore, those who assemble all the qualities of a Tathāgata possess the five kinds of wisdom—*ādarśa*[*jñāna*] and the rest—which abide [in sentient beings] forever, throughout beginningless and endless time. And this [wisdom, i.e, Buddha-nature] is completely pure by nature, having as it does true reality as its body (*chos nyid kyi sku*).[17] Therefore, when it is transformed (*āśrayapari-√vṛt*) into its own true nature (*rang rang gi ngo bor*), being purified from what are merely (*tsam*) stains that adventitiously cover over [Buddha-nature], one

[13] More precisely, Hayashi (1999) posits that the author of the *Triyānavyavasthāna* (and probably that of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya*) is different from that of the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa*. Kano (2011a: 7–9) summarizes previous studies discussing the authorship of works attributed to Ratnākaraśānti.

[14] My argumentation from this paragraph onward is based on Kano 2011a.

[15] This is the title as transliterated at the beginning of the Tibetan translation, whereas its colophon (D 1871, 130a6) runs: *dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga 'jig rten snang byed ces bya ba shlo ka bzhi brgya lnga bcu pa'i 'grel pa*.

[16] *Guhyasamājamaṇḍopāyikā* verse 94d states: *mudrābhiḥ śatapañcakulaṃ trikaṃ* "[one should worship] 100, 5, and 3 [Buddha-]families by means of *mudrā*s." Cf. *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* (Wedemeyer ed.), p. 351. The title of this work appears in the colophon of its Sanskrit manuscript: *anuṣṭupchandasā ślokaiḥ śataiḥ sārdhacatuṣṭhayaiḥ kṛteyaṃ maṇḍalopāyikā lokālokakārikā* (Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1937: 28 n. 2).

[17] Cf. *Muktāvalī*, ed. Tripathi, p. 14.15: *tena ca dharmatāśarīreṇa tajjñānaṃ prakṛtinirmalam*.

> attains what is called the "five kinds of wisdom" and a "Buddha's awakening." In this case, it [i.e. Buddha-nature] is nothing but the seed mentioned above. Therefore, as it is the seed of a bodhisattva (**bodhisattvabīja*), it is also termed "spiritual disposition" (*gotra*) and "cause."[18]

Ratnākaraśānti first says that sentient beings have Buddha-nature (*sems can yang de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can yin*) composed of the five kinds of a buddha's wisdom, and that when the external stains are removed to reveal that nature, one attains the five kinds of wisdom or a buddha's awakening. He apparently admits the existence of an unchangeable pure nature throughout causal and resultant states, and to that extent seems to accept the basic idea of the Buddha-nature doctrine. When, however, he identifies Buddha-nature with the "seed of a bodhisattva" (*byang chub sems dpa'i sa bon*), his true outlook becomes clear: he suggests that only bodhisattvas have Buddha-nature, that is, the spiritual disposition to become a buddha, whereas others do not. A related discussion occurs in the same work.[19]

Ratnākaraśānti's exact position is more clearly stated in the *Muktāvalī*. In the *Muktāvalī*, Ratnākaraśānti refers to the term *tathāgatagarbha* when commenting on the word *vajragarbha* in *Hevajratantra* 1.1:

> [The *Hevajratantra* states:] "O Vajragarbha!" —All bodhisattvas have Buddha-nature (*tathāgatagarbha*). This means that they belong to Tathāgata-family (*tathāgatagotra*).[20] And there are five Tathāgatas of the [five Buddha-]families (*kula*), being the [five afflictions of] bewilderment, hatred, pride, desire, and envy. Among them, someone who is of the hatred-family (*gotra*) is named Vajragarbha, and hence this is a suitable name (*anvarthaṃ*) for a bodhisattva. And this family (*gotra*) is very rare to find. That is precisely why [the Buddha]

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[18] *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikāṭīkā*, D 1871, 80a6–b1: *'di ni chos thams cad ni sems tsam yin la | sems can rnams ni sems kyi rgyun gyi mtshan nyid can yin zhing | sems can yang de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can yin pas de bzhin gshegs pa'i chos thams cad bsdus pa ni me long lta bu la sogs pa ye shes lnga po thog ma dang tha ma med pa yin la | de yang chos nyid kyi skus rang bzhin gyis yongs su dag pa nyid yin pas na glo bur ba'i sgrib pa'i dri ma tsam rnam par dag par gyur nas rang rang gi ngo bor gnas par gyur pa na ye shes lnga zhes bya ba dang | sangs rgyas kyi byang chub ces bya ba 'thob par 'gyur ro || de ltar na sngar ni sa bon zhes bya ba nyid yin no || de bas na byang chub sems dpa'i sa bon du gyur pas rigs dang rgyu* [D *rgyud*; P *rgyun*] *ces kyang bshad do* ||. Cf. *Muktāvalī*, ed. Tripathi, p. 9.21–22: *hetur gotraṃ kulam iti paryāyāḥ*.

[19] Ratnākaraśānti's inclination toward the *yānatraya* doctrine comes out in this work, e.g. in D 1871, 66b7, 109b2, 124b2–3.

[20] Ratnākaraśānti links the *gotra* ("spiritual disposition" or "family") in the Yogācāra context to *kula* ("family") in the Tantric context.

> said, "o" (*aho*) to express his astonishment. [...] How can we know that "this one is of such and such a family (*gotra*)"? [We know this] by signs (*liṅga*), such as special devotion (*śraddhā*) or a particular inclination (*ruci*) among their [i.e. the bodhisattvas'] qualities. It is taught in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*: "[The existence of] fire is known from smoke, and [the existence of] water is known from the presence of a crane (*balākā*). The wise bodhisattva's *gotra* is known from signs (*nimitta*)."[21]

Ratnākaraśānti skillfully alters the well-known formula "All sentient beings have Buddha-nature," proclaimed in the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*, into "All bodhisattvas have Buddha-nature," thereby suggesting that those who are not bodhisattvas (i.e. *śrāvaka*s, *pratyekabuddha*s, etc.) do not have Buddha-nature.

Why does Ratnākaraśānti not accept the Buddha-nature doctrine across the board? It was probably because he thought that the Buddha-nature doctrine (i.e *ekagotra*) is connected with the *ekayāna* doctrine of the Mādhyamikas, which contradicts the Yogācāra *yānatraya* doctrine he himself espoused. He accepts the Yogācāra distinction of manifold dispositions (*gotrabheda*), which admits a buddha's awakening only in the case of bodhisattvas, to the exclusion of *śrāvaka*s, *pratyekabuddha*s, and others. This stance parallels that of an unnamed Yogācāra (referred to by Kamalaśīla in his *Madhyamakāloka*) who does not accept the Buddha-nature doctrine literally, judging it instead as having another purport (*ābhiprāyika*), namely a provisional one, in that it does not accept *gotrabheda* (since according to it every being has one and the same Buddha-nature), and thus is inconsistent with the Yogācāra doctrine.[22]

To return to the above-quoted passage of the *Muktāvalī*, Ratnākaraśānti then explains the five families (*kula*) of Buddhas (i.e. *moha*, *dveṣa*, *māna*, *rāga*, and *īrṣyā*, corresponding to *buddha*, *vajra*, *ratna*, *padma*, and *karman*). He identifies Vajragarbha as a bodhisattva whose *gotra* is *dveṣa*, and remarks how very rare it is to

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[21] See Isaacson 2013: 1044–1045. *Muktāvalī*, ed. Tripathi, p. 5.1–14 (with the changes suggested by Isaacson 2013): *aho vajragarbha iti sarva eva bodhisattvāḥ tathāgatagarbhās*[a] *tathāgatagotrā ity arthaḥ | pañcaiva ca mohadveṣamānarāgerṣyāḥ kulatathāgatāḥ | tatra yo dveṣagotraḥ sa vajragarbha iti nāmedam anvartham bodhisattvasya | durlabham caitad gotram | ata eva savismayam āmantraṇam aho iti | [...] ayam evaṃgotra iti katham jñāyate | tadguṇeṣu śraddhāruciviśeṣādibhir liṅgaiḥ | uktaṃ cāryalaṅkāvatāre | dhūmena jñāyate vahniḥ salilaṃ ca balākayā | nimittair jñāyate gotraṃ bodhisattvasya dhīmataḥ | iti |*. ([a] *tathāgatagarbhās* NGMPP A994/6 ≈ Tib. D 223a3: *de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po*; *vajragarbhās* Tripathi [no witness]; Another Sanskrit Ms., NGMPP E260/2, contains this passage but omits the word *tathāgatagarbhās*).

[22] *Madhyamakāloka*, D 147b4–5. See above Introduction, p. 9ff.

find a bodhisattva with this *gotra*.

At the end of the discussion, Ratnākaraśānti quotes a verse on *gotra* from the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*—a rather well-known one taken in turn from the *Daśadharmakasūtra*.[23] An idea similar to that expressed in the verse is found in the "*gotra* chapter" (Gotrapaṭala) of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, and also in Sthiramati's commentary on the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*.[24]

In other places in the *Muktāvalī*, Ratnākaraśānti synonymizes *gotra* with "cause" and "family" (*hetur gotraṃ kulam iti paryāyāḥ*),[25] while noting the innate purity (*prakṛtinirmala*) of what the word refers to, and the fact that the stains and purity do not have an identitical nature (*atanmayatva*).[26] This discussion of *gotra* parallels the one in his *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikāṭīkā* dealt with above. We know that Ratnākaraśānti accepts the standard idea of the Buddha-nature doctrine that innate purity is wholly separate from external stains—an aspect of it that does not contradict Yogācāra doctrine.[27]

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[23] See Takasaki 2009: 370–371 (= Takasaki 1974: 306–307). The verse is not found in the extant version of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, but Atiśa (D 3948, 269b3–4), Bhavyakīrti (D 1793, 27b5–6), and a certain Nāgārjuna (D 1784, 132a7–b1) also quote it as a verse from the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*. On the other hand, it is sometimes quoted as a verse from the *Daśadharmakasūtra* (D 1412, 201b5; D 3796, 47a1–2; cf. D 1199, 38b6–7). Mostly, however, it is quoted with no source reference (D 1412, 393a4; D 1444, 271b4–5; D 1489, 183a4–5; D 1818, 247a3–4; D 1848, 45a4–5; D 1886, 182a4–5; D 2244, 132b5; D 2531, 316b; D 3305, 198a6; D 3887, 140b5; D 3888, 254b2; D 4019, 42b3; D 4232, 96a4–5; *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā*, ed. Krishnamacharya, p. 13.3–4).

[24] Sthiramati's commentary on *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* III.5. See Takasaki 2009: 382 (= Takasaki 1974: 316–317).

[25] *Muktāvalī*, ed. Tripathi, p. 9.21–22.

[26] *Muktāvalī*, ed. Tripathi, p. 14.13–19. He refers, too, based on *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* IX.66, to the innate eternity (*prakṛtinityatā*) of the *dharmakāya*; this notion is criticized by Jñānaśrīmitra (*Sākārasiddhi*, 496.4–8), as seen above in the discussion of Jñānaśrīmitra (*Sākārasiddhi* [6], Chap. 2).

[27] In the *Sāratamā*, Ratnākaraśānti expounds the pure and impure nature of the *dharmadhātu* based on the *Madhyāntavibhāga* (I.14–15) and *Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya* in the following passages: (1) "… and the *dharmadhātu* is [a basis] on which [teachings/qualities] depend because it is the cause of the teachings/qualities of the noble ones" (*Sāratamā*, p. 165.24–25: *dharmadhātuś cālambyamāna āryadharmāṇāṃ hetutvāt*; cf. *Muktāvalī*, ed. Tripathi, p. 12.3–4: *saiva* [= *dvayaśūnyatā*] *dharmadhātuḥ*, *āryadharmāṇāṃ balavaiśāradyādīnāṃ hetutvāt*, *tām evālambamānānām āryadharmotpatteḥ* and *Madhyāntavibhāga* I.14–15 and its *bhāṣya*); (2) "… the *dharmadhātu* is stained by adventitous stains, that is, obscuration" (*Sāratamā*, p. 18.10: *dharmadhātur āgantukair āvaraṇamalair malinīkṛtaḥ*); (3) "when completely purified, the *dharmadhātu* becomes the intrinsic body (*svābhāvikaḥ kāyaḥ*) of the Buddhas" (*Sāratamā*, p. 173.12: *buddhānāṃ suviśuddho dharmadhātuḥ svābhāvikaḥ kāyas*). This characterization partially overlaps that of Buddha-nature, given the link between the RGV and *Madhyāntavibhāga*; still, Ratnākaraśānti does not fully accept the idea of the Buddha-nature doctrine in the *Sāratamā*, for he continues to adhere closely to the *gotrabheda* doctrine, in line with *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* I.39.

Yānatraya

As discussed above, Ratnākaraśānti supports the doctrine that distinguishes *gotra*s to account for the variety observed in the innate potential faculty of sentient beings at the causal stage. On the other hand, as we shall see below, Ratnākaraśānti also adheres to the *yānatraya* doctrine to account for the variety of awakenings of Buddhist practitioners at the resultant stage. As traditional Yogācāra works, such as the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (XI.53–59), are quick to point out, the *gotrabheda* and *yānatraya* doctrines are related to each other, being two sides of the same coin.

In the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa*, Ratnākaraśānti, discussing the distinction between the provisional teaching (*neyārtha*) and the definitive teaching (*nītārtha*), gives examples of the former: "the teaching in the *Arthaviniścayasūtra* that objects outside [the mind] exist," and "the teaching in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* that the vehicle is unique."[28] Ratnākaraśānti judges the former to be provisional, holding as he does to the *vijñaptimātra* position that denies the existence of objects outside the mind, and he judges the latter (i.e. the *ekayāna* doctrine) to be provisional, too, accepting as he does the *yānatraya* doctrine of traditional Yogācāra. He then summarizes the *yānatraya* doctrine as formulated in *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* XI.53[29] and applies this teaching to clarify the distinction among the resultant states of bodhisattvas, *śrāvaka*s, and so forth, citing the *Sandhinirmocanasūtra*: "even if all powerful Buddhas assembled, they could not lead the *śrāvaka*s, who have quiescence as their only method (**śamaikāyana*), to their own supreme awakening, and they could not save those who lacked the spiritual disposition (*agotra*)."[30]

Ratnākaraśānti clearly enunciates this same position in his concluding verse of

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[28] *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa*, D 4079, 135b7: *dper na don rnam par nges pa'i mdo las phyi rol gyi don yod par gsungs pa dang | dam pa'i chos padma dkar po'i mdo las theg pa gcig tu gsungs pa lta bu ste |*.

[29] *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa*, D 136a1–2; *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* XI.53: *dharmanairātmyamuktīnāṃ tulyatvād gotrabhedataḥ | dvyāśayāpteś ca nirmāṇāt paryantād ekayānatā ||* (*Mahāyānasaṃgraha* X.32 quotes this verse from the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*). See Matsumoto 1982.

[30] *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa*, D 136a5–6: *mthu dang ldan pa'i sangs rgyas thams cad 'dus par gyur kyang | zhi ba phyogs gcig pa'i nyan thos rnams bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub tu mngon par 'tshang rgya bar bya ba'am | rigs med pa'i sems can rnams mya ngan las bzla bar mi spyod do zhes gsungs so ||*. This is based on a passage in the *Sandhinirmocanasūtra* (Lamotte 1935, Chap. VII. §15): *don dam yang dag 'phags nyan thos kyi rigs kyi gang zag zhi ba'i bgrod pa gcig pu pa ni sangs rgyas thams cad brtson pa dang ldan par gyur kyang | byang chub kyi snying po la bzhag ste bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub thob par byar mi nus so ||*. See also the Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (D 4038, fol. 60b2–3; T vol. 30, p. 720c) and Kano 2011a: 31 n. 28.

this work: "May all these people with manifold dispositions (**nānādhātu*) be released by means of the Three Vehicles (*theg pa gsum gyis*)" [31]; and also in that of the *Muktāvalī*: "May all these people certainly be released from *saṃsāra* by means of the Three Vehicles (*yānais tribhiḥ*)."[32]

We find this same attitude expressed in Ratnākaraśānti's other non-tantric works, such as the *Sāratamā*, *Śuddhimatī*, and *Madhyamakālaṃkāravṛtti*, as well as in his tantric works, such as the *Muktāvalī*, *Kusumāñjali*, and *Rahaḥpradīpa*.[33] It is remarkable how consistently this attitude suffuses so many of his compositions, no matter whether they are tantric works or non-tantric.

The Ekayāna Doctrine Found in Two Works Attributed to Ratnākaraśānti: the Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya and Triyānavyavasthāna

Although we saw above that Ratnākaraśānti takes the *yānatraya* doctrine as definitive and accepts *gotrabheda*, we also find an opposing view—one favourable towards the *ekayāna* doctrine and the refusal to distinguish separate *gotra*s—that appears in two works attributed to Ratnākaraśānti: the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* and the *Triyānavyavasthāna*. Differences in his attitude toward *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* I.39, for example, clearly surface in the *Śuddhimatī*, *Sāratamā*, *Kusumāñjali*, and *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya*. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* I.39 runs:

> Since the *dharmadhātu* is not divisible, the distinguishing of *gotra*s is not appropriate. However, because of the distinctions among the *ādheyadharma*[34]

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[31] *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa*, D 162a6–7.

[32] *Muktāvalī*, ed. Tripathi, p. 237.15: *saṃsārād akhilo janaś ca niyataṃ niryātu yānais tribhiḥ* (*niryātu*] em., *niryāttu* Tripathi).

[33] As for his non-tantric works, see *Sāratamā* and *Śuddhimatī* (on *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* I.39, see below) and *Madhyamakālaṃkāravṛtti*, D 4072, 119a4–5. As for tantric works, see *Muktāvalī*, ed. Tripathi, p. 13.21–24 (on *Hevajratantra* 1.1.10), p. 13.21–24 (on *ibid.* 1.1.11); *Kusumāñjali*, D 1851, 66b7–67a1, 109b2, 124b2–3, 272a5–272b1 (on *Guhyasamāja* 8.3); *Rahaḥpradīpa*, D 2623, 125a7–b1 (on *Sarvarahasya* verse 10), Skt. Ms. (Sferra 2008: 45, no. 32), fol. 2v5: *śrāvakapratyekayānikānāṃ tu yā bhāvanā tato nāsti samagrabuddhaguṇaprāptiḥ*; D 2623, 126a5–6, Skt. Ms. 3r3–4: *vikalpaviśeṣā hi kleśāḥ śrāvakapratyekabuddhānām | tadbhañjanaṃ hīnam | bodhisattvānāṃ tu kliṣṭāś cākliṣṭāś ca sarva eva vikalpāḥ kleśāḥ samyaksambodhyāvaraṇatvāt |* (Critical editions of the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of the *Rahaḥpradīpa* are currently being prepared by Professors Francesco Sferra, Harunaga Isaacson, and me); Kano 2011a: 31 n. 32. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish the *yānatraya* from the *ekayāna* position, for it is normal to acknowledge the superiority of bodhisattvas' characteristics to those of *śrāvaka*s or *pratyekabuddha*s, regardless of whether or not one adheres to one or the other.

[34] *Ādheyadharma* is "what is based on it"; in this case, its *ādhāra* "basis" is the *dharmadhātu*.

> [i.e. practices], distinctions among *gotra*s are proclaimed [on their basis]. (*dharmadhātor asaṃbhedād gotrabhedo na yujyate | ādheyadharmabhedāt tu tadbhedaḥ parigīyate ||*)

This verse obviously weighs in favour of *gotrabheda*, which accords with the *yānatraya* rather than with the monolithic nature of the *dharmadhātu*.[35]

The Sāratamā's and Kusumāñjali's Interpretations of Abhisamayālaṃkāra I.39

In the *Śuddhimatī*, Ratnākaraśānti identifies the first two lines (I.39ab) as an objection and the last two lines (I. 39cd) as the response to it, thus identifying *gotrabheda* as the main topic of the verse. He then refers to a simile: although there may be no outwardly distinguishing features of pots, some pots are used for sesame oil, and others for honey.[36] This brief explanation, while containing no precise reference to the *yānatraya* doctrine, does draw attention to the differences among the vehicles rather than to any underlying identity.

On the other hand, in the *Sāratamā*, which was composed after the *Śuddhimatī*, [37] Ratnākaraśānti comments *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* I.39 in more detail: he equates the *bodhisattvagotra* with the *dharmadhātu*[38] and implicitly excludes the possibility that those who lack the spiritual disposition (**agotraka*, *rigs med pa*; **hīnagotraka*, *rigs dman pa*) attain a buddha's awakening, saying that the *bodhisattvagotra* does not serve as their basis of attainment. Ratnākaraśānti thus accepts the doctrine of *gotrabheda*:

> When the completely pure *dharmadhātu* comes forth (*āvirbhāva*) [through the removal of all forms of conceptualization], Awakening is attained. Therefore, this (i.e. the *dharmadhātu*) is nothing but the *bodhisattvagotra*, and not others (i.e. the *śrāvaka*- and *pratyekabuddhagotra*s). Why is it the basis for them (i.e. bodhisattvas' practices)? Because it is not the basis for *agotra*s and *hīnagotra*s.[39]

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[35] Matsumoto (2010: 623–625) analyzes *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* I.39 (especially the force of the particle *tu*).

[36] *Śuddhimatī*, D 102b7–103a1, *dper na bum par khyad par med kyang kha cig ni til mar gyi bum pa | kha cig ni sbrang rtsi'i bum pa lta bu'o ||*.

[37] Isoda (1988: 68) points out a reference to the *Śuddhimatī* in the *Sāratamā* (D 15a3–4: *de bdag gis kyang* ***dga'*** (read ***dag***) ***ldan nyid*** *las rnam par bshad pa yin te | 'dir ni ma brjod do ||*)

[38] *Sāratamā*, D 29a6–7: *lhun gyis grub par 'byung ba'i ye shes kyang yin te | gang 'di dag gi rten du gyur pa de dag nyid kyang byang chub sems dpa'i rigs te | de yang chos kyi dbyings nyid do ||*.

[39] *Sāratamā*, D 30a4: *chos kyi dbyings shin tu rnam par dag pa mngon par 'byung ba na byang chub grub pa yin te | de bas na de nyid byang chub kyi rigs yin gyi | cig shos ni ma yin no || chos de dag gi*

Further, he explains how the *dharmadhātu* functions as a formless (*arūpin*) basis, like space, described in the common simile as the basis of everything, even though it is formless:

> Still, how does the formless *dharmadhātu* serve as the basis for giving rise to the resolve [to become a buddha]? It is like formless space [serving as the basis] for the shining forth of the moon and sun, for darkness, and for the elimination of the latter.[40]

This passage is later paraphrased by Abhayākaragupta, and from it we can partially recover the Sanskrit original.[41] The same simile of space appears in RGV I.52–55, in which space (i.e. Buddha-nature) serves as a basis of everything. Pondering this simile, Ratnākaraśānti suggests that the *dharmadhātu* functions as a "supporting cause" (*pratiṣṭhāhetu*) rather than an "engendering cause" (*jananahetu*), for the *dharmadhātu*, which is unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*), cannot by definition produce anything.[42] As seen from his assertion that "when the completely pure *dharmadhātu* comes forth (*āvirbhāva*), Awakening is attained," Ratnākaraśānti accepts the basic model of the Buddha-nature doctrine but at the same time stresses the difference between the awakening of a bodhisattva and the awakening of others.[43]

In the *Kusumāñjali*, too, Ratnākaraśānti quotes *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* I.39, after stating that "just as the single *āryagotra* is subdivided into three [categories], owing to the distinction among *śrāvaka*s, etc., so a single *bodhisattvagotra* is [subdivided into five categories], owing to the distinction among the five *kula*s (i.e. *moha*, *dveṣa*,

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ji ltar rten yin zhe na | rigs med pa dang | rigs dman pa de dag gi ni rten ma yin pa'i phyir ro ||. Cf. Abhayākaragupta, *Munimatālaṃkāra*, Skt. Ms. 85v2–3 (≈ D 3903, 170a2): *akhilavikalpamalāpanayanāt tu* ***suviśuddho dharmadhātur āvirbhavan bodhiḥ sampadyate*** | *ata eva viśiṣṭaṃ gotraṃ bodhisatvaśabdapravṛttinimittaṃ dvāviṃśaticittotpādānān tadviśeṣāṇāṃ ca cchandāt prabhṛti sannāhādipratipattīnāṃ cādhāraḥ* |. The opening phrase *akhilavikalpamalāpanayanāt* appears in the previous sentence of this passage in the *Sāratamā* (D 30a3: *de bas na des rnam par rtog pa ma lus pa'i dri ma sel ba yin pa'i phyir ro*).

40 *Sāratamā*, D 30a4–5: *de lta mod kyi 'on kyang gzugs med pa'i chos kyi dbyings ji ltar de dag gi rten yin zhe na | gzugs med pa'i nam mkha' ni zla ba dang nyi ma'i 'od dang | mun pa dang de zad pa'i rten yin no zhes bstan pa lta bu'o* || (cf. *ibid.* D 29b4–5).

41 Abhayākaragupta, *Munimatālaṃkāra*, Skt. Ms. 86v1 (≈ D 3903, 170b7): ***nanu katham*** *asvabhāvo* ***dharmmadhātuś*** *cittotpādānāṃ* ***pratiṣṭhā*** | ***yathā niḥsvabhāvam ākāśaṃ candrasūryaprabhāṇām andhakārakṣayasya ca*** |. For studies of this and the previous passages of Abhayākaragupta, see Seyfort Ruegg 1977: 299–301, Isoda 2000: 184, Kano 2012b: 131, 2014: 228.

42 See Kano 2012b: 131.

43 For Ratnākaraśānti's discussion of the *dharmadhātu*, see *Muktāvalī*, ed. Tripathi, p.14.13–19, p. 58.12–17.

māna, *rāga*, *īrṣyā*)."[44] This amounts to a partial explanation of the word *kula* "family" that appears in *Guhyasamāja* 18.36ab. Ratnākaraśānti associates the *bodhisattvagotra* with the *dharmadhātu* of *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* I.39 (as he does in the *Sāratamā*), and *pañcakula* with the *ādheyadharma* of the same verse. This is how he premises the *yānatraya* and *gotrabheda* doctrines.

In summary, in the *Sāratamā* and *Kusumāñjali* Ratnākaraśānti utilizes *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* I.39 as authoritative scripture to establish his own position regarding the *yānatraya* and *gotrabheda* doctrines.

The Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya's Interpretation of Abhisamayālaṃkāra I.39

Next we shall examine the status of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya*,[45] attributed to Ratnākaraśānti. This is a commentary on the *Sūtrasamuccaya*, an anthology of Mahāyānasūtras. In the tenth chapter of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya*, the author pits the *ekayāna* doctrine against the *yānatraya*: he criticizes those who take a position in favour of the latter, calling them "arrogant people who do not know the established doctrine of Ārya Nāgārjuna and Ārya Asaṅga."[46] On the other hand, he defines himself as an adherent of the *ekayāna* doctrine![47]

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[44] *Kusumāñjali*, D 90b2–4: *ji ltar 'phags pa'i rigs gcig la nyan thos la sogs pa'i dbye bas rnam pa gsum du byed par 'gyur ba de bzhin du byang chub sems dpa'i rigs gcig la rigs lnga la sogs pa'i dbye bas so || de skad du yang | chos kyi dbyings la dbyer med phyir || rigs ni tha dad rung ma yin || brten pa'i chos kyi bye brag gis || de yi dbye ba rab tu brjod* || (= AA I.39) *ces gsungs so* ||. Cf. *Muktāvalī*, ed. Tripathi, p. 5.1–14, p. 58.12–17.

[45] The Sanskrit title could be **Ratnālokālaṃkāranāma Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣyam* (according to the Tibetan rendering: *mdo kun las btus pa'i bshad pa rin po che snang ba'i rgyan ces bya ba*) or **Ratnālokanāma Sūtrasamuccayālaṃkārabhāṣya* (according to the Tibetan transliteration: *sū tra sa mutstsha yā laṃ ka ra bhā ṣyi ratnā lo ka nā ma*). See SSBh, D 215a1; P 253a6.

[46] SSBh, D 296a2–3; P 345a5: *'dir 'phags pa klu sgrub dang | 'phags pa thogs med kyi* (D kyis) *grub pa'i mtha' mi shes pa'i mngon pa'i nga rgyal can 'ga' zhig* ...; D 296a4; P 345a7: *bcom ldan 'das kyis lung dang 'phags pa thogs med kyi* (P kyis) *dgongs pa'i don mi rtogs pa de lta bu'i gang zag*; D 296a7–b1; P 345b3–4: *de dag gis 'phags pa byams pa la sogs pa'i* (P om. *pa la sogs*) *dgongs pa ma rtogs shing mi shes par rig par bya'o*. See Mochizuki 1992 and 2010.

[47] The discussion consists of basically the following parts: (1) only the *ekayāna* doctrine is definitive (D 296a2–5; P 345a5–8); (2) objection: the *ekayāna* doctrine contradicts Maitreya's teachings, *Mahāyāsūtrālaṃkāra* IX.37, XI.54 (D 296a5–7; P 345a8–b3); (3) response: the *gotra* is singular because *tathatā* is singular (D 296a7–b2; P 345b3–5); (4) the *ṣaḍāyatanaviśeṣa* of the *bodhisattvagotra*s cannot be the foundation, because it is based on *tathatā* (D 296b2–3; P 345b5–6); (5) *tathatā* is singular, but there are three kinds of *yāna* and three kinds of awakening, reflecting distinctions among practices (D 296b3–4; P 345b6–8); (6) *gotra*, *dharmadhātu*, and Buddha-nature are synonymous terms and they themselves are inseparable, and thus their goal is singular (D 296b4–6; P 345b8–346a2); (7) *gotrabheda* is caused by defilements, but the goal of all *gotra*s is one, since every being has Buddha-nature, as taught in the RGVV

Thereafter, in the same text, the author introduces an opponent who judges the *ekayāna* position as provisional (*neyārtha*), following *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* XI.54 (SSBh, D 296a5–7). In response, the author claims that Maitreya's real intention is to take the *ekayāna* as a definitive teaching, stressing the lack of distinction in *tathatā* and judging any distinction among spiritual dispositions (*gotrabheda*) as just a temporal doctrine (*ibid*. 296a7–b2).

The opponent, following the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, defines the *bodhisattvagotra* as bodhisattvas' six excellent faculties (*ṣaḍāyatanaviśeṣa*), and not *tathatā* (*ibid*. 296b2–3). The author replies: bodhisattvas' six excellent faculties are based on *tathatā*, which is the indivisible universal foundation of everything.

The opponent then states that one might agree with the existence of *yānatraya* were it not for the fact that there would be no *yānatraya* so long as the *gotra* is taken as single, reflecting the singleness of *tathatā* (*ibid*. 296b3). In reply the author states:

> No. [We do agree with *yānatraya*] because of the distinctions of practices, even if there is no distinction in *tathatā*. It was also taught: "because of the distinctions among the *ādheyadharma* [i.e. practices], distinctions among *gotra*s are proclaimed [on their basis]" (*Abhisamayālaṃkāra* I.39).[48]

The author does not completely reject *yānatraya*/*gotrabheda* but restricts it as being a doctrine of provisional meaning (*neyārtha*). By contrast, he takes *ekayāna* as of definitive meaning (*nītārtha*), given the ultimate singleness of *tathatā* as a universal foundation.[49]

The way that *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* I.39 is utilized here stands in stark contrast with how it is utilized by Ratnākaraśānti in the *Sāratamā* and *Kusumāñjali*—to establish wholly contrary positions regarding *yānatraya*. If the author of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* and that of the *Sāratamā* and *Kusumāñjali* were the same person, he would be arguing at cross-purposes with himself, since the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* here implicitly criticizes the stance taken in the *Sāratamā* and *Kusumāñjali*. This would form a serious exception to Ratnākaraśānti's highly consistent attitude (as an adherent of the *gotrabheda*/*yānatraya* doctrines of the Yogācāra) demonstrated in his

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and *Dharmadhātustava*, and in RGV I.28 (D 296b6–297a2; P 346a2–6; see *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* [4] below) in particular. These are just approximate divisions; each part can be further subdivided in response to further objections.

[48] SSBh, D 296b3–4; P 345b6–8.

[49] The discussion continues up to the passage of *Sūtrasamuccaya* (4), as we will see below.

other works, such as the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa*, as seen above.[50] We can see, as in the case of *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* I.39, a similar contradiction when Ratnākaraśānti in the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa* judges the *ekayāna* doctrine of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* to be provisional, while the "Ratnākaraśānti" of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* accepts the same doctrine within the same sūtra as definitive.[51]

The author of the *Triyānavyavasthāna* pursues a strategy similar to that used in the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya*: he first divides *yāna* into three categories, but at the end of the work concludes that their goals are the same.[52] As already pointed out by Hayashi (1999), the doctrinal position of the *Triyānavyavasthāna* and that of the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa* differ in the following ways: (1) the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa* places the Nirākāravāda at the top of the various Buddhist doctrinal systems, while the *Triyānavyavasthāna* assigns this position to Madhyamaka; (2) the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa* expounds the *yānatraya* doctrine, whereas the *Triyānavyavasthāna* favors the *ekayāna*; and (3) the *Triyānavyavasthāna* and *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa* present different systems relating to the ultimate truth (*paramārtha*).[53]

It is true that the *Triyānavyavasthāna* and *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa* share some doctrinal features (see Hayashi 1996: 6). However, as we saw above, the differences between them carry more weight than the similarities. By contrast, the *Triyāna-*

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[50] It is true that, as pointed out by Mochizuki (1992), the author of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* accepts the doctrine of the *yānatraya/gotrabheda* as a valuable method, but disagrees profoundly with the plurality of goals. Mochizuki (*ibid.*) also draws attention to the differences between the positions of the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa* and *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* with regard to the *ekayāna* and *yānatraya* doctrines. However, he does not posit separate authorship of the two works.

[51] *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa*, D 135b7; SSBh, D 297b4ff.; P 346a1ff. (cf. Mochizuki 1992: 53–54). Additionally, we may point out the difference between the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* and Ratnākaraśānti's other works, such as the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa*, *Madhyamakālaṃkāropadeśa*, and *Madhyamakālaṃkāravṛtti*, as regards their contrasting models of the *trisvabhāva* doctrine (Brunnhölzl 2011: 134–135).

[52] *Triyānavyavasthāna*, ed. Hayashi, p. 64; D 104a2–3; P 115a7–8: *de bas na mtshan yang dag par brjod pa las | theg pa gsum gyis nges 'byung la || theg pa gcig gi 'bras bur gnas || zhes gsungs pa nyid theg pa thams cad 'bras bu yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas su 'gyur bar dgongs la |....* This is a quotation from the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, verse 135cd: *yānatritayaniryāta ekayānaphale sthitiḥ*.

[53] Hayashi (1999: 56 n. 56) does not accept Ichishima's argument that the authors of the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa* and *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* are—given the similarity of the Four-Stage Yogas in the two works—the same. He notes a difference in the interpretations of the Four-Stage Yogas in the two works. We may also point out that the author of the *Muktāvalī* (on *Hevajra* 2.8.9–10) interprets Madhyamaka in accord with the *Madhyāntavibhāga*; the author of the *Triyānavyavasthāna*, with Nāgārjuna's standard position. "Madhyamaka" is not an established position but is open to interpretation.

vyavasthāna and *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* share important points, asserting the *ekayāna* doctrine after having provisionally accepted the *yānatraya* doctrine.[54]

The Authorship of the Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya and Triyānavyavasthāna

By the 11th century Ratnākaraśānti's reputation was such that works by other authors were being attributed to him so as to strengthen their claim to legitimacy. This is true, in particular, of the *Abhiṣekanirukti*, whose actual author was very probably Jinasujayaśrīgupta.[55] Tsong-kha-pa adverts to some Tibetans who claim that the *Piṇḍīkṛtasādhanopāyikāvṛtti-Ratnāvalī* (D 1826, P 2690) was later attributed to Ratnākaraśānti.[56] The attribution of the *Triyānavyavasthāna* and *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* to Ratnākaraśānti may be similar cases.[57]

Given the common authorship of the *Triyānavyavasthāna* and *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya*—a person who in turn is different from the author of the other works mentioned above—who might that person be? Hayashi (1999) claims that the doctrinal position of the author of the *Triyānavyavasthāna* is close to that of Maitrīpa (also known as Advayavajra), reference being made therein to Maitrīpa's *Tattvaratnāvalī*. Thus the author was someone influenced by Maitrīpa. We can be sure, then, that the *floruit* of the author of the *Triyānavyavasthāna* and *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* postdates those of Maitrīpa and Smṛtijñānakīrti (whose work is also quoted in the *Triyānavyavasthāna*)[58] but antedates the Tibetan translations of the *Triyānavyavasthāna* and *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya*. This places the author around the second and third quarters of the 11th century.[59]

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[54] See Mochizuki 1992 and Hayashi 1999.

[55] See Isaacson 2001b: 483. According to Dr. Péter-Dániel Szántó, the *Gaṇacakravidhi* (D 1995; NGMPP B24/13) attributed to Ratnākaraśānti in the colophon of its Tibetan translation is probably a similar case.

[56] See Hayashi 1999: 7, 13 n. 51 and Kano 2011a: 124. *Rim lnga rab gsal*, P 5302, 27a2: *mdor byas kyi 'grel pa rin chen 'phreng ba zhes pa shā nti pas mdzad zer ba la | bod kyi mkhas pa dag kha g.yar du bzhed de ming mthun pa min na de ltar ro*. "Regarding the *Piṇḍīkṛtasādhana* commentary called *Ratnāvalī* said to have been composed by Śāntipa, Tibetan scholars claim that it (i.e. the authorship) is [a later] attribution. This is the case, unless [the author] is someone of the same name."

[57] Hayashi's hypothesis (1999) that a different individual named Ratnākaraśānti authored the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* is also possible.

[58] See Hayashi 1996: 46.

[59] The *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* was translated by Nag-tsho Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba and Nag-po'i-zhabs (i.e. Samayavajra) in the third quarter of the 11th century (for Samayavajra, see Kawagoe 2001: 275ff.). The colophon of the work (D 334a3; P 389a7–b1) reads: *mdo kun las btus pa'i bshad pa slob dpon rin chen 'byung gnas zhi bas mdzad pa rdzogs so || || rgya gar gyi mkhan po paṇḍi ta*

We can probably further limit the composition year of the *Triyānavyavasthāna*: Atiśa's *Sarvasamayasaṃgraha* quotes Ratnākaraśānti's verse, which corresponds with a verse in the *Triyānavyavasthāna*.[60] If we admit Atiśa's authorship of the *Sarvasamayasaṃgraha* as stated in its colophon rather than follow mKhas-grub-rje's claim disputing that Atiśa's authorship,[61] and if we accept the verse in question as a quotation from the *Triyānavyavasthāna*, the *terminus ante quem* of the *Triyānavyavasthāna*'s composition is the year of Atiśa's departure from Vikramaśīla, ca. 1040.

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nag po'i zhabs dang | bod kyi lo tsā ba dge slong tshul khrims rgyal bas bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o || ||.

The *Triyānavyavasthāna* was translated by Kṛṣṇa-pa (who is very likely Samayavajra) and Chos-kyi-shes-rab, and thus was also translated around the third quarter of the 11th century. The colophon of the *Triyānavyavasthāna* runs: *rgya gar gyi mkhan po chen po kri ṣṇa ba dang | zhu chen gyi lo tsā ba dge slong chos kyi shes rab kyis bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o ||* (from the critical edition of Hayashi 1996: 66).

In order to sort out differences in authorship, the most effective procedure would be to start by classifying entire works attributed to Ratnākaraśānti according to the doctrinal systems on which they are based.

60 D 3725, 44b3–4: ***slob dpon ratna ā ka ra shānti pa'i zhal snga nas** 'dir | dmigs pa rnam par dag pa dang || grogs kyi mthu dang spyod pa yis || blo ldan rnams kyi theg pa 'di || chen po'i chen po nyid du bsgrags || zhes gsungs so ||*. The verse appears in the *Triyānavyavasthāna*. See Hayashi's edition (1996: 56).

61 The colophon of the *Sarvasamayasaṃgraha* (D 3725, 49a7–b1) runs: *dam tshig thams cad bsdus pa zhes bya ba mkhas pa chen po dī paṃ ka ra shrī dznyā nas mdzad pa rdzogs so || || rje btsun bla ma chen po de nyid kyi zhal snga nas dang | lo tsā ba dge slong tshul khrims rgyal bas bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o ||*.

mKhas-grub claims that this is not a work by Atiśa, because the work mentions "my teacher Samayavajra," who was not Atiśa's teacher. See mKhas-grub, *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam gzhag* (Lessing & Wayman 1968: 154): *bdag gi bla ma dam tshig rdo rje'i zhal snga nas zhes bya ba sogs snang la | nag po dam tshig rdo rje jo bo'i bla ma ma yin pa'i phyir de jo bos mdzad pa ma yin no ||* (I owe this information to Prof. Izumi Miyazaki).

The quotation from Samayavajra's work in the *Sarvasamayasaṃgraha* is yet to be identified. See D 3725, 44b4–5: ***bdag gi bla ma rje btsun dam tshig rdo rje'i zhal nas** ni pha rol phyin pa'i theg pa las theg pa 'di gong du gyur pa yin te bla ma dang dbang bskur ba dang dam tshig dang man ngag dang brtson 'grus kyis khyad par du 'phags so zhes gsungs so ||*.

Kṛṣṇa Samayavajra is not known to have been Atiśa's teacher. He was one of Nag-tsho's teachers when Nag-tsho was active in Nepal after leaving Central Tibet in ca. 1054. See Kawagoe 2001: 283, 275–278. (Be it noted that the *Sarvasamayasaṃgraha* does not say that Ratnākaraśānti, who actually was Atiśa's teacher, was the author's teacher.)

As mKhas-grub suggests, one might attribute the authorship of the *Sarvasamayasaṃgraha* to Nag-tsho, but further study is needed to confirm the authorship.

References to the Ratnagotravibhāga Found in the Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya

In the following, I shall focus on the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* (which both refers to and quotes the RGV), keeping in mind that the author of the two works (i.e. the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* and *Triyānavyavasthāna*) is different from that of other Ratnākaraśānti works. When called for, I draw attention to variant readings found in the quotations from the RGV appearing in the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya*.

Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya (1)

Let us return to the RGV. As stated above, quotations from it are found in the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya*. The *Sūtrasamuccaya* cites a passage from the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (77.13–79.9)[62] in which the bodhisattva Mahāmati summarizes the Buddha's instruction on Buddha-nature and asks the Buddha if Buddha-nature is identical with *ātman*.[63] The following passages of *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* (1)–(3) relate to this passage from the *Laṅkāvatāra*.

The *Laṅkāvatāra* passage begins with: "Mahāmati asked the Buddha: 'The Illustrious One explained Buddha-nature in [other] sūtra texts (*sūtrāntapāṭhe* or *sūtrāntarapāṭhe*) ...' "[64]; and the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya*, commenting on this passage, states:

> In the first place, the nature of absolute reality (*dharmatāsvabhāva*) is expressed [by the term] "Buddha-nature" (*tathāgatagarbha*). [A synonym of

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[62] This sūtra passage discusses the purpose of teaching Buddha-nature and concludes that it is merely a means of attracting non-Buddhists. After this passage, the *Sūtrasamuccaya* quotes another passage of LAS (77.3–5) and the *Samādhirāja*, both of which maintain that emptiness is the Buddha's definitive teaching.

[63] LAS 78.1–4: *tat katham ayaṃ bhagavaṃs tīrthakarātmavādatulyas tathāgatagarbhavādo na bhavati. tīrthakarā api bhagavan nityaḥ kartā nirguṇo vibhur avyaya ity ātmavādopadeśaṃ kurvanti*. Here Mahāmati points out the similarity between the four qualities of Buddha-nature and those of *ātman* (LAS 78.1: *nityo dhruvaḥ śivaḥ śāśvataś ca bhagavatā varṇitaḥ* |; SS, ed. Pasadika, p. 172.11: *rtag pa brtan pa ther zug par ni brjod na*). The Buddha answered that they are not identical, for Buddha-nature is taught in terms of emptiness or selflessness (LAS 78.4–7).

[64] LAS 77.13: *atha khalu mahāmatir bodhisattvo mahāsattvo bhagavantam etad avocat | tathāgatagarbhaḥ punar bhagavatā sūtrāntapāṭhe 'nuvarṇitaḥ* |; Guṇabhadra renders this as (T no. 670, vol. 16, p. 489a25–26): 爾時大慧菩薩摩訶薩白佛言. 世尊. 世尊修多羅説如來藏自性清淨.... See LAS 77.13–78.4. The Tibetan translation of the *Sūtrasamuccaya* has *mdo gzhan brjod pa las* (**sūtrāntarapāṭhe* instead of *sūtrāntapāṭhe*). See SS, ed. Pasadika, p. 172.1–2: *blo gros chen pos zhus pa | bcom ldan 'das kyis mdo gzhan brjod pa las | de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po gsungs pa de*.

it,] *dhātu*, signifies *tathatā*, which is pure by nature [but nevertheless] accompanied by stains. As to "other sūtras" (*mdo gzhan*),[65] this refers to the *Tathāgatagarbha*[*sūtra*] and so forth. Its main subject (*brjod pa*) is taught [with the aid of] nine similes, [which are summarized in the RGV as follows]:

"Like a buddha's body (**jinakāya*) in a withered lotus flower, like honey [protected by] bees, like what is within a husk,[66] like a gold nugget in excrement, like a treasure [beneath] the ground, like a sprout or the like on a little fruit, like a buddha's image within rags, like a prince in the womb of a poor woman, and like a jewel in mud, the *dhātu*, covered with stains, abides in every sentient being." (RGV I.96–97)[67]

Here the author of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* defines Buddha-nature as the essence or intrinsic nature (*ngo bo nyid*) of *dharmatā*, and *dhātu* as the stained *tathatā*, whose nature is pure. He then identifies "other sūtras" (*mdo gzhan*, **sūtrāntarapāṭha*) as the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* etc., and in order to give a sense of the main content of these sūtras, he quotes a passage—not from the named sūtra but from the RGV (I.96–97)—that sums up the sūtras' teaching, namely the nine similes of Buddha-nature, a *locus classicus* of the Buddha-nature doctrine.

As to the two verses RGV I.96–97, there are a number of variant readings between the extant Sanskrit manuscripts of the RGV (Mss. A and B) and this text:

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[65] This is a gloss on the expression in the *Sūtrasamuccaya* (a quotation from the *Laṅkāvatāra*), ed. Pāsādika, p. 172.1; T no. 1635, vol. 32, 70c–71a.

[66] *shun pa'i nang na gnas* (Skt. *tuṣesu sārāṇy*; the Tanjur version reads *sbun la snying po*). The rendering *gnas* as an equivalent of *sāra* is not standard. The original reading may have been *nas* ("barley-corn"), in which case the translator or reviser of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* would have understood *sāra* as 'barley-corn'.

[67] SSBh, D 325a5–7; P 378b3–6: *de la dang po chos nyid kyi ngo bo nyid ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po zhes gsungs te | khams ni rang bzhin gyis* (D *gyi*) *rnam par dag pa dri ma dang bcas pa'i de bzhin nyid de* (P *do*) | *"mdo gzhan" ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po la sogs pa'o || brjod pa ni dpe rnam pa dgu gsungs te | "padma ngan la rgyal ba'i sku dang ni || sbrang ma'i sbrang rtsi shun pa'i nang na gnas || mi gtsang dong du rin chen gser dang ni || sa yi gter dang myu gu la sogs 'bras || rul* (P *rdul*) *ba'i gos nang* (em.; DP *dang*) *rgyal ba'i gzugs brnyan dang || 'bangs* (P *dmang*) *mo'i lto na rgyal po'i sras bzhin dang || sa la rin chen ci bzhin dri ma yis || sgrib pa'i khams ni 'gro ba kun la gnas ||" zhes gsungs pa'o ||*.

RGV I.96–97: *buddhaḥ kupadme madhu makṣikāsu tuṣesu sārāṇy aśucau suvarṇam | nidhiḥ kṣitāv alpaphale 'ṅkurādi praklinnavastreṣu jinātmabhāvaḥ || jaghanyanārījaṭhare nṛpatvaṃ yathā bhaven mṛtsu ca ratnabimbam | āgantukakleśamalāvṛteṣu sattveṣu tadvat sthita eṣa dhātuḥ ||*.

RGV(tib) I.96–97: *sangs rgyas pad ngan sbrang rtsi sbrang ma la || sbun la snying po mi gtsang nang na gser || sa la gter dang smyug sogs 'bras chung dang || gos hrul nang na rgyal ba'i sku dang ni || bud med ngan ma'i lto na mi bdag dang || sa la rin chen gzugs yod ji lta bar || glo bur nyon mongs dri mas bsgribs pa yi || sems can rnams la de bzhin khams 'di gnas ||*.

With regard to verse 96c, our text reads *myu gu la sogs 'bras* (the Tibetan equivalent for *alpa* being omitted), while the Sanskrit text and rNgog's translation read: *alpa-phale 'ṅkurādi*, *smyug sogs 'bras chung dang* ("a sprout or the like on a little fruit"). As to verse 97d, our text reads "the *dhātu*, covered with stains, abides in every sentient being" (*dri ma yis sgrib pa'i khams ni 'gro ba kun la gnas*), while the RGV reads "this *dhātu* abides in sentient beings, who are covered with adventitious stains" (*āgantukakleśamalāvṛteṣu sattveṣu tadvat sthita eṣa dhātuḥ*).[68] The author of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* seems to read *°*āvṛtaś ca* in place of *°āvṛteṣu* (97d) and construes it with *dhātuḥ*. This reading is semantically acceptable but is not supported by the Chinese translation[69] or by rNgog's translation. As we will see below, generally quotations in the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* vary slightly from the extant Sanskrit text of the RGV.

Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya (2)

In the same context in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, Mahāmati enumerates characteristics of Buddha-nature: "You (i.e. the Buddha) taught it as being pure in its natural luminosity, and thus primordially pure, as possessing the thirty-two marks [of a Great Man (*mahāpuruṣa*)], and as being inside the body of all sentient beings."[70] The *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* glosses this as follows:

> Its (i.e. Buddha-nature's) defining characteristics are taught in the phrases "natural luminosity" and so forth. The phrase "purity which is characterized by being primordially free from impurities" means being free from [the conceptualization of] object and subject (*grāhyagrāhaka*). [It is taught that Buddha-nature] "possesses the thirty-two characteristic marks" (*dvātriṃśallakṣaṇadhara*) in the sense of partial possession, that is, [as] a seed. The phrase "being inside the body" (*dehāntargata*) is synonymous with "abiding inside the mind."[71]

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[68] We cannot exclude the possibility that these variant readings go back only to the Tibetan rendering, not to the Sanskrit original.

[69] T no. 1611, vol. 31, 837a21–22: 衆生貪瞋癡 妄想煩惱等 塵勞諸垢中 皆有如來藏.

[70] LAS 77.15–17: *sa ca kila tvayā prakṛtiprabhāsvaraviśuddhyādiviśuddha eva varṇyate dvātriṃśallakṣaṇadharaḥ sarvasattvadehāntargato....* (The particle *kila* signifies that this is a part of Mahāmati's objection to the Buddha's instruction on Buddha-nature.) SS, ed. Pasadika, p. 172.3–6: *bcom ldan 'das kyis rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal bar rnam par dag pas thog ma nas rnam par dag pa nyid mtshan sum cu rtsa gnyis ldan pa sems can thams cad lus kyi nang na mchis par brjod do* ||.

[71] SSBh, D 325a7–b2; P 378b6–7: *de'i mtshan nyid ni | rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal zhes bya ba la sogs pa ste | dri ma thog ma nyid nas bral ba'i mtshan nyid de* (P do) *rnam par dag pa zhes bya ba ni gzung 'dzin dang bral ba'o || cha 'dzin pas na mtshan sum cu rtsa gnyis dang ldan pa ste sa bon gyi don to || lus kyi nang zhes bya ba ni sems la gnas pa'i tshig bla dags so* ||.

The author of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* understands the term "purity" in the sense of being free from the conceptualization consisting of object and subject. He interprets the term "thirty-two marks" (which are the resultant Buddha-qualities) as being in seminal states (i.e. as being partially possessed by ordinary persons, in the form of potentiality), thus avoiding the faulty *satkāryavāda* position admitting a result abiding in its cause.

Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya (3)

Further on in the same passage of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, Mahāmati continues enumerating the characteristics of Buddha-nature: "… [the Buddha taught it] as being defiled by impurities—desire, hatred, and delusion, and the conceptualization of unreal entities."[72] To explain the defilements which cover over Buddha-nature, the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* refers to the RGV along with its author, Maitreya:

> From the *Uttaratantra* of the noble Maitreya one should know precisely the defining characteristics of obscurations, namely the latent contaminants of desire (*rāgānuśaya*) and so forth.[73]

The author of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* links the passage in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* with the nine defilements identified in RGV I.130–143, namely the "latent contaminants of desire" (*rāgānuśaya*) and so forth. It is remarkable that the term *rāgānuśaya* occurs only in the prose commentary of the RGV but that the author ascribes it to Maitreya. This does not accord with Tibetan tradition, which ascribes it to Asaṅga.[74]

Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya (4)

As we saw above, in the tenth chapter of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya*, the author enters into the debate on the *ekayāna* versus the *yānatraya* doctrine, and ends up claiming

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[72] LAS 77.18: *rāgadveṣamohābhūtaparikalpamalamalino*; SS, ed. Pasadika, p. 172.9–11: *'dod chags dang zhe sdang dang gti mug gis zil gyis non pa yongs su rtog pa'i dri mas dri ma can du gyur pa*.

[73] RGVV 67.9–68.6 (ad I.130–131). SSBh, D 325b3; P 379a1–2: *sgrib pa rnams kyi mtshan nyid 'dod chags kyi bag la nyal ba la sogs pa rnams ni 'phags pa byams pas rgyud bla ma las bsdus par rig par bya'o* ||.

[74] Note that the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya*'s author sometimes comes up with non-standard attributions of authorship of classical works. He ascribes, for instance, Vasubandhu's *Triṃśikā* to Maitreya. See SSBh, D 288b6–7: *'phags pa byams pa'i zhal snga nas kyang …* (quoting *Triṃśikā* 1–2ab) *… zhes rab tu byed pa sum cu pa las gsungs pa*; SSBh, D 323b5–6: *rgyal ba byams pa'i zhal snga nas 'byung la rab tu byed pa sum cu pa las kyang* (quoting *Triṃśikā* 21cd) *ces gsungs la*.

that the former, as opposed to the latter, is definitive.[75] In its concluding part, the author asserts that when the pure nature is covered with defilements, it cannot be determined whether the spiritual disposition (*gotra*) can be accounted for in terms of the *ekayāna*, but once these defilements are removed this will be seen to be the case. The author also says that since the spiritual disposition equates to the *dharmadhātu* (which is single), it is not divisible, and thus all sentient beings have Buddha-nature, whose fruits can be accommodated entirely within the *ekayāna*. He concludes that the teaching of the existence of various vehicles (*yānatraya/ gotrabheda*) is provisional.[76] To support the theory that the *ekayāna* potentiality abiding in every being is covered with defilements, the author quotes verses from the RGVV, *Dharmadhātustava*, and RGV:[77]

> This is because it is taught, "Gold is not [immediately] visible in stone [that has been] powdered. [Only] after being purified does it emerge. Similarly, it is taught that the Sugata [is present] in the world (or in people)" (≈ RGVV).[78] The noble Nāgārjuna, too, taught: "The son in the womb of a pregnant woman is not visible. Similarly, the *dharmadhātu* is invisible, since [it] is covered with dense defilements" (*Dharmadhātustava* 27).[79] Likewise, for his part, the noble Maitreya taught: "The *dharmadhātu* is resplendent, [like] the

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[75] SSBh, D 297a4; P 346a8: *de'i phyir theg pa gcig tu sgrub pa'i 'thad pa gsungs pa ni | theg pa gcig tu zad pa la || zhes dam bca' bar mdzad do ||* (see SS, ed. Pasadika, p. 126.3–4: *theg pa gcig tu zad par ni mdo sde du ma las gsungs pa'i phyir ro |*); and SSBh, D 299b6; P 349a6: *dgongs pa gang gi slad du ci ltar theg pa gsum ston ce na | bsam pa dman pa drang ba'i phyir te |*.

[76] SSBh, D 296b4–6; P 345b8–346a2: *rigs* (P *rig*) *pas bstan par ma gyur pa'i lung ni bkrir btub pa'i phyir nges par mi 'gyur la | bzlog pa ni nges pa can yin pas chos kyi dbyings ni rigs kyi don yin pas dbyer med pa'i phyir | thams cad kyang de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can yin pas | de'i 'bras bu theg pa gcig pa nyid de | rtogs pa'i thabs rim can du theg pa sna tshogs su bstan cing | rigs* (P *rig*) *de nyon mongs pa la sogs pas snang bar ma gyur pas | re zhig rigs lngar gsungs pa yin te |*. The *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* considers the *ekayāna* to apply to the result stage, and the three vehicles to the causal stages.

[77] He also quotes *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* IX.37, which is cited in RGVV 71.16–17. See SSBh, D 296a6: *de bzhin nyid ni thams cad la || khyad par med phyir dag gyur pas || de bzhin gshegs nyid de yi phyir || 'gro kun de yi snying po can ||*.

[78] RGVV 6.9–10: *yathā pattharacuṇṇaṃhi jātarūpaṃ na dissati | parikammeṇa tad diṭṭham evaṃ loke tathāgatā ||*. RGV(tib) 9.13–14: *ji ltar rdo yi phyi ma la || sa le sbram ni mi mthong zhing || yongs su sbyangs pas de mthong bzhin || 'jig rten la ni de bzhin gshegs ||*.

[79] *Dharmadhātustava* 27 Skt (Liu 2015): *yathā hi garbho garbhiṇāṃ vidyate na ca dṛśyate | tathā hi kleśasañchannaṃ dharmatattvaṃ*[a] *na dṛśyate ||* ([a] *dharmatattvaṃ* Liu [em.; See also Kano 2015c: 190]; *dharmatātvaṃ* Ms.), Tib. (Hayashima 1987: 56): *ji ltar sbrum ma'i lto na bu || yod kyang mthong ba ma yin pa || de bzhin nyon mongs kyis g.yogs pa'i || chos kyi **dbyings** kyang mthong ma yin ||*, 如胞胎孕子 有之而不現 如煩惱所覆 法實不可見 (T no. 413, vol. 13, 790c5–6). 懷孕在於腹 嬰子未言見 二障覆真如 法界不能證 (T no. 1675, vol. 32, 755a8–9).

> sun; *tathatā* is not divisible; and an entity, namely the *gotra*, emerges. Therefore, all [sentient beings] have Buddha-nature (**sugatagarbha*)" (≈ RGV I.28).[80] As precisely stated in the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*, all [sentient beings] thus [are included within] the *ekayāna*, given that [they] accomplish [the purification of the *dharmadhātu* (i.e. Buddha-nature)] by means of the activating cause (*sad pa'i rkyen*), even though [the *dharmadhātu*] is covered (*bkris*) with defilements.[81]

These three verses teach that the absolute reality (i.e. Buddha-nature) abides in every being as a potential but is covered with defilements. The author cites the verses in support of the *ekayāna* doctrine and associates Buddha-nature with that doctrine. He ascribes the authorship of the *Dharmadhātustava* and RGV to Nāgārjuna and Maitreya, respectively, and quotes them together, probably in order to show that both the founders of Madhyamaka and Yogācāra were one in supporting the *ekayāna* doctrine.[82] The author finds in the Buddha-nature doctrine support for the concepts of *dharmadhātu* and *gotra* within the *ekayāna* doctrinal system. As we will see below (Chap. 4), Atiśa in his *Dharmadhātudarśanagīti* uses a similar strategy, quoting both the *Dharmadhātustava* and the RGV together. Later Tibetan masters such as Dol-po-pa Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan repeatedly used the *Dharmadhātustava*, ascribed by them to Nāgārjuna, as authority enough to establish the teaching of Buddha-nature as solid Madhyamaka.

From the philological viewpoint, it is remarkable that the Tibetan rendering of RGV I.28 found in this passage is quite different from the standard Sanskrit text of the RGV. The Sanskrit text of RGV I.28a reads: *saṃbuddhakāyaspharaṇāt*, whereas the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* reads: *chos dbyings snang byed 'od 'byung zhing*, which can

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[80] RGV I.28: *saṃbuddhakāyaspharaṇāt tathatāvyatibhedataḥ | gotrataś ca sadā sarve buddhagarbhāḥ śarīriṇaḥ ||* Cf. RGV I.27: *buddhajñānāntargamāt sattvarāśes tannairmalyasyādvayatvāt prakṛtyā | bauddhe gotre tatphalasyopacārād uktāḥ sarve dehino buddhagarbhāḥ ||*.

[81] SSBh, D 296b6–297a2; P 346a2–6: *"ji ltar rdo yi* (em.; DP *rje'i*) *phye* (em.; DP *phyi*) *ma'i gser || mig lam snang bar ma gyur pa || sbyangs pas snang bar gyur pa bzhin || 'jig rten bde bar gshegs pa brjod ||" ces gsungs pa'i phyir dang* (P *ces gsungs pa dang*) *| 'phags pa klu sgrub kyis kyang | "sbrum ma'i lto na 'dug pa'i bu || mig lam snang bar mi 'gyur ltar || nyon mongs thibs po'i bkab* (D *pos bkag*) *pa yis* (read *yi*) *|| chos dbyings mig lam snang ma yin ||" zhes gsungs so || de bzhin du 'phags pa byams pas kyang | "chos dbyings snang byed 'od 'byung zhing || de bzhin nyid la tha dad med || rigs kyi don ni snang ba'i phyir || thams cad bde gshegs snying po can ||" zhes gsungs pas de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i mdo ji lta ba bzhin du nyon mongs pas bkris su zin kyang | sad pa'i rkyen gyis 'dus byas na thams cad theg pa gcig tu zad do ||*.

[82] The attribution of the *Dharmadhātustava* to Nāgārjuna (i.e. the author of *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*) is considered doubtful by Seyfort Ruegg (1971) and Hayashima (1987).

possibly be reconstructed as **dharmadhātvarkaspharaṇāt*.[83] Of these two different readings, the reading of the Sanskrit text (*saṃbuddhakāya*) is preferable in its context, and is supported by the Chinese translation.[84] On the other hand, the reading of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* "**dharmadhātu*" (instead of *saṃbuddhakāya*) fits better into its own context, whose main topic is *dharmadhātu*. We can be sure in any event that *saṃbuddhakāya* (i.e. *dharmakāya*) and *dharmadhātu* were freely interchangeable terms for the author of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya*.

Another variant reading found in this passage is **sugatagarbha* (unmetrical) instead of *buddhagarbha* (the reading of the Sanskrit text of RGV I.28d). If these variant readings were not derived from free renderings on the part of Tibetan translators, they suggest that the author of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* used a manuscript of another transmission line that has not come down to us.

Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya (5)

The first chapter of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* glosses one sūtra passage in the *Sūtrasamuccaya* taken from the **Tathāgatotpattisaṃbhavanirdeśa* of the *Buddhāvataṃśakasūtra*. This sūtra contributed to the formation of the Buddha-nature doctrine, and is quoted in the RGVV when the latter introduces the simile of a huge roll of silk cloth.[85] Although the passage is not a quotation from the RGV, it does reflect the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya*'s stance on Buddha-nature. It teaches that the Buddha has neither entered *nirvāṇa* nor ceased to exist, but rather appears everywhere in the world, just as the sun shines everywhere, and without exception is reflected in clear water within vessels (*bhājana*, symbolizing the minds of sentient beings); but if the vessels are broken, this is no longer possible.[86] The *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* associates this simile with a verse from another text:

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[83] Or **dharmadhātvaṃśuspharaṇāt*; however, this reconstructed *pāda* is *bha-vipulā*.

[84] T no. 1611, vol. 31, 828a28.

[85] SS, ed. Pasadika, pp. 113.6–120.6: *de bzhin gshegs pa skye ba srid pa'i mdo las 'byung ba* ...). Takasaki has translated this sūtra into Japanese (see Takasaki 1992: 257–265, §§77–81).

[86] SS, ed. Pasadika, pp. 115.14–116.1: *kye rgyal ba'i sras 'di lta ste | dper na nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor chos kyi dbyings kyi tshad dang mnyam pa zhig shar la | de shar nas kyang 'jig rten gyi khams thams cad kyi chu yongs su dang ba'i snod thams cad du gzugs brnyan phyin par snang zhing mngon la nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor 'phos pa med cing | nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor kun tu phyin pa snang bar gyur kyang de'i nang na chu'i snod gcig cig chag gam | de nas logs shig tu phyung ngam | stong par gzhag par gyur kyang | nyi ma'i gzugs brnyan yang snang bar mi 'gyur na | kye rgyal ba'i sras de la ji snyam du sems | nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor ram gcig gis nyes te | snod der nyi ma'i gzugs brnyan mi snang bar ma gyur grang ngo ||*.

> It has been taught: "Buddha-nature (**sugatagarbha*) completely pervades all beings (or the entire world), [and thus sentient beings] generate the resolve [to attain] the extensive and supreme [*nirvāṇa*]. All these beings will become awakened. Therefore, there exist here no sentient beings which are not receptacles (*bhājana*)." Since all [sentient beings] will become *tathāgata*s, [the Buddha] displayed differences in his activities as a means of disciplining them....[87]

The *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* quotes this verse in support of the *ekayāna* doctrine, for the verse encourages ordinary beings to engage in the practice by way of confirming their potential to become a buddha. Although the author of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* does not mention the source of this verse, the same verse from the *Samādhirājasūtra* had been repeatedly used by such Indian masters as Kamalaśīla, Dharmamitra, Haribhadra, Padmavajra, and Abhayākaragupta to—in most cases—back the *ekayāna* theory.[88]

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[87] SSBh, D 293b3–4; P 342b3–4: *bde gshegs snying po 'gro kun yongs la khyab || sems ni rgya che mchog tu rab bskyed de || 'gro ba 'di dag thams cad sangs rgyas 'gyur || de'i phyir snod min sems can gang yang med || ces bya ba thams cad kyang de bzhin gshegs par 'gyur bas | phrin las nyid kyi khyad par de dag 'dul ba'i thabs su ston pas |*.

The first half of the quoted verse may or may not have been taken from the *Samādhirāja*. The passage continues: SSBh, D 293b4–5; P 342b4–6: *gzhan yang yongs su mya ngan las 'da' bas gdul ba rnams la zhes gsungs pa yin no || thams cad de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can du sgrub pa ni | bshad zin 'chad par 'gyur bas gzhan || zhes bya ba'i tshul gyis re zhig gzhag* (P bzhag) *go ||*.

[88] *Samādhirāja*, ed. Vaidya, p. 317, chapter 10, verse 72: *vyākaraṇaṃ mama śrutviha loko cittu janeṣpati atra udāram | buddha bhaviṣyati sarvajano 'yam nāstiha kaścid abhājanasattvo ||* (This verse is not included in the Gilgit manuscript, but it is included in Nepalese manuscripts and the Tibetan translation. See *Samādhirāja*, P 795, 33b6: *bdag 'dir lung bstan 'jig rten thos nas ni || sems kyang mchog tu rgya cher rab bskyed de || 'gro ba 'di dag thams cad sangs rgyas 'gyur || 'di na snod min sems can gang yang med ||*). This is quoted in the following texts: Padmavajra's *Advayavivaraṇaprajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi* (ed. Dwivedi *et al.*, p. 215): *tathā coktaṃ samādhirājatantre—buddha bhaviṣyati sarvajano 'yaṃ nāsti ha kaścid abhājanasattvaḥ | iti*; Dharmamitra, *Prasphuṭapadā*, D 3796, 47a6–7; P 5194, 54a6–7 (See Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 209 and 1977: 291; again quoted in D 83a2–3): *yang 'phags pa zla ba sgron ma'i mdo las | 'di na snod min sems can gang yang med || 'gro ba 'di kun ma lus sangs rgyas 'gyur || zhes gsungs pa dag ji ltar drangs |*. Kamalaśīla, *Madhyamakāloka*, D 147b3–4: *gang yang 'phags pa ting nge 'dzin gyi rgyal po las | 'di na snod min sems can 'ga' yang med || 'gro ba 'di dag thams cad sangs rgyas 'gyur ||* (See Matsumoto 1987: 11); Haribhadra, *Saṃcayagāthāpañjikā*, D 3792, 20a6–7: *'di na snod min sems can 'ga' yang med || ces gsungs pas 'gro ba thams cad kyis sangs rgyas thob par 'gyur te | 'dod chags dang bral ba dang cig shos kyi rnal 'byor pas kyang sangs rgyas nyid thob pas na lam shes pa bsgom pa ni khyab pa yin no ||*; Jayānanda, *Madhyamakāvatāraṭīkā*, D 354a7–b1: *de bzhin du ting nge 'dzin rgyal po'i mdo las | 'gro rnams thams cad sangs rgyas nyid 'gyur gyi ||'di na snod med sems can 'ga' yang med ||ces gsungs so ||*; Dharmakīrti, *Durbodhālokā*, D 3794, 250a2: *'di na snod min sems can gang yang med || 'gro ba 'di dag thams cad sangs rgyas 'gyur || zhes gsungs pa yin no ||*;

A Summary and Further Considerations

Regarding the passages of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* (1)–(5) quoted above, we may point out the following: The author (named "Ratnākaraśānti") accurately quotes passages of the RGV within their proper contexts, and thus seems to be at home with its teaching. He ascribes the authorship of the RGV and RGVV to Maitreya (see *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* [3] above); and utilizes both as scriptural authority (*āgama*) to justify the *ekayāna* doctrine (quoting them together with Nāgārjuna's *Dharmadhātustava*; see *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* [4]). In a sense, he merely echoes the *ekayāna* doctrine of the *Sūtrasamuccaya* and supports it by quoting the RGV. The combination of the *ekayāna* doctrine and the Buddha-nature doctrine is itself already found in Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka* (see the Introduction above, p. 9ff.), the contribution of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* probably being limited to the application of the teaching of the RGV to the *ekayāna* doctrine. The doctrinal position of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* is obviously different from that of Ratnākaraśānti (i.e. the Nirākāravijñaptimātravādin of Vikramaśīla and an exponent of the *yānatraya* position). This latter Ratnākaraśānti displays the unique stance of identifying Buddha-nature (or the *dharmadhātu*) with the *bodhisattvagotra*, thereby unifying the Buddha-nature doctrine and the Three Vehicle position of Yogācāra.

Abhayākaragupta, *Munimata*, Skt. Ms. 69r3: *tathā samādhirājasūtre | buddha bhaviṣyati sarvajago 'pi nāsti ha kaścid abhājanasattva |* (Li & Kano 2014: 19);
Abhayākaragupta, *Marmakaumudī*, D 3805, 76b4: *mdo ting nge 'dzin gyi rgyal por yang | 'gro ba 'di rnams thams cad sangs rgyas 'gyur || zhes te |*;
Ye-shes-sde, *lTa ba'i khyad par*, Ueyama 1977–81: 38: *'phags pa ting nger 'dzin rgyal po las bstsogs pa mdo sde mang po las | sems can thams cad ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po yin no zhes 'byung ba dang |*;
Anonymous, *Śabdaśāstra*, D 4351, 305b2: *'gro ba 'di dag thams cad sangs rgyas 'gyur || 'di na snod min sems can 'ga' yang med ||*;
Jñānaśrībhadra, *Āryalaṅkāvatāravṛtti*, D 4018, 95a7–b1: *ji ltar | ting nge 'dzin gyi rgyal po las 'byung ba | 'gro ba 'di kun sangs rgyas 'gyur || snod min sems can gang yang med || ces pa'o ||*;
Jñānavajra, *Tathāgatahṛdayālaṃkārā Āryalaṅkāvatāravṛtti*, D 4019, 118a3: *'phags pa ting nge 'dzin gyi rgyal po las kyang | 'gro ba 'di dag ma lus sangs rgyas 'gyur || 'di na snod min sems can gang yang med || zhes pa la sogs pa gsungs so ||*;
Mañjuśrīkīrti, *Samādhirājaṭīkā Kīrtimālā*, D 4010, 52b7–53a1: *'di na snod min sems can gang yang med | ces bya ba ni g.yo ba med pa'i sems kyis byan chub tu sems bskyed par bya'o zhes bya ba'i don to ||*.

As to a possible link with rNgog's Buddha-nature understanding, the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* does not equate Buddha-nature with emptiness or selflessness in the above passages. In this regard, then, the philosophical position set forth in it does not seem to have had any direct impact on rNgog, who does equate the two.

Chapter 4

The Transmission of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* in East India from the 11th to 13th Century: From Prajñākaramati to Vibhūticandra

In the previous chapters, we have studied passages from works of Maitrīpa, Jñānaśrīmitra, and Ratnākaraśānti that include quotations from the RGV and discuss Buddha-nature. Following these earlier masters and the phase of the RGV's resurrection in the initial years of the 11th century, their disciples and others, most of whom were active in Vikramaśīla and its orbit, continued to cite the RGV as an authority. In the present chapter, we shall deal with Prajñākaramati, Atiśa, Yamāri, Vairocanarakṣita, Rāmapāla, Sahajavajra, Abhayākaragupta, Zhi-ba-'byung-gnas (*Śāntyākara), Daśabalaśrīmitra, Ratnarakṣita, and Vibhūticandra.

Prajñākaramati
(Early 11th century)[1]

Prajñākaramati was one of the "six gatekeeper paṇḍitas" of Vikramaśīla.[2] According to Tāranātha, Prajñākaramati repeatedly refuted non-Buddhists in debates with spontaneous answers, having been blessed by Mañjuśrī.[3] He is said to have taught 'Brog-mi Lo-tsā-ba many philosophical tenets of the non-Buddhists and given tantric instruction called "Protection against Three External Demons" (*phyi rol gyi gdon gsum bsrung ba*)."[4]

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1 In the introduction of the Sanskrit edition of the *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, Vaidya incorrectly places his lifetime within the span of the 8th and 9th centuries.

2 As we saw in Chapter 2 (p. 55 n. 44), his name appears in the colophon of the Tibetan translation of his *Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛttipiṇḍārtha*, where he is identified as the western gatekeeper: *nub kyi sgo glegs dpal mkhas pa chen po shes rab 'byung gnas blo gros* (D 3795, 275a6–7, P 5193, 315a5–7).

3 Tāranātha, *rGya gar chos 'byung* 178.12–19. Tāranātha, though, here seems to have confused Prajñākaramati with Prajñākaragupta.

4 Stearns 2001: 87 and 209, and Sobisch 2008: 110. Davidson (2005: 172), however, states: "The Indian pedigree of these works [= instructions to 'Brog-mi by 'six gatekeeper paṇḍitas' of

In his gloss on *Bodhicaryāvatāra* IX.43ab, Prajñākaramati quotes RGV V.18[5] and discusses the scriptural authority of the Mahāyāna teachings. Prajñākaramati's composition is not precisely datable, but the date can be approximately determined based on the date of its canonical Tibetan translation, which was done by Sumatikīrti and Darma-grags in the middle of the 11th century. The colophon of a Sanskrit manuscript copy of it contains a date corresponding to Tuesday, 31 July 1078 (written at Patan in Nepal).[6]

Prajñākaramati seems to have received the RGV within the circle of paṇḍitas of Vikramaśīla, which included Maitrīpa. Prajñākaramati's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* commentary had some impact on the later tradition. For instance, Vairocanarakṣita of Vikramaśīla quoted the same verse (RGV V.18) in his *Bodhicaryāvatāra* commentary.[7]

Atiśa
(982–1054 or ca. 986–1065)

According to gZhon-nu-dpal, Atiśa[8] received the RGV from Maitrīpa. This was

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Vikramaśīla in the *Pusti dmar chung*] might legitimately be questioned, for rather than early-eleventh-century texts from Indic authors, they all appear to be closely associated with the kinds of instructions found in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Central Tibet."

5 Prajñākaramati, BCAP, 205.19–22: *tad atra dharmatāyā avilomanam eva samyaglakṣaṇam uktam | uktaṃ ca "yad arthavad dharmapadopasaṃhitaṃ tridhātusaṃkleśanibarhaṇaṃ vacaḥ | bhavec ca yac chāntyanuśaṃsadarśakaṃ tad uktam ārṣaṃ viparītam anyathā ||" iti |*. As we will see below (Chapter 6, p. 172), the canonical Tibetan translation of this verse is exactly the same as rNgog's translation.

6 Petech 1984: 47.

7 Like Prajñākaramati, this Vairocanarakṣita also composed commentaries on the *Śiṣyalekha* (D 4192; P 5692 and D 4191; P 5691); he should not be confused, however, with another Vairocanarakṣita, who was from Dakṣiṇa Kośala. See below, pp. 103–104.

8 For the date, see Hadano 1959: 293–294. Isaacson and Sferra (2014: 70–71 n. 51), discussing problems posed by the word form Atiśa, state that "[t]he corruption (or 'transformation') of Adhīśa to Atiśa seems to us not really more improbable than that of Atiśaya to Atiśa; and Adhīśa has the merit over both alternatives of being attested as a name or epithet." His name is indeed attested in a similar form "*a dhe śa*" (or *a rhe śa*) in an interlinear gloss in a Tibetan manuscript of an unpublished Tanjur catalogue, *bsTan bcos kyi dkar chags* by dBus-pa Blo-gsal (ca. 1270–ca. 1355): *jo bo rjes* (*a dhe* [or *rhe*] *śa*: interlinear gloss) *mdzad pa'i kye'i rdo rje'i 'byung po thams cad kyi gtor chog* (fol. 11b4–5; this item in the catalogue corresponds to D 1295, P 2418; I am grateful for permission received from Prof. Mimaki and Prof. van der Kuijp to refer to this passage).

It is possible that various spellings of his name were gradually standardized to "Atiśa", probably in an earlier rather than a later period. For instance, a word-play explanation of his name in an earlier manuscript reproduced in *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs* already presupposes the word form Atiśa (*ibid.*, vol. Ca [5], p. 369: lower margin beneath line 4: *a las rnal 'byor chen po | ti las paṇḍi ta chen po | sha las dge slong chen po bya bar ro*). Gro-lung-pa's versified praise to rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab also has the form Atiśa (*dpal ldan a ti sha la phyag*

presumably at Vikramaśīla, where the two were active:

> The early Mahāmudrā: Jo-bo [Atiśa] received from Maitrīpa the basic text of and the commentary on the *Mahāyānottaratantra*, along with *dohā* cycles and other texts.[9]

bSod-nams-grags-pa, however, doubts Atiśa's reception of the RGV from Maitrīpa:

> Since the reverend Jo-bo [Atiśa] and Nag-tsho translated both the basic text of and commentary on the two treatises (i.e. the RGV and *Dharmadharmatā-vibhāga*), it is certain that the Jo-bo had received [both] the basic text and commentary [from someone]. As for the teacher from whom [Atiśa] received [them], given that [he] had a difficult relationship with Maitrīpa one should investigate whether he received them only from this same Maitrīpa or not.[10]

bSod-nams-grags-pa suggests that it was not Maitrīpa but someone else who transmitted the RGV to Atiśa, in the face of accounts of Atiśa having expelled Maitrīpa from Vikramaśīla. It is, of course, possible that Atiśa received the teaching of the RGV from some other contemporary at Vikramaśīla, such as Jñānaśrīmitra or Ratnākaraśānti, but we do not have sufficient evidence to confirm such speculation.[11] Thus it is probably reasonable to simply follow gZhon-nu-dpal's older account: Atiśa received the RGV from Maitrīpa. After leaving Vikramaśīla, Atiśa is said to have translated the RGV into Tibetan in collaboration with Nag-tsho in Tibet,[12] and to have lectured on the RGV at Sol-nag Thang-po-che.

[2a] *'tshal lo*; the transcription of the text is included in Jackson 1993b). On the other hand, his Tibetan epithet *lha cig pa* possibly suggests Atīśa as its Sanskrit equivalent.

His name Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna is, according to Luo Zhao's catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in Tibet, attested in a colophon of a Sanskrit manuscript "*mahāpaṇḍita-śākyasthaviradi*(sic)*paṅkaraśrījñāna*" (Kano 2012c: 150).

9 gZhon-nu-dpal, *Deb sngon*, 987.5–6: *dang por snga ba ni jo bo chen po rje lha gcig gis theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma rtsa 'grel dang | do ha la sogs pa'i skor rnams mai tri pa las gsan nas* |. See Roerich 1949/53: 843–844; Tatz 1988: 479–480. For Atiśa's epithet *jo bo chen po rje lha gcig*, see Tatz 1988: 479 n. 34.

10 bSod-nams-grags-pa, *rGyud bla dka' gnas*, 3a3–4: *jo bo chen po dang nag tsho bstan bcos rtsa 'grel gnyis bsgyur 'dug pas jo bos bstan bcos rtsa 'grel gsan par nges la | gsan pa'i bla ma yang mai tri pa dang 'grig dka' bas chos 'di mai tri pa kho na las rnyed pa yin min ni brtag par bya'o* ||. See Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 37 n. 2; Tatz 1988: 480.5f.

11 For a discussion of this supposed expulsion, see Tatz 1988 and Seyfort Ruegg 1984: 132 n. 24.

12 See below, Chapter 6, p. 156f. Nag-tsho, too, was acquainted with Maitrīpa's teachings, having studied the fine points of *amanasikāra* under Maitrīpa's disciple Vajrapāṇi. See Tatz 1988: 479 n. 33.

Atiśa quotes RGV I.86 in his *Dharmadhātudarśanagīti*.[13] This is a work which explains, in the beginning section, the single nature of the *dharmadhātu*, and presents, in the remainder of the text, a variety of doctrinal positions (*darśana*), including both Buddhist and non-Buddhist views, on related subjects. Limning the nature of the *dharmadhātu* at the beginning of the work, Atiśa quotes verses from the *Dharmadhātustava* ascribed to Nāgārjuna, and then, at the end of the discussion of the *dharmadhātu*, he quotes RGV I.86, which proclaims the lack of all differentiation with respect to the *dharmadhātu*. By representing the Buddha-nature doctrine as being common to Nāgārjuna's and Maitreya's teachings, Atiśa plays up the unity between these two masters.

It is notable that the verse quoted by Atiśa varies from rNgog's rendering of the RGV: Atiśa reads *brdzun med bslu med 'tshe med pas*, while rNgog has *brdzun med bslu med chos nyid dang* (which corresponds with the Sanskrit text, *amṛṣāmoṣadharmitvam*). This quotation is a clear indication that the RGV was known to Atiśa.

We can find more extensive discussions of Buddha-nature in Atiśa's other works: in his *Ratnakaraṇḍodghāṭa-Madhyamakopadeśa*, he explains the term "innate *śīla* (ethical-moral discipline or propensity)" (*rang bzhin gyi tshul khrims*), which represents one of three kinds of *śīla*s[14]:

> The term "innate *śīla*" means that all sentient beings have a single [or universal] spiritual disposition (*gotra*), Buddha-nature, or the spiritual disposition of the Mahāyāna. If one engages in practice, one has the opportunity to attain [awakening]. But [such a disposition] is obscured by four kinds of faults. In this regard, the *Sūtrālaṃkāra* (III.7) teaches: "Briefly, the disadvantages (*ādīnava*) of the spiritual disposition should be known to be four: habituation to mental addictions, base companionship, deprivation, and dependency."[15] Therefore, individuals (*pudgala*) who have the spiritual disposition are innately in complete possession of great compassion and the qualities of perfection (*pāramitā*) in

[13] D 2314 = D 4475; P 3153 = P 5388; modern edition in Lobsang Dorjee 1999: 89. See also Mochizuki 2006. RGV I.86: *buddhadharmāvinirbhāgas tad gotrasya tathāgamaḥ | amṛṣāmoṣadharmitvam ādiprakṛtiśāntatā* ||. This is a commentary verse to RGV I.84ab, which in turn teaches Buddha-nature's characteristics as expressed by four synonyms (i.e. *dharmakāya*, *tathāgata*, *paramārtha*, and *nirvāṇa*) and as inseparable (*asaṃbhedārtha*) from the Buddha-qualities.

[14] The other two are: the *śīla* of customary practice (*goms pa'i tshul khrims*) and the generated *śīla* (*yang dag par blang ba'i tshul khrims*).

[15] MSA III.7: *kleśābhyāsaḥ kumitratvaṃ vighātaḥ paratantratā | gotrasyādīnavo jñeyaḥ samāsena caturvidhaḥ* ||.

their mental continua. Thus they are said to possess the innate *śīla*.[16]

Atiśa explains "the innate *śīla*" abiding in every being as a cause that brings one attainment (i.e. *nirvāṇa*), but as being covered with defilements in the state of ordinary beings. He takes it as synonymous with Buddha-nature or the *mahāyanagotra*.

In his auto-commentary on the *Bodhipathapradīpa*, Atiśa explains the term *so sor thar pa'i sdom pa*[17] and associates the Buddha-nature doctrine with that of the Great Madhyamaka (*dbu ma chen po*), which teaches that there is nobody who is not a recipient of the Mahāyāna (i.e. *ekayāna*).[18]

In sum, despite Atiśa's great contribution of producing the first Tibetan translation of the RGV (see Chapter 6), it is hard to gauge his philosophical position on the Buddha-nature doctrine in his works, apart from the above-mentioned points. Atiśa simply utilizes the notion of Buddha-nature to establish the *ekayāna* doctrine, a similar application being already found in works of earlier masters, such as Kamalaśīla.

Yamāri
(ca. 1000–1060)[19]

Yamāri was a contemporary of Atiśa. Tāranatha states that although Yamāri was a learned master of the "five fields of knowledge" (*rig gnas lnga*), he lived in poverty with his family. One day he spoke of his poverty to a yogin who was visiting him on his way to Vajrāsana. After leaving and then returning from Vajrāsana, the yogin performed a ritual for him, so that, blessed by Vasudharā, Yamāri was entrusted

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16 Atiśa, *Ratnakaraṇḍodghāṭa-Madhyamakopadeśa*, D 3930, 104b2–4; P 5325, 116b8–117a3: *de la rang bzhin gyi tshul khrims ni | sems can thams cad rigs gcig yin pa dang | de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can yin pa dang | theg pa chen po'i rigs can yin pa ste | bsgrubs na 'grub pa'i skal ba can yin yang nyes pa rnam pa bzhis bkab nas 'dug pa yin te | mdo sde'i rgyan las | nyon mongs goms dang grogs ngan dang || phongs dang gzhan gyis dbang byas dang || mdor na rigs kyi nyes pa ni || rnam pa bzhir ni yang dag brjod || ces gsungs pas rigs can gyi gang zag de ni rang bzhin gyis snying rje che ba dang | rang bzhin gyis pha rol tu phyin pa'i yon tan rgyud la tshang bar ldan pas rang bzhin gyi tshul khrims can zhes bya'o ||*. See Miyazaki 2007: 32, 91.

17 See Eimer 1978: 114–115.

18 Atiśa, *Bodhimārgapradīpapañjikā*, D 3948, 258b5–6; P 5344, 298a6–7: *yang na theg pa chen po dbu ma chen po'i grub mtha' brtsan par byas na ni | 'di ltar theg pa chen pa'i snod du ma gyur pa 'ga' yang med do || sems can thams cad rigs gcig nyid yin te | de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can no zhes bya ba dang* .... Atiśa also refers to the title of the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* (*ibid.* D 284a5–6; P 328b2–3).

19 Ono 2000: xxiii–xxiv.

with great official powers by the Pāla king and obtained a residence at Vikramaśīla.[20] Given the similarity of their thought, Jñānaśrīmitra (who held the Sākāravāda position) may, as Ono points out, have been Yamāri's teacher.[21]

In his *Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra* commentary, *Suparisuddhā*, Yamāri defines his own Sākāravāda position in his gloss of *Madhyāntavibhāga* I.1.[22] In doing so, he refers to all Five Treatises of Maitreya except for the *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga*. First he quotes *Madhyāntavibhāga* I.8ab, presenting its definition of conceptualization of the unreal (*abhūtaparikalpa*),[23] and expands on it with a citation of *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* XI.15–16.[24] Absolute reality (in which twofold clinging is absent) is expounded on the basis of *Madhyāntavibhāga* I.14.[25] Moving on to the *saṃbhogakāya*, he quotes *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (on IX.63), wherein this form-*kāya* is characterized as the perfection of benefit for oneself.[26] This is followed by a reference to *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* V.21, teaching that conceptualization is nothing but selflessness, and to RGV I.154: "This same verse was also taught in the *Uttaratantra*,

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[20] Tāranātha, *rGya gar chos 'byung* 187.11–19; Tr. 247.

[21] Ono 2000: xxiii–xxiv.

[22] Yamāri, *Suparisuddhā*, D 4226, Tse, 2a4–3b1; P 5723, Tse, 2b4–4a2 (on the Pratyakṣa chapter). Van der Kuijp (1983: 273–274 n. 103) first drew attention to the significance of this passage, which quotes various Maitreya works. See MAV I.1: *abhūtaparikalpo 'sti dvayaṃ tatra na vidyate | śūnyatā vidyate tv atra tasyām api sa vidyate* ||. Hayashi (2002) points out the parallel passages found in Jñānaśrīmitra's *Sākārasiddhi* VI and the above-mentioned passage of Yamāri's *Suparisuddhā*.

[23] Yamāri, *Suparisuddhā*, D 2b1; P 2b6: *yang dag ma yin kun rtog ni || sems dang sems bung khams gsum pa || zhes gsungs so* || = MAV I.8ab: *abhūtaparikalpaś ca cittacaittāḥ tridhātukaḥ* |.

[24] Yamāri, *Suparisuddhā*, D 3a2–3; P 3b2–4: *de skad du yang | mdo sde rgyan las | sgyu ma ji ltar de bzhin du || yang dag ma yin kun rtog brjod || sgyu mas byas pa de bzhin du || de bzhin gnyis ni 'khrul bar brjod || ji ltar de la de med pa || de bzhin don dam yin par 'dod || ji ltar de dag dmigs pa bzhin || kun rdzob kyi ni bden pa nyid || ces bya ba la sogs pa rgyas par bshad pa yin no* || = MSA XI.15–16: *yathā māyā tathābhūtaparikalpo nirucyate | yathā māyākṛtaṃ tadvat dvayabhrāntir nirucyate || yathā tasmin na tadbhāvaḥ paramārthas tatheṣyate | yathā tasyopalabdhis tu tathā saṃvṛtisatyatā* ||.

[25] Yamāri, *Suparisuddhā*, D 3a4–5; P 3b4–5: *gnyis po stong pa de nyid mdo dag las yongs su grub pa'i rang bzhin du bshad do || dbus dang mtha' rnam par 'byed pa las | de bzhin nyid dang yang dag mtha' || mtshan ma med dang don dam nyid || chos kyi dbyings dang stong nyid de || rnam grangs nyid ni mdor bsdus pa'o || zhes gsungs so* ||. = MAV I.14: *tathatā bhūtakoṭiś cānimittaṃ paramārthatā | dharmadhātuś ca paryāyāḥ śūnyatāyāḥ samāsataḥ* ||.

[26] Yamāri, *Suparisuddhā*, D 3a6–7; P 3b5–7: *gang zhig mngon sum byas pa'i mtshan nyid kyi longs spyod pa las | mtshan ma la sogs pa'i rnam pa'i tshogs dang ldan pa | rnam par byang ba'i rnam par dag pa | yang dag pa ma yin pa'i kun tu rtog pa dang bral ba la sogs par bsnyad pas longs spyod rdzogs pa'i skur brjod pa ni | rang gi don phun sum tshogs pa brjod de | mdo sde rgyan las | longs spyod rdzogs pa'i sku ni rang gi don phun sum tshogs pa'i mtshan nyid yin no zhes gsungs pa yin no* ||. See MSABh 45.18–19: *sāṃbhogikaḥ svārthasaṃpattilakṣaṇaḥ*. For Jñānaśrīmitra's position regarding the *saṃbhogakāya*, see above, Chapter 2, pp. 67–69 and Kano 2014a: 225.

[which presents] the meaning of emptiness in terms of the removal of other [entities] (*anyāpoha*)."[27] Yamāri concludes: "Therefore, [the position of] those who assert that part of an *ākāra* or all of it is erroneous (i.e. *alīkākāravāda*) has been refuted."[28]

These passages of Yamāri's work seem to be a summary of the first part of the sixth chapter in Jñānaśrīmitra's *Sākārasiddhi*, where similar themes are extensively discussed on the basis of almost identical verses quoted in the same order: *Madhyāntavibhāga* I.1–2, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* XI.15–23, *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* V.20–21, RGV I.154.[29] The parallelism of *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* V.21 and RGV I.154 pointed out by Yamāri had, moreover, already been noticed by Jñānaśrīmitra in a similar context.[30] These facts do not contradict Ono's hypothesis that Jñānaśrīmitra was the teacher of Yamāri. Indeed, Yamāri pays respect to his teacher "Jñānaśrī" (*ye shes dpal*) in the opening verse of his *Supariśuddhā*.[31] Yamāri very probably received teachings on the RGV from the circle of masters of Vikramaśīla.

VAIROCANARAKṢITA
(11th or 12th century)

Vairocanarakṣita composed the *Mahāyānottaratantraṭippaṇī*, comprising short glosses on the RGV and preserved only in a Sanskrit manuscript found at Ngor E-waṃ-chos-sde monastery in Central Tibet. Its authorship is slightly ambiguous, for there were two Indian paṇḍitas called Vairocanarakṣita: (1) the master of

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[27] Yamāri, *Supariśuddhā*, D 3a7–b1; P 3b8–4a2: *de skad du yang | mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan las | btags pa nyid kyi chos bdag med par ci nas kyang 'gyur bar bya ba'i don du | 'di la bsal bya ci yang med || bsnan par bya ba'ang cung zad med || yang dag nyid la yang dag lta || yang dag mthong na rnam par grol || zhes gsungs so || theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma las kyang | stong pa nyid kyi don gzhan gsal nas tshigs su bcad pa 'di nyid gsungs so ||*. See AA V.21: *nāpaneyam ataḥ kiṃcid prakṣetavyaṃ na kiṃcana | draṣṭavyaṃ bhūtato bhūtaṃ bhūtadarśī vimucyate ||* ≈ RGV I.154.

[28] Yamāri, *Supariśuddhā*, D 3b1; P 4a2–3: *'dis ni rnam pa'i chas dang thams cad la mi bden pa nyid du smra ba bsal ba yin no ||*.

[29] Jñānaśrīmitra, *Sākārasiddhi*, 483.19–488.2.

[30] See *Sākārasiddhi*, 486–487.

[31] Yamāri, *Supariśuddhā*, D, Phe, 174b1–2, P, Phe, 208a8–b1: *ston pa shes 'byung chos kyi grags || gzhan la phan byed bla ma ni || **ye shes dpal** la rab btud nas || rgyan gyi bshad sbyar bdag gis brtsam ||*. Van der Kuijp & MacKeown (2013: lxxi n. 1) translate this as "Having paid respects to the Teacher [= Buddha], Prajñākaragupta (*shes 'byung*), Dharmakīrti, [and ?my] teacher Jñānaśrī (*ye shes dpal*), who benefits (*phan byed*) others, I will compose an exegesis of [Prajñākaragupta's PV-]*alaṃkāra*" and state that "[t]he fact that he seems to have used the present tense (*phan byed*) in connection with Jñānaśrī might suggest that the latter was still alive then he wrote it."

Vikramaśīla (11th cent.), and (2) the tantric master of Dakṣiṇa Kośala (12th cent.).[32] The former was the author of the *Śikṣākusumañjarī*[33] and the *Bodhisattvacaryāvatārapañjikā*,[34] and a contemporary of Atiśa.[35] The latter was the teacher of Bla-ma Zhang brTson-'grus-grags-pa (1123–1193) and stayed in Nepal sometime between 1101 and 1106, and in Tibet between the 1140s and 1150s.[36] We do not have any positive evidence for determining which of these two authors is the one we are interested in. Therefore, we can only place his dates some time in the 11th and 12th centuries, within the span covered by the two possible candidates.

Vairocanarakṣita's short glosses on the RGV *Mahāyānottaratantraṭippaṇī* was first reported by Gokhale (1977/78). Nakamura (1985) published about 60% of the entire text (fols. 9v2–14v7 out of fols. 9v2–17r5), and Jagdishwar Pandey fully transcribed the manuscript (unpublished),[37] on which very likely Nakamura's edition is based. Kano (2006a) critically edited the entire text on the basis of positive photo images[38] of the manuscript and provided a list of corrections to Nakamura's edition.

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[32] See Kano 2008b.

[33] This text is a commentary on Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. According to the colophon of the Tibetan version, it was translated by Sumatikīrti, Zha-ma Seng-rgyal, and Glog-skya gZhon-nu-'bar at the request of the Gu-ge king lHa-btsan-po bKra-shis-nam-mkha' dBang-phyug-btsan (and later revised by Mar-pa Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug). dBang-phyug-btsan, alias dBang-lde, sponsored rNgog Lo-tsā-ba in 1076/77. Having succeeded to the throne in 1088, in his thirteenth year, he reigned only up to the mid-1090s, dying while still in his youth (see Vitali 1996: 335–342 and Vitali 2003: 66–67). This work was thus translated sometime between 1088 and the mid-1090s.

[34] According to the colophon, this work was composed at Vikramaśīla. See Vairocanarakṣita, *Bodhisattvacaryāvatārapañjikā*, D 3875, 159a2–3; P 5277, 186b7: *dpal bi kra ma la shī la'i gtsug lag khang gi mkhas pa chen po || dge slong bai ro tsa na rakṣitas mdzad pa rdzogs so ||*.

[35] See Eimer 1979 (translation volume): 222 (§222) "Der Lo tsā ba berichtete über den Auftrag des tibetischen Königs, den Jobo oder einen Pandit, der nicht ganz so bedeutend sei, einzuladen. rGya brTson-'grus-seng-ge nannte als wichtige Gelehrte Ratnakīrti, Tathāgatarakṣita, Sumatikīrti, **Vairocanarakṣita**, Kanakaśrī aus Nepal und andere insgesamt dreißig Namen, und sagte, nur Atiśa könne Tibet von Nutzen sein...." See also Eimer 1979 (text volume): 163 (§222).

Seyfort Ruegg (1981: 116) states: "Vairocanarakṣita (eleventh century), a contemporary of Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna and a scholar at Vikramaśīla, composed the *Śikṣākusumañjarī* and *Pañjikā* of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*." See also Ejima 1966: 191–192.

[36] Schaeffer 2000: 370. This Vairocanarakṣita received some instruction from Abhayākaragupta (d.1125) (*ibid.*: 365). Although, according to the biography of him written by Bla-ma Zhang, he visited Tibet five times, the account is doubtful, given its legendary overtones (*ibid.*: 367). He also took part in some translating activities (P 3113 = D 2266, P 3114 = D 2267; cf. also P 3128 = D 2281, P 3129 = D 2283). On some problems in dating his lifetime, see *ibid.*: 370–371.

[37] It is preserved with shelf-mark Xc14/90 in the collection of Göttingen. See Bandurski 1994: 116.

[38] There are two different photo images on the same manuscript: a positive print preserved in

Kano (2006a) (2008b) (2013b) studied the authorship of the text, and critically edited his *Viṃśikāṭīkāvivṛti*, **Dharmadharmatāvibhāgavivṛti*, and *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* glosses on chapter 17.[39]

In his *Mahāyānottaratantraṭippaṇī*, Vairocanarakṣita does not put forward his own philosophical position but simply glosses selected passages from the RGV, offering synonyms and sometimes analyzing the grammatical formation of a word or syntactical construction. The commentary is, in general, very useful for understanding the RGV and provides us with valuable variant readings of the basic (*mūla*) text; however, its impact is hardly traceable in the later Tibetan tradition.

In the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* commentary (on IX.43), Vairocanarakṣita (of Vikramaśīla) quotes RGV V.18 and discusses the scriptural authority of the Mahāyāna teachings.[40] He was probably drawing on a similar discussion in Prajñākaramati's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* commentary,[41] which quotes the same verse from the RGV when glossing the same verse of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (IX.43).

RĀMAPĀLA
(11th century)

Rāmapāla, one of the so-called "Four Great Ones" (*che bzhi*), the main disciples of Maitrīpa,[42] is the author of the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā*, a commentary on Maitrīpa's *Sekanirdeśa*. While explaining verse 2 of the *Sekanirdeśa*, Rāmapāla touches on the threefold body of the Buddha, and thereby quotes RGV II.61b.

Sekanirdeśa verse 2 teaches the four levels of tantric sexual bliss in the "Four Moments" (*catuḥkṣaṇa*): manifoldness (*citra*), maturation (*vipāka*), the state without characteristics (*vilakṣaṇa*), and reflection (*vimarda*).[43] Rāmapāla correlates these

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Göttingen under the shelf-mark Xc14/34a, a positive print preserved in Rome. See Sferra 2000: 411 "*Uttaratantraṭippaṇī*, Vairocanarakṣita, (number of photos:) 8."

[39] Editions of his *Triṃśikāṭīkāvivṛti*, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* glosses, and *Madhyāntavibhāgakatipayapadavivṛti* are currently under preparation for publication by Kano and Sferra.

[40] Vairocanarakṣita, *Bodhisattvacaryāvatārapañjikā*, D 3875, 144b6–7; P 5277, 170a5–7: *de nyid ni theg pa chen po'i lung la yang yod pa nyid yin pas rkyen de rnams sbyar bar kyis shig || de skad du yang | gang zhig don ldan chos kyi tshig dang nyer ldan pa || khams gsum rnams kyi kun nas nyon mongs gcod par brjod || gang zhig phan yon zhi ba mthong bar byed pa de || gtsug lag de lta min la phyin ci log tu brjod || ces gsungs so ||*.

[41] Cf. Prajñākaramati, BCAP, 205.19–22.

[42] The Four Great Ones are Netakara/Naṭegana (alias *Sahajavajra), Divākaracandra (alias Śūnyatāsamādhi), Rāmapāla, and Vajrapāṇi. See Roerich 1949/53: 842. For a discussion of their names and works, see Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 82–85.

[43] Maitrīpa, *Sekanirdeśa*, verse 2: *citraṃ tato vipākaḥ syāt tṛtīye tu vilakṣaṇam | vimardaś ca tato*

four moments with the four Buddha-bodies: *citra* with the *nirmāṇakāya*, *vipāka* with the *saṃbhogakāya*, *vilakṣaṇa* with the *svābhāvika-kāya*, and *vimarda* with the *dharmakāya*. From the viewpoint of Nirākāravāda, he explains them thus: after the *dharmakāya*, that is, a cognition of bliss (or the cognition which is bliss) (*sātasaṃvinmātra*) without any image (*ākāra*), there arises the *saṃbhogakāya*, for which cognition is accompanied by the *ākāra* of the circle of the mandala (*maṇḍalacakra*) etc.; and the *nirmāṇakāya*, that is, elements and element-based entities (*bhūtabhautika*), and characterized, among other things, by the *ākāra* of Śākyamuni; and the fact that the nature of these three bodies is one is embodied in the *svābhāvika-kāya*.

Rāmapāla then presents two alternative explanations of the rise of the three bodies. He quotes RGV II.61b—"However, the latter two are the two kinds of material body" (*rūpakāyau tu paścimau*)[44]—as descriptive of the first alternative, according to which the two kinds of material body (the *saṃbhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya*) arise from the *dharmakāya*. The *ākāra* of the circle of the mandala, in the course of being meditated upon, first leads to the cognition of bliss—the *dharmakāya*—and by dint of one's previous resolve, the *saṃbhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya* emerge from it.

Under the second alternative,[45] bliss (*sātaṃ*), the *dharmakāya*, manifests by itself (*sphuṭatāṃ svayam eṣyati*) through meditative cultivation, while the *saṃbhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya* arise independently, again by dint of previous resolve.[46]

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jñeyo haṭhayoganirākṛteḥ || "Having refuted [the system] of Haṭhayoga, one should [now] know [the Four Moments as:] (1) manifoldness, (2) maturation, (3) the state without characteristics in the third place, and (4) consummation." These four are based on *Hevajratantra* 2.3.7–8, in which, however, the order of the third and the fourth moments is inverted. *Vimarda* is explained as *ālocana* ("reflection") in *Hevajratantra* 2.3.8a: *vimardam ālocanaṃ proktaṃ*, and glossed by Ratnākaraśānti as: *ālocanam anantaranaṣṭasya smaraṇam* (*Muktāvalī*, ed. Tripathi, pp. 155.20–156.9).

[44] *Sekanirdeśapañjikā*, Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 169.17 (≈ D 145b3; P 157a6). For the Sanskrit text, see below. In the original context of the RGV, this verse means: "however, the latter two (i.e. the *saṃbhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya*) are the two kinds of material body." In the same work (Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 194.19–20 ≈ D 156a3–4; P 171a1–2), Rāmapāla quotes also a verse parallel to RGV I.154 (≈ AA V.21, etc.; see Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 317 n. 368).

[45] The first alternative is a normal *utpatti-/utpannakrama* scenario, while the second (after *yad vā*) is a Mahāmudrā one.

[46] Rāmapāla, *Sekanirdeśapañjikā*, Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 169.7–170.1 (University Library, Cambridge, Or. 149, fol. 4v1–5): *idaṃ nirākāravādimatena ratnānubhūtaṃ śaradamalamadhyāhnagaganāyamānaṃ samatalaṃ sātasaṃvinmātraṃ sarvanīlādyākāracakrakalaṅkāpagamād avatiṣṭhate | ākārabādhakaṃ tv ekānekaviyogādipramāṇaṃ vistarabhayān na vipañcitam | yad āhuḥ* — "*tasmān nārtheṣu na jñāne sthūlābhāsas tadātmanaḥ | ekatra pratiṣiddhatvād bahuṣv api na*

This same verse of the RGV had already been quoted by Rāmapāla's teacher Maitrīpa in the *Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivaraṇa*, in a similar context discussing the Buddha's body from the viewpoint of Nirākāravādins: the two kinds of material body (the *saṃbhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya*) arise after the *dharmakāya*.[47]

Rāmapāla was very likely tapping into this discussion from his teacher's work. RGV II.61 seems to have been accepted among Maitrīpa's circle as a verse that confirms the Nirākāra view on the Buddha's body.

Rāmapāla's lifetime is not precisely datable, but can be roughly gauged on the basis of the dates of the Tibetan translator Nag-tsho Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba (1011–1064), who translated the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā*.[48] Additionally, a modern copy of an ancient Sanskrit manuscript of the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* preserved at St. Petersburg's Public Library records, in the colophon, the Nepalese date of the ancient manuscript, corresponding to Thursday, 22 (or 29) August 1084.[49]

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sambhavaḥ || paricchedo 'ntar anyo 'yaṃ bhāgo bahir iva sthitaḥ || jñānasyābhedino bhedapratibhāso hy upaplavaḥ ||" iti (= *Pramāṇavārtika*, Pratyakṣa, verses 211–212) | *idam eva dharmakāyaḥ | tatpṛṣṭhe maṇḍalacakrādyākāraṃ jñānaṃ sambhogaḥ | bhūtabhautikaḥ śākyamunyādyākāro nirmāṇam | eṣām ekasvabhāvatā svābhāvikaḥ kāyaḥ | evaṃ vimardo dharmaḥ | vipākaḥ sambhogaḥ | vicitraṃ nirmāṇam | vilakṣaṇaḥ svābhāvikaḥ kāyaḥ | **yad uktaṃ—"rūpakāyau tu paścimāv" iti*** (= RGV II.61) | *"tāvad bhāvayed yāvad anupalabdhikaṃ kuryād" ity ukteḥ* (Cf. *Hevajrasādhanopāyikā*) | *etad eva dṛṣṭāntalakṣitaṃ sādaranirantaradīrghakālābhyāsena bhāvyamāno maṇḍalacakrādyākāro niṣpādayiṣyati, pūrvapraṇidhānavaśāt sambhoganirmāṇakāyāv iti | yad vā sātam idam anubhūtaṃ sādarādibhāvanayā sphuṭatāṃ svayam eṣyati | yād āhuḥ—"tasmād bhūtam abhūtaṃ vā yad yad evātibhāvyate | bhāvanābalaniṣpattau tat sphūṭākalpadhīphalam ||" (= Pramāṇavārtika*, Pratyakṣa, verse 285) *iti | atrāpi pūrvapraṇidhānāvedhavaśād rūpakāyadvayam |*.

As for the passage *yad uktaṃ—"rūpakāyau tu paścimāv" iti*, the equivalent passage in the Tibetan translation (D 145b3) runs: *de yang theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma las kyang | ji skad du | gzugs kyi sku ni phyi ma'o || zhes bstan pa yin no ||*. The word *theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma las* (**mahāyānottaratantre*) is not found in the Sanskrit; I cannot currently specify whether the phrase was added by the translator or was already contained in the Sanskrit manuscript on which the Tibetan translation is based.

47 Maitrīpa's *Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivaraṇa*, 46.16–18. See above, Chapter 2, pp. 52–54 and Kano 2014a: 224.

48 The colophon of the Tibetan translation of the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* (D 160b5–7; P 175b8–9) reads: *bzhi pa'i rim la rmongs pa yi* (D *yis*) *|| dpung gi tshogs gang 'jig byed pa || dbang bskur nges bstan dka' 'grel 'di || dga' ba'i dpal ldan mgon pos bris || dbang bskur ba nges par bstan pa'i dka' 'grel | slob dpon dga' bskyong gis mdzad pa rdzogs so || || samantabhadra dang | nag tshos bsgyur ba'o || ||*.

49 I follow Petech (1984: 48), who corrects the date of the colophon based on the dates of Vāmadeva, a contemporary of Rāmapāla. For the Petersburg manuscript, see BBK 364–365.

SAHAJAVAJRA[50]
(11th century)

Sahajavajra, another of the Four Great Ones, quotes RGV I.154 in his *Tattvadaśakaṭīkā*, a commentary on Maitrīpa's *Tattvadaśaka*.[51] In the gloss on verse 3 of the *Tattvadaśaka*—"an erroneous perception (*bhrānti*) has no [corroborative] support"[52]—he explains why an erroneous perception is free from both superimposition and misguided denial, using a similar phrase in RGV I.154 (or AA V.21) that teaches that it is Buddha-nature that is thus free. Hence Sahajavajra—if he quotes the verse from the RGV—has shifted the subject from Buddha-nature to an erroneous perception (but we are not sure which source he has in mind).

ABHAYĀKARAGUPTA
(d. 1125)[53]

Abhayākaragupta, who flourished three generations after Maitrīpa within the latter's line, is one of the last great scholars of Vikramaśīla.[54] Born into a Brahman family in eastern India, in his youth he received instructions from a young yoginī to go to Magadha, where he became a Buddhist. Returning to Bengal, he received the *śramaṇera* ordination and studied non-tantric teachings there. For tantric teachings, he studied under Ratnākaragupta. Once he had established a high reputation for himself, he gained the support of a Pāla king (very likely Rāmapāla).[55]

Isoda (1984: 1) notes that Abhayākaragupta followed the teachings of Nāgārjuna and Ārya Vimuktisena, but criticized Haribhadra,[56] while mKhas-grub-rje

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[50] For Sahajavajra and his works, Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 83 n. 104.

[51] D 2254, 170a3–4; P 3099, 185b8–186a1. We cannot exclude the possibility that he quoted the verse from the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (RGV I.154 is almost identical with AA V.21).

[52] *bhrāntir asthānikā matā* (Maitrīpa, *Tattvadaśaka* verse 3).

[53] Schaeffer 2000: 375 n. 36. See also Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 18 n. 30. Erb (1997: 27–29) details Abhayākaragupta's life and works.

[54] The *Amanasikāra-Yathāśrutakrama* reports the following lineage: Advayavajra (i.e. Maitrīpa) → Vajrapāṇi → Paiṇḍapātika → Abhayākaragupta. See Okuyama 1991: 467.

[55] In his edition of Tāranātha's *rGya gar chos 'byung*, Schiefner presents a biographical sketch of Abhayākaragupta (p. 330) on the basis of a *thob yig* (bibliographical details of which are unsupplied).

[56] According to Isoda (1988), Abhayākaragupta selectively accepts Ratnākaraśānti's interpretations, excluding from consideration Yogācāra scriptures quoted by Ratnākaraśānti and—in contrast to Ratnākaraśānti, who seems to deliberately ignore him—explicitly criticizing Haribhadra.

places Abhayākaragupta in the Svātantrika-Madhyamaka camp. Of Abhayākaragupta's compositions, Isoda (1984: 1–2) lists nineteen works contained in the tantra section of the Derge Tanjur,[57] one in the Prajñāpāramitā section,[58] and two in the Madhyamaka section[59] (the Peking Tanjur contains seven additional works in the tantric section[60]).

As pointed out by Seyfort Ruegg (1977), Abhayākaragupta discusses Buddha-nature and quotes passages from the RGV/RGVV in the *Munimatālaṃkāra* (a non-tantric encyclopaedic work, sometimes regarded as a loosely structured commentary on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*) and the *Marmakaumudī* (a commentary on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*). As we shall see below, Abhayākaragupta is committed to the Madhyamaka position. Seyfort Ruegg (1977: 302) remarks: "In Abhayākaragupta's comments it is especially interesting to find the assimilation of the *tathāgatagarbha* with the *prakṛtisthaṃ gotraṃ* whose nature is *dharmadhātu*, in other words non-substantiality (*nairātmya*) of both *pudgala* and *dharma*s, absence of own being (*niḥsvabhāvatā*) and Emptiness." I shall sketch six relevant passages from the *Munimatālaṃkāra*, two from the *Marmakaumudī*, and two from the *Āmnāyamañjarī* (among them, the passages *Munimatālaṃkāra* (2) and (3) and *Marmakaumudī* (1) have already been analyzed by Seyfort Ruegg 1977).

Recently, Li Xuezhu of CTRC and I started to publish a diplomatic transcription of the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Munimatālaṃkāra* part by part, and we are working collaboratively on a critical edition of the Sanskrit text.[61] With his kind consent, I shall deal with a number of original Sanskrit passages from the *Munimatālaṃkara* in the following.

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[57] D 1198, 1380, 1383, 1498, 1499, 1500, 1618, 1654, 1831, 2036, 2484, 2491, 3140, 3141, 3142, 3266, 3613, 3743, and 3766. Of these, D 1198 (*Āmnāyamañjarī*), 1383 (*Kālacakrāvatāra*), D 1498 ([*Śrī*]*saṃvarābhisamayopāyikā*), D 1654 (*Buddhakapālatantraṭīkā Abhayapaddhati*), D 1831 (*Pañcakramatātparyapañjikā Kramakaumudī*), D 3140 (*Vajrāvalī*), D 3903 (*Munimatālaṃkāra*), D 3962 (*Niṣpannayogāvalī*), D 3142 (*Jyotirmañjarī*), D 3266 (*Ucchuṣmajambhalasādhana*) are partly or wholly preserved in Sanskrit (see Isoda 1984: 1–3; BBK 379–382; Mori 2009: 4; Sinclair 2011: 97; a Sanskrit edition of D 1498 will be published by Péter-Dániel Szántó). Furthermore, Sinclair (2011: 97) adds the *Madhyamakamañjarī* and *Varṣāpaṇavidhi*, which are extant only in Sanskrit.

[58] D 3805 (*Marmakaumudī*).

[59] D 3903 (*Munimatālaṃkāra*) and 3970 (*Bodhisattvasaṃvaragrahaṇavidhi*). There is also a Madhyamaka work called *Madhyamakamañjarī*, which seems not to have been translated into Tibetan (see Isoda 1984: 3 n. 14). It is preserved in a Sanskrit manuscript in the Potala Palace (photographic images of it are housed in the China Tibetology Research Center). See Ye 2009: 324.

[60] P 4909, 4917, 4946, 4954, 4960, 5023, and 5024. See Isoda 1984: 3 n. 14.

[61] Li 2013, Li & Kano 2014.

Munimatālaṃkāra (1)

In the first chapter of the *Munimatālaṃkāra*, "An Elucidation of *bodhicitta*" (Bodhicittāloka), Abhayākaragupta discusses the single-vehicle theory, which he takes to be definitive.[62] In support of this theory, he asserts that the *arhat* of the Śrāvakayāna can attain the awakening of the Mahāyāna, for an *arhat* has not yet severed his links to *saṃsāra* and will take rebirth by way of an "inconceivable transformative death" (*acintyapāriṇāmikī cyutiḥ*). Further, he quotes passages from the "single-vehicle chapter" from the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra*, which teaches two kinds of death: the death of ordinary beings and that of an *arhat*.[63] He goes on to claim that *arhat*s and *pratyekabuddha*s are involved in *saṃsāra*, since they have not yet advanced beyond the "stage in which one abides in ignorance (or: in which ignorance remains)" (*avidyāvāsabhūmi*), as taught in the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra*.[64] The *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchāsūtra* is quoted for its description of the bodhisattva's involvement in *saṃsāra*.[65]

Returning to *avidyāvāsabhūmi*, he discusses the definition of it provided in the

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[62] E.g. *Munimata*, Skt Ms. fol. 67v2–3: *yā ca yānabhedavyavasthā sā bālānām avatāraṇāya nirdiṣṭā bhagavatā* [67v3] *na tu nītārthā* (D 3903, 147b7–148a1; P 5299, 182b6–7); Skt Ms. fol. 67v3: *na tu yānabhedaḥ, asaṃbhedatvād dharmadhātoḥ* (D 148a2; P 183a1); Skt Ms. fol. 69v1: *tasmāt pudgaladharmanairātmye tattvasākṣātkāri yaj jñānaṃ tad eva nirvāṇaprāptaye samyagmārgo nānyad ity ata ekam eva yānaṃ* (D 150b3–4; P 187a5–6). These passages are citations from Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka* (D 3887, 238a7: *bcom ldan 'das kyis kyang byis pa rnams gzung pa'i phyir theg pa'i bye brag rnam par gzhag par bstan gyi | nges pa'i don ni ma yin no*; 239b1–2: *chos kyi dbyings tha dad pa med pa'i phyir theg pa la ni tha dad pa med do*; 243a3: *de lta bas na chos dang gang zag la bdag med pa'i de kho na nyid mngon sum pa'i ye shes gang yin pa de nyid mya ngan las 'das pa thob par byed pa'i yang dag pa'i lam yin gyi | gzhan ni ma yin pa de'i phyir theg pa ni gcig kho nar zad do*).

[63] *Munimata*, Skt Ms. fol. 68r3: *dve ime cyutī | vicchinnatiḥ sattvānāṃ | manomayaśarīrāṇāṃ bhagavann arhatāṃ pratyekabuddhānām vaśitāprāptānāṃ ca bodhisattvānām acintyapāriṇāmikī cyutir bhavati yāvad bodhimaṇḍaparyavasānāt | vicchinnacyutim adhikṛtyārhatāṃ pratyekabuddhānāṃ ca jñānaṃ bhavati kṣīṇā me jātir iti |* (D 148b2–4; P 183b6–184a2). This is a quotation from the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra* (ŚMS, D 264b6–265a2; P 269b6–270a2) as reproduced in Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka* (D 3887, 240a5–b1).

[64] *Munimata*, Skt Ms. fol. 68r3–4: *ato 'rhatāṃ pratyeka*[68r4]*buddhānāṃ ca sarvakleśeṣu prahīyamāṇeṣv avidyāvāsanā prahīyate | tadaprahāṇāt sarveṣām eva kleśānāṃ vāsanā na prahīyate | te ca punarbhavāntaragrahaṇena bodhisatvacaryāṃ caranti* (D 148b4–5; P 184a2–4 ≈ *Madhyamakāvatāraṭīkā*, D 3870, 357b6f.). See also ŚMS, D 265a6–268a7; P 270b1–274a1. Schmithausen (1971: 144) renders *avidyāvāsabhūmi* as: "Stufe, auf der man [noch] im Nichtwissen weilt (od.: noch Nichtwissen übrig ist)."

[65] *Munimata*, Skt Ms. fol. 68r4–v1 (D 148b6–149a4; P 184a5–b4). The same passage from the *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchāsūtra* is quoted in RGVV 47.7–16.

RGVV[66] together with the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra*'s comments on how *arhat*s and *pratyekabuddha*s take rebirth.[67] On the basis of these passages, Abhayākaragupta feels confident that the single-vehicle theory is definitive.

Munimatālaṃkāra (2)

In the same context,[68] to show that all sentient beings (whatever vehicle they adopt) can attain the Mahāyana awakening in line with the single-vehicle theory, Abhāyakaragupta states that the Buddha taught that "every sentient being has Buddha-nature" (*tathāgatagarbha*), that is, all sentient beings are able to reach the state of perfect awakening; for the term *tathāgata*, the first member of the compound *tathāgatagarbha*, refers to the sphere of reality (*dharmadhātu*), namely natural luminosity (*prakṛtiprabhāsvara*), which pervades all sentient beings in the form of a twofold selflessness.[69] In this regard, Abhāyakaragupta takes *tathāgatagarbha* in the sense of *dharmadhātugarbha*,[70] and this *dharmadhātu* is characterized by the selflessnesses of person and phenomena (*pudgaladharmanairātmyalakṣaṇasya dharmadhātoḥ*). These words are strikingly similar to Kamalaśīla's statement in his *Madhyamakāloka*, where again the single-vehicle theory is expounded.[71] As a relevant

[66] This definition is also found in Jayānanda's *Madhyamakāvatāraṭīkā*, D 358a1–b3, P 434a1–b6.

[67] *Munimata*, D 149a4–6; P 184b5–185a1 (RGVV 33.8–9 and 33.13–14) and D 149a6–b1; P 185a1–4 (ŚMS, D 265b7–266a1; P 271a3–5).

[68] This part (*Munimata*, D 150a4–b4; P 186a7–187a2) has been translated by Seyfort Ruegg (1977: 296–297).

[69] *Munimata*, Skt Ms. fol. 69r4–5: *tathā* ***tathāgatagarbhāḥ sarvasatvā ity anena sarveṣām anuttarasambodhipadādhigamāyogyataiva paridīpitā*** *bhagavatā sūtreṣv* | *āryamaitreyeṇa ca mahāyānottare* | *sarveṣām aviśiṣṭāpi tathatā śuddhim āgatā* | *tathāgatatvaṃ tasmāc ca tadgarbhāḥ sarvadehina ityādinā* (RGVV 71.1–4) | ***tathāgataśabdenāpi pudgaladharmanairātmyalakṣaṇa***[69r5]***sya dharmadhātoḥ prakṛtiprabhāsvarasya vivakṣitatvāt*** | (D 150a5–7, P 186b3–7. See Li & Kano 2014; bold-faced words are recycled from the *Madhyamakāloka*). See above, Introduction, p. 10 n. 34.

[70] The term *dharmadhātugarbha* is found in RGVV 76.16–18.

[71] Kamalaśīla, MĀl. D 3887, 242b4–7; P 5287, 272b7–273a3 (Bold-faced words are recycled by Abhayākaragupta in his *Munimatālaṃkāra*): *de'i phyir 'gro ba ma lus pa der rung ba nyid pas de las dgongs te de skad du bshad par rigs pa nyid de* | ***sems can thams cad ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can no zhes bya ba 'dis kyang*** | ***thams cad bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub kyi go 'phang thob par rung ba nyid du yongs su bstan te*** | ***de bzhin gshegs pa'i sgra ni chos kyi dbyings gang zag dang chos la bdag med pa'i mtshan nyid rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal ba yin par brjod par bzhed pa'i phyir ro*** || *de skad du bstan pas ni thams cad bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub kyi rang bzhin nyid du yongs su bstan pa yin no* ||.

Jayānanda has a similar passage in his *Madhyamakāvatāraṭīkā*, D 3870, 352b1–2; P 5271, 429b5–6: *yang bcom ldan 'das kyis mdo rnams las sems can thams cad de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can zhes gsungs pa 'dis thams cad bla na med pa'i byang chub kyi go 'phang thob par rung ba nyid yongs su gsal bar mdzad pa yin no* ||.

scriptural source, Abhayākaragupta quotes a verse (= *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* IX.37) from the RGVV, "Ārya Maitreya also teaches in the *Mahāyānottaratantra* (*ārya-maitreyeṇa ca mahāyānottare*) that although *tathatā* is indivisible for all, once it attains purity, it is in the state of a *tathāgata*; all embodied beings therefore have it [i.e. contain it] as their embryonic essence (*tadgarbhāḥ*)."[72]

Both passages (1) and (2), which contain quotations from the RGVV, belong to the final portion of *Munimatālaṃkāra*, Chapter 1. This part of the text, focused on establishing the single-vehicle doctrine, draws on a number of passages from Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka* (abbr. MĀl, D 3887), and at the same time shares some passages with the so-called *Bṛhaṭṭīkā* (abbr. BṬ, D 3808, translated in the 9th cent.) attributed to Daṃṣṭrasena or Vasubandhu. We also find a number of parallel passages in Jayānanda's *Madhyamakāvatāraṭīkā* (abbr. MAvṬ, D 3870), which at times amplify the corresponding ones of the *Munimatālaṃkāra*. In order to illuminate the mutual relation of these texts, I shall provide a synopsis of this portion of text (Ms. = Sanskrit manuscript of the *Munimata*) together with references to the locations of parallel or relevant passages found in the *Madhyamakāloka* (Derge Tanjur; section numbers are Matsumoto's [1987]), MAvṬ, and BṬ. The bold-faced part contains quotations from the RGVV:[73]

[A Synopsis of the Single-vehicle Passage in *Munimatālaṃkāra*, Chapter 1]

Proclaiming the Single-vehicle doctrine and a quotation from the *Laṅkāvatāra* II.203/ X.445 [Ms 67v2–3, D 147b7–148a1, cf. MĀl D 238a7–b1 = §26; MAvṬ 353b3–4]

The singleness of vehicles due to that of the *dharmadhātu* [Ms 67v3–4, D 148a1–3, cf. MĀl D 239b1–2 = §29; MAvṬ 353b4–6]

The awakening of *arhat*s and a quotation from the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* [Ms 67v4–5, D 148a3–4, cf. MĀl D 239b3–5 = §31; MAvṬ 354a1–2]

The three-vehicle doctrine as a means [Ms 67v5–68r1, D 148a4–6, cf. MĀl D 239b5–7 = §32; MAvṬ 354a3–6]

The rebirth of *arhat*s [Ms 68r1, D 148a6–7, cf. MĀl D 239b7–240a1 = §33; MAvṬ 357a7–b1]

· The proof by scriptures [Ms 68r1–2, D 148a7–b1, cf. MĀl D 240a1–4 = §34; MAvṬ 357b1–2]

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[72] See Seyfort Ruegg (1977: 309 n. 99). RGVV 71.1–4 (a quotation of MSA IX.15): *sarveṣām aviśiṣṭāpi tathatā śuddhim āgatā | tathāgatatvaṃ tasmāc ca tadgarbhāḥ sarvadehina iti*. Abhayākaragupta does not mention Asaṅga's name here, though he quotes this verse from the RGVV, which is attributed to Asaṅga in Tibet (the RGV, the basic text, D 4024, attributed to Maitreya does not contain this verse). This admits of two possibilities: Abhayākaragupta did not attribute the RGVV to Asaṅga or he regarded this verse as part of the basic text.

[73] For details, see Li & Kano 2014.

- Two kinds of death, as taught in the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra* [Ms 68r2–3, D 148b1–4, cf. MĀl D 240a4–b1 = §35; MAvṬ 357b3–5]

*Arhat*s' rebirth and their bodhisattva practices [Ms 68r3–4, D 148b4–6, cf. MAvṬ 357b6–358a1, BṬ 35a6–b1]

The intentional rebirth of bodhisattvas

- The defilements connected with the virtuous root, as taught in the *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchā* [Ms 68r4–v1, D 148b6–149a4, cf. MAvṬ 358a1–6, BṬ 35b1–6]
- **The three kinds of bodies arisen from the mind, as taught in the RGV and the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra* [Ms 68v1–3, D 149a4–b1, cf. MĀl D 240b1–3= §36, MAvṬ D358a6–b4, BṬ 36a6–7]**

The body arisen from the mind [Ms 68v3–69r1, D 149b1–5, cf. MĀl D 241b1–2 = §41, MAvṬ 358b4–359a2, BṬ 36b1–5]

Saṃsāra and its quiescence [Ms 69r1, D 149b5–7, cf. MAvṬ 359a2–3]

The awakening of *arhat*s: Summary of the *Laṅkāvatāra* passage and a quotation from the *Prajñāpāramitā* [Ms 69r1–3, D 149b7–150a4, cf. MĀl D 240b3–241a4 = §37; D 241b1–2 = §41, MAvṬ 359a3–7 (=§37), MAvṬ 354a6–7 (=§41)]

The awakening of all beings and their Buddha-nature [Ms 69r3–5, D 150a4–7, cf. MĀl D 242b1–6 = §§46–48, MAvṬ 354a7–b3]

The singleness of *yāna*s and that of the wisdom relating to reality: The twofold selflessness as a unique path [Ms 69r5–v1, D 150a7–b4, cf. MĀl D 242b6–243a3 = §49, cf. MAvṬ 353b6–354a1]

The Two Truths encompassing all teachings: Explaining the *Laṅkāvatāra* verse V.5/X.638 [Ms 69v1–3, D 150b4–151a1]

The practice of the lack of an intrinsic nature throughout all phenomena as a unique path for excluding defilements: Quotations from the *Satyadvayāvatāra* [Ms 69v3–70r2, D 151a1–7, cf. MĀl D 243b2–244a5 = §52]

Praise of the practice and Prajñāpāramitā [Ms 70r2–3, D 151a7–b3, cf. MĀl D 244a5–6= §53, MAvṬ 355a3–4]

Conclusion [Ms 70r3, D 151b3–4, cf. MĀl D 244a6–7= §53, MAvṬ 355a4–5]

Colophon of Chapter 1 [Ms 70r3–4, D 151b4]

In this portion of text, Abhayākaragupta for the most part simply rehashes passages from the *Madhyamakāloka*, twice quoting the RGVV for the support of the single-vehicle doctrine.

Munimatālaṃkāra (3)

In the third chapter of his *Munimatālaṃkāra*, entitled "An elucidation of the Eight

Realizations" (Aṣṭābhisamayāloka), Abhayākaragupta discusses *sarvākārajñatā*. Seyfort Ruegg (1977: 299–301) has translated selected passages from this chapter (*Munimata*, D 169b6–170b7). Abhayākaragupta teaches: "The *dharmadhātu* has precisely as its characteristic the absence of an own-being of all *dharma*s"[74] and defines Buddha-nature: "This very spiritual disposition (*gotra*) characterized by the *dharmatā* is termed *tathāgatagarbha*."[75] The Peking Tanjur has a gloss on the term *dharmatā*, which reads: "existing in the form of the emptiness of the mental continuum of sentient beings."[76] His (and Kamalaśīla's) definition, which equates Buddha-nature with the *dharmadhātu* (both being characterized by selflessness), is comparable with that of rNgog, who equates Buddha-nature with emptiness (see Chapter 9, pp. 266–268).

In the same context, he claims that the distinctions among the Three Vehicles are tentative ones admitted only on the conventional level and are contradictory on the ultimate level.[77] Further on, after explaining the etymology of *gotra*, Abhayākaragupta poses a question and answers it:

> Question: Now, how [can] the *dharmadhātu*, which is without an own-being (*svabhāva*), be a basis (*pratiṣṭhā*) for giving rise to the resolve [to become a buddha] (*cittotpāda*)?
>
> [Reply:] (The gloss of the Peking Tanjur runs: it having been stated by Ārya Nāgārjuna in his *Vigrahavyāvartanī* that "All things are possible for somebody for whom this *śūnyatā* is possible, [but] nothing is possible for somebody for whom *śūnyatā* is not possible")[78] This is just like space (*ākāśa*), which is without an own-being, being [a basis] of the rays of the moon and sun, and of the removal of darkness as well.[79]

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[74] *Munimata*, Skt Ms. fol. 85v1: *dharmmadhātur eva sarvadharmaniḥsvabhāvatālakṣaṇaḥ* (D 169b6, P 217b3). See Seyfort Ruegg 1977: 299 and Isoda 2000: 184.

[75] *Munimata*, Skt Ms. fol. 85v2: *idam eva dharmatātmakaṃ gotraṃ tathāgatagarbha ity uktaṃ* (D 170a1; P 217b6–7). See Seyfort Ruegg 1977: 299 and Isoda 2000: 184.

[76] *Munimata*, P 217b6: *sems can gyi sems rgyud stong pa nyid du gnas pa*. The Derge Tanjur does not have the gloss (*mchan*).

[77] *Munimata*, Skt Ms. fol. 86r3: *gotrabhedo na virudhyate samvyavahārāt | na tu tatvataḥ* (D 170b4; P 218b7). See Seyfort Ruegg 1977: 301 and Isoda 2000: 185.

[78] The *mchan* in the Peking Tanjur is: *Munimata*, P 219a4–5: *'phags pa klu sgrub kyis rtsod pa bzlog par gang la stong nyid 'di srid pa | de la don rnams thams cad srid | gang la stong nyid mi srid pa | de la ci'ang srid ma yin | zhes pas |*. See also *Vigrahavyāvartanī*, verse 70: *prabhavati ca śūnyateyaṃ yasya prabhavanti tasya sarvārthāḥ | prabhavati na tasya kiṃcin na prabhavati śūnyatā yasya*. This is almost parallel to *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* XXIV.14. For the resonances between this verse and rNgog's position, see Chapter 9 §h2, p. 266–268.

[79] *Munimata*, Skt Ms. fol. 86v1: *nanu katham asvabhāvo dharmadhātuś cittotpādānāṃ pratiṣṭhā |*

As we saw above in Chapter 3 (p. 81 n. 41), Abhayākaragupta rehashes this passage from Ratnākaraśānti's *Sāratamā* (D 30a4–5), with the slight modification of *arūpin* (*gzugs med pa*) into *niḥsvabhāva*.[80] He claims that just as *ākāśa* (space or sky), which lacks an intrinsic nature (*niḥsvabhāva*), functions as a basis for removing darkness, the *dharmadhātu*, with no nature of its own either, serves as a basis for *cittotpāda*.[81] A *mchan*-type gloss found only in the Peking Tanjur refers to a verse from the *Vigrahavyāvartanī* that teaches the efficacy of emptiness.

This equation of the *dharmadhātu* with emptiness is close to rNgog's position,[82] but the *mchan* goes one step beyond Abhayākaragupta's original statement that the *dharmadhātu* is a basis. The upshot is that Abhayākara does not accept the *dharmadhātu* (or *tathāgatagarbha*) as a *jananahetu* (a cause which engenders something), since it has been categorized as *asaṃskṛta* (unconditioned), something which cannot produce anything. Instead, he takes it as a *pratiṣṭhāhetu* (a supporting cause).[83]

Munimatālaṃkāra (4)

In the third chapter of his *Munimatālaṃkāra*, Abhayākaragupta broaches a controversy reflecting two different positions vis-à-vis the seven *vajrapada*s of the RGV (i.e. the Three Jewels, Buddha-nature, Buddha-awakening, Buddha-qualities, and Buddha-activities):

> In this way, this *cittotpāda* [is to be understood] as occurring at the ultimate stage of advanced meditation upon true reality (*bhūtārthabhāvanāprakarṣaparyantastha*). Because it destroys all traces [of defilements] (*sarvānuśayabheditvāt*), it is *vajra*-like.[84]
>
> As for the seven kinds of realization (*saptaprakāro 'dhigamaḥ*) [i.e. the seven

yathā niḥsvabhāvam ākāśaṃ candrasūryaprabhāṇām andhakārakṣayasya ca | (D 170b7; P 229a4–5). Cf. Seyfort Ruegg 1977: 301 and Isoda 2000: 185. A similar idea is found in the *Marmakaumudī* (D 49b4, P 57a8: *nam mkha' ci yang med pa la zla ba dang nyi ma'i 'od zer gyis mun pa zad par byed pa*), as pointed out by Seyfort Ruegg (1977: 311 n. 130).

[80] *Sāratamā*, D 30a4–5: *de lta mod kyi 'on kyang gzugs med pa'i chos kyi dbyings ji ltar de dag gi rten yin zhe na | gzugs med pa'i nam mkha' ni zla ba dang nyi ma'i 'od dang | mun pa dang de zad pa'i rten yin no zhes bstan pa lta bu'o ||*.

[81] To illustrate Buddha-nature, RGV I.52–63 compares it to *ākāśa* as being itself a foundation which does not admit of any subdivision.

[82] See Chapter 9 §§h1–2, pp. 262–268.

[83] See Kano 2012b.

[84] This is an allusion to *vajropamasamādhi*. Cf. AKBh on VI.44.

*vajrapada*s], they are taught [in the RGV] as being "*vajra*-like, ineffable, and to be known directly and introspectively (*pratyātmavedanīya*), since [they are] impenetrable by means of the wisdom given rise to through hearing and reflection."[85] This (i.e. *cittotpāda*) is included in them (i.e. the seven kind of realization), but is not sevenfold here (i.e. in this *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* system). To explain, the *Uttaratantra* teaches "the Buddha, Dharma, Saṃgha, Buddha-element, Buddha-awakening, Buddha-qualities, and, finally, the Buddha-activities: The body of the entire treatise, in sum, consists of these seven *vajrapada*s" (RGV I.1).[86]

Of the [seven], the Three Jewels are [classified as] the fruit. The Buddha-element (*dhātu*) is the substantive/basic cause (*upādāna*). The Buddha-awakening, Buddha-qualities, and Buddha-activities are attendant conditions (*sahakārin*).

Furthermore, the Three Jewels have causal relationships (*hetuphalabhāva*) with one another, as taught in that same [*Uttaratantra*]: "The Jewel of the Dharma is produced from the Jewel of the Buddha"[87]; and "The community of irreversible (*avaivartika*) bodhisattvas is produced from the Jewel of the Mahāyāna teaching."[88]

It is taught in that same [*Uttaratantra*] that all the Three [Jewels] are the fruit of the [other] four [*vajrapada*s]: "*tathatā* accompanied by stains; then *tathatā* without stains; Buddha-qualities which are separated from stains; and the activities of the Victorious One. They are objects of those who see the ultimate truth. From them the virtuous Three Jewels arise" (RGV I.23).[89]

Furthermore, [the *Uttaratantra*] teaches: "In this context, by reason of its purity,[90] which results from (lit. is based on) individual well-grounded attentiveness (*pratyātmayoniśomanasikāra*), one is led to understand that the first of the four (i.e. *dhātu*) is the cause that brings forth the Three Jewels. This is because

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[85] RGVV 1.6–7: *śruta*[a]*cintāmayajñānaduṣprativedhatvād*[b] *anabhilāpyasvabhāvaḥ pratyātmavedanīyo 'rtho vajravad veditavyaḥ* | ([a] *śruta*° Ms.B, *śruti*° Johnston; [b] °*vedhatvād* em., °*vedhād* Johnston = Ms. B). See Schmithausen 1971: 131.

[86] My translation is based on the Sanskrit text of RGV I.1: *buddhaś ca dharmaś ca gaṇaś ca dhātur bodhir guṇāḥ karma ca bauddham antyam | kṛtsnasya śāstrasya śarīram etat samāsato vajrapadāni sapta* ||.

[87] RGVV 10.15: *ato buddharatnād dharmaratnaprabhāvaneti*.

[88] RGVV 13.21: *ato mahāyānadharmaratnād avaivartikabodhisattvagaṇa*[*ratna*]*prabhāvaneti* (the word in square brackets are omitted in the *Munimatālaṃkāla*).

[89] RGV I.23: *samalā tathatātha nirmalā vimalā buddhaguṇā jinakriyā | viṣayaḥ paramārthadarśināṃ śubharatnatrayasambhavo yataḥ* || (d: °*sambhavo* em. Schmithausen 1971; °*sargako* Ms.B).

[90] According to the *mchan*-type commentary inserted in this passage (which is found only in the Peking Tanjur), the pronoun *de* stands for *khams* (P 278a3). The phrase *tadviśuddhim upādāya* can also mean "by purifying it."

it is the seed of the supramundane qualities. Thus one [*vajrapada*] is the cause. How are the [other] three [*vajrapada*s] conditions? After attaining complete awakening, the *tathāgata*, through the Buddha-qualities, engages in the thirty-two Buddha-activities, namely [the exercise of] the Ten Powers, the Four Fearlessnesses, and the Eighteen Exclusive Properties; thus, by reason of its (i.e. the *dhātu*'s) purity, which results from the voice of others (*paratoghoṣa*), one is led to understand that [the other three *vajrapada*s] are conditions that [serve to] bring forth the Three Jewels. Thus the three [*vajrapada*s] are conditions."[91]

(Objection:) However, someone says (*kaścit tu ... āha*) that [RGV I.3 teaches]: From the Buddha comes the Dharma, and from the Dharma the Saṃgha of noble ones. In the Saṃgha abides Buddha-nature, which is [both] a constitutent of insight and conduces to the attainment of [insight]; the attainment of insight is the highest awakening, which is endowed with [the Buddha-]qualities—the [Ten] Powers and the rest—that benefit all sentient beings.[92] This establishes (*anena ... ity api vyavasthitāni*) that the Three Jewels are attendant conditions (*sahakārikāraṇa*); the Buddha-element (*dhātu*) is just same as before (i.e. *upādāna*); and the Buddha-awakening, Buddha-qualities, and Buddha-activities are fruits.

(Response:) Others reply that "One should link verse [I.3] just with the above-mentioned point (i.e. I.26) (*anenāpi ślokena pūrvokta evārtho yojayitavyaḥ*), since only the above-mentioned point is admitted as the [true] teaching in the *Uttaratantra*, even though two different points may appear [to be being made in verses I.3 and 26] (*dvividhārthasambhave 'pi pūrvoktārthasyaiva mahāyānottare vivakṣitatvād*)."

Accordingly, the immaculate *cittotpāda* [which arises] immediately after awakening is included in the Jewels of the Dharma and Saṃgha (*tad evam ayaṃ nirmalo bodher anantaraṃ cittotpādo dharmasaṃgharatnayor antarbhavati*).[93]

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[91] RGVV 25.11–15: *tatraiṣāṃ caturṇāṃ padānāṃ prathamaṃ lokottaradharmabījatvāt pratyātmayoniśomanasikārasaṃniśrayeṇa tadviśuddhim upādāya triratnottpattihetur anugantavyaḥ | ityevam ekaṃ padaṃ hetuḥ | kathaṃ trīṇi pratyayaḥ | tathāgato 'nuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim abhisaṃbudhya daśabalādibhir buddhadharmair* [*Munimata* reads: *daśabalacaturvaiśāradyāṣṭādaśāveṇikabuddhadharmair*] *dvātriṃśadākāraṃ tathāgatakarma kurvan paratoghoṣasaṃniśrayeṇa tadviśuddhim upādāya triratnotpattipratyayo 'nugantavyaḥ | ityevaṃ trīṇi pratyayaḥ |*.

[92] RGV I.3: *buddhād dharmo dharmataś cāryasaṃghaḥ saṃghe garbho jñānadhātvāptiniṣṭhaḥ | tajjñānāptiś cāgrabodhir balādyair dharmair yuktā sarvasattvārthakṛdbhiḥ ||*.

[93] *Munimata*, Skt Ms. fols. 126v5–127r5 (quotations from the RGV/RGVV are bold-faced): *evam ayaṃ cittotpādo bhū*[126v5]*tārthabhāvanāprakarṣaparyantasthaḥ* (Ms °*paryavasthā*) *sa-*

The point at issue is whether the Three Jewels are to be classified as fruits or as causes of the other four *vajrapada*s. Abhayākaragupta deals with both positions: the one that accepts them as causes; and the other, as results. The former is based on RGV I.3; and the latter, on RGV I.26. The original meaning of the *ratnagotra* appearing in the title of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* is the "*gotra* from which *ratna* arises," indicating the *gotra* as a cause and the *ratna* as a result, and fits better with the teaching of RGV I.26.

A very similar discussion is found in rNgog's RGV commentary, which posits two different views, again based on RGV I.3 and I.26. rNgog's accounts are paralleled by ones presented by Abhayākaragupta (rNgog was an earlier contemporary of Abhayākaragupta). By contrast, Sajjana, the teacher of rNgog, holds, in accordance with RGV I.3, that the last three *vajrapada*s (i.e. *bodhi*, *guṇa*, and *karman*) are the final results. Though we cannot tell whether Abhayākaragupta was cognizant of the positions of rNgog and Sajjana, we at least know that there were different philosophical positions regarding the *vajrapada*s in the RGV around 1113 A.D. (the completion date of the *Munimatālaṃkāra*).[94]

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rvānuśayabheditvād vajropamaś ca | *yas tu saptaprakāro 'dhigamaḥ* ***śrutacintāmayajñānaduṣprativedhatvād anabhilāpyasvabhāvaḥ pratyātmavedanīyo*** *vajropama uktaḥ tatrāyam antarbhavati* | *na tv atra saptavidhaḥ* | *tathā hi mahāyānottare* | ***buddhaś ca dharmaś ca gaṇaś ca dhātur bodhir guṇāḥ karma ca bauddham antyaṃ*** | ***kṛtsnasya*** [127r1] ***śāstrasya śarīram etat samāsato vajrapadāni saptety*** *uktaṃ* | *tatra ratnatrayaṃ phalaṃ* | *dhātur upādānakāraṇaṃ* | *bodhiguṇakarmāṇi sahakāripratyayāḥ* | *ratnatrayasyāpy anyonyaṃ hetuphalabhāvaḥ* | *yad uktan tatraiva* ***buddharatnād dharmaratnaprabhāvaneti*** (Ms. *buddharatnaṃ prabhāvaneti*) | ***ato mahāyānadharmaratnād avaivarttikabodhisattvagaṇaprabhāvaneti*** *ca* | *etat tritayam api phalaṃ caturṇām uktan tatraiva* | [127r2] ***samalā tathatātha nirmalā vimalā buddhaguṇā jinakriyā*** | ***viṣayaḥ paramārthadarśināṃ śubharatnatrayasambhavo yata*** *iti* | *punaś coktaṃ* ***tatraiṣāṃ caturṇām padānām prathamaṃ lokottaradharmabījatvāt pratyātmaṃ yoniśomanasikārasannisrayeṇa tadviśuddhim upādāya triratnotpattihetur anugantavya ity eka(ṃ) hetuḥ*** | [127r3] ***kathan trīṇi pratyayaḥ*** | ***tathāgato 'nuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambudhya daśabalacaturvaiśāradyāṣṭādaśāveṇikabuddhadharmair dvātriṅśadākāraṃ tathāgatakarma kurvan paratoghoṣasannisrayeṇa tadviśuddhim upādāya triratnotpattipratyayo 'nugantavyaḥ ityevan trīṇi pratyayaḥ*** | *kaścit tu* ***buddhād dharmo dharmata***[127r4]***ś*** (Ms. *buddhā dharmā dharmātaś*) ***cāryasaṅghaḥ saṅghe garbho jñānadhātvāptiniṣṭhaḥ*** | ***tajjñānāptiś cāgrabodhir balādyair dharmair yuktā sarvasattvārthakṛdbhir*** *ityanena ratnatrayaṃ sahakārikāraṇaṃ dhātuḥ tathaiva bodhiguṇakarmāṇi phalānīty api vyavasthāpitānīty āha* | *anenāpi ślokena pūrvvokta evārtho yojayitavyaḥ* | *dvividhārthasambhave 'pi pū*[127r5]*rvoktārthasyaiva mahāyānottare vivakṣitatvād ity anye* | *tad evam ayaṃ nirmalo bodher anantaraṃ cittotpādo dharmasaṃgharatnayor antarbhavati* | (D 212a7–213a3; P 277b2–278b2).

[94] The colophon reads: *sūrir vikramaśīlasyābhayo marmmaspṛśaṃ girāṃ* | *rājye śrīrāmapālasya triṅśadabde 'karod imām* || (*Munimata*, Skt Ms. fol. 201v3, D 292b5; P 397b7) "Abhaya, the sage

Munimatālaṃkāra (5)

In the third chapter of his *Munimatālaṃkāra*, Abhayākaragupta again reviews the three states of *tathatā*: the impure *tathatā* of ordinary beings, the *tathatā* of bodhisattvas, which is divided between purer but still impure stages, and the completely pure *tathatā* of the *tathāgata*.[95] In particular, those who have reached one of the first to seventh bodhisattva stages are still impure, but from the eighth stage onward are considered pure. He then summarizes an alternative fourfold classification of the ten bodhisattva stages in the RGV.[96] This discussion is repeated by Daśabalaśrīmitra in his *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya* almost verbatim.[97]

Munimatālaṃkāra (6)

In the last chapter of his *Munimatālaṃkāra*, the chapter devoted to an elucidation of [Buddha-]qualities (Guṇāloka), Abhayākaragupta claims that the pure *dharmadhātu* equates to the indivisible (or unpartitionable) *dharmakāya* of all Buddhas, and this abides in all mental continua of sentient beings, for which reason the Buddha taught that "all sentient beings have Buddha-nature," which, to be sure, does not appear to them when it is covered by obscurations.[98] To conclude, he quotes *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* X.28A "Just as the moon [does not appear] in a broken vessel [filled

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of Vikramaśīla, composed these words [of the *Munimatālaṃkāra*] which touches upon the core of the teachings, in the thirtieth regnal year of the glorious Rāmapāla." See Li 2012: 29 and 2013: 3. Cf. also Seyfort Ruegg 1981: 114; Huntington 1984: 67; Erb 1997: 27, Keira 2004: 7 n. 24.

[95] *Munimata*, Skt. Ms. 129r4–5: *trividhaś ca* (|) *tisro hy avasthās tathatāyāḥ | pṛthagjanāva-*(129r5)*sthāyām aśuddhās* ***tathāgatagarbha****saṃjñitā | aśuddhaśuddhā pramuditādidaśabodhisatvabhūmiṣv adhimātrādhimātrādikleśaprakārāṇāṃ yathāyogaṃ sambhavāt | bhūyaś ca bodhisatvabhūmayor dvidhā*(,) *saptamīṃ yāvat sābhogamanaskāratvenāśuddhāḥ | (acalādāv aśuddhaśuddhāḥ |) śuddhā ca tathāgatabhūmau |* (D 215b5–6; P 282a8–b4).

[96] *Munimata*, 129r5–v1: *caturvidhaś ca mahāyānottare | adhigantṛ*[129v1][*dvāreṇo*]*ktaḥ | pramuditāyāṃ bhumau prathamacittotpādikacbodhisatvaḥ | vimalādiṣu ṣaṭsu caryāpratipanno 'nupaliptacaryācaraṇāt | acalāyām avaivarttikaḥ | dharmameghāyām ekajātipratibaddhaḥ | buddhabhūmyekacaramajanmapratibaddhatvād iti |* (This is a summary of RGVV 52.13–53.6.) (D 215b7–216a1; P 282b4–7).

[97] Judging from the phrasing of both texts, the Sanskrit originals must have been almost identical (only a small number of words are omitted by Daśabalaśrīmitra). See *Munimata*, D 215a5–216a6; P 281b4–283a7 (*de rtogs pa'i don byang chub... lhag ma'i sa ni bdag nyid che zhes gsungs so*) and Daśabalaśrīmitra, *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya*, D 3897, 288a7–289a6; P 5865, 234a4–235a8 (note that these two works exhibit other parallel passages).

[98] *Munimata*, Skt Ms. fol. 175v2–3: *sā ca dharmadhātuviśuddhiḥ sarvākāraparisuddhā*(,) *aviśi-*(175v3)*ṣṭā sarvatathāgatānāṃ dharmakāyavyapadeśyā | saiva paramārthatas tathāgata ucyate |*

with water], [Buddhas] do not appear because of sentient beings' faults."[99]

Marmakaumudī (1)

Seyfort Ruegg (1977) has pointed out that Abhayākaragupta discusses Buddha-nature again in his *Marmakaumudī*, another commentary on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. In his commentary on *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* I.37–39, which teaches the "foundation of the practice" (*sgrub pa'i rten*), Abhayākaragupta states: "The *bodhisattvagotra* is pure by nature (*prakṛtipariśuddha*), [although] hidden in adventitious impurities (*āgantukamala*). The *tathāgatagarbha*, termed the "naturally abiding" (*prakṛtistha*), by which the darkness [of factors] such as ignorance is dispersed, is the support (*pratiṣṭhā*) of the twenty-two gradual [steps in] the generation of the resolve (*cittotpāda*) [to become a buddha]"[100]; and "Concerning this, [the *prakṛtisthaṃ gotraṃ* of the *bodhisattva*], it is the *dharmadhātu*, since its characteristic mark, [namely] the absence of an intrinsic nature (*niḥsvabhāvatā*) within all phenomena (*dharma*), is the cause[101] of the qualities of the noble ones (*ārya*). And that this is [what is] being taught here is shown by the treatise, which states: 'Because of the indivisibility of the *dharmadhātu*, the *gotra* cannot be divided up [into classes]' (*Abhisamayālaṃkāra* I.39cd)."[102] In this passage, then, Abhayākaragupta equates Buddha-nature with the innate spiritual disposition (*prakṛtisthaṃ gotraṃ*).

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sarvakālaṃ tathaiva bhāvāt | ata eva sarvasattvacittasantāneṣv api bhāvāt ***tathāgatagarbhā*** *sarvasattvā ity uktaṃ | sarvatravarttamānāpi tāṃ sattvāḥ svāvaraṇabalādhānāj jātyandhā iva sūryan na paśyanti |* (D 264a4–6; P 355b5–356a1).

[99] *Munimata*, Skt Ms. fol. 175v3–4: *yathoktaṃ sattvadoṣān* (Ms. *sattvadoṣāṃ*) (175v4) *na dṛśyante bhinnabhājanacandravad ityādi |* (D 264a7; P 356a1–2: *ji skad du theg pa chen po bsdus par gsungs pa | snod chag pa yi zla ba bzhin || sems can skyon can la snang min || zhes so ||*; The Sanskrit text does not have an equeivalent for *theg pa chen po bsdus par*). These two lines are from *Mahāyanasaṃgraha* X.28A. See also Nagao 1987: 393–394 and MSA IX.16, 53. This verse is closely related to a passage in the **Tathāgatotpattisaṃbhavanirdeśa* section of the *Buddhāvataṃśakasūtra*, §78 (Takasaki 1992: 259–261 and Matsumoto 2013: 154–155)—a passage quoted in the *Sūtrasamuccaya* and glossed by Ratnākaraśānti (see above).

[100] *Marmakaumudī*, D 3805, 48b6–7: *gang zhig rang bzhin rnam par dag pa glo bur gyi dri ma rnams kyi nang du chud pa de nyid ni byang chub kyi rigs so || de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po rang bzhin gyis gnas pa zhes pa'i ming can nyid kyi ma rig pa la sogs pa'i mun pa nub pa ni rim gyis sems bskyed pa nyi shu rtsa gnyis po rnams kyi rten te |*. Cf. Seyfort Ruegg 1977: 293.

[101] Rejecting "cause" (*rgyu*), which is the reading of the Derge Tanjur, Seyfort Ruegg (1977: 293) renders this as "series" (*rgyud*) on the basis of the Peking Tanjur.

[102] Seyfort Ruegg 1977: 293–294. *Marmakaumudī*, D 49a1–2: *de yang chos thams cad ngo bo nyid kyi med pa nyid mtshan nyid ni 'phags pa'i chos kyi rgyu yin pa'i phyir na chos kyi dbyings nyid de | 'dir de bstan pa ni bstan bcos kyis | chos kyi dbyings la dbyer med phyir || rigs ni tha dad rung ma yin || zhes te |*. See also AA I.39cd: *dharmadhātor asaṃbhedād gotrabhedo na yujyate*.

Marmakaumudī (2)

In his commentary on *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* II.1 (Mārgajñātādhikāra), where he is led to explain the single-vehicle theory, Abhayākaragupta quotes a verse of the *Samādhirājasūtra* teaching that all sentient beings will become Buddhas,[103] and states that all sentient beings have Buddha-nature (which has the *dharmadhātu* as its characteristic mark), since their impurities are merely adventitious and their minds are luminous by nature. Therefore all sentient beings without exception are able to attain the perfect awakening of the Mahāyāna.[104]

Āmnāyamañjarī (1)

Abhayākaragupta discusses Buddha-nature again in his tantric work the *Āmnāyamañjarī*, a commentary on the *Saṃpuṭodbhavatantra*. He interprets the word *sarvatantra*[105] as the Tantra's threefold "continuum," that is, Causal Tantra, Resultant Tantra, and Means Tantra[106]; and introduces an objection: "If [the minds of] these [sentient beings] are not luminous by nature, they, like charcoal, would not become immaculate even when [the obscuration in them is] washed out."[107] He then quotes *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* IX.37: Although *tathatā* is indivisible for all, once it attains purity, it is in the state of a *tathāgata*; all embodied beings therefore have

[103] *Marmakaumudī*, D 76b4; P 86b1–2: *mdo ting nge 'dzin gyi rgyal por yang | 'gro ba 'di rnams thams cad sangs rgyas 'gyur || zhes te*. See *Samādhirāja*, ed. Vaidya, p. 317. For details of this verse, see above, Ratnākaraśānti on *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* (5).

[104] *Marmakaumudī*, D 76a4–7; P 86b2–5: *'dir yang dri ma rnams ni glo bur ba'i phyir na sems rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal bas ma lus pa'i 'gro ba rnams chos kyi dbyings kyi mtshan nyid can gyi de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can te | yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas nyid du sbyor bar rung bar yod pa nyid do zhes pa la dgongs pa'o || 'dir theg pa gsum bstan pa ni nges pa'i don la theg pa gcig bstan pa ni dgongs pa can nyid ces pa dang | rigs med pa'i sems can yang yod ces pa'i brtags pa ni shin tu ma brtags pa'i ste | spang bar bya'o || sems can rdzogs sangs rgyas la sbyor mi rung ba ni gcig kyang med ces pas gnas pa ste | de ltar yang dbang po tha mas bden pa bsgoms pas ni bdag med par mnyam pos 'dod chags dang bral bar 'gro bar 'gyur ro ||*.
The text contains another passage related to Buddha-nature. See *Marmakaumudī*, D 85a3–5; P 96b2–3 (on AA II.11–16): *gzugs la sogs pa rnams kyi de bzhin nyid kyi ngo bo nyid med pa nyid de bzhin gshegs pa la 'dir sems can rnams ni de bzhin nyid kho na ji lta ba de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can te | 'dir phan tshun du rten dang brten pa'i dngos por ni yod pa ma yin no ||*.

[105] Skorupski 1996: 217.1.

[106] *Āmnāyamañjarī*, D 1198, 7b2–8a2; P 2328, 8b3–9a4 (Causal Tantra: D 7b4–6; P 8b5–8, Resultant Tantra: D 7b6–7; P 8b8–9a1, Means Tantra: D 7b7–8a2; P 9a1–3).

[107] *Āmnāyamañjarī*, D 7b4–5; P 8b6–7: *gal te yang ngo bo nyid kyis 'di rnams 'od gsal bar gyur pa ma yin na | sol ba bzhin du bkrus kyang dri ma med par mi 'gyur ro ||*.

it as their embryonic essence.[108] This verse is quoted in the RGVV (p. 71.16–17), too, as an authoritative scriptural passage, establishing the monolithic quality of *tathatā*, that is, Buddha-nature. Abhayākaragupta concludes that the mind of every sentient being is luminous by nature, *tathatā* pervading everything without exception.

Āmnāyamañjarī (2)

When explaining the word *kulam* in *Saṃpuṭodbhavatantra* I-i,[109] Abhayākaragupta again has occasion to repeat that every sentient being has Buddha-nature. That Buddha-nature lacks any intrinsic nature (*niḥsvabhāva*)[110] is especially suggestive of the doctrinal position of Mādhyamikas, which he espouses.

Kramakaumudī (1)

The word *tathāgatagarbha* appears also in the passage of Abhayākaragupta's *Pañcakramatātparyapañjikā Kramakaumudī* on *Pañcakrama* 2.1:

> Although you, who are "praised", have a separate continuum, "I bow" to you, whose nature is [that of] my own continuum, given the identity [we share] through [our shared] nature of Vajradhara. For worship is for affection/delight's sake (*prītyai*), and this [affection/delight] is [that] of the Illustrious Ones, who devote themselves to benefiting others; it [becomes] supreme (*paramā*) by worshipping with firm devotion (*adhimokṣadraḍhimnā*), mindful that the resultant Vajradhara (i.e. awakening) belonging to the worshipper's own continuum arises from naturally purified Buddha-nature [that abides] in the causal state [of the worshipper's mind].[111]

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[108] *Āmnāyamañjarī*, D 7b5–6; P 8b7–9: *de 'phags pa byams pas gsungs pa | thams cad la ni khyad med kyang || de bzhin nyid ni dag gyur pa || de bzhin gshegs nyid de yi phyir || 'gro kun de yi snying po can || zhes so ||*; MSA IX.37: *sarveṣām aviśiṣṭāpi tathatā śuddhim āgatā | tathāgatatvaṃ tasmāc ca tadgarbhāḥ sarvadehinaḥ ||*.

[109] Skorupski 1996: 222–223. Cf. *Hevajra* 1.5.8–9.

[110] *Āmnāyamañjarī*, D 19b6; P 22a3: *'dir thams cad ni sems gtso bo ste | sems kyi rgyun gyi mtshan nyid can gyi sems can rnams kyang rang bzhin med pa'i bdag nyid kyi de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can rnams so ||*.

[111] *Kramakaumudī*, Tomabechi ed.: ***stute*** *tvayi bhinnasantāne vajradharasvabhāvena samatayā svasantānasvabhāvāya tubhyaṃ* ***namo 'stu*** *| praṇāmo hi prītyai, sā ca parārthaparāyaṇānāṃ bhagavatāṃ namasyataḥ svasantānabhāvinaḥ phalavajradharasya hetvavasthāyāṃ prakṛtipariśuddhatathāgatagarbhasambhavābhisandhinā 'dhimokṣadraḍhimnā praṇāmena paramā |* (= D 1831, 190b6–7; bold-faced words are those in the verse). I am grateful to Dr. Toru Tomabechi for allowing me to utilize the draft version of his upcoming edition of the *Kramakaumudī*.

Pañcakrama 2.1 teaches that the worship of Buddhas is the worship of oneself, since they are present within one's own mind. Abhayākaragupta clarifies this by saying that the resultant Vajradhara (*phalavajradhara*) is within the mind of the worshipper and arises from Buddha-nature, which abides in the causal state of his mind. We saw a similar idea being expressed in the *Āmnāyamañjarī* (1).

Among Abhayākaragupta's above-mentioned discussions, some show the influence of Kamalaśīla and Ratākaraśānti, while others correspond to rNgog's position, and not a few had an impact upon later Indian masters.

Abhayākaragupta utilizes the Buddha-nature doctrine to establish the single-vehicle doctrine, which teaches that all sentient beings can and will attain Mahāyāna awakening [see *Munimatālaṃkāra* (1) (2), *Marmakaumudī* (2)]. In this regard, he faithfully follows Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka*.[112]

Abhayākaragupta's interpretation of Buddha-nature as being devoid of any intrinsic nature (*niḥsvabhāva*) [see *Munimata* (3), *Marmakaumudī* (1), *Āmnāyamañjarī* (2)] is also paralleled in Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka*. His explanation of the *dharmadhātu*'s causal potency is drawn from Ratnākaraśānti's *Sāratamā* [see *Munimata* (3)].

Abhayākaragupta's discussion of the system of the seven *vajrapada*s [see *Munimata* (4)] closely follows along the lines of rNgog's RGV commentary. Abhayākaragupta and rNgog flourished during the latter half of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th centuries, but we cannot establish any direct contact between the two masters. It is possible that, when rNgog visited eastern India (Magadha) sometime between 1076 and 1092 (see below Chapter 7), he received instruction on Buddha-nature, similar to what was later conferred upon Abhayākaragupta as well, with both going on to integrate it into their own RGV commentaries independently.

Abhayākaragupta's discussion of Buddha-nature had an impact on later Indian masters, including Daśabalaśrīmitra, who utilizes the discussion of the three states of *tathatā* [*Munimata* (5)]; Ratnarakṣita, who further delves into the association of *hetutantra* with Buddha-nature [*Āmnāyamañjarī* (1)]; and Jayānanda, who probably makes use of the single-vehicle discussion of *Munimata* (1) (2).[113]

[112] See above, Introduction, p. 9ff. and Chapter 3, p. 95–96.
[113] See below.

Zhi-ba-'byung-gnas
(ca. 12th century)

Zhi-ba-'byung-gnas (*Śāntyākara)[114] of Jagaddala monastery refers to the RGV in his *Bhagavatyāmnāyānusāriṇī-nāma-vyākhyā*, which according to its colophon was copied (*bris pa*, *likhita*) in the seventh regnal year of Madanapāla (r. ca. 1158–1176), that is, ca. 1165 A.D., at the Mahābodhi temple of Bodhgayā.[115] The *Bhagavatyāmnāyānusāriṇī* is a commentary on all 32 chapters of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*.

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[114] The author is referred to under this name by Dol-po-pa and Tsong-kha-pa (Brunnhölzl 2011: 15 n. 32). See Dol-po-pa, *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi rnam bshad mdo'i don bde blag tu rtogs pa*, p. 375.5–6: *dpal ldan rgyal po dza gad lar gnas pa'i bla mchod / slob dpon* ***zhi ba 'byung gnas*** *rnams kyang*.... (Brunnhölzl brought this passage to my attention in a personal communication). Cf. also Tsong-kha-pa's *gSer phreng* (ACIP S 5412, 17b1, 17b5, etc.).

I tentatively adopt this name, which can be justified on the basis of the following sentence in the concluding verse of the work itself: D 3811, 319b2–3; P 5209, 370a6: *rgyal ba rnams ni skyed mdzad* ***zhi ba 'byung gnas*** *kyis ni gdon par byas* || ("The Mother of Victorious Ones [i.e. the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*] was clarified (?) by Zhi-ba-'byung-gnas").

dBus-pa Blo-gsal's Tanjur catalogue (fols. 68b5–69a1) and Bu-ston's Tanjur catalogue (Nishioka 1981, no. 512) identify the author as: *dpal ldan rgyal po dza gad ta lar gnas pa*.

Likewise, in a colophon verse, the author calls himself "a resident of venerable Rājajagaddala [monastery]" (D 3811, 320a2; P 5209, 370b8–371a1: *dpal ldan rgyal po dza gad ta* (*ga tta* P) *lar gnas par byed pa bdag gis rnam bshad 'di byas so*; Sanderson 2009: 97–98). If the Tibetan rendering *dpal ldan rgyal po dza gad ta lar gnas par byed pa* is equivalent to *śrīmadrājajagaddalavihārīya* found in the colophon of Mokṣākaragupta's *Tarkabhāṣā* (*śrīmadrājajagaddalavihārīyamahāpaṇḍitabhikṣumokṣākaraguptaviracitāyāṃ tarkabhāṣāyaṃ*; see Sanderson *ibid.*), it could also mean: "he who belongs to the venerable Rājajagaddalavihāra (i.e. Jagaddala monastery, supported by kings of the Pāla dynasty)." For the monastery Jagaddalamahāvihāra, located in Varendra in Bengal, see Naudou 1968: 194; Huntington 1984: 196; Ochi 1994; Hossain 2009; Sanderson 2009: 88 n. 156; 97–98.

[115] Zhi-ba-'byung-gnas, D 3811, 320a3–4; P 5209, 371a3–4: *dpal ldan nga rgyal skyong gis rgyal srid mdzad pa'i lo bdun pa la dgun zla 'bring po'i tshes bzhi la dpal byang chub chen po'i lha khang du* ***bris pa'o*** ||. This gives the year the Sanskrit manuscript copy was made (*bris pa*) at Mahābodhi temple, not the year of composition (cf. D 320a2; P 371a1: *bdag gis rnam bshad 'di byas so*; but D 319a5; P 369a7: *bdag gis bris*), which is unknown (I thank Gudrun Melzer for drawing my attention to this). For the regnal years of Madanapāla, see Huntington & Huntington 1990 (these years, stated in Huntington 1984 as being 1143/44–1161/62, are there emended).

The colophon of the work (D 3811; P 5209) is quadripartite: (1) the colophon of the author (D 319a3–320a3; P 369b4–371a1), (2) that of the scribe of the Sanskrit manuscript (D 320a3; P 371a1–2), (3) that of the Tibetan translator, Tshul-khrims-'byung-gnas (D 320a3–7; P 371a2–7), and (4) an additional note by Cog-ro-ston-gzhon (D 320a7; P 371a7–8).

The first part (1) contains several important but ambiguous pieces of information (including a reference to the foundation of Jagaddala monastery), which need to be clarified (cf. Sanderson 2009: 97–98).

In commenting the seventh chapter (*nirayaparivarta*) of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, Zhi-ba-'byung-gnas claims that the Buddha and reality, according to the Mahāyāna, are not absolutely non-existent, reality (or buddhahood) being only provisionally taught as ultimately existent, for it is in fact wholly ineffable.[116] In support of this, he quotes RGV I.9[117] and *Kāyatrayastotra* verse 1,[118] works he attributes to Maitreya and Nāgārjuna, respectively, both of which teach that the Buddha is beyond existence and non-existence.

In the commentary on chapter 16 (*tathatāparivarta*), he quotes the *Madhyāntavibhāga* (I.14–15), *Trisvabhāvanirdeśa* (verses 30, 33, 34, 36–38), *Vyākhyāyukti*, *Abhidharmasūtra*, RGV (I.153), *Samādhirāja* (IX.23), *Acintyastava* (verses 38cd–39), and *Dharmadhātustava* (verses 8–11) as all adding their force to the ineffable nature of the ultimate reality.[119]

Commenting on chapter 31 (*dharmodgataparivarta*), he quotes RGV IV.90–91 together with *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* IX.16, and maintains that the *tathāgata* knows neither origination nor cessation (*byon pa dang bzhud pa*).[120] In another passage in the

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The third part (3) may have been added later by Cog-ro-ston-gzhon (D 320a7; P 371a8: *bla ma chos kyi rgyal po'i phyag dpe rgya yig gi nang nas | dge bshes cog ro ston gzhon gyis rnyed nas bris pa'o*). Somewhat unnaturally, there are two statements signalling the end of the work, one each in (1) and (3) (D 319a3; P 369b3: *bcom ldan 'das ma'i man ngag gi rjes su 'brang ba'i zhes bya ba'i rnam par bshad pa 'di rdzogs so ||*; *ibid.* D320a3; P 371a1–2: *bcom ldan 'das ma 'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa'i rnam par bshad pa man ngag gi rjes su 'brang ba zhes bya ba rdzogs so ||*).

According to the second part (2), the Tibetan translation was done by Alaṃkadeva and Tshul-khrims-'byung-gnas (1107–1190) at a temple in sGye'u ri, at the request of Blo-gros-'byung-gnas. See *ibid.* D 320a4; P 371a3: *rgya gar gyi mkhan po alaṃkadeva* (D *ā laṅka ka de ba*; P *a la ka de ba*) *dang | bod kyi lo ts'a ba dge slong tshul khrims 'byung gnas kyis dpal sgye'u* (P *skye'u*) *ri'i drung du chos skor dben sa'i* (D *pa'i*) *gtsug lag khang du bsgyur ba'o ||*.

[116] D 3811, 143a3–6; P 5209, 164a1–3.

[117] RGV I.9 is quoted in D 3811, 143a6–7; P 5209, 164a3–5: *de nyid kyi phyir dam pa'i chos la rgyal tshab tu dbang bskur ba theb pa theg pa chen po thams cad kyi don la mkhas pa mgon po byams pa rang nyid kyis gsungs pa | gang zhig med min yod pa min dang yod med ma yin yod med las ni gzhan pa'ang min || brtag par mi nus nges tshig dang bral so so rang gis rig par bya ba zhi ba ste || dri ma med pa'i ye shes 'od zer snang ba dang ldan dmigs pa kun la chags pa dang || sdang dang rab rib rnam par 'joms par mdzad pa'i dam chos nyi ma de la phyag 'tshal lo ||*. See Brunnhölzl 2011: 109.

[118] D 3811, 143a7–b2; P 5209, 164a5–7.

[119] D 3811, 207b6–209a2; P 5209, 239a5–240a3. See Brunnhölzl 2011: 72–79. RGV I.153 is quoted in D 3811, 208b4; P 5209, 239b6–7: *dad pa nyid kyis 'dir 'gro bya || rang byung rnams kyi don dam la || mig med 'od zer gyis 'bar ba || nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor mthong ba min ||*.

[120] Zhi-ba-'byung-gnas, *ibid.* D 307b5–7; P 356a8–b3: *ci skad du theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma nas gsungs pa | "dge ba skye 'jig las sangs rgyas || gzugs brnyan skye dang 'jig pa dang || thub pa skye min 'jig pa min || brgya byin bzhin du chos sku las || 'bad pa med par mdzad pa zhes || de ltar mthong ba la sogs 'jug || skye ba med pa'i chos sku las || ji srid 'gag med srid par gnas ||"* (RGV

same chapter, he again quotes RGV I.153 and V.1–2, and also Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya* (VI) while discussing the incomprehensibility (*acintyatā*) of reality.[121]

Daśabalaśrīmitra
(ca. the second half of the 12th century)

Daśabalaśrīmitra flourished two generations after Abhayākaragupta (d. 1125) and within the same line of transmission.[122] Skilling (1987: 15), utilizing Tibetan historical works by gZhon-nu-dpal and Tāranātha, along with Indian inscriptions, came to the following conclusion: "[I]t seems probable that Daśabalaśrīmitra, possibly ordained in the Mahāsāṃghika tradition, was a master of sūtra and śāstra, of Pāramitāyāna and Vajrayāna, who lived in North-eastern India about the second half of the twelfth century; that he belonged to the Mitra lineage, may have been appointed royal guru by Jayacandra of Kanauj and may have resided or spent some time at Bodh Gaya." Skilling's dating of Daśabalaśrīmitra's lifetime seems reasonable in view of the fact that Daśabalaśrīmitra cites passages from Abhayākaragupta's *Munimatālaṃkāra*.

The *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya* of Daśabalaśrīmitra, whose full text is available

IV.90–91) *zhes bya ba'o || mdo sde rgyan las kyang gsungs pa | "ci ltar chu snod chag pa la || zla ba'i gzugs brnyan mi mthong ste || de bzhin sems can sdug rnams la || sangs rgyas gzugs brnyan mthong ba min ||"* (MSA IX.16) *zhes bya ba'o || 'dis ni gzugs kyi sku la ltos pas kyang de bzhin gshegs pa rnams kyi byon pa dang bzhud pa med do ||*.

[121] Zhi-ba-'byung-gnas, *ibid.* D 312b6–313a4; P 362a5–b4: *gal te bya ba yang med na stong pa nyid ni dngos po'i mtshan nyid dang yang dag par 'das pa rdzas so so cung zad yod pa ma yin no || 'dzin par byed pa'i ye shes kyang de'i ngo bo nyid thob pa ste 'on kyang 'jig rten las 'das pa'i ye shes 'di so so rang gis rig par bya ba'i chos zhes bya ba 'di mig 'phrul dang 'dra ba nyid ci zhig rtog ge ba'i yul gyi bya bas sun dbyung bar bya ba ci zhig yin nam ma yin zhes gsungs pa ni | chos thams cad bsam gyis mi khyab pa nyid pas zhes bya ba ste | de nyid kyi phyir theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma las | "rang 'byung rnams kyis don dam la || 'dir ni dad pa nyid kyis 'gro || mig med 'od kyis 'bar ba yi || nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor mthong ba min || sangs rgyas khams dang sangs rgyas byang chub dang || sangs rgyas yon tan sangs rgyas phrin las te || dag pa'i sems* (P *mems*) *can gyis kyang bsam bya min || 'di ni 'dren pa rnams kyi spyod yul yin* (D *min*) *|| rgyal ba rnams kyi yul 'di la ni mos pa'i blo || yon tan tshogs kyi snod du 'gyur ba yin || bsam med yon tan mngon dga' ldan pa'i phyir || sems can kun gyi bsod nams skyes pa zil gyis gnon ||"* (RGV I.153; V.1–2) *zhes bya ba'o || de bas na 'dir rtog ge 'jug par bya ba ma yin no || phyogs kyi glang po'i zhal snga nas kyis ci skad du gsungs pa | "thub dbang bstan las shin tu ring par nyams pa dang | gang zhig rtog ge'i lam gyis chos nyid la btud pa ||"* (*Pramāṇasamuccaya* VI) *zhes bya ba'o ||*. Cf. Dignāga, *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, D 4203, 13a3.

[122] See Skilling 1987: 12–13, referring to gZhon-nu-dpal's *Deb ther sngon po* and Tāranātha's *rGya gar chos 'byung* and *bKa' babs bdun ldan*. This Daśabalaśrīmitra seems to be different from the "Nepalese paṇḍit Daśabalaśrīmitra" mentioned in the colophon of the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Tattvajñānasaṃsiddhiṭippaṇī* (NGMPP B23/7).

only in Tibetan,[123] is a work representing doctrinal positions regarding "the conditioned" and "the unconditiond" taken by the Śrāvakayāna (Vaibhāṣika: chaps. 2–12, Sthaviravāda: chaps. 13–15, Saṃmitīya: chaps. 16–21) and the Mahāyāna (chap. 22–34). In the 27th chapter, titled "An analysis of the meditative cultivation of the meaning of the Perfection of Insight according to the traditional bodhisattva practice" (*byang chub sems dpa'i tshul lugs la shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i don sgom pa rnam par nges pa*), Daśabalaśrīmitra copies a number of passages from Abhayākaragupta's *Munimatālaṃkāra* which discuss the three modes of *tathatā*: (a) being impure, (b) partly pure and [partly] impure, and (c) pure. The three respectively correspond to the stages of ordinary beings (*pṛthagjana*), the ten bodhisattva stages, and the stage of a buddha.[124] This classification is in accord with that of RGV I.47.[125] Among the three, Daśabalaśrīmitra takes only (a) the impure aspect of *tathatā* as imbued with Buddha-nature, whereas the RGV encompasses all three within it. This shows that Abhayākaragupta and Daśabalaśrīmitra shift the entire weight of Buddha-nature to its causal aspect. In the same context, Daśabalaśrīmitra summarizes RGVV 52.13–53.8 (on RGV I.69–78), which discusses the ten bodhisattva stages.[126]

Ratnarakṣita
(late 12th–early 13th century)

Ratnarakṣita was a contemporary of Śākyaśrībhadra and later fled to Nepal (from

[123] In his forthcoming paper "A Sanskrit Fragment of Daśabalaśrīmitra's *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya*," Péter-Dániel Szántó reports the existence of Sanskrit fragments of the work (3 folios) relating to chapters 29 and 30 in the Sanskrit manuscript collection of Cambridge University Library.

[124] Daśabalaśrīmitra, *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya*, D 3897, 288b7–289a1; P 5865, 234b6–235a1: *de bzhin nyid kyi gnas skabs gsum ste | 'di lta ste |* (a) *so so skye bo'i gnas skabs su de bzhin nyid ma dag pa'i gnas skabs te de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can ming can no* || (b) *ma dag pa dang dag pa ste | rab tu dga' ba la sogs pa'i byang chub sems dpa'i sa bcu la rab kyi rab la sogs pa nyon mongs pa'i rnam pa ci rigs par srid pa'i phyir ro* || (c) *shin tu dag pa ni sangs rgyas kyi sa'o* ||.

[125] RGV I.47: *aśuddho 'śuddhaśuddho 'tha suviśuddho yathākramam | sattvadhātur iti prokto bodhisattvas tathāgataḥ* ||.

[126] Daśabalaśrīmitra, *ibid.* D 289a2–3; P 235a1–3: *theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma la rtogs pa po'i sgo nas rnam pa bzhi gsungs te | 'di lta ste | rab tu dga' ba la dang po sems bskyed pa'i byang chub sems dpa'o* || *dri ma med pa la sogs pa drug la spyod pa la zhugs pa ste | nye bar gos pa med pa'i spyad pa spyod pas so* || *mi g.yo ba la phyir mi ldog pa'o* || *chos kyi sprin la skye ba gcig gis thogs pa ste | sangs rgyas kyi sa la skye ba tha ma gcig gis thogs pa'i phyir ro* ||. See also Daśabalaśrīmitra, *ibid.* D 289a3–b2; P 235a3–b1.

Bengal?).[127] He gave instruction on *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* to Vibhūticandra in Kathmandu around 1214.[128] According to Chag Lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal (1190–1263) (who stayed in Nepal from 1226 to 1234), Ratnarakṣita enjoyed a high reputation at Svayambhū Nāth.[129] He composed a commentary on the *Saṃvarodayatantra*, entitled *Padminī*, which is said to have been written during his short visit to Tibet.[130] Tanemura, in his study of *Padminī* chapter 22 (Devatāpratiṣṭhāvidhipaṭala), points out Abhayākaragupta's strong influence upon the *Padminī*.

Padminī (1)

In the first chapter of the *Padminī*, Ratnarakṣita quotes the RGV twice. In the first of the two citations, he divides *tantra*, that is, "continuum" (*prabandha*), into three levels: *upāyatantra*, *hetutantra*, and *phalatantra*.[131] While explaining *hetutantra*, he quotes RGV I.28:

> Furthermore, under the system/method of tantra, even though a practitioner possesses Buddha-nature, which is innately established and pure, nevertheless [he can] attain the desired goal [only] by rejecting all countervailing factors (*vipakṣa*), only, [that is,] by taking the immaculate purity (*vaimalyapariśuddhi*) as his basis. [In this regard] it was taught: "… as *buddhayoga* (i.e. *yoga* in which one generates oneself as a buddha) is the cause of attaining buddhahood, in all cases."[132] Similarly, Jñānapāda teaches: "Only by meditating on

[127] Tāranātha's *rGya gar chos 'byung* 191.18–19; 193.20: *ratnarakṣi ta chen po bal po'i yul tu byon*. See also *ibid* 192.4–5: *slob dpon chen po ratna rakṣi ta ni | pha rol tu phyin pa'i theg pa dang | rig gnas spyi la shākya shrī dang mkhyen pa mnyam pa |*.

[128] This was shortly after the latter's arrival in Nepal from Tibet. See Stearns 1996: 136.

[129] Petech 1984: 88 and Roerich 1949/53: 1057.

[130] Tāranātha, *rGya gar chos 'byung*, 192.15: *bod du yang yud tsam zhig phebs | sdom 'byung gi 'grel pa mdzad |*. I wish to thank to Dr. Kenichi Kuranishi and Dr. Ryugen Tanemura for providing me with a photographic copy of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Padminī*. We three are preparing a Sanskrit critical edition for publication. See Tanemura & Kano & Kuranishi 2014. The work was translated into Tibetan by the Indian paṇḍita Sarvajñaśrībhadra, a disciple of Ratnarakṣita, and later (ca. 1270–1275) revised by Shong Lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros-brtan-pa at the request of 'Phags-pa (1235–1280) and Kun-dga'-bzang-po (who served as *dpon chen* in the years 1270–1275/6). See *ibid*.

[131] Ratnarakṣita *Padminī*, Takaoka CA17, fol. 3r4–5: *tathā hi tantryate vyutpādyata iti tantram | tat tridhā, upāyatantraṃ hetutantraṃ phalatantraṃ ca | tad uktaṃ samājottare | tantraṃ prabandham ākhyātaṃ, tat prabandhaṃ tridhā bhavet | ādhāraḥ prakṛtiś caiva asaṃhāryaprabhedata iti*. Cf. *Guhyasamājatantra*, 18.34.

[132] The source has yet to be identified. A similar verse is quoted in Jinadatta/Jayadatta's *Guhyasamāja*

oneself as Samantabhadra does one partake of awakening (*bodhibhāg*)."[133]

Also, the teaching that [every being] has Buddha-nature [is taught] for precisely three reasons: (1) on account of the pervasiveness of the *dharmakāya* of a perfect buddha, (2) on account of the indivisibility of *tathatā*, and (3) on account of the ability to attain buddhahood. It is taught [in the RGV]: "Since the body of a perfect buddha pervades [everything], since *tathatā* [of the Buddha and ordinary beings] is indivisible and since *gotra* is always present [in ordinary beings], therefore all embodied beings have Buddha-nature." Hence, with regard to *hetutantra*, it is taught that it is the Buddha alone who is the result and path.[134]

Ratnarakṣita claims that although a practitioner (*sādhaka*) already possesses innate purity, he needs to repeatedly practice in order to remove obscurations and to attain immaculate purity. Furthermore, quoting RGV I.28, which teaches three reasons why every being has Buddha-nature, Ratnarakṣita claims that it is the Buddha alone who is the result and path. He distinguishes the state of a practitioner (*hetutantra*) from that of the Buddha (*phalatantra*).

Padminī (2)

In the first chapter of the *Padminī*, too, an opponent argues that the state of Vajradhara can be neither something to be produced (*nirvartya*) nor something to be transformed (*vikārya*), nor yet something to be attained (*prāpya*). Rebutting this objection, Ratnarakṣita states: "All these arguments [of yours] lack substance

commentary (D 1847, 147a2–3; P 2710, 164b1–2): *sangs rgyas nyid ni sgrub pa'i rgyu || sangs rgyas rnal 'byor kun du yang || rgyu dang 'dra pa'i 'bras bu nyid || kun du mthong ba ma yin nam ||*.

[133] The source has yet to be identified. Again, Jinadatta/Jayadatta quotes this verse in his *Guhyasamāja* commentary (D 1847, 147a5–6; P 2710, 164b5): *ye shes zhabs kyi zhal snga nas | de phyir kun du rtog bsal cing || kun du 'od zer 'phro ba yi || kun du bzang po'i bdag nyid du || bsgom pa nyid kyi byang chub snod ||* (This closely parallels Dīpaṅkarabhadra's wording in *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikā Lokālokakārikā*, verse 28cd: *samantabhadram ātmanaṃ bhāvayet spharaṇatviṣam*). This occurs immediately after the previous quotation. I owe the information relating to the above-mentioned two verses to Péter-Dániel Szántó (personal communication).

[134] Ratnarakṣita *Padminī*, Takaoka CA17, fol. 3r6–9: *api ca tantranaye saty api sādhakasya prakṛtisiddhapari*[3r7]*śuddhabuddhagarbhatve vaimalyapariśuddhyālambanenaiva sakalavipakṣapratikṣepeṇābhimatasādhyasiddhiḥ | uktaṃ ca | buddhatvasādhane hetur buddhayogo hi sarvatheti | tathā jñānapādair api | samantabhadram ātmānaṃ bhāvayann e*[3r8]*va bodhibhāg iti | buddhagarbhatvopadeśo 'pi tribhir eva kāraṇaiḥ | saṃbuddhadharmakāyavyāptyā tathatāvyatibhedād buddhatvasādhanayogyatayā ca | tad uktaṃ saṃbuddhakāyaspharaṇāt tathatāvyatibhedataḥ | gotrataś ca sadā sarve* [3r9] *buddhagarbhā śarīriṇa iti | tasmād bhagavān eva phalaṃ mārgaś ca hetutantrāpekṣayocyate |*.

(*asāra*), for the meaning of the teaching [of the Buddha] is beyond logical reasoning." He then quotes *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* I.12, the *Śrīherukābhidhāna* (i.e. *Cakrasaṃvara*), RGV I.153, and Saraha[135]; all insist that the true meaning of the Buddha's teaching is beyond logical reasoning and can be understood only through devotion (*śraddhā*) to the Buddha.

VIBHŪTICANDRA
(late 12th–early 13th century)

Vibhūticandra, born into the *kṣatriya* class in Varendra (Bengal),[136] received full monastic ordination (*upasaṃpadā*) in the Mahāsammitīya tradition and studied at Vikramaśīla monastery, where he met his teacher Śākyaśrībhadra (1140s–1225). Eventually they both moved to Jagaddala monastery (in modern-day Bengal) to escape a Muslim onslaught. After three years there, they fled to Tibet together with Śākyaśrībhadra's other disciple, Dānaśīla. In Tibet, the summer retreat of 1206 was spent at Srin-po-ri in dBus, where Śākyaśrībhadra lectured on the Five Treatises of Maitreya[137]; in 1209 it was spent at Rin-chen-sgang palace in the Sa-skya region; and in 1213 at Pu-hrang in mNga'-ris, from where Śākyaśrībhadra returned to his homeland of Kashmir in 1214. After the parting of his teacher, Vibhūticandra returned to Nepal and became an abbot of the Stham Bihar in Kathmandu. Later he twice travelled back to Tibet from Nepal, on the second visit staying at 'Bring-mtshams in gTsang and at 'Bri-khug-gling, and during this same visit at Ding-ri (near the border with Nepal) at the request of Ko-brag-pa (1170–1249). After three years of sojourning in Tibet, he returned to Nepal, where he lived on for many more.

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[135] Ratnarakṣita, *Padminī*, Takaoka CA17, fol. 4r10–v2: *tad etat sarvam asāraṃ | tarkāga*[4r10]*mya-tvād uktārthasya | uktaṃ ca sūtrālaṃkāre | niśrito 'niyato 'vyāpī sāmvṛtaḥ khedavān api | bālā-śrayo matas tarkas tasyāto viṣayo na tad iti* (= MSA I.12) | *ata evoktaṃ śrīherukābhidhāne | sāmānyaṃ sarvatantrāṇāṃ* [4v1] *na hantavyāni hetubhiḥ | śraddhāmātreṇa gṛhyante na kareṇa*[a] *na cakṣuṣeti* | (= *Cakrasaṃvara*, ed. Pandey, 26.12cd–13ab) *mahāyānottaratantre 'pi | śrad-dhayaivātra gantavyaṃ paramārthe svayambhuvāṃ | na hy acakṣuḥ prabhādīptan īkṣate sūryamaṇḍalam iti* (= RGV I.153) | *saraha*[b]*pādair api | bu*[4v2]*ddher agocaratayā na girāṃ pra-cāre*[c] *dūre guru*[d]*prathitavastukathāvatāraḥ | tat*[e] *tu krameṇa karuṇādiguṇāvadāte śraddhāva-tāṃ hṛdi padaṃ svayam ādadhātīti* | ([a] *kareṇa* em.; *karaṇe* Ms. [b] *saraha*° em.; *sahara*° Ms. [c] *pracāre* em.; *pracāro* Ms. [d] *guru*° em.; *gurū*° Ms. [e] *tat* em.; *taṃ* Ms.).

[136] Stearns (1996) presents the life of Vibhūticandra in detail.

[137] Roerich 1949/53: 349.

In his commentary on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (*Viśeṣadyotanī nāma Bodhicaryāvatāratātparyapañjikā*), Vibhūticandra variously quotes the RGV.[138] In sketching Śāntideva's life and his three works (including the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and *Sūtrasamuccaya*), Vibhūticandra describes the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* as the words of a sage and thus has occasion to quote RGV V.18, which explains what a sage's words (*uktam ārṣaṃ*) are. He also quotes RGV I.153 and I.34, highlighting the importance of devotion. He himself translated this work, during his first sojourn in Tibet, sometime between 1209 and 1213,[139] at 'Bring-mtshams in gTsang.

In another of his works, *Amṛtakaṇikoddyotanibandha*, a subcommentary on Raviśrījñāna's *Amṛtakaṇikā* (which is in turn a commentary on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*), Vibhūticandra quotes verses I.34, I.63, I.55, and III.8 from the RGV, discussing thereby, respectively, adventitious (*āgantuka*) defilements; discriminative insight (*prajñā*), which produces Buddha-qualities, such as the Ten Powers (*daśabala*); *nirākāracitta*, which does not need any more support than space (*ākāśa*) does; and the Four Fearlessnesses.[140]

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[138] Vibhūticandra, *Viśeṣadyotanī*, D 3880 Sha 194a6–7; P [100] 5282 Sha 231a7–8: *'phags pa byams pas de gsungs pa | "gang ni don can chos kyi tshig dang ldan || khams gsum nyon mongs dag par byed pa'i tshig | zhi ba'i phan yon ston par byed pa de || drang srong las byung de las bzlog pa gzhan ||"* (RGV V.18) *zhes so ||*.
Vibhūticandra, *Viśeṣadyotanī*. D 196a2–3; P 233a8–b1: *byams pas gsungs pa | "rang byung rnams kyi don dam pa || 'dir ni dad pa nyid kyis 'gro || long bas brjid dang ldan pa yi || nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor mi mthong ngo ||"* (RGV I.153) *zhes so ||*.
Vibhūticandra, *Viśeṣadyotanī*. D 196b4; P 234a4–5: *'di la bsal bya ci yang med || gzhag par bya ba'ang cung zad med || yang dag nyid la yang dag lta || yang dag mthong nas rnam par grol ||* (RGV I.154 = AA V.21) *zhes gsungs pa'i phyir ro ||*.
Vibhūticandra, *Viśeṣadyotanī*. D 197a2–3; P 234b4–5: *gang gi phyir byams pas gsungs pa | "theg mchog la mos gang la yod || ma ni shes rab sangs rgyas chos bskyed phyir || ma ma snying rje la ni bsam gtan bde || gang yin de ni thub pa'i rjes skyes sras ||"* (RGV I.34) *zhes so ||*.

[139] Cf. Stearns 1996: 132–135.

[140] Vibhūticandra, AKU, 136.26–28: *āgantukam iti | yad āha "cittasya yāsau prakṛtiḥ prabhāsvarā na jātu sā dyaur iva yāti vikriyām | āgantukair āgamanādibhir hy*[a] *asāv upaiti saṃkleśam abhūtakalpajaiḥ ||"* (RGV I.63) *iti |* ([a]*āgantukai rāgamalādibhis tv* RGV).
I owe the reference of the following two passages to Prof. Harunaga Isaacson.
Vibhūticandra, AKU, 154.11–13: *daśabalādibuddhadharmāṇāṃ yonir yad āha "bījaṃ yeṣām agrayānādhimuktir mātā prajñā buddhadharmaprasūtye*[a] *| garbhasthānaṃ dhyānasaukhyaṃ kṛpoktā dhātrī putrās tena jātā*[b] *munīnām ||"* (RGV I.34) *iti |* ([a]°*prasūtyai* RGV. [b]*te 'nujātā* RGV).
Vibhūticandra, AKU, 155.17–20: *nirābhāsasya nirvikalpasya | "pṛthivy apsu*[a] *jalaṃ vāyau vāyur vyomni pratiṣṭhitaḥ | apratiṣṭhitam ākāśaṃ vāyvambukṣitidhātuṣu ||"* (RGV I.55) *iti vacanād ākāśasyeva nirākāracittasya sthitir apratiṣṭhitā |* ([a] *ambau* RGV).
Vibhūticandra, AKU, 212.15–16: *"sarvadharmābhisaṃbodhe vivasva*[a]*pratiṣedhane | mārgākhyāne nibodhāptau vaiśāradyaṃ caturvidham ||"* (RGV III.8) *iti |* ([a] *vibandha*° RGV)

A Summary and Further Considerations

The transmission of the RGV in eastern India (and centred on Vikramaśīla) is traceable in works of Indian masters from the 11th to the 13th century. They carried forward discussions initiated by Maitrīpa, Jñānaśrīmitra, and Ratnākaraśānti in the following points.

Rāmapāla's *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* makes use of Maitrīpa's *Pañcatathāgatamudrā-vivaraṇa* including the quotation from RGV II.61b. Yamāri's *Suparisuddhā* summarizes the beginning portion of Jñānaśrīmitra's *Sākārasiddhi* chapter 6, which contains a quotation of RGV I.154. In these passages, Maitrīpa and Rāmapāla quote the RGV by way of introducing a Nirākāravāda discussion of the buddha-body question, while Jñānaśrīmitra and Yamāri cite it in support of their Sākāravāda view.

Abhayākaragupta quotes the RGV in order to justify integrating passages written by preceding masters into his *Munimatālaṃkāra*: he recalls the elucidation of the *dharmadhātu* in Ratnākaraśānti's *Sāratamā* (*Munimata* [3]) and the definition of Buddha-nature provided in Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka*. This definition equates it with the *dharmadhātu*, which is characterized by a twofold selflessness (*Munimata* [2]). In these contexts, Abhayākaragupta takes the single-vehicle position, which accords with that of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya*'s author (a work ascribed to Ratnākaraśānti). In another passage (*Munimata* [4]), Abhayākaragupta takes up a controversy between two different positions with regard to the understanding of the seven *vajrapada*s of the RGV, suggesting that by the early 12th century the RGV was an object of serious study among scholarly circles in eastern India.

Abhayākaragupta's impact upon scholars is visible in works by later masters such as Daśabalaśrīmitra, and Ratnarakṣita, and probably Jayānanda too, all of whom integrated the results of Abhayākaragupta's discussions (together with quotations from the RGV) into their own compositions. The role played by Abhayākaragupta, then, was to pick up on his predecessors' discussions of the RGV and Buddha-nature, and to pass them on to later generations.

Two other significant developments during this period were Atiśa's transmission of the RGV to Tibet and Vairocanarakṣita's commentary on the RGV. Vairo-

canarakṣita also composed commentaries on the *Viṃśikā*, *Triṃśikā*, *Madhyāntavibhāga*, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, and *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga*, and in all of them he juxtaposes the RGV to these classical Yogācāra works. The sequence of works in one Sanskrit manuscript (a *codex unicus*) features the RGV and *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga* at the end, which suggests some link between these two works, and reminds us of Maitrīpa's rediscovery story, in which the two were discovered together.

Chapter 5

The Kashmiri Tradition of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* Exegesis in the 11th and 12th Centuries: Sajjana and his Circle

In Chapters 2–4 we studied the transmission of the RGV in eastern India in the 11th and 12th century. In this chapter we shall try to trace its transmission in Kashmir, focusing on works by Sajjana, Mahājana, Amṛtākara, and Jayānanda.

Sajjana
(fl. second half of the 11th century)

The Kashmiri paṇḍita Sajjana is considered to be one of the most significant masters to have contributed to the transmission of the teaching of the RGV to Tibet.[1] He was a contemporary of Maitrīpa and the grandson of Ratnavajra from Kashmir, one of the "six gatekeeper paṇḍitas" of Vikramaśīla, who in turn is said to have taught the Five Treatises of Maitreya along with other texts at Vajrāsana.[2]

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1 On the life of Sajjana, see Kano 2006b.

2 On Ratnavajra's life, see Tāranātha, *rGya gar chos 'byung* 182.10–183.11. The *'Bras spungs dkar chag* (p. 1403) lists one RGV commentary attributed to him: Bram-ze Rin-chen-rdo-rje, *rGyud bla ma'i 'grel pa* (172 fols.); see Kano 2006a: 97 n. 2. Ratnavajra's knowledge of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* is testified to by a translator's (Chos-kyi-brtson-'grus's) colophon to Jñānaśrī's *Sūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha*, which states that Jñānaśrī received teachings relating to the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* from Ratnavajra, who is identified in turn as a disciple of Gaṅgādhara. See *Sūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha*, D 4031, 189a6–7; P 5533, 19b3–5: *rgyal sras mi pham mgon las mngon sum du || rna ba'i snyim pas bdud rtsi'i rgyun 'thungs pas || skal ldan ganggā dha ra'i slob ma ni || **bram ze rin chen rdo rje**s legs bzung nas || theg chen mdo sde ma lus pa yi don || mkhas pa dag par byed pa'i rgyan bshad pa || mkhas pa dznyā na shrī yis rna rgyan ltar || legs bzung des ni bshad pa* .... Cf. Sukenobu 1974: 69; Kano 2008a: 145 n. 66. This Jñānaśrī might be the Kashmiri who was invited to the Dharma assembly of Tholing monastery in 1076. See *lDe'u chos 'byung*, 362.1: *de tsa na kha che jñā śrī yang spyan drangs te | lo tsā ba zur dga' tor* (= *rdor*) *gyis mdzad pa's tshe.*
A Sanskrit original of Ratnavajra's tantric work is included in a Kashmiri birch-bark codex of a collection of tantric *sādhana*s (*caturthasadbhāvopadeśaḥ śrīratnavajrakṛtaḥ*, identified as D 2475). See Kawasaki 2004: 904. For additional information on the codex, see Kano 2014d.

Sajjana himself is said to have received RGV teachings from *Ānandakīrti[3] and to have helped rNgog Lo-tsā-ba translate the RGV during rNgog's stay in Kashmir (sometime between 1076 and ca. 1092). Sajjana's disciple bTsan Kha-bo-che (b. 1021) purportedly introduced the teaching of the RGV to Tibet, even prior to rNgog's return there.[4] Furthermore, another disciple (gZu dGa-ba'i-rdo-rje) and Sajjana's son Mahājana,[5] both of whom flourished in western Tibet,[6] are likely to have contributed to the transmission of the RGV.

The only works of Sajjana to have come down to us are the *Putralekha* (or *Sutaṃlekha*) addressed to his son Mahājana, *Sūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha*, and *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa* (abbr. *Upadeśa*).[7] The first is preserved only in the Tibetan translation, while the last two are available only in Sanskrit manuscripts, and have a

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[3] See above, Chapter 2, pp. 46–50 (on Maitrīpa). See also *Deb sngon* 422.11–14; Roerich 1949/53: 347; Tatz 1988: 480. There is a grammatical work (*Tyādyantakriyāpadarohaṇa*) attributed to a certain Ānandakīrti (*dga ba'i grags pa*) in the Tanjur (D 4452; P 5897) translated from dPyal Lo-tsā-ba's Sanskrit manuscript of it by Dharmaśrībhadra.

[4] Roerich 1949/53: 348.

[5] For the relationship between Sajjana and Mahājana, see below.

[6] For dGa'-ba'i-rdo-rje's visit to the 1076 *chos 'khor* organized by rTse-sde, see Rwa Ye-shes-seng-ge, *Rwa lo tsā ba'i rnam thar*, pp. 206 etc.; cf. Kano 2006b: 44–45 n. 10. bCom-ldan-ral-gri states that dGa'-ba'i-rdo-rje revised the Tibetan translation of the RGV and the *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga* (see bCom-ldan-ral-gri, *bsTan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od*, eds. Schaeffer & van der Kuijp, p. 241: *zu dga' ba rdo rjes rgyud bla ma dang | chos nyid gnyis dad pa shes rab kyis bsgyur ba bcos*). For Mahājana's visit to mNga' ris, see Tsong-kha-pa's *gSan yig*, 20a3.

[7] For the *Putralekha*, see Dietz 1984 and 2008; Hahn 1999: 206–207; Hanisch 2002. The Sanskrit title of the work is a tentative one, which is transliterated as *su taṃ la kha* (D 4187, 67a6) or *pu tra lekha* (P 5687, 316a6). The colophon reads: (D 70a2–3; P 319b7–8): *bu la spring ba paṇḍi ta mkhas pa chen po sad dza na chen pos mdzad pa rdzogs so || || kha che'i mkhan po ma hā dza na dang | bod kyi lo tsā ba mar pa chos kyi dbang phyug* (*phyugs* D) *gis bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la bab pa'o ||*. For the fragments from the *Sūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha*, see Kano 2008c. For the *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa*, see Takasaki 1975 and Kano 2006b.
Sajjana's doctrinal positions are referred to by Bu-ston, Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, and 'Jam-dbyangs-dga'-ba'i-blo-gros (see Kano 2006b). We also find pronouncements made by Sajjana on the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (in total more than 50) in Phywa-pa's *Theg pa chen po mdo sde rgyan gyi legs bshad yang rgyan nyi 'od gsal ba* (see Chapter 8, p. 216 n. 18). Similar pronouncements on the RGV are found in *rGyud bla ma'i tshig don rnam par 'grel pa* (abbr. *rGyud bla tshig don*), p. 430.17–19: *dang po* [= *bstan pa of rdo rje'i gnas bdun gyi sgra 'jug pa'i rgyu mtshan nges pa'i tshig*] *la bram ze sa dzdza na re | gnyis te | brjod bya rdo rjer sgrub pa mdor bstan pa dang | rjod byed yi ger sgrub pa mdor bstan pa ste | rtogs pa'i don rdo rje lta bu'i gnas te zhes pa dang | gzhi yin pa'i phyir rdo rje'i gnas so || zhes pas go rim ltar bshad ce'o ||*, p. 470.18–19: *'di ka la dgongs nas bram ze sa dzdza na re | rje btsun byams pa sa bon rang bzhin du gnas pa gsol ba'i lugs su bzhed do zhe'o ||*, p. 481.12–13: *bram ze sa dzdza na re | 'di dgongs pa can ma yin na dngos la gnod pa can gyi tshad ma dgod pa'o zhe'o ||*, etc. This commentary was probably composed by a disciple of Mar-pa Do-pa Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug. Cf. the colophon, p. 522: *tshu rol mthong*

common format: they consist of verses which summarize core doctrinal topics dealt with in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* or RGV. The *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa*, a small work consisting of 37 verses, presents Sajjana's own view, according to which the core topics of the RGV, as he lists them, can be correlated with each successive soteriological stage (I shall go into the details of this work in Chapter 8). This soteriological system, as propounded by Sajjana, had some impact on rNgog's RGV commentary, although Sajjana's and rNgog's systems exhibit certain mutual discrepancies.[8]

Sajjana's doctrinal position is sometimes referred to in Tibetan sources, which are being sought out and studied by Kano (2006a) (2006b) (2010b: 271 n. 70) (2014a: 229–230), and to which we can now add a few (see Chapter 8). A critical Sanskrit edition and analysis of Sajjana's *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa* are included in Kano 2006a (Appendix B), and an annotated translation accompanied by a preliminary Sanskrit text is provided in Kano 2015a.[9]

Recently material that testifies to Sajjana's impact within Kashmir was found among a set of palm-leaf manuscripts.[10] It contains fragments (11 leaves) from an anonymous RGV commentary in Sanskrit, in which glosses on RGV I.1–2, I.3, I.4, I.5–9, I.10–12, I.12–19, I.23–28, I.28–29, I.37–47, I.79–97, and I.134–152 have been identified so far.[11]

We cannot be completely sure of the title of the text, but can draw the conclusion

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ba'i rmongs pa bdag gis rdo rje'i gnas bdun gtan la dbab par gyi [= *myi*] *nus dang* | ***bla ma pa ra te*** [= *hi*] ***ta****'i gsung gi bdud rtsi'i rgyun 'thungs* ***mar pa lo tsā****s gsung sgros bkod* | *... bstan bcos 'di yi rnam bshad ni* || ***pa ra he ta****'i bzhed pa ltar* || *sbyar bas gzhan la phan par shog* || *rgyud bla ma'i bsdus don gyi tshul legs par sbyar ba rdzogs so* ||. The commentary is included in the *dPal mnga' bdag sgra sgyur mar pa lo tsā ba chos kyi blo gros kyi gsung 'bum* (Ser gtsung nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, 2012, vol. *stod cha*, pp. 414–522, I owe information about this publication to Karl Brunnhölzl). It is also included in the same collected works published in Beijing: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying khang, 2013, vol. *stod cha*, pp. 377–485.

8 On Sajjana's soteriological interpretation of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, see Kano 2006b: 34 and below, Chapter 8, pp. 215–217; on rNgog's, see Matsuda 2014: 193.

9 I am currently revising an earlier critical edition included in Kano 2006a, for future publication. Recently, in his book *When the Clouds Part* (Tsadra Foundation, 2014), Karl Brunnhölzl silently copied large parts of an unpublished draft shown to him of my earlier translation of Sajjana's *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa.* I have continued to revise both it and the Sanskrit critical edition, and thus the translation as it currently stands is significantly different from what appears in his book. For details, see above, Chapter 1, p. 19 n. 5 and below, Chapter 8, pp. 220–221.

10 See Ye & Li & Kano 2013 and Kano 2014b.

11 The folios belong to a set of miscellaneous texts on palm leaves written in proto-Śāradā script (the script used in early medieval Kashmir), of which at least 87 leaves are extant (46 from the Potala collection and 41 from Zha lu Ri phug collection), representing more than 11 works. Photographs of the leaves are preserved scattered among the China Tibetology Research Center, China Ethnic Library, and IsIAO.

from the abbreviation "Mahā Pari" written in the left-hand margins of the leaves that it was *Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya*.[12] This reconstruction is supported by the titles of other works included in the same set: *Sūtrālaṃkāraparicaya* and *Pratibandhasiddhiparicaya*, which have a common commentarial style. The author of the text has yet to be determined, but the following passages supply hints of who he might be:

[Excerpt 1: fol. 6v5–7]: *yatra prakṛtistha*[6v6]*gotravivṛtyā dharmakāyo buddharatne saṃkalitaḥ puṇyasambhārasambharaṇātmakasamudānītagotraprasūtau sambhoganirmāṇakāyau krameṇa dharmasaṃgharatnayoḥ pāramārthikatayā saṃkalitau || ity ayam atra bhāvārthaḥ || tad asmadguravaḥ*

tato dhātvartham āśritya cintābhāvanayor viśet || (→ *Upadeśa* 7cd)
tathāgatasya garbhatvāt satvārthasya jināśrayāt || (→ *Upadeśa* 8ab)
tathāgato [*vā*] *yadgarbhas ta*(6v upper margin)[*thatārthānuvṛttitaḥ*] (≈ *Upadeśa* 8cd)
[*tathāgata* + *yadgarbho* + + + *gotrasambhavāt*] | (up to here in the margin) (≈ *Upadeśa* 9ab)
ratnatrayaṃ yad āśritya tat trikāyena piṇḍitam (N.e. in *Upadeśa*)
dhātoś ca tathatākliṣṭaparatantraviviktatā | (→ *Upadeśa* 9cd)
tanmātraṃ prakṛtisthaś ca samānītaś ca nā[v7]*mavat* (→ *Upadeśa* 10ab)
bodhir guṇā dharmakāyād anyonyānatirekiṇaḥ
gaṃbhīraudārikī cāsya deśanā kila kāraṇam || (→ *Upadeśa* 11)
iti | *tad ayam atra saṃkalito 'rthaḥ* |

[Excerpt 2: fol. 7v2]: *svabhāvādivyavadhinā piṇḍārthaṃ yad vibhaktavān* || (→ *Upadeśa* 25cd)

udāharaṇabhedena kramasyāsya saṃvedakaḥ (N.e in *Upadeśa*)
tatra piṇḍārthanirdeśaḥ prāk cintāvatarāśrayaḥ
svabhāvāder ato vyakti(r) bhāvyatvasyānuvartikā | (→ *Upadeśa* 26)
piṇḍārthasyaiva nirdeśo yaḥ paścād upamākramāt
heyaṃ prāpyaṃ svabhāvāder bhāvanāyās sa saṃśatīti || (→ *Upadeśa* 27)

[Excerpt 3: fol. 7r3–4]: *yac ca parārthasvarūpam ity adhigamadharmakāya eveti śāstraśarīravyavasthopavarṇitadṛśā pratyeyam || yad asmadguravaḥ*

trikāyaṃ dharmakāyaṃ ca trir asaṃbhṛtasaṃbhṛtau |
paraspareṇa sākṣāc ca sahakāriṇam āśritaḥ || (→ *Upadeśa* 14)
tathatāprakṛtāvasthāsamānītatrigotrakaḥ
eti trikāyīṃ ca phalaṃ dharmakāyatrayīṃ ca saḥ || (→ *Upadeśa* 15)

[12] This was first suggested by Prof. Ye Shaoyong.

trikāyīpratilambho hy atrācalāditraye buddharatnādikramāt pūrvavat | buddhabhūmau ca [*pari .i c.*] ..[13] [*dharmakāyatrayapratilambho*] [7r4] *bodhiguṇakarmayogād veditavyaḥ | yadvā svārthāpekṣayā trikāyī | parārthānusāreṇa ca hetuphalabhedād dharmakāyatrayī veditavyā* ||

The underlined expression *asmadguravaḥ* "our teacher" found in excerpts 1 and 3 and the ślokas that follow are remarkable. These ślokas are easily found quotations from Sajjana's *Māhāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa* (abbr. *Upadeśa*), the numbers in parentheses in the Sanskrit passages above identifying the verses in question.[14] We learn, then, that the *Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya* was composed by one of Sajjana's disciples, one very probably active in Kashmir, as the proto-Śāradā script (widely used in Kashmir and the surrounding region) suggests. This is further supported by the fact that the same proto-Śāradā manuscript set contains Sajjana's *Sūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha* and his son Mahājana's *Sūtrālaṃkārādhikārasaṃgati* (see below).[15] The author seems to share a number of interpretations with the scribe of interlinear remarks on Sajjana's *Upadeśa* manuscript, and the two may thus have been one and the same individual.[16] The author apparently lived before the 13th century, for the manuscript set that contains the *Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya* was given into the possession of a certain dPyal ston (dPyal Chos-kyi-bzang-po?), whose name is written on the cover folio of the set.[17]

MAHĀJANA
(the second half of the 11th century)

Sieglinde Dietz (1984: 61–62), citing Sajjana's *Putralekha*, the primary source of information on Mahājana's genealogy, has pointed out that Mahājana was

[13] About five *akṣara*s are illegible.

[14] Some verses quoted in this *Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya* do not correspond with those of the *Upadeśa*, and this suggests that the text of the *Upadeśa* had still not been fixed by that time.

[15] Sajjana's *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa* once probably belonged to the same set, for the script and the shape of the palm leaves are similar.

[16] For instance, the above-quoted Excerpt 3 (fol. 7r3–4) of *Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya* accords with the interlinear note on verse 15 (*trikāyī buddhādivad acālādau || dharmakāyatrayī bodhiguṇakarmavat buddhābhūmau* ||) of the *Upadeśa*.

[17] See Ye & Li & Kano 2013.

Sajjana's son[18] and through him related to Ratnavajra.[19] This is confirmed by the colophon of the Tibetan translation of Candrakīrti's *Bodhisattvayogācāracatuḥśataka-ṭīkā*: Sajjana had another son, named Sūkṣmajana,[20] and he himself was the grandson (*dbon po*)[21] of Ratnavajra.[22] These relatively reliable sources, then, yield the following: Ratnavajra → (*dbon po*) Sajjana → (*sras*) Mahājana, Sūkṣmajana.

This is supported by indigenous Tibetan literature, though it constitutes relatively weaker evidence: bCom-ldan-ral-gri provides the same genealogy,[23] Rong-ston lists Mahājana in the transmission line of the RGV after Sajjana,[24] while gZhon-nu-dpal mentions Pa-tshab's study under Sajjana's two sons during his stay in Kashmir (ca. 1077–1100).[25]

Later Tibetans deviate from this tradition, identifying Sajjana's father (according to Tāranātha)[26] as Mahājana or (according to Kong-sprul)[27] Sugata. It is,

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[18] *Putralekha* 4.18cd: *de bas* ***skye bo chen po*** *khyod* || *chang la dga' ba rtags tu spongs* ||. Cf. *ibid.* 0.1d. See also Hahn 1999: 206, Kano 2006b: 30, Dietz 2008: 409–410, Brunnhölzl 2011: 167 n. 289.

[19] *Putralekha* 0.1cd: *mkhas pa* ***rin chen rdo rje****'i rgyud 'dzin bram ze'i rigs* ||. I take the word "lineage-holder" (*rgyud 'dzin*) as referring to the blood line, but it may refer to the line of doctrinal transmission.

[20] The name Sūkṣmajana (sic for Sūkṣmajñāna?) sounds slightly odd as a Sanskrit name.

[21] Or else "nephew."

[22] Candrakīrti's *Bodhisattvayogācāracatuḥśatakaṭīkā* (D 3865, 239a5–7; P 5266, 273b3–6): *dpal grong khyer dpe med kyi dbus rin chen sbas pa'i kun dga' ra bar | rgya gar gyi mkhan po* ***sukṣma dzā na*** *zhes bya ba gdung rabs grangs med par paṇḍi ta brgyud pa'i* (*ma'i* P) *rigs su sku 'khrungs pa bram ze chen po* ***rin chen rdo rje****'i dbon po bram ze chen po* ***sad dzā na****'i* (*saddza na'i* P) *sras gcig tu bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa la gces spras su mdzad pa bdag dang gzhan gyi gzhung lugs rgya mtsho'i pha rol tu son pa'i zhal snga nas dang | bod kyi sgra bsgyur gyi lo tsā ba dge slong pa chang nyi ma grags kyis bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa* ||. See also Dietz 1984: 62 n. 161; Vose 2009: 48–49.
The RGV's colophon reads (D 4024, 73a7= D 4025, 129a7; P 5525, 74b6 = P 5526, 135b7): *bram ze rin chen rdo rje'i dbon po paṇḍita mkhas pa chen po sad dza na....*

[23] bCom-ldan-ral-gri, *bsTan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od*, Ed. Schaeffer & van der Kuijp, p. 245: *lo tsha ba rin chen bzang po na ro pa dang | kha che'i bram ze rin chen rdo rje dang dus myam | de'i dbon po sad dza na la rngog lo tsha bas slob | de'i sras ma ha dza na la 'phan yul gyi pa tshab nyi ma grags kyis slab pas....*

[24] Rong-ston, *Chos nyid rnam 'byed*, 11b1–2; see above, Chapter 2, p. 50.

[25] gZhon-nu-dpal, *Deb sngon*, 416: *spa tshab nyi ma grags pa ni | 'phan yul na spa tshab stod smad gnyis yod pa'i stod pa | gzhon pa'i dus su kha cher byon te |* ***sadzdzā na'i sras gnyis*** *la sogs pa'i paṇḍi ta mang po la chos gsan zhing* |. See also Roerich 1949/53: 341; Dietz 1984: 62.

[26] Tāranātha's *rGya gar chos 'byung*, 183.10–11 (*rin chen rdo rje'i sras ma hā dza na | de'i sras sadzdza na yin te*). See Naudou 1968: 174; Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 35 n. 4 and 2000: 18 n. 31; Vose 2009: 48–49.

[27] Kong-sprul, *rGyud bla bshad srol*, 8a6–b2: *dpal grong khyer dpe med kyi mkhas pa chen po gdung rab mang por paṇḍi ta brgyud mar byon pa las bram ze* ***rin chen rdo rje*** *zhes phyi nang gi grub mtha' mtha' dag la mkhas shing grub pa'ang brnyes pas dbus kyi ka chen dang por grags pa de'i sras paṇḍita* ***su ga ta*** *zhes bya ba'i sras che ba paṇḍita* ***sa dzdza na*** *ste skye bo dam par grags pa des mkhas pa yin par ngo shes nas bstan bcos gnyis po gsan* |.

of course, not impossible to reconcile Tāranātha's account and that of the *Putralekha* by positing the following genealogy: Ratnavajra → Mahājana I → Sajjana → Mahājana II, but we have no independent confirmation of this. The source of Kong-sprul's version is unknown,[28] but in any case primary and secondary witnesses should not be treated promiscuously.

We can piece together a fragmentary account of Mahājana's activity. According to the *Putralekha* (0.2, 0.3, 1.1, and 1.2), he abandoned his parents and was "roaming alone in a dark, barbarian country" (*mtha' khob kla klo mun pa'i nang na gcig 'khyam pa*, *ibid.* 0.1c; *mtha' 'khob rgyu ba*, *ibid.* 1.1d) or "in a despicable country" (*smad pa'i yul du rgyu ba*, *ibid.* 1.3d) "for his own desired purposes" (*'dod pa'i don du*, *ibid.* 1.3c).[29] "Barbarian country" quite likely means Tibet, because, according to gZhon-nu-dpal, Mahājana is said to have translated the *Śrāmaṇeraśikṣāpadasūtra* in collaboration with gZhon-nu-mchog at Tho ling monastery in mNga' ris,[30] and according to Tsong-kha-pa Mahājana visited mNga' ris.[31] Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer reports that many learned paṇḍitas of Kashmir were invited by King rTse-lde (r. 1057–1088) to mNga' ris in the last quarter of the 11th century.[32] If, as gZhon-nu-dpal states, Pa-tshab in fact studied under Sajjana's two sons (i.e. Mahājana and Sūkṣmajana), the year of Mahājana's departure for Tibet cannot have been before Pa-tshab's arrival in Kashmir in ca. 1077, because Mahājana and Pa-tshab saw each other after 1077 in Kashmir. This is also, then, a *terminus post quem* for the composition of Sajjana's *Putralekha*, which was addressed to Mahājana who had already left Kashmir for

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[28] Ratnavajra's epithet in Kong-sprul's statement is in part based on the colophon of Candrakīrti's *Bodhisattvayogācāracatuḥśatakaṭīkā* (D 3865, 239a5–7; P 5266, 273b3–6; see above). The name Sugata is, however, not traceable in the colophon (it is hardly possible that Kong-sprul misread the phrase *bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa la gces spras su mdzad pa* in the colophon as containing the name of Sajjana's father).

[29] Dietz 1984: 63, Hahn 1999: 206; Kano 2006b: 32; Dietz 2008: 129–130.

[30] Literally: "gZhon-nu-mchog translated it under [the guidance of] Parahita[bhadra] and Mahājana...." See gZhon-nu-dpal, *Deb sngon*, 116; Roerich 1949/53: 87: *dge 'dul bslab pa'i gzhi mdo ni | kha che'i mkhas pa paṇḍi ta || pa ra he ta zhes bya dang || gdung rabs mang por brgyud pa yi || **ma hā dza na** zhes bya ba'i || mkhas pa gnyis la tho ling du || sgra skad byang ba'i lo tsā ba || dge slong gzhon nu mchog gis ni || bsgyur nas de yi bshad pa mdzad ||*. Cf. *Śrāmaṇeraśikṣāpadasūtra*, D 4130, 57b6; P 5632, 70a3–5: *kha che'i mkhan po grong khyer dpe med kyi paṇḍi ta ma hā dza na dang | shākya'i dge slong gzhon nu mchog gis bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa las | slad kyis kha che'i paṇḍi ta pa ra he ta dang | lo tsā ba shākya'i dge slong gzhon nu mchog gis bcos shing zhus pa'o ||*.

[31] *rJe gsan yig*, 20a3: *bram ze sad dza na | de'i sras mahā dza nas mnga' ris su byon nas | gnyal pa phyag lo tstsha dga' po la....* (see Kano 2006b: 47 n. 23).

[32] Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer, *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud*, 435.1–8 (see Chapter 7, p. 199 n. 33); cf. Vitali 2003: 64–66.

Tibet (lit. "a barbarian country").

Mahājana translated three tantric works of Ratnavajra (D 1531; P 2240, D 1532; P 2241, D om.; P 4999), Sajjana's *Putralekha* (D 4187; P 5687), his own *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayārthaparijñāna* (D 3822; P 5223), the *Dharmadharmatāvibhāgakārikā* (D 4023; P 5524) and the *Dharmadharmatāvibhāgavṛtti* (D 4028; P 5529; with the collaboration of Blo-ldan-shes-rab), the *Śrāmaṇeraśikṣāpadasūtra* (D 4130; P 5632), five tantric works by the Kashmiri scholar Somaśrī (Parahitabhadra's teacher),[33] and five other tantric works.[34] He thus translated both collaboratively and independently.[35]

Aside from his *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayārthaparijñāna*, yet another of his compositions, one entitled *Sūtrālaṃkārādhikārasaṃgati*, was recently found among the above-mentioned proto-Śāradā palm-leaf set that contains Sajjana's *Sūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha*. This text, hitherto unknown elsewhere, is a concise (one-folio) summary of chapters of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*. Its authorship is revealed in the colophon (fol. 1v7): *sūtrālaṃkārādhikārasaṃgatis samāptā kṛtiḥ paṇḍitaśrīmahājanasyeti*.[36]

Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayārthaparijñāna (1)

As mentioned above, Rong-ston lists Mahājana in the transmission line of the RGV after Sajjana, Mahājana's firm knowledge of the RGV being attested in his only known composition, the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayārthaparijñāna*, in which he quotes RGV I.68.

> This [Hṛdaya: *gate gate pāragate pārasaṃgate bodhi svāhā*] teaches the soteriological stages. According to [RGV I.68], "[t]he compassionate ones (i.e. bodhisattvas) show their own birth, aging, sickness, and death [to ordinary people], even though they have been freed from birth and the rest as a result

[33] D 2618–2621; P 3445–3448. For the relation between Somaśrī and Parahitabhadra, see the colophon of Parahitabhadra's *Sūtrālaṃkārādiślokadvayavyākhāna*, D 4030, 183b2–3; P 5532, 12b2–3: *mdo sde rgyan las dang po'i skabs kyi tshigs su bcad pa gnyis pa'i bshad pa kha che'i yul gyi mkhas pa chen po dpal btsun pa* ***so ma shrī****'i zhal snga nas kyi zhabs kyi padma'i ze'u 'bru'i rdul gyis reg pa | slob dpon* ***gzhan la phan pa bzang po****'i zhal snga nas mdzad pa rdzogs so ||*. Parahitabhadra taught rNgog Buddhist logic and epistemology, and together with him and Sajjana jointly revised the translation of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (D 4020; P 5521). See Kramer 2007: 39–40.

[34] D 593; P 205, D 1704; P 2575, D 2598; P 3426, D 2851; P 3672, D om.; P 3916.

[35] D 593, 229b7; P 205, 266b3: *gtsug tor lha yul chung ba kha che'i paṇḍita ma hā dznyā nas rang 'gyur du mdzad pa'o*, P 3916, 211a5 (D om.): *'phags pa gdugs dkar mo can gyi sgrub thabs | slob dpon tsan dra go mis mdzad pa rdzogs so || paṇḍita mahā dza na nyid kyis rang 'gyur yin gsung*.

[36] This was identified by Prof. Ye Shaoyong. See Ye & Li & Kano 2013: 40.

> of having seen reality," birth having been abandoned on the path of vision (*darśanamārga*). Therefore [the phrase in the Hṛdaya] "*gate gate pāragate*" relates to the path of vision, the essence of which is the abandonment of the six modes of existence (*ṣaḍgati*).[37]

Mahājana reads the Hṛdaya as referring at this point to the soteriological stages and correlates the first phrase "*gate gate pāragate*" with the *darśanamārga*. He quotes RGV I.68 itself, and thereby takes the phrase *bhūtasya darśanāt* (I.68d) as referring to the *darśanamārga*, and *jātyādivinivṛttāś* (I.68c) as its goal, the abandonment of rebirth among the *ṣaḍgati*.

Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayārthaparijñāna (2)

Mahājana's interest in correlating sūtra passages with soteriological stages is again witnessed in his interpretation of the phrase *sarvaduḥkhapraśamana°* (*sdug bsngal thams cad rab tu zhi bar byed pa'i*). This he understands as pertaining to the resultant stage of the path, and in particular to the four kinds of perfection (*śubha*, *ātman*, *nitya*, and *sukha*) defined in RGV I.35ab as the fruit of Buddha-nature.[38] This recalls Sajjana's *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa*, which also pairs the core doctrinal topics of the RGV with the successive soteriological stages.

Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayārthaparijñāna (3)

Mahājana refers to Buddha-nature while explaining two words (*kulaputra* and *kuladuhitṛ*) in the same work. He equates the *kula* (*rigs*) with the *bodhisattvagotra* (*byang chub sems dpa'i rigs*), which is the *tathāgatagarbha*,[39] and goes on to define the function (*karman*) of Buddha-nature as that of awakening both despair at suffering

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[37] D 3822, 312a3–5; P 5223, 249a3–6: *dis ni nyams su len pa'i rim pa bstan to* || *ji bzhin yang dag mthong ba'i phyir* || *skye sogs rnams las 'das gyur kyang* || *snying rje'i bdag nyid skye ba dang* || *rga dang na dang 'chi ba ston* || *zhes bya ba'i tshul gyis mthong ba'i lam nyid la skye ba spang pa'i phyir* (*phyir ro* D) | *ga te ga te pā ra ga te zhes bya bas ni 'gro ba rigs drug spangs pa'i bdag nyid mthong ba'i lam ste* |. See RGV I.68: *janmamṛtyujarāvyādhīn darśayanti kṛpātmakāḥ* | *jātyādivinivṛttāś ca yathābhūtasya darśanāt* ||. Lopez 1997: 200–201; Brunnhölzl 2011: 131.

[38] D 3822, 312a1–2; P 5223, 249a1–3: *sdug bsngal thams cad rab tu zhi bar byed pa'i zhes bya ba ni khyad par dang mi slob pa'i lam dag la go rims bzhin du khyad par ring ba med pa'i phyir dang gtsang ba dang bdag dang rtag pa dang bde ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa'i khong du chud pa'i rgyu yin pa'i phyir ro* ||. Cf. RGV I.35ab: *śubhātmasukhanityatvaguṇapāramitā phalam*.

[39] Mahājana follows the *ekayāna* doctrine (D 3822, 311b1–2; P 5223, 348a7: *de ltar na 'dis ni theg pa gcig tu grub pa yang bstan to*), unlike Ratnākaraśānti, who nevertheless also equates the *bodhisattvagotra* with the *tathāgatagarbha* (see above Chapter 3, p. 76 n. 21 and Kano 2015b).

in *saṃsāra* and the wish to attain *nirvāṇa*. All this is probably based on the verses RGV I.35cd and 40–41, or else on their source, the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra* (quoted in RGVV 36.1–2). He further combines this function with stages of the practice: despair in the face of suffering (*skyob pa*), taking refuge (*skyabs la 'jug pa*), the arising of the resolve to become a buddha (*sems bskyed pa*), and cultivation (*goms pa*).[40]

Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayārthaparijñāna (4)

Mahājana discusses the excellent quality of the bodhisattvas' Saṅgha, which is due to their *prathamacittotpāda*, and quotes a passage from the *Maitreyavimokṣa*, that is, the Maitreya chapter of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*.[41] This exactly parallels rNgog's discussion and quotation in his commentary on the Jewel of the Saṅgha in his RGV commentary.[42] This parallel supports the notion that both Mahājana and rNgog belonged to Sajjana's tradition.

Amṛtākara
(date unknown)

The dates of Amṛtākara are unknown; according to Giusseppe Tucci, "perhaps he was one of the many paṇḍitas who took shelter in Tibet when the time of persecution or decadence came in India."[43] Tucci's hypothesis is apparently based on the fact that the manuscript of his work was found in Tibet. Amṛtākara was likely active in Kashmir, for his *Catuḥstavasamāsārtha* is preserved only in the

[40] D 3822, 307b7–308a3; P 5223, 243b7–244a3: *'di lta ste rigs ni byang chub sems dpa'i rigs* ***de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can*** *de'i bu 'am bu mo 'am ni de las thos pa'i bdag nyid de | rigs kyi stobs kyis sdug bsngal las skyob pa dang | mya ngan las 'das pa 'thob par 'dod pa'i 'dun pa dang ldan pa ni | dran pa nye bar gzhag pa la sogs pa'i rim pas yongs su bsgom pa sdug bsngal las skyob pa dang | rjes su mthun par sdug bsngal spong ba'i rgyu theg pa chen po'i rjes su 'brangs nas skyabs la 'jug pa dang | mya ngan las 'das pa thob par 'dod pa'i 'dun pas shes rab dang snying rje'i bdag nyid byang chub tu sems bskyed pa dang | snying rje bsod nams kyi pha rol tu phyin pa lnga la goms pa dang ldan pa dang | shes rab kyis kyang thos pa dang | bsam pa la goms pa las su rung ba'i shes rab la | rigs kyi bu dang rigs kyi bu mo zhes brjod do* ||. Lopez 1996: 194; Brünnholzl 2011: 130.

[41] D 3822, 306a4: *dge 'dun zhes bya ba ni sems bskyed pas bla na med pa mchod par 'os pa'i phyir te | de yang byams pa'i rnam par thar pa las | ....*

[42] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 15a5-b1; B 24a2 (with a lacuna). Although the same sūtra passage is also cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, the *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (see Ichigo 2011: 10 n. 50), the *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāravivṛttipañjikā* (D 3873, 294b2–4), and Vimalamitra's *Kramapraveśikabhāvanārtha* (D 3938, 343b7–344a1), Mahājana's citation style is particularly similar to that of rNgog's.

[43] CSS, 237. Amṛtākara's work is available only in Sanskrit.

above-mentioned set of proto-Śāradā palm leaves (11th or 12th century). The *Catuḥstavasamāsārtha* is his only known work (2 fols.), the first half of which (fol. 1) was once thought to have been lost, but which recently was found among the set.[44] It has yet to be published, as the second folio was by Tucci.[45] The authorship of this work is revealed in the colophon on fol. 2v9: *catuḥstavasamāsārthaḥ paṇḍitāmṛtākarasyeti*.

The *Catuḥstava* consists of four encomiums addressed to the Buddha, namely, *Lokātītastava*, *Niraupamyastava*, *Acintyastava*, and *Paramārthastava*, all ascribed to Nāgārjuna.[46] The four came to be regarded as a set at the latest by the 11th century, for Prajñākaramati refers to the words *catuḥstave 'py uktam*.[47]

Amṛtākara quotes ten verses from the *Ratnagotravibhāga*: RGV I.69–72, in his commentary on *Lokātītastava* verse 1 (fol. 1r2–3; this folio was unavailable to Tucci); RGV I.73 on *Niraupamyastava* verse 25 (fol. 2r10–v1 = CSS 242.17–18); and RGV I.74–78 on *Acintyastava* verse 1 (fol. 2v3–4 = CSS 243.16–25).[48]

The ten verses RGV I.69–78 belong to the section explaining the ninth topic, inalterability (*avikārārtha*), among the ten Buddha-nature topics. The text under this topic teaches the inalterable quality of Buddha-nature throughout three states, namely, those of ordinary beings (RGV I.52–65), bodhisattvas (RGV I.66–78), and buddhas (RGV I.79–83), with the ten verses (RGV I.69–78) in question elucidating the state of bodhisattvas. It is to be noted that the verses I.69–78 were, in the opinion of Johnston (1950: 51 n. 6) and Takasaki (1966: 253 n. 412 and 1989: 296 n. 3), added by a later hand, given that the Chinese translation lacks both these ten verses and the prose commentary on them, and because the initial words of this portion of text—"an alternative meaning of the stanza [of RGV I.66]"[49]—suggests as much as well.

We do not know the precise date when the ten verses may have been added, but can approximately date any addition to sometime after the 6th (the date of Chinese

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[44] See Ye & Li & Kano 2013. This was identified by the present author. I am grateful to Prof. Ye Shaoyong, Dr. Li Xuezhu, and Dr. Akimasa Tsuda for their generosity for sharing very valuable materials relevant to this text.

[45] *Minor Buddhist Texts*, I, II, Rome, 1956–58.

[46] For a revised edition of the *Catuḥstava* and a critical edition of a Sanskrit commentary on it, the *Catuḥstavaṭīkā Anuttamottamā* by Ācārya Śiromaṇi, see Tsuda 2006 (in my opinion, the word *Anuttamottamā* appearing in the colophon is the title of this commentary).

[47] See Tucci's introduction to CSS, p. 237.

[48] It is remarkable that Amṛtākara quotes a half verse that is parallel to *Dharmadhātustava* verse 54cd. See *Catuḥstavasamāsārtha*, fol. 1v9: *dṛṣṭe ca viṣayanairātmye bhavabījaṃ nirudhyate* (cf. the *Dharmadhātustava*, which does not have *ca*).

[49] RGV p. 52.10: *aparaḥ ślokārthaḥ*.

translation; see Chapter 1) but before the 11th century (the date of the Tibetan translation and the Sanskrit manuscript [Ms. B] that contain the ten verses). The fact that Abhayākaragupta and Daśabalaśrīmitra very likely knew the verses[50] suggests that the addition was known not only to Kashmiri Buddhists but also to eastern India around the 12th century.

RGV I.69–78 and its prose commentary teach characteristics of bodhisattvas along the ten stages. Amṛtākara associates the first to the seventh stages (taught in V I.69–72) with the *Lokātītastava*, the eighth stage (taught in RGV I.73) with the *Niraupamyastava*, the ninth and the tenth stages (taught in RGV I.74–78) with the *Acintyastava*, and the *sambuddha* stage with the *Paramārthastava*:

RGV	RGVV	— Amṛtākara's attribution
69, 70	Pramuditā (1st stage)	— *Lokātītastava*
71, 72	Vimalā to Dūraṅgamā (stages 2–7)	— *Lokātītastava*
73	Acalā (8th stage)	— *Niraupamyastava*
74–76	Dharmameghā (9th stage)	— *Acintyastava*
77, 78	Buddha bhūmi (10th stage)	— *Acintyastava*
	Sambuddha	— *Paramārthastava*

Since the first folio of Amṛtākara's text, explaining stages 1–7, was not available to Tucci, he was led to state: "Of course the first seven *bhūmi*s are not taken into consideration: the bodhisattva approaches the attainment of his aim only in the 8th *bhūmi*, ..." Now that Amṛtākara's explanation relating to the first seven *bhūmi*s has become available, that opinion can be served.

Amṛtākara not only cites the verses (as pointed out by Tucci) but also paraphrases words of the prose commentary of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* in his work (bold-faced words are pharaphrased):

[Excerpt 1: fol. 112–3][51]
lokātīta namas tubhyam ityādi | (*Lokātītastava* 1) *tatra lokātīto yathoktam* —
dharmatāṃ pratividhyemām[52] *avikārāṃ jinātmajaḥ* |
dṛśyate yad avidyā[ndhair] jātyādiṣu tad adbhutam || (RGV I.69)
ata eva [jagadbandhor] upāyakaruṇe pare |

[50] See *Munimatālaṃkāra*, D 215b7–216a1, *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya*, D 289a2–3. See also above, Chapter 4, p. 119 n. 97.
[51] This part is not included in Tucci's edition (CSS).
[52] *pravidhye*°] Ms., *prativicye*° Johnston.

yad āryagocaraprāpto dṛśyate bālagocāre || (RGV I.70)
sarvalokavyatīto 'sau na ca lokād vinisṛtaḥ |
loke carati lokārtham alipto laukikair malaiḥ || (RGV I.71)
yathaiva nāmbha(113)*sā padmaṃ lipyate jātam ambhasi |*
tathā loke pi jāto 'sau lokadharmair na lipyate || (RGV I.72)
iti | atra ca dvābhyāṃ ***prathamacittotpādikabodhisattvaguṇaviśuddhilakṣaṇaṃ*** *dvābhyām* ***anupaliptacaryācaraṇād vimalām upādāya yāvad dūraṅgamāṃ caryāpratipa[nna]bodhisattvaguṇaviśuddhilakṣaṇam paridīpitaṃ*** ||[53]

[Excerpt 2: fol. 2r10–v1 = CSS 242.17–18]
tatra praśastagamanāt punarāvṛttyā ca sugataḥ (*Niraupamya* 25) *atarkyatvād alāpyatvād āryajñānād acintyatety acintyaḥ [aprameyam] aprameyāśrayaparāvṛttyā vibhutvalābhāt | tathā hy asyāṃ* ***bhūmau nirantamahābodhisamudāgamaprayogasamādhiṣu vyavasthito*** *bodhisattvo*[54]
nityojjvalitabuddhiś (2v1) *ca kṛtyasaṃpādane 'gnivat |*
śānta(em.; *ganta* Ms.)*dhyānasamāpattisamāpannaś ca sarvadā* || (RGV I.73)
ity uktam | iti dvitīyasya samāsārthaḥ ||

In sum, Amṛtākara's hermeneutic approach to the *Catuḥstava* is that the order of the four works corresponds to the developmental sequence of the ten stages, and he cites the *Ratnagotravibhāga* and the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* as authorities of the ten-stage teaching. This approach recalls those taken by Sajjana and Mahājana, who analyze the *Ratnagotravibhāga* and the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* using a similar strategy. The similarity in these hermeneutic approaches suggests that they represented a particularly widespread trend among Kashmiri Buddhists in this period.

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[53] Cf. RGV, pp. 52.18–53.2: *tatra prathamadvitīyābhyāṃ ślokābhyām anādikālikam adṛṣṭapūrvaprathamalokottaradharmatāprativedhāt pramuditāyāṃ bhumau* ***prathamacittotpādikabodhisattvaguṇaviśuddhilakṣaṇaṃ*** *paridīpitam | tritīyacaturthābhyāṃ ślokābhyām* ***anupaliptacaryācaraṇād vimalāṃ*** (p. 53) *bhūmim* ***upādāya yāvad dūraṃgamāyāṃ*** *bhūmau* ***caryāpratipannabodhisattvaguṇaviśuddhilakṣaṇaṃ paridīpitam*** |.

[54] Cf. RGV p. 53.2–3: *pañcamena ślokena* ***nirantara***[a]***mahābodhisamudāgamaprayogasamādhiṣu***[b] ***vyavasthita****tvād acalāyāṃ bhūmāv avaivartikabodhisattvaguṇaviśuddhilakṣaṇaṃ paridīpitam.*
a: For *nirantara°* in the RGV, Amṛtākara's text has *niranta°*.
b: For *°samādhiṣu vyava°*, Schmithausen (1971: 152) offers an emendation, *°samādhi-suvyava°*, on the basis of the Tibetan translation *legs par*.

Jayānanda
(late 11th – early 12th century)

The approximate lifetime of the Kashmiri paṇḍita Jayānanda is known on the basis of his Tibetan disciples (and collaborating translators): Pa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags (b. 1055), rMya-bya Byang-chub-brtson-'grus (d. ca. 1185), and Khu mDo-sde-'bar (a student of Pa-tshab). Jayānanda (who was grounded in the Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka tradition) is said to have publicly debated with Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge (1109–1169), the foremost opponent of the Prāsaṅgika tradition, at gSang-phu monastery, and then to have left Tibet for Mount Wutai.[55] In Mi-nyag/Xixia (near Wutai), Jayānanda composed an extensive commentary (*ṭīkā*) on Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra*.[56] Seyfort Ruegg (1981: 113 n. 362) and van der Kuijp (1993: 194–195) correctly distinguish this Kashmiri Jayānanda from his Indian namesake, who lived during the first half of the 13th century (the latter's Tibetan collaborating translator was Chag Lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal, 1190–1263). According to Vose, Phywa-pa wrote the *dBu ma shar gsum gyi stong thun* cognizant of Jayānanda's view as presented in his *Tarkamudgara*, "a text that begins with a direct criticism of

[55] See van der Kuijp 1993: 193, Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 20 n. 37, and Vose 2009: 53–54. See also Naudou 1968: 194. Hugon (2012: 52, n. 4) points out that Khu mDo-sde-'bar is reported by Shākya-mchog-ldan to have been the intermediary (probably the translator) between Jayānanda and Phywa-pa in the debate (*de'i tshe slob dpon phya pa dang | kha che ā nanda gnyis khu lo tstsha ba bar du brgyud pa'i rtsod pa byas pas...*).
According to Vose (2009: 54), "[d]uring the reign of the Tangut emperor Renzong (or Renxiao; r. 1139–93), Jayānanda worked in Xi-xia, holding the position of National Preceptor (*guoshi*)," and "Renzong initiated the office of Imperial Preceptor and staffed it with Tibetan monks after 1149. This date is a likely terminus for Jayānanda's sojourn in Central Tibet." If we follow this, the disputation between Phywa pa and Jayānanda took place before Phywa pa's abbatial tenure (1152–1169). Iuchi (2013) points out that according to 'Brom Shes-rab-me-lce's *rGyal ba'i dben gnas rwa sgreng gi bshad pa nyi ma'i 'od* a monk-patron relationship between Xixia and bKa' gdams pas was entered into by disciples of the fifth abbot of Rwa sgreng monastery, Zhang 'Od 'jo ba (d. 1150).

[56] See the colophon, Jayānanda, MAvṬ, D 3870, 365a5–6; P 5271, 443a1–3: *longs spyod phun sum tshogs pa lha yi yul dang mtshungs || chos rgyal gdung mi 'chad par 'byung ba'i mi nyag yul || chu bo rma yi dogs dang ri bo rtse lnga'i 'dabs || rgyal po'i pho brang dpung gi* (P omits *gi*) *tshogs bcas gnas pa yi || khyad par mkhar sku zhes bya'i gtsug lag khang chen du || kha che'i mkhas pa chen po rtsom mdzad de nyid dang || bod kyi lo tsā* (*tstsha* P) *bande kun dga' grags zhes pas || dbu ma la 'jug 'grel bshad don gsal zhes bya ba sgyur ||*. See also Seyfort Ruegg 1981: 114 and van der Kuijp 1993. This is the only extant Indian commentary on the *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya*.

'logicians following Dharmakīrti'," while Jayānanda in turn, after leaving Central Tibet, composed the *Madhyamakāvatāraṭīkā* "fully aware of, and at least partially in response to, Phywa-pa's critique of Candrakīrti's understanding of buddhahood."[57] The presence of a Tangut translation of a topical outline of (probably) Phywa-pa's *Tshad ma yid kyi mun sel* might suggest a connection between Jayānanda and Phywa-pa.[58]

While commenting Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* XII.36, which asserts the attainability of buddhahood even for certain *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s,[59] Jayānanda quotes RGVV (on I.36)[60] as a scriptural source on the teaching of the *avidyāvāsabhūmi* ("the stages in which ignorance remains"), and refers to a number of sūtras, such as the *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchā*[61] and *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanāda-nirdeśasūtra*,[62] which are quoted in the RGVV. In this context, he refutes the three-

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57 Vose 2009: 54, 71–78.

58 See Kano 2008a: 168.

59 *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya*, D 3862, 345b7–346a1: *de la 'khor ba'i nyon mongs pa spangs pa thob pa rnams la ni phyi nas theg pa chen po kho na nye bar bstan la* ("Then [the Buddha] afterward taught nothing but the Mahāyāna to [*śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s] who had abandoned the defilements of *saṃsāra*.").

60 Jayānanda, MAvṬ, D 358a6–7; P 434a8–b1: *theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma las kyang | ma rig pa'i gnas pa de dang ma rig pa'i gnas pa'i rkyen las 'byung ba'i spyod pa'i rgyu phra mos kun nas bslangs pa'i zag pa med pa'i las la brten nas yid las byung ba'i phung po 'byung bar 'jug pa yin no ||*. This is a quotation from RGVV 33.8–9. Cf. Abhayākaragupta's *Munimatālaṃkāra*, D 3903, 149a4–6; P 5299, 184b5–185a1 (see above, Chapter 4, pp. 110–113: *Munimata* [1][2]).

61 Jayānanda, MAvṬ, D 358a1–6; P 434a1–8: *de ltar yang rgya mtsho blo gros 'khor bar 'ching bar byed pa'i dge ba'i rtsa ba dang mtshungs par ldan pa'i nyon mongs pa gang zhe na | 'di lta ste | gang gis byang chub sems dpa' rnams nyon mongs par 'gyur ba de ni 'di yin te | bsod nams kyi tshogs tshol par byed pa la mi ngoms pa nyid dang | yang dag par bsams nas srid pa len pa dang | sangs rgyas dang phrad par 'dod pa dang | sems can rnams yongs su smin par byed pa la yongs su mi ngal ba dang | dam pa'i chos yongs su 'dzin par 'dod pa dang | sems can rnams la ci bya snyam pa'i 'dod pa dang | chos la chags pa'i phra rgyas mi 'dor ba dang | pha rol tu phyin pa'i kun du sbyor ba rnams yongs su mi 'dor ba'o || smras pa bcom ldan 'das gang gi tshe dge ba'i rtsa ba yin na | ci'i phyir na nyon mongs pa zhes brjod | bka' stsal pa | 'di lta ste | rgya mtsho blo gros 'di lta bu'i rang bzhin 'di rnams kyi byang chub sems dpa' rnams khams gsum du gnas par 'gyur zhes | khams gsum yang nyon mongs pa las byung ba yin la | de la byang chub sems dpa' rnams thabs la mkhas pa dang dge ba'i rtsa ba'i stobs bskyed pas yang dag par ched du bsams nas khams gsum du gnas pa yin no || des na khams gsum du gnas par byed pa'i dge ba'i rtsa ba dang mtshungs par ldan pa'i nyon mongs pa zhes bya ba'i sems nyon mongs par byed pa'i phyir ni ma yin no zhes bya ba la sogs pa gsungs so ||*. Also quoted in RGVV 47.7–16 and Abhayākaragupta's *Munimatālaṃkāra*, D 148b6–149a4; P 184a5–b5.

62 Jayānanda, MAvṬ, D 358b1–3; P 434b3–6: *ma rig pa'i gnas dang zag pa med pa'i las kyi rgyu can 'di rnams la yang skye ba yod do zhes dpal phreng seng ge'i sgra'i mdo las 'di lta ste | bcom ldan 'das dper na nye bar len pa'i rkyen can zag pa dang bcas pa'i las kyi rgyu can srid pa gsum srid pa de bzhin du bcom ldan 'das ma rig pa'i gnas pa'i rkyen can zag pa med pa'i las kyi rgyu can dgra bcom pa dang | rang sangs rgyas dang dbang thob pa'i byang chub sems dpa' rnams la yid kyi rang*

vehicle theory of *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya*,[63] quoting the *Samādhirājasūtra*[64] and referring to a verse from the RGVV (71.16–17) in order to reinforce the teaching of the single-vehicle theory (*ekayāna*).[65] As mentioned above (Chapter 4, *Munimata* [1][2] and the comparative synopsis there), Jayānanda very likely utilizes here Abhayākaragupta's exposition in the *Munimatālaṃkāra* (which in turn is based on Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka*), having accepted the Buddha-nature doctrine as an authoritative teaching.

Jayānanda states in his commentary on the *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* on XII.26[66] that it is impossible to accept the literal meaning of *mithyātvaniyatagotra* ("those who can and will never attain release"), since it contradicts the notion that all sentient beings have Buddha-nature. In this way, Jayānanda interprets the Buddha-nature doctrine from the viewpoint of the single-vehicle theory.[67]

On the other hand, glossing a passage of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (77.18–79.5) (quoted in Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* on VI.95[68] and teaching that Buddha-nature is merely a means of attracting inferior individuals), Jayānanda clearly judges the Buddha-nature doctrine to be provisional: "It was taught that just as the

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bzhin gyi lus gsum srid pa yin no zhes bya ba rgyas par gsungs so ||. Also quoted in RGVV 33.15–34.2 and Abhayākaragupta's *Munimatālaṃkāra*, D 149a6–b1; P 184a1–4.

[63] Jayānanda, MAvṬ, D 354a5–6; P 429a8–b2: *'phags pa byams pas mdo sde rgyan las | theg pa gcig tu gsungs pa ni dgongs pa can yin no zhes gdul bya kha cig gzhug pa la dgongs nas gsungs pa yin gyi de ltar dngos po la dgongs pa nyid ni ma yin te | de ltar dgongs pa can nyid du bstan pa de la dgongs pa yod pa nyid yin no zhes pa'o* ||. Cf. MSA, XI.53.

[64] Jayānanda, MAvṬ, D 354a7–b1; P 429b3–4. He explains that the teaching that all sentient beings have Buddha-nature refers to their potential for attaining the state of supreme awakening (D 354b1; P 429b5–6: *yang bcom ldan 'das kyis mdo rnams las sems can thams cad de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can zhes gsungs pa 'dis thams cad bla na med pa'i byang chub kyi go 'phang thob par rung ba nyid yongs su gsal bar mdzad pa yin no*). This had already been taught by Kamalaśīla (MĀl, D 3887, 242b4–5; P 5287, 272b8–273a1: *sems can thams cad ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can no zhes bya ba 'dis kyang | thams cad bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub kyi go 'phang thob par rung ba nyid du yongs su bstan te*).

[65] Jayānanda, MAvṬ, D 354b2–3; P 429b6–8: *'phags pa byams pa'i zhal gyis kyang theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma nas | thams cad la ni khyad med kyang || de bzhin nyid ni dag gyur pa || de bzhin gshegs nyid de yi phyir || lus can mtha' dag de snying can || zhes pa 'dis kyang theg pa gcig nyid du gsungs pa yin no* ||. This is a quotation of MSA IX.39.

[66] *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya*, D 3862, 336b1: *yang dag pa nyid du nges la log pa nyid du nges pa'i khams la 'jog par 'gyur ba dang*. (This phrase is from the *Dhāraṇīśvararājasūtra* passage: D 147, 188b7–189b2; P 814, 149a1–b2; T 397, vol. 13, 15b10–21; T 398, vol. 13, 427b10–18.)

[67] Jayānanda, MAvṬ, D 341a4–5; P 413a1–2: *de la log pa nyid du nges pa'i khams ni de bzhin gshegs pas chos* (P om. *chos*) *bstan kyang rung mi bstan kyang rung ste grol bar mi rung ba ste | de yang dus ji srid pa la ltos nas yin gyi gzhan du na sems can thams cad de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can du mi rigs pas so* ||.

[68] *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya*, D 3862, 281a6–7.

teaching of Buddha-nature is provisional, the teaching of mind-only is also provisional";[69] and "To prove that the Buddha-nature doctrine was taught as being provisional, it is taught [in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*] that 'O Mahāmati, [my instruction on Buddha-nature is not identical with the non-Buddhists' teaching of *ātman* (i.e. the instruction is just for the sake of attracting non-Buddhists and does not tell true reality)]'."[70]

In explaining passages of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* word by word (just as the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* did), Jayānanda limns his Madhyamaka position: "It was taught that '[Buddha-nature] possesses the thirty-two marks [of the *mahāpuruṣa*] (*dvātriṃśallakṣaṇadhara*),'[71] since they (i.e. sentient beings) are characterized by emptiness"[72]; and "It was taught that '[Buddha-nature] is said to be inside the body of sentient beings (*sarvasattvadehāntargato*),'[73] since emptiness pervades everything."[74] In these passages, he explicitly equates the pervasiveness of Buddha-nature with that of emptiness. This is the same position rNgog takes (see Chaper 9, pp. 266–268). Furthermore, Jayānanda interprets each term in the phrase "the limit of reality, *nirvāṇa*, non-origination, signlessness, wishlessness, and so forth" (*bhūtakoṭinirvāṇānutpādānimittāpraṇihitādi*: *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 78.5–6) in the sense of emptiness.[75] He states that Buddha-nature was taught in order to attract those who fear emptiness.[76] After glossing the sūtra passages, he concludes: "Therefore, just as the purpose of teaching Buddha-nature is nothing other than [to teach] emptiness, so too the teaching of mind-only is also [merely] a means of entering emptiness."[77]

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[69] Jayānanda, MAvṬ, D 211b2–3; P 254b5–6: *dper na de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po gsungs pa de ni drang ba'i don yin la | de bzhin du sems tsam gsungs pa de yang drang ba'i don du gsungs pa yin no zhes pa'o* ||.

[70] Jayānanda, MAvṬ, D 212a4–5; P 255b1: *de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po bstan pa de drang ba'i don nyid du gsungs pa yin no zhes bstan par bya ba'i phyir | blo gros chen po zhes bya ba la sogs pa gsungs te*. See LAS 77.13–14 (*na hi mahāmate tīrthakarātmavādatulyo mama tathāgatagarbhopadeśaḥ*), and also Candrakīrti's comment in MAv 197.5–8.

[71] LAS 77.16.

[72] Jayānanda, MAvṬ, D 211b4–5; P 254b8: *mtshan sum cu rtsa gnyis dang ldan pa zhes bya ba ni de rnams stong pa nyid kyi rang bzhin can yin pas so* ||.

[73] LAS 77.16–17.

[74] Jayānanda, MAvṬ, D 211b5; P 254b8–259a1: *sems can thams cad kyi lus kyi nang na mchis par brjod de zhes bya ba ni stong pa nyid kyis thams cad la khyab pa'i phyir ro* ||.

[75] Jayānanda, MAvṬ, D 212a5–b2; P 255b1–5.

[76] Jayānanda, MAvṬ, D 212b2–3; P 255b5–6. Cf. LAS 78.8: *bālānāṃ nairātmyasaṃtrāsapadavivarjitārthaṃ*. Note that he changes the word "selflessness" in the LAS to "emptiness."

[77] Jayānanda, MAvṬ, D 213a4–5; P 256b3–4: *des ji ltar de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po bstan pa'i don stong pa nyid kho na yin pa de bzhin du sems tsam bstan pa yang stong pa nyid la 'jug pa'i thabs yin no zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go* ||. (See LAS 77.3–5 and MAv 198.11–13).

The equation of Buddha-nature with emptiness is the main point of rNgog's interpretation of Buddha-nature. It is not clear whether Jayānanda had any direct contact with rNgog,[78] but it is very likely that rNgog imbibed the Kashmiri tradition of Madhyamaka during his stay in that region sometime between 1076 and 1092, and integrated aspects of it into his RGV commentary.

The difference between rNgog's position and that of Jayānanda is over whether the teaching of Buddha-nature is definitive or provisional: rNgog accepts it as definitive; Jayānanda, as provisional.[79] One problem with Jayānanda's position is that, having asserted that the Buddha-nature doctrine is provisional, he utilizes it as an authoritative teaching for establishing the single-vehicle theory, which he takes to be a definitive teaching.

This inconsistency derives from Jayānanda's acceptance of input from two different sources: one from Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra* (on the judgment of Buddha-nature as a provisional doctrine), and the other from Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka* (on the single-vehicle doctrine supported by the Buddha-nature teaching).

A Summary and Further Considerations

We can trace the teaching transmission of the RGV in Kashmir around the 11th and 12th centuries in works by Sajjana and his son Mahājana (both of whom are in Ratnavajra's familiy lineage), Amṛtākara, and Jayānanda. To them we may add the *Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya* (abbr. *Paricaya*) composed by a disciple of Sajjana (along with certain passages by Parahitabhadra[80]), whose doctrinal position regarding the RGV is referred to in Tibetan souces.

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[78] Jayānanda flourished slightly later, for he is said to have debated with Phywa-pa, who was born the year of rNgog's death, 1109.

[79] The positions they stake out within Madhyamaka also differ: Jayānanda follows Candrakīrti, and rNgog follows Bhāviveka, Śāntideva, etc. For details, see Vose 2009.

[80] Parahita's pronouncements on the RGV are found in the *rGyud bla tshig don* (see above p. 136 n. 7), p. 431.1–3: ***bla ma pa ra he ta*** *ni 'di ltar 'chad de | don rnam pa bdun po de blo yi yul las 'das sgra yul las 'das te sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' rnam par mi rtog pa'i ye shes kyis so sor rang gis rig pa'i tshul du rtogs par bya bas na | rtogs pa'i don rdo rje'i gnas so || zhes sbyar ro ||*, p. 443. 15–16: ***bla ma pa ra he ta*** *na re | bcom ldan 'das seng ge'i khri la bzhugs nas gdul bya gdul bar bya ba'i phyir 'od zer sna tshogs bskye ba'o zhe'o ||*, p. 444.1–3: ***pa ra he ta*** *na re | bshad pa'i chos gsung rab yan lag bcu gnyis las grub pa'i chos 'phags pa'i lam yan lag brgyad dang don dam*

Sajjana, Mahājana, and the author of the *Paricaya*, and also probably Amṛtākara, belonged to the same scholarly circle and flourished in the 11th to 12th century around the city dPe med,[81] where the RGV was translated by Sajjana and rNgog. Their works are all included in the same palm-leaf set written in proto-Śāradā script, and their hermeneutic approaches, from a soteriological viewpoint, display striking similarities.

Sajjana played a key role into transmitting the RGV teaching to Tibet (as shown by Tibetan doctrinal and historical sources including *gsan yig* literature), and it was he who passed that teaching on rNgog. The mainstream tradition of the RGV was transmitted to Tibet by Sajjana. In his *Upadeśa*, Sajjana enumerates doctrinal topics of the RGV and builds them up into a consistent soteriological schema. This approach is unique to him.

His tradition had an impact not only on later Tibetan developments but also on the Kashmiri tradition. The *Paricaya* cites Sajjana's *Upadeśa* and calls Sajjana "our teacher" (*asmadguravaḥ*).

Sajjana's son Mahājana, who lived around dPe med during the last quater of the 11th century, interprets words of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* from a soteriological viewpoint and quotes RGV I.35ab and I.68 in support of his interpretation.

Amṛtākara, who likely lived around the time of Sajjana or Mahājana, interprets the sequence of the four encomiums (the *Catuḥstava*) as the developmental process of cultivating the path, correlating the *Lokātītastava* to stages 1–7, the *Niraupamya-stava* to the eighth stage, the *Acintyastava* to stages 9–10, and the *Paramārthastava* to the *sambuddha* stage. In this context he quoes the RGV I.69–78 and the *Daśa-bhūmikasūtra* in support of the ten-stage doctrine.

Like Sajjana who passed the teaching tradition of the RGV to Tibet via rNgog, Jayānanda transmitted Candrakīrti's Madhyamaka tradition to Tibet via Pa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags. Jayānanda in his *Madhyamakāvatāra* commentary cites the RGV in support of the *ekayāna* doctrine and interprets the all-pervasiveness of Buddha-nature as that of emptiness, stating that "Buddha-nature is within the bodies (*dehāntargata*) of all sentient beings because emptiness is all-pervasive."[82] On the

pa'i chos mya ngan las 'das pa 'byung la | de nyid dang snga ma las phyi ma 'byung ba'o zhe'o |, p. 498.3–6: *'o ni* [= *na*] *chos mngon pa'i bstan bcos las chos mngon pa'i mdo'i sho lo ka 'di kun gzhi bsgrub pa'i lung du byung la 'dir rigs bsgrub pa'i lung du byung bas kun gzhi dang rigs gcig gam zhe na | gcig ste rang bzhin du gnas pa'i kun gzhi dang | rang bzhin du gnas pa'i rigs gcig la | blo bur gyi kun gzhi dang rgyas pa'i rigs gcig go | zhes* ***bla ma pa ra he ta****s bzhed do ||* etc.

[81] For dPe med (*Anupamapura), see Chapter 6, p. 163 n. 35.

[82] Jayānanda, MAvṬ, D 211b5; P 254b8–259a1.

other hand, he judges the Buddha-nature doctrine as provisional (*neyārtha*), following Candrakīrti's view. Jayānanda's pronouncement in regard to the question of ultimate or provisional (*nītārtha/neyārtha*) is thus inconsistent from a certain viewpoint. The relation between Sajjana's circle and Jayānanda is yet to be known.

As for the link between the Kashmiri tradition and rNgog, Sajjana had a certain impact on rNgog's soteriological interpretation of the RGV (see Chapter 8), but their Buddha-nature interpretations are not identical: While Sajjana (or his Kashmiri disciple) understands Buddha-nature as the luminous mind (*prabhāsvaraṃ cittaṃ*), which is unconditioned and thus, not empty of itself (see Chapter 8), rNgog equates Buddha-nature with emptiness. Of course, luminosity and emptiness are not necessarily mutually exclusive notions, but their points of focus are nevertheless different. The equation of Buddha-nature with emptiness is clearly articulated by Jayānanda, who very likely lived one or two generations after rNgog. Jayānanda may have arrived at his position independently, but in any case the hermeneutic tradition based on this equation had already earlier gained a foothold in Kashmir, when rNgog was studying there for some period of time between 1076 and 1092.

Chapter 6

Six Tibetan Translations of the *Ratnagotravibhāga*[1]

Although the *Ratnagotravibhāga* is one of the most influential texts among Indic works that teach the Buddha-nature doctrine, no translation of the text seems to have existed in Tibet before the 11th century, inasmuch as no catalogue of the imperial period, such as the *lDan dkar ma* and *'Phang thang ma*, shows any record of one. To date, only a single Tibetan translation is extant (that of rNgog and Sajjana), but gZhon-nu-dpal reports that up to his time six translations had already been made:[2]

> The *Uttaratantra* and its commentary were first translated by Jo bo [Atiśa] and Nag-tsho. Then rNgog, sPa-tshab Lo-tsā-ba, and Yar-klungs Lo-tsā-ba [each] did a translation. Jo-nang Lo-tsā-ba did a translation of the basic text only. Mar-pa Do-pa is also said to have translated all Five Treatises of Maitreya.[3]

At least three of these six translations survived into the 15th century. For his own RGV commentary gZhon-nu-dpal picked rNgog's translation as his standard of choice, but occasionally, when making revisions to that translation, refers both to the one by Atiśa and Nag-tsho and to the one by Pa-tshab (or sPa-tshab). The other three translations seem to have been unavailable even to gZhon-nu-dpal. In the following discussion, I will examine what can be learned about the six translations, those of:

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1 The present chapter was published as a separate paper (Kano 2014c).

2 Cf. gZhon-nu-dpal, *rGyud bla me long*, 4.20–22 and 574.4; bSod-nams-grags-pa, *rGyud bla dka' gnas*, 3a3–4; Kong-sprul, *rGyud bla bshad srol*, 8b3–6.

3 gZhon-nu-dpal, *Deb sngon*, 425.4–7: *rgyud bla ma 'grel pa dang bcas pa jo bo dang nag tshos thog mar bsgyur | de nas rngog lo | spa tshab lo tsā ba | yar klungs lo tsā ba rnams kyis bsgyur | jo nang lo tsā bas gzhung rkyang la 'gyur mdzad | mar pa do pas byams chos lnga ka la 'gyur mdzad yod ces kyang zer ro |*. Cf. Roerich 1949/53: 350.

(1) Atiśa (982–1054) and Nag-tsho Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba (1011–1064)
(2) rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab (1059–1109) and Sajjana (late 11th cent.)
(3) Pa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags (b.1055)
(4) Mar-pa Do-pa Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug (1042–1136)
(5) Jo-nang Lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros-dpal (1299–1353 or 1300–1364)
(6) Yar-klungs Lo-tsā-ba

(1) The Translation by Atiśa and Nag-tsho

The earliest Tibetan translation of the RGV was made by Atiśa and Nag-tsho Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba. This translation is listed in bCom-ldan-ral-gri's canonical catalogue.[4] gZhon-nu-dpal, too, mentions it:

> A translation was made by Jo-bo Dīpaṃkara and Nag-tsho long before the one by the great translator [rNgog].[5]

The translation took shape at Yer-ba Ba-rang[6] in sTag-rtse-rdzong, at the request of rNgog Byang-chub-'byung-gnas, sometime between ca. 1047 (Atiśa's arrival at bSam-yas)[7] and 1054 (his passing away at sNye thang), as stated by gZhon-nu-dpal:

> Then, [Atiśa] proceeded to Yer-ba, and rNgog Byang-chub-'byung-gnas served him. At his request, the translator and paṇḍita (i.e. Nag-tsho and Atiśa) translated the commentary on the *Mahāyānottaratantra* composed by the Ācārya Asaṅga.[8]
> ... [Atiśa] also translated the basic text and commentary of the *Mahāyānottaratantra* at Yer-pa, at the request of rNgog Byang-chub-'byung-gnas.[9]

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4 bCom-ldan-ral-gri, *bsTan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od*, p. 116 = fol. 33b3: ... *rgyud bla dang chos dang chos nyid rnam 'byed dang* ... 115.4: *jo bo rjes paṇ ḍi ta byas nas nag tsho lo tsha bas bsgyur ba* ... bCom-ldan-ral-gri also lists rNgog's translation. See *ibid.* p. 130 = fol. 43b–7. This is probably the first recorded translation of the RGV in Tanjur catalogues.

5 gZhon-nu-dpal, *rGyud bla me long*, 4.20–21: *lo tsā ba chen pos 'gyur mdzad pa las ches snga bar jo bo chen po dīpaṃkara dang nag tshos 'gyur mdzad de* |.

6 On Yer-ba (or Yer-pa) Ba-rang, see Wylie 1962: 83, 159 n. 402–3; De Rossi-Filibeck 1984: 244.

7 The mention of the translation occurs in the *rNam thar rgyas pa* after his arrival at bSam-yas (see Eimer 1979).

8 gZhon-nu-dpal, *Deb sngon*, 317.7–10: *de nas yer par thegs nas rngog byang chub 'byung gnas kyis zhabs tog mdzad | khong gis zhus nas theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i 'grel pa slob dpon thogs med kyis mdzad pa de lo paṇ gnyis kyis bsgyur* |. Cf. Roerich 1949/53: 259.

9 gZhon-nu-dpal, *Deb sngon*, 987.11–13: *theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma rtsa 'grel ni yer bar rngog byang*

Furthermore, Atiśa is said to have given a lecture on the RGV and *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga* at the request of Khu-ston at Sol-nag Thang-po-che.[10] Atiśa's and Nag-tsho's translation of the former work seems to be lost, but a few fragments can be recovered on the basis of quotations in Atiśa's work[11] and gZhon-nu-dpal's RGV commentary.[12]

Example 1

The first example in the commentary, like the ones that follow, highlights differences between the translation by Nag-tsho (and Atiśa) and the one by rNgog:

> The passage "What is the meaning of the teaching that all sentient beings have Buddha-nature?" in Nag-tsho's translation is slightly better [than that of rNgog's].
> *nag tsho'i 'gyur las | gang gsungs pa ni sems can thams cad de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can no zhes bya'o || de'i don ci zhe na | zhes 'byung ba cung zad bde ste |*
> (gZhon-nu-dpal, *rGyud bla me long* 262.5–7)

The Sanskrit text runs: *yad uktaṃ sarvasattvās tathāgatagarbhā iti tat kenārthena* (RGV 25.18–19). Nag-tsho renders *kenārthena* as *don ci zhe na*, whereas rNgog here has *don gang gis yin zhe na*.[13] gZhon-nu-dpal prefers Nag-tsho's rendering probably because it yields a more idiomatic turn of phrase than rNgog's more literal reflection of the Sanskrit instrumental case. The meaning of the two translations is essentially the same, but Nag-tsho's translation, in preserving the Sanskrit word

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chub 'byung gnas kyis zhus nas 'gyur yang mdzad do ||. Cf. Roerich 1949/53: 844; Tatz 1988: 479. For further historical references to the translation of Atiśa and Nag-tsho, see Tatz 1988: 479. See also dPa'-bo, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, 305.13–14 (L Chandra); Eimer 1979: 311, 380 n. 3.

[10] Sol-nag Thang-po-che monastery in Yar-klungs was founded in 1017 by Gru-mer Tshul-khrims-'byung-gnas, who was one of the four main disciples of Klu-mes. Khu-ston, who studied under Se-btsun in Kham, was the main monk in this monastery, and it was in that capacity that he invited Atiśa there. See Kawagoe 2004: 148, 162 n. 47. For the geographical location, see Wylie 1962: 169 n. 507.

[11] In his *Dharmadhātudarśanagīti* (translated by Atiśa himself and Nag-tsho), Atiśa quotes RGV I.86. See above chapter 4.

[12] For the quotations from the translation of Atiśa and Nag-tsho in gZhon-nu-dpal's RGV commentary, see Kano 2005.

[13] rNgog's rendering: *sems can thams cad ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can no zhes gsungs pa gang yin pa de la don gang gis yin zhe na* (RGV[tib] 49.3–4).

order, makes his handling of the correlatives (*yat* ... *tat* ...) seem less clear than rNgog's (*gang yin pa de*).

Example 2

In the next example, gZhon-nu-dpal points out the actual difference between Nag-tsho's translation and rNgog's:

> With regard to [the word] "*'dod chen pa*" (*icchantika*),[14] [in rNgog's translation], Nag-tsho states: "*'dod zhen can.*"
> *'dod chen pa ste | nag tshos 'dod zhen can zhes zer te |* (gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.* 279.11)

Nag-tsho renders *icchantika* as *'dod zhen can* instead of *'dod chen pa*,[15] both of which have basically the same meaning.

Example 3

The next example suggests separate lines of transmission of the RGV (i.e. two different archetypes of the Sanskrit text).

> This translation of rNgog's should be explained in the above-mentioned way.[16] Nag-tsho, on the other hand, translates: "This is because if [anyone could] have [the correct view] even without having the spiritual disposition (*gotra*), then even *icchantika*s, who have an accumulation of wickedness, [could] possess the spiritual disposition [to enable them to attain] *parinirvāṇa* without [having to submit to] causes or conditions."
> *rngog gi 'gyur 'di ni de lta bur bshad par bya la | nag tshos | "gang gi phyir rigs de med par yang yod na ni rgyu rkyen med par yang sdig pa kun tu bsags pa dang ldan pa'i 'dod zhen can rnams kyang yongs su mya ngan las 'da' ba'i rigs can yin par 'gyur ro ||" zhes bsgyur ro ||* (gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.* 319.15–17)

The Sanskrit text reads: *yadi hi tad gotram antareṇa syād ahetukam apratyayaṃ pāpasamucchedayogena tad icchantikānām apy aparinirvāṇagotrāṇāṃ syāt* (RGVV 36.11–

[14] RGV 29.8–9, RGV(tib) 55.16.
[15] In other passages (e.g. RGV(tib) 72.3), however, rNgog renders *icchantika* as *log sred can*.
[16] See gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.* 319.7–14.

13).[17] This is commentary on RGV I.41d: *agotrāṇāṃ na tad yataḥ*[18] "[When one possesses the spiritual disposition, one will have the correct view][19] since those who have no spiritual disposition do not possess it [i.e. the correct view]," and *tad* (of *tad gotram antareṇa*) refers to *tad* in I.41d (*na tad yataḥ*), which is *bhavanirvāṇa-tadduḥkhasukhadoṣaguṇekṣaṇam* in I.41ab.

Nag-tsho's translation "*rigs de med par yang yod na*" for "*tad gotram antareṇa syād*" (taking *tad* as a qualifier of *gotram*) is problematic, for the Sanskrit text literally means: "if [anyone could] possess it (*tat*) [i.e. the correct view] without the *gotra*." Furthermore, the core syntax of the latter half of the sentence in Nag-tsho's reading varies significantly from the Sanskrit text: Nag-tsho reads "even *icchantika*s would possess *parinirvāṇagotra*,"[20] whereas the Sanskrit text actually states that "even *icchantika*s who have no *parinirvāṇagotra* would possess it [i.e. correct view]," as reflected in rNgog's translation.[21]

The phrase "having an accumulation of wickedness" (*sdig pa kun tu bsags pa dang ldan pa'i*, **pāpasamuccayayogānāṃ*) in Nag-tsho's translation, while clashing with the Sanskrit text (*pāpasamucchedayogena* "in virtue of having severed wickedness"), seems to find support in rNgog's translation: "being connected with inexhaustible wickedness" (*sdig pa mi zad pa dang ldan pa'i tshul gyis*, **pāpākṣayayogena*?).[22] However, the reading of rNgog's text quoted by gZhon-nu-dpal, "by severing wickedness" (*sdig to sel ba'i tshul gyis*), while diverging from the Tanjur version of rNgog's text just mentioned, corresponds perfectly with the Sanskrit *pāpasamucchedayogena*.[23] From a semantic viewpoint, the Sanskrit version is preferable.[24]

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[17] (Translation:) "This is because if [anyone could] possess it [i.e. the correct view] without having the spiritual disposition, that is, in such a manner as to [be able to] sever wickedness without any cause and condition, then even *icchantika*s who did not have the spiritual disposition [to enable them to attain] *parinirvāṇa* [could] possess it."

[18] I follow Schmithausen's correction: Manuscript B of the RGV reads *tad yataḥ* instead of Johnston's misreading *vidyate*. rNgog's translation supports this reading. See Schmithausen 1971: 145.

[19] Cf. RGV I.41ab.

[20] We might reconstruct the original Sanskrit text Nag-tsho used as: **yadi hi tad gotram antareṇāpi syād, ahetukam apratyayam pāpasamuccayayogānām icchantikānām api parinirvāṇagotraṃ syāt*.

[21] rNgog's translation (the Tanjur version) reads: *de ci'i phyir zhe na | gal te sdig pa mi zad pa dang ldan pa'i tshul gyis rgyu med rkyen med par der 'gyur na ni | log sred can yongs su mya ngan las mi 'da' ba'i rigs can rnams la yang der 'gyur na* (RGV(tib) 71.2–3).

[22] Johnston (RGVV 36 n. 8) reconstructs the original Sanskrit of rNgog's translation as "**pāpā-samucchedayogena*," but *asamuccheda* is an unlikely equivalent for *mi zad pa*.

[23] gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.* 317.3–4.

[24] The Chinese translation of the RGV and the *Foxing lun* 佛性論 do not seem to have an equivalent for the corresponding word (T vol. 31, 831a26–28: 若無因緣生如是心者. 一闡提等無涅槃性. 應發菩提心; see Matsumoto 2013: 125, 129). Takasaki (1989: 272–273 n. 5, 1999:

Example 4

The next example shows how gZhon-nu-dpal utilizes Nag-tsho's translation and the Sanskrit manuscript to revise rNgog's translation:

> If one corrects [rNgog's text] "... because one perceives the supramundane reality (*dharmatā*)...." into "because one perceives the supramundane reality (*dharmatā*) for the first time," then it will be in accordance with both the Sanskrit manuscript and Nag-tsho['s translation].
> *"...'jig rten las 'das pa'i chos nyid mthong ba'i phyir...." zhes bya ba "jig rten las 'das pa'i chos nyid dang por mthong ba'i phyir" zhes byas na rgya dpe dang | nag tsho gnyi ga dang mthun no* || (gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.* 373.2–4)[25]

gZhon-nu-dpal adds the word *dang por* (*prathama*) to the text of rNgog's translation on the strength of both Nag-tsho's translation and the Sanskrit manuscript. Indeed, we find the word *prathama* in Sanskrit manuscript B.[26]

Example 5

In the next example, gZhon-nu-dpal compares all three translations (the ones by Nag-tsho, rNgog, and sPa-tshab) and selects the one he deems most reasonable:

> In Nag-tsho's translation, [RGV I.132] occurs in prose. In rNgog's and sPa-tshab's translations, however, it occurs in verse. I have seen that [it occurs] in verse also in the Sanskrit manuscript. I see no contradiction in taking it as the teaching of the venerable [Maitreya]. There is no harm either, on the other hand, in joining it to (or "accepting it as") Asaṅga's verse. By contrast, it seems a mistake (*nyes par snang*), if, after regarding the teaching of the venerable [Maitreya] as having been stated in this way, one says that only [verse I.131] beginning with [the words]—"The nine stains are taught by way of [nine]

138 n. 2) emends *pāpasamucchedayogena* into *pāpā**s**amucchedayogena* on the basis of rNgog's translation *sdig pa **mi** zad pa*, as suggested by Johnston, while Matsumoto (2013: 129–131) defends the reading of the Sanskrit manuscript *pāpa**s**amucchedayogena* as sounding more natural.

[25] Cf. RGV 52.18, RGV(tib) 103.9–10.

[26] Schmithausen (1971: 152) and Takasaki (1989: 298 n. 1) both note that rNgog's translation has no equivalent for *prathama*. Takasaki suggests an emendation for this passage: *anādikālikam adṛṣṭapūrvaprathamalokottaradharmatāprativedhāt* to replace *anādikālikam adṛṣṭapūrvaṃ lokottaradharmatāṃ prathamaprativedhāt*.

> similes—'the inside of a lotus' and so forth"—is first explained in this commentary [verse] (i.e. RGV I.132), [because RGV I.131 was already explained in the prose part before verse I.132[27]].
> *nag tsho'i 'gyur la rkyang par 'byung la | rngog dang spa tshab kyi 'gyur la tshigs su bcad par 'byung zhing | rgya dper yang tshigs su bcad par mthong ste | rje btsun gyi gsung du byas na yang 'gal ba ma mthong la | thogs med kyis* [= *kyi*] *tshigs su bcad par sbyar na yang gnod par byed pa med mod | rje btsun gyi gsung 'di lta bu bzhugs pa mthong nas | "dri ma rnam dgu padma yi | sbubs sogs dpes ni rab bstan te |" zhes bya ba yan chad kho na 'grel pa 'dir thog mar bkral lo zhes bya ba la nye bar* [= *nyes par*] *snang ngo* || (gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.* 415.26–416.1)

gZhon-nu-dpal reports that rNgog and Pa-tshab regard RGV I.132 as a verse, whereas Nag-tsho considers it prose. Nag-tsho's translation is in accordance with the Chinese translation and fits the present context better. The Sanskrit text is also written in prose, although Johnston mistakenly makes it metrical in his Sanskrit edition[28] (and gZhon-nu-dpal takes it as a verse: *rgya dper yang tshigs su bcad par mthong*). gZhon-nu-dpal correctly claims that verse I.132 glosses verses I.130–131ab,[29] regardless of whether it was originally written in prose or verse.

Example 6

In the next example, gZhon-nu-dpal prefers Nag-tsho's translation to rNgog's:

> [rNgog's translation reads]: "It (i.e. the pure *dharmadhātu*) [should be understood in terms of *tathāgata*s' *dharma* that is individually realized][30]." The reading (*'don pa*) of Nag-tsho is better: "It should be understood that it (i.e. the pure

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[27] RGV I.131ab (*padmakośādidṛṣṭāntair navadhā saṃprakāśitāḥ*) is first explained in RGVV 67.8–68.6 and then summarized in I.132 (which is indeed a part of prose, not a verse). The prose commentary on I.131cd (*aparyantopasaṃkleśakośakoṭyas tu bhedataḥ*) starts just after I.132.

[28] Johnston separates *ete* from *navarāgādayaḥ kleśāḥ*, though he correctly points out: "[i]t is doubtful if this verse (RGV I.132) is a *kārikā* at all; C (= Chinese translation) treats it as prose, and *cd* is practically identical with 131*cd* (sic for *ab*). I have excluded *ete* from the verse for metrical reasons, T (= Tibetan translation) showing both *ete* and *nave*" (see his edition of the RGVV 68 n. 1). Cf. Takasaki 1966: 280–281 n. 98, Takasaki 1989: 319, and Takasaki 1999: 187 n. 13.

[29] *ete* (RGV I.132→) *navarāgādayaḥ kleśāḥ saṃkṣepeṇa yathākramam | navabhiḥ padmakośādidṛṣṭāntaiḥ saṃprakāśitāḥ* ||, RGV I.130–131ab: *rāgadviṣmohatattīvraparyavasthānavāsanāḥ | dṛṅmārgabhāvanāśuddhaśuddhabhūmigatāmalāḥ || padmakośādidṛṣṭāntair navadhā saṃprakāśitāḥ |*.

[30] This is commentary on the sense of *dharmakāya* in RGVV 135, in the course of which *dharma* the distinction between *adhigamadharma* and *āgamadharma* is explained (cf. also AK VIII.39).

> *dharmadhātu*) relates to *dharma* that is individually realized by the *tathāgata*."
> *"de yang" zhes bya ba la sogs pa ni nag tshos | "de ni de bzhin gshegs pas so so rang gis rig pa'i rtogs pa'i chos kyi dbang du byas par rig par bya'o ||" zhes 'don pa legs te |* (gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.* 420.9–10)

The Sanskrit text reads: *sa ca tathāgatānāṃ pratyātmam adhigamadharmam adhikṛtya veditavyaḥ* (RGV 70.6–7). gZhon-nu-dpal prefers Nag-tsho's translation (*de bzhin gshegs pas*, singular!), which takes *tathāgatānāṃ* (Ms. B) as the subject of an embedded clause. However, rNgog's wording with the plural form (*de bzhin gshegs pa rnams kyi*) correctly renders the Sanskrit text and leaves no room for misunderstanding.[31] As possible equivalents for *adhigamadharma*, on the other hand, Nag-tsho's rendering *rtogs pa'i chos* is preferable to rNgog's *rig par bya ba'i chos*. The expression *rtogs pa'i chos* is a standard translation of *adhigamadharma*, and rNgog does indeed translate *adhigamadharma* as *rtogs pa'i chos* in other passages.[32]

Example 7

The next example, by contrast, highlights a problem with rNgog's translation:

> With regard to [the word] "non-dual" [in rNgog's translation], in this [verse II.36] the Sanskrit [text reads] *mṛdu* "soft"; and Nag-tsho's reads "soft" as well.
> *'dir gnyis med ces pa saṃskṛta la mridu ste 'jam po yin la | nag tshos kyang 'jam por 'don te |* (gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.* 482.16)

gZhon-nu-dpal prefers Nag-tsho's rendering *'jam po* "soft" to rNgog's "non-dual" (*gnyis med*). The former agrees with both the Sanskrit (=Ms.B) "*mṛdu*" and the Chinese translation "柔軟",[33] and is supported by the context: RGV II.36 teaches that a word's "being soft" is the reason for its "being free of any rough effect" (*paruṣasparśanirmuktaṃ* II.36c). rNgog's "non-dual," presupposing *advaya*°, would make the Sanskrit verse text, where only two syllables are needed, unmetrical.[34]

In general, the cited passages were translated reasonably well by Atiśa and Nag-

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[31] rNgog reads: *de yang de bzhin gshegs pa rnams kyi so so rang gis rig par bya ba'i chos kyi dbang du byas te rtogs par bya'o ||* (RGV(tib) 137.10–11).

[32] RGV(tib) 35.9, 35.11. On the other hand, rNgog's rendering *rig par bya ba'i chos* fits better with the adverb *so so rang gis*.

[33] T vol. 31, 842b28.

[34] Cf. rGyal-tshab Darma-rin-chen attempts to interpret *gnyis med* based on rNgog's problematic translation. See Nakamura's remark in his edition of the RGVV(tib), p. 166 n. 5.

tsho (in spite of a few problems), and this probably reflects the fact that gZhon-nu-dpal selects only better readings in support of his revision. However, we cannot judge the overall quality until the entire text becomes available.

(2) THE TRANSLATION BY RNGOG AND SAJJANA

rNgog and Sajjana did their translation in Grong khyer chen po dpe med (*Anupamapura),[35] in Kashmir, as mentioned in the colophon:

> [This text, the *Uttaratantra*, was] translated by the greatly learned paṇḍita Sajjana, who was the grandson of the great Brahman scholar Ratnavajra of glorious dPe med, and the translator Śākyabhikṣu Blo-ldan-shes-rab in this same [city,] dPe med.[36]

The Fifth Dalai Lama describes how the translation was done in more detail:

> And when the great translator rNgog received [teaching relating to the *Uttaratantra* and *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga*] from the paṇḍita Sajjana at dPe med in Kashmir, [the latter] said, "If even one folio of the manuscript were burnt, that would be equivalent to the passing away of victorious Maitreya." In spite of the great difficulty in [simply] borrowing [the text], it was translated and revised.[37]

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[35] Although the exact location of dPe med is yet to be identified, the colophons of the *Pramāṇavārttika* and *Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra* tell us that Cakradhara (modern-day Semthan) is located east of dPe med (*grong kher dpe med shar phyogs na | yul 'khor lo 'dzin ces bya ba grub pa'i gnas rab grags pa yod pa'i 'dabs*). See Kramer 2007: 62–65. According to the colophon of Candrakīrti's *Bodhisattvayogācāracatuḥśatakaṭīkā*, Ratnagupta Ārāma is located in the middle of dPe med (D 3865, 239a5f.; P 5266, 273b3f.: *dpal grong khyer dpe med kyi dbus rin chen sbas pa'i kun dga' ra bar*). Grong kher dpe med occurs eight times in rNgog's translation colophons. See Kramer 2007: 39 n. 37. Cf. also Naudou 1968: 169–170. For Cakradhara (or Cakrabhṛt), see Slaje 2014: 313.

[36] RGV(tib) 219.13–14: *dpal grong khyer chen po dpe med kyi mkhas pa chen po bram ze rin chen rdo rje'i dbon po*[a] | *paṇḍita mkhas pa chen po sadzdzana dang* | *lo tsā ba shākya'i dge slong blo ldan shes rab kyis* | *grong khyer dpe med de nyid du bsgyur ba'o* || ([a] *dbon po* P; *dpon po* RGV(tib)).

[37] Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho, *Thob yig*, Ka, 28a2: *de'ang kha che'i grong khyer dpe med du paṇḍita sadzdzana la rngog lo chen pos gsan pa'i tshe dpe shog re la'ang 'di me la sbyangs na rgyal ba byams pa gshegs pa dang mnyam zer nas g.yar bar dka' tshegs shin tu che ba'i dad nas* (read *sgo nas*) *bsgyur zhus mdzad pa yin no* ||.

The date of the translation is unknown, but we can safely place it sometime between 1076 (rNgog's departure from mNga'-ris in western Tibet to Kashmir) and ca. 1092 (his return to mNga'-ris). sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho states that rNgog returned to Kashmir again during his stay in India in order to study the RGV under Sajjana.[38] If the account is true, the translation could have been carried out just before his return to Tibet.

Rwa Lo-tsā-ba's biography contains a striking statement: at the Great Dharma Assembly of Tho ling monastery (Tho ling chos 'khor) of 1076 (which was organized by rTse-lde), shortly before his visit to Kashmir, rNgog, along with bTsan Kha-bo-che, gNyan Lo-tsā-ba Dar-ma-grags and others, studied the Treatises of Maitreya under bTsan's teacher Paṇḍita Prajñāna (*prajñā na*).[39] It is clear that rNgog's visit to Kashmir was set in motion by this teacher. The statement is, in any case, testimony to the fact that the [Five?] Treatises of Maitreya were known in mNga'-ris at least as early as 1076.

Example 8

The following is an example illustrative of the quality of rNgog's translation. In his *mDzes rgyan*, Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub compares rNgog's translation (*rngog 'gyur*)[40] with "another translation" (*'gyur gzhan*):

> "The Buddha's gnosis abides in [all] kinds of sentient beings; it [i.e. the gnosis] is immaculate because of its innate non-duality; and the result is metaphorically applied to the Buddha's *gotra*. Therefore, [the Buddha] taught that all embodied beings have Buddha-nature." (RGV 1.28) This verse occurs in

[38] sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho, *Bai ḍūrya g.ya' sel*, 953.6–954.3 (= fol. 410b6–411a3): *kha cher phebs nas | ... de nas rgya gar shar phyogs su phebs nas | ... slar kha cher phebs | paṇḍi ta sad dza na dang | go mi 'chi med las rgyud bla dang | chos nyid rnam 'byed gsan |*. Cf. Kramer 2007: 40 n. 47.

[39] *Rwa lo tsā ba'i rnam thar*, 206.2–8: *der chos kyi 'khor lo legs par bskor | zangs mkhar lo tsā bas tshad ma rgyan yang dus der bsgyur | btsan kha bo che'i paṇḍi ta prajñā na la byams chos gsan | ... | de nas chos 'khor thon pa dang | lo tsā ba gzhan rnams mar byon |*. Cf. also Kano 2006b: 44–45 n. 10, 2006a: 97 and 2014c: 82. For the Tho ling chos 'khor, see Vitali 1996: 319–322.

[40] Bu-ston uses the word *rngog 'gyur* in the next sentence, too: Bu-ston, *mDzes rgyan*, 6b2: *'di la | rngog 'gyur na "ri mo'i gzhi chen po" zhes pa la | "dar yug chen po" zhes gsungs so ||*. "In this regard, *ri mo'i gzhi chen po* 'great basis for painting (or drawing)' is rendered in rNgog's translation as *dar yug chen po* (*mahāpusta*) 'great cloth'." Cf. RGV(tib) 41.18–19; 42 n. 7, RGVV 22.13–14; Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 78.

another translation of the *Uttaratantra*; some words appear in rNgog's translation but some words do not.[41]
ji skad du | "sems can phung po'i nang na sangs rgyas ye shes gnas || de ni rang bzhin gnyis med phyir na dri ma med || sangs rgyas rigs la 'bras bu rnam par brtags nas ni || lus can thams cad sangs rgyas snying por brjod pa yin ||" zhes bya ba'i tshigs bcad 'di | rgyud bla ma'i 'gyur gzhan la yod cing | rngog 'gyur la la la yod la | la la med do || (Bu-ston, *mDzes rgyan*, 17b2–3)

With regard to line I.28b in the second example, rNgog's rendering is more precise: "because their [i.e. the Buddha's and ordinary beings'] innate purity is non-dual" (*rang bzhin dri med de ni gnyis med de*; *tannairmalyasyādvayatvāt prakṛtyā*). By contrast, the reading of the other translation ("it [i.e. the gnosis] is immaculate because of its innate non-duality") diverges from the Sanskrit text and clashes with the present context, in which non-duality is the reason not for the immaculateness but for the teaching that every embodied being has Buddha nature.

Table: rNgog's translation and the other translation of RGV I.28

RGV 1.28	rNgog 'gyur	'gyur gzhan
buddhajñānāntargamāt sattvarāśes	*sangs rgyas ye shes sems can tshogs zhugs phyir ||*	*sems can phung po'i nang na sangs rgyas ye shes gnas ||*
tannairmalyasyādvayatvāt prakṛtyā |	*rang bzhin dri med de ni gnyis med de ||*	*de ni rang bzhin gnyis med phyir na dri ma med ||*
bauddhe gotre tatphalasyopacārād	*sangs rgyas rigs la de 'bras nyer brtags phyir ||*	*sangs rgyas rigs la 'bras bu rnam par brtags nas ni ||*
uktāḥ sarve dehino buddhagarbhāḥ ||	*'gro kun sangs rgyas snying po can du gsungs ||*	*lus can thams cad sangs rgyas snying por brjod pa yin ||*

rNgog's translation includes a dedicatory verse between the last verse of the RGV and the colophon:

Through all the beneficial resources that I have obtained from this precious explanation of the supreme vehicle (i.e. the *Mahāyānottaratantra*) may all sentient beings become [suitable] recipients of the immaculate jewels of the sublime teaching of the supreme vehicle.
theg mchog dam chos rin chen bshad 'di las || bsam yas bsod nams bdag gis gang

[41] Cf. Seyfort Ruegg 1973: 102.

> *thob pa* || *des ni 'gro kun theg mchog dam pa'i chos* || *rin chen dri ma med pa'i snod gyur cig* || (RGV(tib) 219.9–11)

Sa-bzang Mati-paṇ-chen (1294–1376) ascribed the verse to Asaṅga (*slob dpon 'phags pa*).[42] However, this seems unlikely, since the Chinese translation does not contain the verse. The author of the verse is more probably rNgog or Sajjana.

rNgog's translation is regarded as standard and is used by every Tibetan commentator as a basic text. Some later scholars, such as Jo-nang Lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros-dpal, Sa-bzang Mati, and gZhon-nu-dpal, endeavoured to revise it.[43] Influenced by these later revisions, some words in rNgog's original translation seem to have been replaced, as reflected in sundry differences in wording between rNgog's RGV commentary (which probably preserves rNgog's original readings) and the Tanjur version (which very likely contains later revisions).[44] It is also said that even rNgog's contemporary dGa'-ba'i-rdo-rje revised rNgog's Tibetan translation of the RGV and his translation of the DhDhV as well.[45] Furthermore, rNgog's disciple Gro-lung-pa's reading of RGV I.28 diverges from the Tanjur version of

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[42] Sa-bzang Mati, *rGyud bla rab gsal*, 514.6–515.2: *de ltar theg pa chen po dam pa'i chos phyin ci ma log par bshad pa las byung ba'i bsod nams mtha' yas pa rnams kyang 'gro ba thams cad dam pa'i chos 'di lta bu'i snod du 'gyur bar bya ba'i phyir yongs su bsngo ba ste* | *ji skad du* | *slob dpon 'phags pas* | [... the quote of this verse ...] | *ces gsungs pa ltar ro* ||.

[43] See below and gZhon-nu-dpal, *rGyud bla me long* (the page numbers in parentheses are those of Johnston's edition (skt) and Nakamura's edition (tib), respectively), **22.21–25** (1.10; 1.12), **25.2–8** (I.2), **94.1** (9.6ff.; 5.6ff.), **94.2–5** (20.2; 17.2), **116.19–24** (13.1–2; 23.2), **117.11–13** (13.4=Ms. B 8b1; 23.5), **237.3–16** (23.3=Ms. B 13b2; 43.8), **262.19–24** (26.7; 48.7), **262.10** (I.27b), **263.7** (26.11; 49.11–12), **272.16–19** (I.32–33), **300.1ff.** (32.7; 61.13f.), **313.4** (34.20ff.; 67.11–13), **347.15–16** (44.8; 85.16), **379.8–9** (54.4; 105.14), **380–381** (54 n. 7; 107.4–7), **389.8–9** (58.3; 113.12), **440.12–13** (I.154a), **505.11–13** (II.62c), **517.26–518.1** (III.13b).

[44] For instance, in contrast to the reading of the Tanjur version *de mchod par 'os pa ma yin pa'i phyir* (RGV(tib) 29.15–16), rNgog's RGV commentary (B 24a2) reads *de mchod par 'os pa yin pa'i phyir* without the negative particle *ma*. The Sanskrit manuscript is hardly legible. RGVV 16.15: *tatpūjānarhatvāt* is Johnston's reconstruction. The Skt Ms. reads *pūjā .. .. tvāt*, Johnston's reading (*tatprajñānatatvāt*) obviously being wrong. The Chinese translation corresponds to rNgog's reading (T vol. 31, 825b3 以應供故. Johnston's remark "... T, which C corroborates" [p. 16 n. 5] is again obviously wrong). Accordingly, the original reading of the RGVV was quite likely **tatpūjārhatvāt* "they are worthy of worship." Thus the reading of rNgog's original text, not the Tanjur version of it, is correct.

[45] bCom-ldan-ral-gri, *bsTan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od*, Schaeffer & Kuijp 2009: 241 (no. 27.91): *zu dga' ba rdo rjes brgyud* [= *rgyud*] *bla ma dang* | *chos nyid gnyis dad pa shes rab kyis bsgyur ba bcos*. The colophon of the Tibetan translation of the DhDhV supports this statement (D 4023, 53a6); that of the RGV, though, does not.

rNgog's translation.[46] These facts again suggest that rNgog's translation as preserved in the Tanjur contains readings revised by later hands.

(3) THE TRANSLATION BY PA-TSHAB

Pa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags (b.1055?) was a famous master who found practical ways to transmit the Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka philosophy to Tibet. Seyfort Ruegg sketches his life:

> Born in 'Phan yul north of Lhasa, he studied for about 23 years in India and especially Kashmir under teachers such as Sajjana's son Sūkṣmajana, Parahitabhadra, Mahāsumati and Bhavyarāja. Pa-tshab thus belonged to the same milieu in Kashmir as his almost exact contemporary rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab. On his return to Tibet, and before he became well known in 'Phan yul, Pa-tshab experienced much difficulty in propagating the doctrines he had received; and it was then that the renowned bKa'gdams pa *dge bshes* Sha-ra-ba/Shar-ba-pa Yon-tan-grags (1070–1141), a disciple of Po-to-ba (1031–1105), took interest in his activity, came to his assistance and sent him many of his own disciples.[47]

Rin-chen-ye-shes evaluates Pa-tshab's and Nag-tsho's translations of the RGV positively.[48] gZhon-nu-dpal also mentions Pa-tshab's translation. However, the date and place of the translation are unknown.[49] Pa-tshab may have received teaching relating to the RGV from Sajjana's circle in Kashmir during his sojourn there.[50]

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[46] Gro-lung-pa, *bsTan rim*, 370b7–371a1: *de nyid de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying por bstan pa ni | des na chos sku kun gyis thob rung dang || de bzhin nyid ni tha dad med gnas dang || sangs rgyas rigs la de nyid nyer brtags nas || 'gro kun sangs rgyas snying po can du brjod ||*.

[47] Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 44–45.

[48] Rin-chen-ye-shes, *rGyud bla ma'i 'grel pa mdo dang sbyar ba ngas pa'i don gyi snang ba* (*bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 20, p. 566.4–5): *nag tsho dang pa tshab la sogs pa'i 'gyur gzhan bde ba rnams dang don mthun par byas ste*.

[49] "Pa-tshab's work of translating took place chiefly in Kashmir and in two ancient temples of Lhasa," i.e., the Ra-mo-che Temple and the 'Phrul-snang Temple. See Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 47.

[50] Pa-tshab studied under Sajjana's son Mahājana. See bCom-ldan-ral-gri, *bsTan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od*, Schaeffer & van der Kuijp 2009: 245: *de'i dbon po sad dza na la rngog lo tsha bas slob | de'i sras ma ha dza na la 'phan yul gyi pa tshab nyi ma grags kyis slab pas...*

Example 9

gZhon-nu-dpal quotes Pa-tshab's translation of RGV IV.41ab and compares it with rNgog's:

> Regarding this [line, RGV IV.41ab], Pa-tshab renders it as: "A deaf person cannot hear a subtle sound. However, do not all sounds reach the ear of one with divine ears?[51] Similarly...." This [rendering] is better [than rNgog's]. [The fact that] a deaf person cannot hear a subtle sound is true. But this is not the fault (*nyes pa*) of the sound [but rather of the hearer]. Thus [the sentence in question can be interpreted as follows:] Does not all sounds, both strident and subtle, reach the ears of him who has divine ears? When one purifies one's own sense faculty, one will surely perceive [all] sounds.
> *'dir pa tshab kyis | "ji ltar rna ba dang bral bas || phra mo'i sgra ni mi myong mod || thams cad lha yi rna bar yang || rna lam du ni mi 'gro'am ||" zhes bsgyur ba legs pas ji ltar rna ba dang bral bas phra mo'i sgra ni mi myong ba ni bden mod kyi | de yang sgra'i nyes pa ni ma yin pas sgra rags pa dang phra ba thams cad lha'i rna ba thob pa'i rna ba'i lam du yang mi 'gro'am ci ste | rang gi dbang po gsal na sgra de dmigs pa kho na'o ||* (gZhon-nu-dpal, *rGyud bla me long*, 539.21–22)

The Sanskrit text of RGV IV.41 reads:

> *yathā sūkṣmān śabdān anubhavati na śrotravikalo na divyaśrotre 'pi śravaṇa-patham āyāti*[52] *nikhilam | tathā dharmaḥ sūkṣmaḥ paramanipuṇajñānaviṣayaḥ prayāty ekeṣāṃ tu śravaṇapatham akliṣṭamanasām ||*
>
> (Translation:) "A deaf person cannot hear subtle sound, nor do all [sounds] reach the ear even in the case of the one with divine ears. Similarly, the subtle teaching is the cognitive object of the extremely skilful one [i.e. the Buddha], but it reaches the ear of [even only] some [bodhisattvas among those] whose minds are immaculate."

rNgog's translation and the Chinese translation correspond with the Sanskrit, but Pa-tshab—if we take the particle *'am* as signalling a rhetorical question—seems to wring the opposite meaning out of line 41b: "Does not all sound reach the ear

[51] That is, are not all [sounds] audible to him who has divine ears?
[52] *āyāti* em. (Takasaki 1966: 399), *āyānti* Johnston.

of one with divine ears?" (*thams cad lha yi rna bar yang || rna lam du ni mi 'gro'am*).[53] In gZhon-nu-dpal's view, Pa-tshab's reading makes sense in the present context,[54] but in fact it is hardly acceptable in the face of all other versions.

Example 10

In the next two examples, gZhon-nu-dpal refers to concrete passages in Pa-tshab's and Nag-tsho's translations but without quoting them:

> Regarding this [i.e. rNgog's translation], if one revises [it] to: "through the quality based on the purity of inclination to benefit other people," then [the meaning of the passage] will accord with [that of] the Sanskrit manuscript, Nag-tsho's [translation], and Pa-tshab's [translation].
> *'dir "gzhan la phan par byed pa'i bsam pa rnam par dag pa la yang dag par brten pa'i yon tan nyid kyis" zhes 'gyur bcos na rgya dpe dang | nag tsho dang | pa tshab dang yang mthun te |* (gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.* 192.5–6)

The corresponding phrase of the Sanskrit manuscript (MS.B) reads: *parahitakriyāśayaviśuddheḥ saṃniśrayaguṇenaiva hi*, and Johnston (RGVV 17.1) reasonably proposes an emendation in his footnote (p. 17 n. 1): *parahitakriyāśayaviśuddhisaṃniśrayaguṇenaiva hi*, thereby avoiding the objectionable placement of *eva hi* in the third position of the sentence. gZhon-nu-dpal's revised reading corresponds with Johnston's emendation, and the Sanskrit manuscript (*rgya dpe*) that gZhon-nu-dpal utilized probably read the same.[55]

rNgog, on the other hand, placed punctuation between ˚*viśuddeḥ* and *saṃniśraya*˚ and added a negative prefix to ˚*viśuddheḥ*: "[Paṇḍitas do not pay homage to Śrāvakas] because [the latter's] inclination to benefit other people is not purified

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[53] rNgog's translation:
ji ltar rna ba dang bral bas || phra mo'i sgra ni mi myong zhing ||
thams cad lha yi rna bar yang || rna lam du ni mi 'gro bzhin ||
Pāda b: *mi myong zhing* RGV(tib), *mi myong bzhin* gZhon-nu-dpal 539.17–18.
Pa-tshab's translation:
ji ltar rna ba dang bral bas || phra mo'i sgra ni mi myong mod ||
thams cad lha yi rna bar yang || rna lam du ni mi 'gro'am ||
Chinese translation: T vol.31, 818c7: 聾不聞細聲 天耳聞不遍.

[54] The sense of Pa-tshab's interpretation of verse IV.41 is: A deaf person cannot hear subtle sound; but one with divine ears can perceive all sound. Similarly, the Buddha knows the subtle doctrine. Bodhisattvas can also come to know it in full by purifying their minds.

[55] The compound divides between ˚*viśuddhi*˚ and ˚*saṃniśraya*˚, forming a locative *tatpuruṣa*.

(**parahitakriyāśayāviśuddheḥ*). For it is precisely as a result of the quality based on (**saṃniśrayaguṇenaiva hi*) [their inclination to benefit other people that even novice bodhisattvas are able to surpass Śrāvakas]."[56]

For both semantic and syntactical reasons,[57] the revised reading of gZhon-nu-dpal (and of Johnston) commands assent; and since gZhon-nu-dpal reports that it corresponds with those documented by Nag-tsho and Pa-tshab, we can assume their readings are better than rNgog's in this case.

Example 11

In the next example, gZhon-nu-dpal points out a mistranslation on the part of rNgog:

> In this verse [IV.47b], "peacock" (*rma bya*) is [rNgog's] mistranslation. *Cātaka* [in Tibetan] is *khug rta*. This [correct rendering] occurs frequently in other translations, [including those by Nag-tsho and Pa-tshab] and other treatises. *'dir rma bya zhes 'byung ba ni 'gyur nor ba ste | cātaka zhes pa khug rta yin par 'gyur gzhan dang bstan bcos gzhan mang por 'byung ngo* || (gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.* 542.13–14)

gZhon-nu-dpal emends *rma bya* "peacock" to *khug rta* as an equivalent of *cātaka* "cuckoo." rNgog's translation *rma bya* is obviously wrong, while the correspondence of *cātaka* and *khug rta* is supported by *Mahāvyutpatti* no. 4906 (although *khug rta* normally means "swallow", not "cuckoo"). In Indian classical literature, the cuckoo (*cātaka*) is portrayed as subsisting on raindrops,[58] and this fits in with the simile expressed in the next verse, RGV IV.48: "Towards the end of the summer, when there are no clouds, ... those birds (i.e. *cātaka*) that cannot fly around the sky suffered [from the lack of rain]."[59] Thus "other translations (*'gyur gzhan*)"—one may suppose that Nag-tsho's and Pa-tshab's are meant —yield a better reading.

As witnessed above, gZhon-nu-dpal hardly ever quotes Pa-tshab's translation, and thus we lack sufficient material to judge the quality of it overall. What is

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[56] RGV(tib) 31.6: *gzhan la phan par byed pa'i bsam pa rnam par ma dag pa'i phyir ro || yang dag par brten pa'i yon tan nyid kyis*.
The Sanskrit underlying rNgog's rendering was probably: **parahitakriyāśaya-aviśuddheḥ | saṃniśrayaguṇenaiva hi*.

[57] Cutting *saṃniśrayaguṇa* off from *parahitakriyāśayaviśuddhi* makes the sense of the former too vague.

[58] See, for instance, the Sanskrit-English dictionaries of Monier-Williams and V.S. Apte, each s.v.

[59] RGV IV.48: *grīṣmānte 'mbudhareṣv asatsu* [...] *vyomny apracārāḥ khagā* [...] *duḥkhitāḥ*. Takasaki (1966: 366 and n. 104) (1999: 47 n. 31) takes *cātaka* as meaning "peacock." The Chinese translation renders *cātaka* as 遮多鳥 "the bird called *cāta*[*ka*]" (T vol. 31, 818c21).

known to us so far is very similar to rNgog's translation, and indeed gives the impression of being a revised version of it.[60]

(4) THE TRANSLATION BY MAR-PA DO-PA CHOS-KYI-DBANG-PHYUG

Mar-pa Do-pa Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug (ca. 1042–1136)[61] is said to have translated all Five Treatises of Maitreya. Unfortunately, his translation has not come down to us.[62] He is famous for having transmitted the teaching of the *Cakrasaṃvara* to Tibet. Born in Yar 'brog, he studied under Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po and Go-rub Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba. He visited Nepal and there met Mar-pa Chos-kyi-blo-gros (1012–1097), Mi-la-ras-pa's teacher, who had just returned from India. Chos-kyi-blo-gros advised Mar-pa Do-pa to seek instruction from four disciples of Nāropa in Madhya-deśa. There Mar-pa Do-pa came across a crowd of people waiting for the arrival of Nāropa himself at Tirhut (?). Entering the crowd, he offered a dram of gold to Nāropa, who, taking it in his hand, threw it on the ground, gazed at the offerer with wide-opened eyes, and silently blessed him. At that moment, faith arose in Mar-pa Do-pa's mind.[63] He received much instruction at Magadha and then returned to Nepal, where he received further instruction from Maitrīpa's disciple Vajrapāṇi. Later he transmitted Maitreya's treatises to Nying-phug-pa Chos-kyi-grags-pa (1094–1186).[64] In his last year he gave special instruction on the four-stage *Cakrasaṃvara* practice to Cog-ro Chos-rgyal-ba, and died soon afterwards.[65]

Mar-pa Do-pa collaborated on translations of Indian texts[66] with rNgog and

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[60] Of the passages quoted above, we saw that in two Pa-tshab agrees with Nag-tsho, and in one he agrees with rNgog. See gZhon-nu-dpal, *rGyud bla me long*, 415.26–416.1.

[61] On the dating of his lifetime, see Kawagoe 1985. gZhon-nu-dpal sketched his life. See Roerich 1949/53: 383–385; *Deb sngon*, 464–466. See also Kragh 2010: 212 n. 45 and 215 n. 51.

[62] The *'Bras spungs dkar chag* mentions the Tibetan manuscript of a RGV commentary by one Mar pa (see *'Bras spungs dkar chag*, p. 1411: *rGyud bla'i bsdus don*, 31 folios; *'di mar pa lo tsā ba'i yin nam brtag*).

[63] gZhon-nu-dpal, *Deb sngon*, 465 (Roerich 1949/53: 384): *de nas ti ra hu tir phebs dus mi mang po 'du zhing 'dug pa ci yin dris pas | nā ro pa phebs pa la blta ba yin zer | der khrom gseb tu phyin nas nā ro pa'i drung du sleb tsa na | gser zho gang phul bas | lan gcig phyag tu bzhes nas sa la bskyur | spyan cher ba cig gzigs byung | gsung ni ci yang ma byung ste byin gyis brlabs par nges shes skyes |*.

[64] Roerich 1949/53: 1009.

[65] Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, *Zab khrid yi ge*, 333–335. Cf. Stearns 2001: 15.

[66] The *Śrīcakrasaṃvarastotra* (D 1532; P 2241), translated by Mar-pa Do-pa and Mahājana; the *Bhagavadāryamañjuśrīsādhiṣṭhānastuti* (D 2710; P 3534), translated by Mar-pa Do-pa, rNgog

Sajjana's son Mahājana. It was probably from the circle of Sajjana's or Maitrīpa's disciples that he received teaching relating to the RGV, before passing it on to Nying-phug-pa Chos-kyi-grags-pa.

It is remarkable that the Tibetan translation of RGV V.18 quoted in Prajñākaramati's *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā,* which translation was revised by Mar-pa Do-pa, is exactly the same as rNgog's.[67] If this is not a coincidence, it suggests that Mar-pa Do-pa made use of rNgog's translation of the RGV to revise the translation of the *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, and that his lost translation of the RGV may have simply been a revised version of rNgog's.

(5) The Translation by Jo-nang Lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros-dpal

Jo-nang Lo-tsā-ba, alias Blo-gros-dpal (1299–1353 or 1300–1364),[68] was one of the thirteen major disciples of Dol-po-pa. His life is sketched by Ngag-dbang Blo-gros-grags-pa (1920–1975) in his *Jo nang chos 'byung* as follows: Born in 1299 in Amdo, he came to central Tibet (*dbus gtsang*) to take part in an examination round at the monastic colleges (*grwa skor*) before the age of 15. At the age of 25, he began studying [Sanskrit] grammar (*brda rig*) under dPang Lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros-brtan-pa (1276–1342), at Brag-ram. Hearing of the reputation of the omniscient Dol-po-pa from dPang-lo, Blo-gros-dpal left for Jo-nang, where he received from Dol-po-pa teachings on all Indian scriptures and commentaries that had been translated thus far. In his 41st year, he was made the abbot (*gdan sa*) of Jo-nang monastery. He passed away in 1353.[69]

Blo-ldan-shes-rab, and Sumatikīrti; and the *Putralekha* (D 4187; P 5687), translated by Mar-pa Do-pa and Mahājana.

[67] *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, D 3872, 219b1–2.

[68] Ngag-dbang Blo-gros-grags-pa states: *kun mkhyen jo nang pa chen po'i thugs sras mchog gyur jo nang lo tsā ba zhes grags pa ste mtshan dngos skad gnyis legs smra rje blo gros dpal dang* (Ngag-dbang Blo-gros-grags-pa, *Jo nang chos 'byung*, 231). Ngag-dbang Blo-gros-grags-pa places Blo-gros-dpal's lifetime between 1299 and 1353 (see the following footnote); dGe-ye Tshul-khrims-seng-ge, between 1300 and 1364: *jo nang lo tsha blo gros dpal | lcags pho byi ba* (=1300) *la 'khrungs | so lnga la dus 'khor bsgyur | re lnga la thegs* (dGe-ye Tshul-khrims-seng-ge, *rGya bod chos 'byung*, 40a1. *re lnga* is emended to *nga lnga* in the text published by Otani University); and Stearns (2010: 324 n 88, etc.) for his part—based on rGyal-ba Jo-bzang-dpal-bzang-po's and Ngag-dbang Blo-gros-grags-pa's accounts—between 1299 and 1354. For further information on Blo-gros-dpal, see Verhagen 1994: 143–144 and Stearns 2010: 324 n 88.

[69] *gnyis pa sgrib sel sprul pa lo tsā ba blo gros dpal* (*spyi lo* 1299 | *rab lo* 5.33) *sa mo phag lor mdo smad du 'khrungs | dgung lo lnga'i bar ma'i nu zho ma gsol maṇi dang chos sgra mang po rang shes kyis*

Blo-gros-dpal flourished as a translator in Jo-nang. In 1334, for instance, at Dol-po-pa's behest, he revised the translation of the *Kālacakra Tantra*[70] in collaboration with Sa-bzang Mati-paṇ-chen 'Jam-dbyangs Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1294–1376),[71] who was another of Dol-po-pa's disciples active at Jo-nang as a translator.

According to gZhon-nu-dpal, Blo-gros-dpal translated the verse text of the RGV, which does not seem to have come down to us, but had survived at least up

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gsungs | lo bcu lnga man la phar tshad mngon 'dul sogs la mkhas pa'i grags pa thob pas dbus gtsang du grwa skor mdzad | nyer lnga la brag ram du dpang lo la brda rig sogs gsan | des kun mkhyen chen po mtshan snyan gsung ba la brten jo nang du chos rje'i drung nas bod du 'gyur tshad kyi bka' 'grel zhus mthar dgung lo zhe gcig skabs jo nang gi gdan sar bskos te 'phrin las dar zhing rgyas | gsung chos bka' 'grel | ngo sprod | 'phreng ba'i thig skor | rtsis sogs mang | dgung lo nga lnga (*spyi lo* 1353 | *rab lo* 6.27) *cho sbrul lo'i rgyal zla'i tshes brgyad la ngo mtshar ltas bcas zhi bar gshegs so* || (Ngag-dbang Blo-gros-grags-pa, *Jo nang chos 'byung*, 33)

70 Roerich 1949/53: 776, 837; Stearns 1996: 137 n. 36 and 2010: 24–25. Cf. "dPang's two students who has *blo gros* in their names" (*Deb sngon* 978: *dpang gi slob ma blo gros rnam gnyis*) refers to Blo-gros-dpal and Sa-bzang Mati-paṇ-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan.

71 Ngag-dbang Blo-gros-grags-pa sketches Sa-bzang Mati's life in the *Jo nang chos 'byung* as follows: Born in 1294 in mNga'-ris, in his childhood Sa-bzang Mati recited the Five Treatises of Maitreya by heart (*kha ton*). He took ordination at Zhwa-lu in 1318, and hearing there of the reputation of the omniscient Dol-po-pa, he proceeded to Jo-nang, requested and received the entire teaching under Dol-po-pa, and became his best disciple. He also studied under Kun-spangs-chos-grags (1283–1363) and dPang Lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros-brtan-pa (1276–1342), and preached many teachings at his temple, Sa-bzang dGa'-ldan-dgon, which had been given to him by Zla-ba-rgyal-mtshan. He founded the great *stūpa* of Jo-nang at Byams-gling with the help of the governor of Dol-pa (?). In 1376 he passed away at age 83.
gsum pa byams pa'i sprul pa sa bzang mati paṇ chen (*spyi lo* 1294 | *rab lo* 5.28) *shing pho rta la mnga' ris su 'khrungs | btsas ma thag gom gsum bzhengs nas byams pa'i sprul pa'i 'gro don mdzad tshul gyi tshigs bcad gsung | dgung lo bzhi nas byams pa'i chos lnga kha ton mdzad | lo bcu lnga skor nas mkhas pa'i grags pa chen po thob cing dbang lung man ngag mang po gsan | lo nyer lngar zhwa lur byon nas mkhan chen drung nas bsnyen rdzogs mdzad | der dbyar chos mkha' 'gro rgya mtsho'i rgyud gsungs pa'i chos grwar kun mkhyen chen po'i rnam thar gsan pas dad pas dbang med du jo nang la byon te chos rje nyid la mnga' ba'i chos yongs rdzogs zhus te kun la mkhas pa'i thugs sras mchog tu gyur | gzhan kun spangs chos grags dpal dang lo tsā blo brtan gnyis la'ang chos bka' rig gnas mang po zhus | bla ma zla ba rgyal mtshan gyis sa bzang dga' ldan dgon gzhi rten bcas phul nas der chos mang gsungs | byams gling du sde pa dol pa bskul nas jo nang dpal gyi mchod rten tshad ldan bzhengs | gsung chos | sgra ṭīka | spyod 'grel | blang dor rab gsal | rtsis thig rtsa sogs mang | dgung lo gya gsum (spyi lo 1376 | rab lo 6.50) me 'brug lo'i tha skar zla ba'i tshes bcu lnga la ngo mtshar du ma bcas sku gshegs so* || (Ngag-dbang Blo-gros-grags-pa, *Jo nang chos 'byung*, 33).
Cf. Klu-grub-rgya-mtsho, *bsTan rtsis*, 303: *lo chen 'di* (= *dpang lo tsā ba blo gros brtan pa*) *la ni* [...] *bu dol lo tsā ba ma ti* (= *sa bzang mati*) *rnam gnyis* [...] *sogs mang du byung zhing* |.
Ibid. 304*: sa bzang ma ti paṇ chen gyis ni ka lā pa'i 'grel pa shin tu rgyas par mdzad cing | rang gi slob ma sa bzang 'phags pa dang | lo tsā ba dpal ldan smra ba'i seng ge sogs la gsungs shing | 'phags pas rdo rje 'chang kun dga' bzang po la yang sgra snyan ngag legs par gsungs so* ||.
See also Roerich 1949/53: 776 and 1045.

until the time of Sa-bzang Mati; for Sa-bzang Mati, after explaining the colophon of rNgog's translation in his RGV commentary, states that the "monk Blo-gros" (*btsun pa blo gros*) revised the translation based on a Sanskrit manuscript. This "monk Blo-gros" may well have been Jo-nang Lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros-dpal:

> [After the colophon of rNgog's translation, the following passage is added in the text:] "Again, comparing it carefully with an Indic manuscript, the monk Blo-gros, who harbours special devotion to this extremely profound text (i.e. the RGV), slightly revised it [so as to] make it correct to a high degree." I (i.e. Sa-bzang Mati) also slightly revised [rNgog's translation so as to make] it correct to a high degree, [all the while] referring to an Indic manuscript [and] motivated by a great devotion toward the extremely profound text (i.e. the RGV).
> *"slar yang mchog tu zab pa'i gzhung 'di la || lhag par mos pa'i btsun pa blo gros kyis || 'phags pa'i yul gyi dpe la legs gtugs nas || cung zad bcos shing shin tu dag par bgyis ||" zhes kyang bya ste | bdag gis kyang mchog tu zab pa'i tshul la lhag par mos pa'i dbang gis rgya gar 'phags pa'i yul gyi dpe la gtugs te | cung zad bcos shing shin tu dag par bgyis pa'o* || (Sa-bzang Mati, *rGyud bla rab gsal*, 515.5–516.1)

Example 12

Surprisingly, Sa-bzang Mati states here that he himself revised the text based on a Sanskrit manuscript,[72] but then he also utilized a Sanskrit manuscript to revise rNgog's translation of RGV I.27 and I.132 in his own RGV commentary:

> With regard to how the *dharmadhātu* completely pervades everything, it is also stated in an Indic manuscript (*rgya gar gyi dpe 'ga' zhig*): "Given that the Buddha's wisdom abides in [all] kinds of sentient beings (*sattvarāśi*), that [what is] naturally immaculate [i.e. the *tathatā*] is non-dual, and that the fruit [of awakening] is enjoyed (*nyer spyod*) in the Buddha's *gotra*, it is taught that all beings have Buddha-nature." (RGV I.28)
> *chos kyi dbyings kun la khyab tshul ni | "sangs rgyas ye shes sems can tshogs zhugs phyir || rang bzhin dri med de ni gnyis med phyir || sangs rgyas rigs la de 'bras nyer spyod phyir || 'gro kun sangs rgyas snying po can du gsungs ||" zhes pa'ang rgya gar gyi dpe 'ga' zhig la yod pas* [...] (Sa-bzang Mati, *rGyud bla rab gsal*, 128.2–3)

[72] He also revised the *Kātantra*, an Indian grammatical text, as he states in the colophon of his *sGra'i bstan bcos ka lā pa'i mdo'i rnam bshad legs sbyar rab gsal snang ba*. See Verhagen 2001: 93.

Regarding the word *upacāra* in I.28c, Sa-bzang Mati changes rNgog's correct translation "metaphorically applied" (*nyer brtag*), to "enjoyed/offered" (*nyer spyod*). *Nyer spyod*, normally used as the Tibetan equivalent of *upabhoga*, is out of place in the present context.[73] Nevertheless, Sa-bzang Mati deliberately changes the meaning of the term in order to make the verse conform to his own philosophical position, namely that the Buddha's *gotra*, endowed with all the qualities of the Buddha, actually (not "metaphorically"), takes in every sentient being.[74]

Example 13

The next example is Sa-bzang Mati's revision of RGV I.132:

> [...] as it is taught: "These nine defilements, such as greed, are, in sum, taught, step by step, by way of the nine similes—the inner part of a lotus and so forth" (RGV I.132). There are many explanations in which this verse is taken to be a part of [Maitreya's] basic text. It [is] obvious, however, that it is commentary on [verse I.131ab:] "The nine stains are taught by way of the [nine] similes, such as the inner part of a lotus"—for the following [two] reasons: this [verse (I.132)] has been [unnaturally] inserted [into the middle of the running text], where the commentary on the previous verse [I.131] has not yet ended; and it does not occur as a verse in the Indic manuscript (*rgya dpe*).
> *"chags sogs nyon mongs dgu po 'di || mdor bsdus nas ni go rim bzhin || padma'i sbubs la sogs pa yi | dpe dgu dag gis yang dag bstan ||" zhes gsungs pa ltar ro || tshigs su bcad pa 'di rtsa bar byas nas 'chad pa shin tu mang mod kyi | tshigs bcad snga ma'i 'grel pa ma rdzogs par bkod pa'i phyir dang | rtsa ba* (read *bar*) *rgya dpe la med pa'i phyir | "dri ma rnam dgu padma yi | sbubs sogs dpe yis rab bstan to ||" zhes pa'i 'grel pa yin par gsal lo ||* (Sa-bzang Mati, *rGyud bla rab gsal*, 236.4–6)

Sa-bzang Mati notes that the sentence in question is contained in a prose section in the Sanskrit manuscript, and his argument is reasonable. As we saw above, gZhon-nu-dpal points out the same problem.[75]

The teaching of the RGV is significant for followers of Dol-po-pa, and this is probably the reason why his disciples endeavoured to revise rNgog's standard translation of the RGV on the basis of Sanskrit manuscript(s).

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[73] Mvy no. 7368.
[74] Mathes 2002: 86–87 and Mathes 2008: 90.
[75] gZhon-nu-dpal, *rGyud bla me long*, 415.26–416.1.

(6) The Translation by Yar-klungs Lo-tsā-ba

According to gZhon-nu-dpal, a certain "Yar-klungs Lo-tsā-ba" also translated the RGV; he is possibly Yar-klungs Lo-tsā-ba (or Yar-lungs-pa) Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1242–1346), who is said to have lived more than one hundred years.[76] I have not found any accounts relating to his translation of the RGV beyond those by gZhon-nu-dpal, but he presumably received a Sanskrit manuscript of the RGV at Sa-skya or in Nepal, where he was active. bTsan Kha-bo-che, who received instruction relating to the RGV from the Kashmiri Sajjana, was also called a *yar lung* [= *klungs*] *pa*,[77] but he was not known as a translator (*lo tsā ba*).[78]

Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan translated various works, including tantric commentaries, the Sanskrit lexicon *Amarakośa* and philosophical texts, in collaboration with Dharmadhara, Kīrticandra, or Sarvajñarakṣita at Sa-skya (D 2133, 2134, 4750), in Nepal (D 2531, 4153, 4299), and in Mang-yul Gung-thang (P 5805). He carried out the translation of Kuladatta's *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* in either 1280 or 1292 (a rabbit year, *yos lo*) at the request of his teacher Shes-rab-seng-ge (1251–1315, who invited him to visit after 1281).[79] He gave what may have been Tantric instruction to Nye-mdo Kun-dga'-don-'grub (1258–1316) sometime between 1298 and 1300[80]; to Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan (1283–1359); and (in 1300) to lHa Blo-gros-'od (1285–1350).[81] The sixth abbot of g.Ya'-bzang monastery, bKra-shis-'od (1323–1350), was his disciple.[82]

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[76] Concerning his life, see dNgos-grub-rgya-mtsho's *Tha snyad rig gnas lnga ji ltar byung ba'i tshul gsal bar byed pa blo gsal mgrin rgyan legs bshad nor bu'i phreng ba*, contained in Nor-brang-o-rgyan's *bsTan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed | tha snyad rig gnas lnga'i byung tshul blo gsal mgrin rgyan* (pp. 306–308); Verhagen 2001: 412. Cf. also van der Kuijp 2009: 21ff.

[77] See Shākya-mchog-ldan, *dBu ma'i 'byung tshul*, vol. 4, 240.2-3: *yang yar lung pa btsan kha bo cher grags pas |*.

[78] gZhon-nu-dpal himself cannot have had bTsan Kha-bo-che in mind here, for, in the same context on the transmission of the RGV he obviously distinguishes bTsan from Yar-klung Lo-tsā-ba; there is no appropriate reason why he should suddenly have shifted to calling bTsan by the name Yar-klung Lo-tsā-ba in this context. Cf. *Deb sngon*, 422–425.

[79] D 2531, Ku, 362a7, P 3354, Shi, 420a5 and Roerich 1949/53: 791.

[80] *Deb sngon*, 1221: *man lung pas yar klungs lo tsā ba grags pa rgyal mtshan la gnang | des snye mdo ba kun dga' don grub la gnang*.

[81] Roerich 1949/53: 411 and 281.

[82] *Deb sngon*, 772: *de rjes gdung brgyud pa bkra shis 'od kyis chu mo phag nas lcags pho stag gi bar lo nyi shu rtsa brgyad gdan sa mdzad | 'di lo tsā ba grags pa rgyal mtshan gyi yang slob ma yin.*

HOW DID TIBETANS STUDY THE SANSKRIT TEXT OF THE RATNAGOTRAVIBHĀGA? —Tibetan Remarks Found in a *Ratnagotravibhāga* Sanskrit Manuscript—

gZhon-nu-dpal's reference to the six Tibetan translations of the RGV sparked an investigation in this chapter of surviving fragments of them aimed at ascertaining and assessing the diversity of renderings. We cannot confirm at the moment whether all six are based on a single Sanskrit manuscript or on different ones. It has yet to be clarified, therefore, how the six relate to known Sanskrit manuscripts of the RGV preserved in Tibet (see chapter 1). I shall point out here an example of documentary evidence of how Tibetans studied the Sanskrit manuscripts of the RGV.

One Sanskrit manuscript (Ms. B, possibly from 12th-century Nepal, once preserved at Zhwa lu Ri phug)[83] has marginal remarks not only in Sanskrit but also in Tibetan (in *dbu med* script).[84] The Tibetan remarks take note of misplacements, omissions, and additions of words in the manuscript. For instance, a remark found in the lower margin of fol. 46r points out the omission of verses III.14a to IV.9b, while one in fol. 48r refers to the restoration of the verses dropped out.[85]

[Fol. 46r lower margin:] ***'khrul dang ca co bsnyel dang thugs g.yo*** (= RGV III.14a) *zhes pa nas* | ***rgya mtsho bzhin*** || ***sem can kun nyer 'tsho'i phyir*** || ***tshogs gnyis dag ni nyi ma bzhin*** || (= RGV

[83] Ms. B (55 fols, last folio is missing) is one of the primal witnesses for the Sanskrit text of the RGV edited by Johnston. This was photographed at Zhwa lu Ri phug by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana and by Giusseppe Tucci in 1930s. Copies of the photos are preserved at Göttingen (with shelf-mark Xc14/1b) and at Roma (IsIAO MT 50, 51), respectively.

[84] For instance, see RGV Ms. B, fol. 1r: title in Tibetan "*theg pa cen* [= *chen*] *po rgyud bla ma'i 'grel pa ste* | *ma hā yā na ///* (Ms. broken)", fol. 9v: upper margin in Skt., lower margin in Tib. (which points out the omission of text in fol. 9v5 (from *°pariśuddhasya cittasyo°* to *°paryantagatayā loko°* [= RGVV 15.6–11]; this omitted text is supplied in the upper margin of the same folio); fol. 22r: lower margin in Tib., lower margin in Skt.; fol. 28r: lower margin in Skt., lower margin in Tib.; fol. 45r: lower margin in Skt.; fol. 46r: lower margin in Tib.; fol. 48r: lower margin in Tib.

[85] Johnston (1950: 161 n. 2) points out the misplacement in Ms. B ("B goes on from *citta* to iv, 9, and the text resumes in 48*a*, line 4. Evidently one or more leaves were displaced in the MS. from which B was copied."), but is silent about the Tibetan remark.

IV.9bcd) *zhes par* + + + (three syllables illegible) *te mang po chad gda'o* ||
(Cf. rNgog's translation: *'khrul dang ca co bsnyel dang thugs g.yo tha dad kyi ni 'du shes dang* || ... *rgya mtsho bzhin* || *sems can thams cad nyer 'tsho'i phyir* || *tshogs gnyis dag ni nyi ma bzhin* ||)

[Fol. 48r lower margin:] *sngar mang po chad pa te 'dir* ***'thug*** (= RGV III.14a: *thugs*) *nas bklags gda'o* | (This remark points out that the text in fol. 48r4ff. supplies the omitted words in fol. 46r6 beginning with *citte°*, which is rendered as *thugs*).

It is noteworthy that these remarks contain Tibetan translations of RGV III.14a and IV.9bcd; both are basically the same as rNgog's. The scribe of the remarks was thus very likely someone who knew rNgog's translation.[86] If he indeed made use of words from the translation in order to identify the passage, this would suggest that the translation was already out and widely available.

A Summary and Further Considerations

The RGV was first translated by Atiśa and Nag-tsho probably sometime between 1047 and 1054 in Tibet, and then by Sajjana and rNgog sometime between 1076 and 1092 in Kashmir. Atiśa received the text of the RGV from Maitrīpa, while Sajjana received it from Maitrīpa's disciple *Ānandakīrti. Thus all transmissions in Tibet go back to Maitrīpa, as was the case in India, given that Maitrīpa's rediscovery story has a basis in historical fact.

Pa-tshab translated or revised the text in the late 11th century. In the early 12th century, Mar-pa Do-pa also translated it and offered instruction based on it to his disciple Nying-phug-pa Chos-kyi-grags-pa. It is remarkable that a total of four Tibetan translations were in existence by the early 12th century, within one century

[86] It is possible, of course, that someone else's translation fortuitously has the same wording as rNgog's for these particular verses.

after Maitrīpa's rediscovery (or, if the story is not to be taken seriously, the resurfacing of the RGV). This reflects just how fast the RGV spread and how widely it was accepted.

In the first half of the 14th century, Jo-nang Lo-tsā-ba translated the RGV (or more likely revised rNgog's translation of the verse text), checking it against a Sanskrit manuscript. Sa-bzang Mati also revised the text. The still later translation done by Yar-lung Lo-tsā-ba remains, unfortunately, unknown. Later, gZhon-nu-dpal also endeavoured to revise rNgog's translation. We learn from examples 5, 7, and 10 (see above, pp. 160, 162, and 169) that gZhon-nu-dpal had direct access to Sanskrit manuscript(s) of the RGV. The Sanskrit manuscript(s) utilzed by him might have been transmitted to Zhwa-lu Lo-tsā-ba Chos-skyong-bzang-po (1441–1528), who had, according to his biography (see van der Kuijp 2009: 42), three Sanskrit manuscript of the RGV in his private Sanskrit manuscript collection. A Sanskrit manuscript of Sthiramati's *Tattvārthā* is also said to have been transmitted from gZhon-nu-dpal to Zhwa-lu Lo-tsā-ba. The relation between these RGV Sanskrit manuscripts utilzed by Lo-tsā-bas and those extant to date (see above, Chapter 1, p. 17) is yet to be clarified.

Among the six translations, rNgog's translation became the standard. In this regard, gZhon-nu-dpal reports that Sha-ra-ba Yon-tan-grags (1070–1141)—in the third generation of Atiśa's lineage—is said to have at first used Atiśa's translation of the RGV, but in the end switched to rNgog's (*rngog 'gyur*). This may be taken as an indication of the higher quality of the latter and/or of the spread of rNgog's RGV commentary (which is based on his own RGV translation) among Sha-ra-ba's disciples (the correspondence of words in the basic text and those in its commentary is crucial for learners). If this is the case, rNgog's contribution to establishing an instructional tradition through his translating and composing activities was beginning to bear fruit already by the early 12th century.

> It seems that the Great [Master] Shar-ra-ba-pa gave his explanation [of the text] based on this translation (i.e. Atiśa and Nag-tsho's Tibetan translation of the RGV). Later, since most students preferred rNgog's translation, he twice gave explanations [based] on rNgog's translation.
> *'gyur de la brten nas sha ra ba pa chen pos bshad pa mdzad snang ste phyis slob ma phal cher rngog 'gyur la dga' ba'i dbang du mdzad nas rngog gi 'gyur la bshad pa tshar gnyis su mdzad do* || (gZhon-nu-dpal, *rGyud bla me long*, 4.21–22)

This account bears witness to an original distinction between the instructional program of the bKa' gdams (i.e. Atiśa's) tradition and that of gSang phu (i.e. rNgog's), and the former's eventual integration of the latter.

Conclusion to Chapters 1–6

Although we can trace the impact of the RGV in Indian compositions to as far back as sometime before the 7th century and again from sometime after the 11th century, we know little about the state of the teaching transmission of the RGV between the 8th and 10th centuries.

The Resurrection of the RGV and its Transmission in Eastern India

According to Tibetan tradition, the transmission at some point got cut off, but it started up again with Maitrīpa's rediscovery of a manuscript of it in a stūpa at the beginning of the 11th century. Having received instruction on the RGV from Maitreya in a dream (according to sMon-lam-tshul-khrims's account), Maitrīpa— if we follow the Tibetan tradition—spread the teaching to the masters of Vikramaśīla, including his teacher Jñānaśrīmitra and other contemporaries, such as Prajñākaramati.

Although Maitrīpa's rediscovery story contains some doubtful points (see Chapter 2, pp. 51–52), its date corresponds to the period when the RGV's resurrection in India begins to be attested among works of Maitrīpa and his teachers. This chronological overlap makes one hesitate to take this legendary story as a complete fiction. It is thus difficult to draw an explicit borderline between supposed fictional parts and authentic parts of the story, and in any case the intention behind the story is clear: it is to justify the RGV's authority as a scripture that goes back to Maitreya and to validate Maitrīpa as a bona fide recipient of instruction on the text.

Maitrīpa, in his *Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivaraṇa*, quotes RGV II.61 and discusses the two *kāya*s from a Nirākāravāda viewpoint. His disciple Rāmapāla continues the same discussion in more detail.

In the *Sākārasiddhi*, Jñānaśrīmitra repeatedly quotes the RGV and discusses the *saṃbhogakāya* and *dharmakāya*, thereby refuting the Nirākāravāda position similar to one introduced by Maitrīpa, according to which the *rūpakāya* is produced from the *dharmakāya* (the expressions used being *tadutpatti* in the *Sākārasiddhi* [2] and *tadudbhava* in the *Pañcatathāgata* 46.19). Jñānaśrīmitra's identification of Buddha-nature with emptiness is noteworthy in the context of the Tibetan approaches to the former: Jñānaśrīmitra associates both Buddha-nature and emptiness with the quality of an *ākāra* (an image in the mind) and thereby equates Buddha-nature

with emptiness, and this is similar to rNgog's interpretation that defines the *dhātu* (i.e. Buddha-nature) as a mental continuum which is characterized by emptiness.[1] Yamāri summarizes a long passage of Jñānaśrīmitra's that makes reference to *Madhyāntavibhāga* I.1–2, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* XI.15–23, *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* V.20–21, and RGV I.154.

Ratnākaraśānti (the author of the *Muktāvalī*, *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa* etc.) interprets the Buddha-nature doctrine as being compatible with the Yogācāra doctrine of *yānatraya/gotrabheda*. The author of the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* (attributed to Ratnākaraśānti), by contrast, follows Kamalaśīla in unreservedly accepting that the Buddha-nature doctrine of the RGV implies the *ekayāna* theory. Atiśa and Abhayākaragupta represent similarly opposing views across time.

Prajñākaramati quotes RGV V.18 when commenting *Bodhicaryāvatāra* IX.43; Vairocanarakṣita (of Vikramaśīla) quotes the same verse. This Vairocanarakṣita (or a namesake) composed glosses on the RGV entitled *Mahāyānottaratantraṭippaṇī*.

Atiśa, according to gZhon-nu-dpal, received the basic text of the RGV and its commentary from Maitrīpa. He quotes RGV I.86 together with the *Dharmadhātustava* in his *Dharmadhātudarśanagīti*, while in his *Bodhipathapradīpa* commentary he takes the Buddha-nature doctrine as conforming to the teaching of the Great Madhyamaka (*dbu ma chen po*). In collaboration with Nag-tsho he made the earliest translation of the RGV into Tibetan, fragments of which are extant (see Chapter 6).

We can further trace the continuity of the teaching transmission of the RGV within the circle of masters of Vikramaśīla from the last half of the 11th century onward:

Abhayākaragupta, who is said to be three generations later within Maitrīpa's line, quotes the RGV frequently, and considers Buddha-nature to be synonymous with *niḥsvabhāva*. His discussion of the seven *vajrapada*s parallels that of rNgog's, while his arguments relating to the three modes of *tathatā* and his identification of *hetutantra* with Buddha-nature influenced Daśabalaśrīmitra and Ratnarakṣita respectively.

During the final phase of Vikramaśīla, the transmission of the RGV was still continuing: Vibhūticandra, Zhi-ba-'byung-gnas, and Ratnarakṣita all quote RGV I.153 as pointing up the importance of devotion (*śraddhā*).

The Transmission into Kashmir

Meanwhile the teaching transmission of the RGV had long since spread to Kashmir. Maitrīpa is said to have passed the RGV on to *Ānandakīrti, who in turn bore

[1] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 3b3; B 5b3: *'di ltar stong pa nyid kyi rang bzhin du gyur pa'i sems kyi rgyud ni khams yin no* ||. See also Kano 2010b: 271 n. 70 and 2014a: 224–225.

the teaching to Kashmir, where he taught it to Sajjana. Sajjana spread it further by giving copies of the text to the Kashmiri Jñānaśrībhadra and others, and also played a significant role in transmitting it to Tibet, through his Tibetan disciples, such as rNgog and bTsan Kha-bo-che. Sajjana and rNgog collaborated in translating the RGV into Tibetan. This second Tibetan translation is included in the Tanjur, and is considered the standard one.

Sajjana composed extended verse instruction on the RGV in a text entitled *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa*, an essential work which systematizes the soteriological stages on the basis of the RGV (see below Chapter 8, pp. 217–228). This work is cited in his disciple's (anonymous) RGV commentary, *Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya*, which is fragmentarily preserved in a set of proto-Śāradā palm leaves. Sajjana's son Mahājana in his *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayārthaparijñāna* cites RGV I.68 in support of his unique soteriological interpretation of a phrase (*gate gate pāragate*) in the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya*. Amṛtākara, who is very likely a Kashmiri contemporary of Sajjana or Mahājana, cites RGV I.69–78 in support of the ten-stage doctrine in his *Catuḥstavasamāsārtha*, whose first folio was recently identified in the same set of proto-Śāradā leaves. Sajjana, Mahājana, and Amṛtākara introduce the idea of the gradual path of ten stages into scriptures that do not explicitly teach the path.

Jayānanda of Kashmir composed in Tangut (Mi nyag) a *Madhyamakāvatāra* commentary, wherein he quotes the RGV. He equates Buddha-nature with emptiness and links it with the single-vehicle theory, but like Candrakīrti, he takes Buddha-nature to be a provisional teaching meant to attract non-Buddhists. Jayānanda's long discussion on the establishment of the single-vehicle doctrine (in his commentary on *Madhyamakāvatāra* XII.38) parallels a similar one in Abhayākaragupta's *Munimatālaṃkāra*, passages from which Jayānanda can be seen to have used as his source.

All the foregoing represents how the RGV was transmitted and the Buddha-nature doctrine was understood in eastern India and Kashmir from the 11th to the 13th century. In trying to clarify individuals' views of Buddha-nature, I must confess one methodological problem I often faced: an inclination to link automatically an author's understanding of Buddha-nature with his understanding of the RGV, even when the two contexts are only distantly related. It may well be that any given understanding of the Buddha-nature doctrine is not directly reflected in that of the RGV. Further clarification of this point remains as a task for the future.

Citations of the Ratnagotravibhāga Classified into Three Types

Roughly speaking, we can classify citations of the RGV in the above-mentioned

works in Chapters 2–5 under three categories:

(Type I) Citations of the RGV in support of the authors' own claims;
(Type II) Citations of the RGV in support of passages in predecessors' works that are being referred to;
(Type III) Citations (or summaries or copies) of passages from predecessors' works that contain RGV citations.

Type I examples can be found in all periods; type II citations are often seen in Abhayākaragupta's works; passages illustrative of type III tend to increase in later works. Regarding type III, Rāmapāla, for instance, makes use of a passage from Maitrīpa, Yamāri summarizes passages from Jñānaśrīmitra, and Daśabalaśrīmitra and Jayānanda copy passages from Abhayākaragupta. In passages of type III, we can see different degrees of modification to the original reading (that is, it is not always a faithful copy of the predecessor's wording). Among these three types, passages of types I and II largely bear witness to authors' firm knowledge of the RGV; this is much less the case in those of type III, and they can generally serve only as secondary witnesses for tracing the RGV's transmission.

Who Cited the RGV for the First Time after the Break in its Transmission?

I shall now briefly consider the question of who first cited the RGV in the period under consideration here. We can exclude passages of type III, for they—as far as I can tell—occur in passages that post-date the 11th century. If Maitrīpa's rediscovery story was a historical fact, as Tibetans state, Maitrīpa is the most probable candidate for being the first to have utilized the RGV after its rediscovery. Regardless of whether or not we believe the story, however, his *Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivaraṇa* is not necessarily the text that first cited the RGV in this period. There are some doubtful points in this work: the citation clearly premises the spread of the RGV within certain circles and to a point where Nirākāravādins' claims that the *rūpakāya* stems from the *dharmakāya* were being discussed. Another early work that cites the RGV is Jñānaśrīmitra's *Sākārasiddhi*, which quotes it in support of the Sākāravāda doctrine. I have not found any witness that could serve as a basis for judging which of these two works is the earlier (the two do, to be sure, share some thematic links), and thus we must make do for the time being with merely pointing out that both Maitrīpa's *Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivaraṇa* and Jñānaśrīmitra's *Sākārasiddhi* are two of the earliest works (even if neither is the earliest

work) to cite the RGV in this period.

The Transmission of the RGV from India to Tibet

We cannot entirely clarify the teaching transmission of the RGV in India on the basis of the limited material (and can only hope to find more such material in the future). Nevertheless, we can identify significant portions of it by carefully analyzing Tibetan historical accounts and by tracing quotations from the RGV in the works of Indian authors. We may conclude that the teaching relating to the RGV was transmitted from Vikramaśīla to Tibet through Atiśa, and from Kashmir to Tibet through Sajjana, rNgog, and others. Additionally, it is quite likely that Maitrīpa's own disciples transmitted the text of the RGV to Tibetan adherents of Mahāmudrā.[2]

Atiśa is said to have given a lecture on the RGV in Yar-klungs and translated the RGV in collaboration with Nag-tsho in sTag-rtse-rdzong sometime between ca. 1047 and 1054, while rNgog translated the RGV in collaboration with Sajjana in Kashmir sometime between ca. 1076 and 1092. In addition to these two translations, according to gZhon-nu-dpal, there were a further four translations of the RGV up to the 14th century. This bespeaks a great interest in the text among Tibetan Buddhists during this period.[3] That rNgog's translation, the only one to have so far survived, was the one preferred already in the 12th century is suggested by the episode of Sha-ra-ba's lecture in which Atiśa's translation was replaced by rNgog's at the request of Sha-ra-ba's students. In general, rNgog's impact on the RGV tradition in Tibet is significant,[4] and luckily enough, his Tibetan commentary on the RGV is available, while a brief instructional work by his teacher Sajjana also survives in the Sanskrit original. We shall go into details of these works in Chapters 8 and 9.

By way of a summary, I provide here a register of quotations from the RGV found in Indian works. The authors are arranged approximately in chronological order.[5]

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2 See Mathes 2008: 32–45.

3 Chapter 6 and Kano 2010b: 251–252 n. 7.

4 This does not mean that other transmission lines, including bTsan's tradition, are insignificant. They too, from a certain perspective, may be regarded as mainstream lines of the RGV tradition.

5 Quotations from the RGV in other Indian works to which I have not referred here will be the subject of a future study.

[Table: Quotations from the RGV in Indian Works]

Author	Quoted verses/passages of the RGV/RGVV (abbr. Vy)	**Texts**
Jñānaśrīmitra		*Sākārasiddhiśāstra*
	IV.73–74; III.37ab; Vy 84.4–5; I.9; Vy 75.13–18; I.154; Vy 76.9–11; I.145; I.49–50; II.53; IV.53–54; III.1; III.2–3,	431.22–25, 434.15, 434.22–23, 478.11, 487.11–14, 487.16–17, 487.25–488.1, 493.13–14, 496.9–14, 499.5–6, 499.9–12, 502.9–12, 502.18–21.
		Sākārasaṃgrahasūtra
	I.154; IV.73–4; III.1; I.151–152; II.53; IV.53–54; I.49; I.145	II.53; II.69–70; II.89; II.95cd–97ab; II.98cd–99ab II.100cd–102ab; II.136; II.145
Ratnākaraśānti		*Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya Ratnālokālaṃkāra*
	I.96–97; Vy 67.9–68.6; Vy 6.9–10; I.28	D (3935) 325a5–7, P (5331) 378b3–6; D 325b3, P 379a1–2; D 296b6–297a2, P 346a2–6.
Atiśa	I.86	*Dharmadhātudarśanagīti* Verse 23, Lobsang Dorjee 1999: 89.
Maitrīpa	II.61b	*Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivaraṇa* 23.14
Prajñākaramati	V.18	*Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* 205.19–22
Yamāri	I.154	*Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāraṭīkā Supariśuddhā* D (4226) Me, 2b7–3b1, P (5723) Me, 3b8–4a2
Vairocanarakṣita	V.18	*Bodhisattvacaryāvatārapañjikā* D (3875) 144b6–7; P (5277) 170a5–7.
Sahajavajra	I.154 (= AA V.21)	*Tattvadaśakaṭīkā* D (2254) 170a3–4; P (3099) 185b8–186a1
Rāmapāla	II.61b	*Sekanirdeśapañjikā* Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 169.
Mahājana	I.68	*Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayārthaparijñāna* D (3822) 312a3–5; P (5223) 249a3–6.
Abhayākaragupta		*Munimatālaṃkāra*
	Vy 33.8–9 & 33.13–14	Skt. 68v1 (see above, p. 111 n. 67), D (3909) 149a4–6, P (5299) 184b5–185a1;
	Vy 71.1–4	Skt. 69r4–5 (p. 111 n. 69), D 150a4–7, P 186b3–7;
	Vy 1.6–7	Skt. 126v5 (p. 117f. n. 93), D 212b2–3, P 277b3–4;
	I.1	Skt. 126v5–127r2 (*ibid.*), D 212b4, P 277b4–5;

	Vy 10.15 & 13.21	Skt. 127r1 (p. 117f. n. 93), D 212b3–4, P 277b7–8;
	I.23	Skt. 127r2 (*ibid.*), D 212b4–5, P 277b9–278a1;
	Vy 25.11–15	Skt. 127r2–3 (p. 117f. n. 93), D 212b5–7; P 278a1–6;
	I.3	Skt. 127r3–4 (*ibid.*), D 213a1, P 278a6–7;
	Vy 52.13–53.6 (summary)	Skt. 129r5–v1 (p. 119 n. 96), D 215b7–216a1, P 282b4–7
Zhi-ba-'byung-gnas	IV.90–91; I.153; V.1–2	*Bhagavatyāmnāyānusāriṇī* D (3811) 307b5–7, P (5209) 356a8–b3; D 312b6–313a4, P 362a5–b4
Daśabalaśrīmitra	Vy 52.13–53.8	*Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya* D (3897) 289a2–3, P (5865) 234b6–235a3
Ratnarakṣita		*Padminī*,
	I.28	Skt Ms (Takaoka CA17) 3r8–9 (= D 4b6–7, P 6a5–6);
	I.153	Skt Ms 4v1 (= D 7b4–5, P 8b3–4)
Jayānanda	Vy 33.8–9; Vy 71.1–4	*Madhyamakāvatāraṭīkā* D (3870) 358a6–7, P (5271) 434a8–b1; D 354b2–3, P 429b6–8
Amṛtākara	I.68–78	*Catuḥstavasamāsārtha* fol. 1r2–3, 2r10–v1 (CSS 242.17–18), 2v3–4 (CSS 243.16–25)
Vibhūticandra	V.18; I.153; I.154; I.34	*Viśeṣadyotanī Bodhicaryāvatāratātparyapañjikā* D (2880) 194a6–7, P (5282) 231a7–8; D 196a2–3, P 233a8–b1; D 196b4, P 234a4–5; D 197a2–3, P 234b4–5.
	I.34; I.63; I.55; III.8	*Amṛtakaṇikoddyotanibandha* 136.26–28; 154.11–13; 155.17–20; 212.15–16

It should now be clear just how widely the teaching of the RGV was received within the circle of masters of Vikramaśīla between the 11th and 13th centuries; and from the range of topics discussed by these Indian authors we can gauge just how thorough their knowledge of the RGV was.

We can see very distinctly how widely the RGV spread during the final phase of Indian Buddhism from a passage in the biography of Chag Lo-tsā-ba. On a pilgrimage to the 'Phrul-snang temple in Lhasa around 1258, Chag Lo-tsā-ba recited verses of the RGV in Sanskrit by way of greeting the Indian paṇḍita Dānaśrī, who was staying in sTag-tshal (Yar-lung) at the time:

> [Chag Lo-tsā-ba] greeted the paṇḍita (i.e. Dānaśrī) by reciting in Sanskrit the introductory verses of the *Uttaratantra*. The paṇḍita was greatly moved, shed tears, and exclaimed, "Learned, learned! You are more learned than I! You have studied for a long time in India and thus have become great among great scholars, whereas I, staying in Tibet, have become an ox. The hair of my body stands erect at your fame as a scholar."[6]

[6] Chag Lo-tsā-ba, *Bla ma'i gsungs*, 40.16–21: *rgyud bla ma'i mchod brjod saṃkrita'i skad du gsung te shis pa brjod pas paṇḍita 'dar sig sig spyan chab li li li byung | mkhas mkhas nga bas khyod mkhas pa 'dug | khyod rgya gar du yun ring du sbyangs pas paṇḍita chen po'i chen por 'dug | nga bod du bsdad bas ba lang du song | khyod mkhas brags pas nga'i spu lang pa yin gsungs so ||*. Roerich 1959: 106. See also Roerich 1949/53: 1058–1059.

PART TWO

rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab and His Doctrinal Position

Chapter 7

The Life and Works of rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab

The oldest among the numerous biographies (*rnam thar*) of rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab[1] is the one by his disciple Gro-lung-pa Blo-gros-'byung-gnas,[2] who also composed a separate encomium (*bstod pa*) of him.[3] The biography, entitled *'Jig rten mig gcig blo ldan shes rab kyi rnam thar*, consists of basic verses and a prose commentary on them. David Jackson (1994), in an article on it, presents a table that contains, along with other information, an outline of its contents. Based on a xylograph, a manuscript, and a fragment (one folio) of it,[4] Dram Dul (2004) produced a critical

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1 Kramer (2007: 24–30) systematically lists a total of 23 Tibetan sources and 8 modern studies relating to rNgog's life. We may add dGe-ye Tshul-khrims-seng-ge's *rGya bod kyi chos 'byung rin po che* (fol. 22a4–b1) and Zhang-zhung-pa dPal-'byor-bzang-po's *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i yid phrog*, completed in 1606 (pp. 57.5–59.2, pp. 92.7–94.1)—both of which have been published since. The former work lists the names of rNgog's Indian and Tibetan teachers and his Tibetan disciples (fol. 22a5–b1): *rgya gar du byon paṇḍita sadzdza na dang | pa ra ha te dang | ma hā dza na dang | su ma kir ti dang | bskal ldan rgyal po dang | 'bum phrag gsum pa rnams bsten |* [22a6] *mkhas pa'i mchog tu gyur te lo bcu bdun bzhugs | de nas bod du phebs | mkhar bu ba la bka' gdams gsan | grwa pa dpe 'grems khri tshog nyis dang sum stong tsam byung | dgung* [= *gung*] *lo nga gcig la thegs | de'i slob ma zhang* [22b1] *tshe spong chos kyi bla ma | zhang gro lung ba blo gros 'byung gnas | 'di gnyis gnyal ba yin | khyung rin chen grags | 'be she rab 'bar | 'di bzhi la sras kyi thu'o bzhi zer*. Kramer (2007: 15–24) also presents a concise summary of modern studies which focus on rNgog's life, including van der Kuijp 1983, Kawagoe 1984, Jackson 1994, and Dram Dul 2004.

2 On Gro-lung-pa's own life, see Las-chen Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, *bKa' gdams chos 'byung*, 152–153; dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, 728–729 etc.

3 The encomium, the *Lo tstsha ba dge slong blo ldan shes rab kyi bstod pa*, consists of 20 verses. The whole text is presented by Jackson (1993b: 8–15) based on a xylograph (3 folios) kept in the library of the Bihar Research Society in Patna. For previous references to this work, see Kramer 2007: 25.

4 See Dram Dul 2004: x–xi. A facsimile of the xylograph is published in Kramer 2007: 132–147. A facsimile of yet another handwritten manuscript (*dpe tshugs*) of the same work, listed in the *'Bras dpungs dkar chag* (p. 1563, no. 017649; there titled *rNgog lo tsā ba chen po'i rnam thar*, 25 folios, 34 x 7 cm), has been published in the *'Bras dpungs dkar chag*, vol. 3, pp. 285–333 (see Kramer 2007: 74). The texts and colophons contained in this manuscript and in the Bhutanese manuscript utilized by Dram Dul belong to the same textual transmission.
Recently, another printed edition of rNgog's biography by Gro-lung-pa was published: Khyithang, rNa-gri, Chag Lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal, and Gro-lung-pa Blo-gros-'byung-gnas, *Lo*

edition of the whole text, while Kramer (2007) has translated more than half of the text (1–14b and 21b–23a).[5]

Writing in beautiful eulogistic verses, Gro-lung-pa in his biography praises the wholesome activities and mental qualities of his teacher. He very probably wrote the work while still trying to come to terms with rNgog's death.[6] Although Gro-lung-pa lists all the works translated or composed by rNgog[7] and documents a few episodes from the life of his teacher,[8] the biography can hardly be said to cover his entire career.

Fortunately, later scholars, such as Shes-rab-seng-ge, Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer, Tshal-pa Kun-dga'-rdo-rje, gZhon-nu-dpal, and dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, provide additional important information.[9] Among them, the biographical account contained in gZhon-nu-dpal's *Deb ther sngon po* covers rNgog's career most completely. Later, largely based on it, Las-chen Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan recounted rNgog's life in his *bKa' gdams chos 'byung*. I shall review rNgog's life here by listing

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chen rin chen bzang po dang chag lo tsa ba chos rje dpal dang rngog lo tsa ba blo ldan shes rab gsum gyi rnam thar (Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, 2014).

5 Kramer's translation corresponds to the portion of Dram Dul's edition printed on pp. 1–49.7 and 71.3–75.7.

6 Gro-lung-pa mourned the relatively early death of his teacher (*kyi hud ha cang myur chen po*), though he knew that death is merely one demonstration of the emptiness of worldly phenomena. See *'Jig rten mig gcig*, (ed. Dram Dul) verses 32–33; p. 61.4; pp. 62.10–63.2 (*shin tu bshes pa'i skye bo thams cad kyang mi brtan pas 'gyes shing 'bral ba dang srog dang bcas pa'i dpal yang myur du g.yo ba'i chos nyid nyin pas | 'dod pa'i yul thams cad la'ang yid brtan cung zad kyang med pa'i phyir*); p. 63.12–13 (... *nad drag pos nyams thag pa dang | rang dbang med par 'pho ba'i 'jigs pa chen pos zin bzhin du sku gshegs par yang kun tu bstan to || 'di ni thub pa zhi bar gshegs pas 'jig rten stongs par gyur pa gnyis pa'o||*). Gro-lung-pa goes on to describe his founding activities of a *stūpa* for his teacher (*ibid*. verse 34) and to state that all his disciples lamented his passing. See verses 35–36; p. 66.3–4 (*thams cad 'dus te gtan du mya ngan bya zhing smre sngags gdon par re 'os*); pp. 66.9–67.5.

7 Gro-lung-pa, *'Jig rten mig gcig* (ed. Dram Dul), pp. 37.1–40.16 and 47.4–49.7. See also Kramer 2007.

8 Among other things, Gro-lung-pa describes his teacher's excellent financial status. See *'Jig rten mig gcig* (ed. Dram Dul), pp. 55.1–56.1: *gzhan du na sngon bsod nams lhun stug pa bsags pa las | dang po'ang 'byor ba chen po mnga' ba'i gdung rgyud khyim rgyas par 'khrung la slob sbyong mdzad pa na'ang zhang zhung dang kha che dang bal yul la sogs par bzhugs pa'i tshe ni de dag na 'byor pa lha dang mnyam pa sngar byung ma myong ba dag gis bde bar gnas shing | yams la sogs pa'i gnod pa'ang chung ngo || phyis bod yul du byon pa na'ang 'di na gnod pa dang nyam nga ba ni nyung la | gser gyi 'byung khung chen po dag kha phye zhing phyogs kun tu 'bru rgyas pa la sogs pas longs spyod mchog tu bkrabs pa dag dar bar gyur to || phyis ni yul de dang de dag du'ang rgyal po'i gnod pa dang mu ge la sogs pa'i 'tshe ba dang brda ngas* (sic) *dang nyams pa sna tshogs byung bar thos shing mthong ngo || des na 'di la 'dzam bu'i gling phal cher gyi nor bzang dgu sprin ltar 'du ba rnams ||*. See also *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 3, 320.5–321.3.

9 Twenty biographical descriptions of rNgog's life are utilized by Kramer (2007: 25–28), all of which are worth going through.

the main events of it in a chronological table, followed by a translation of Las-chen Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan's narration.[10]

[Table: The Main Events in rNgog's Life]

ca. 1059	Birth (as the son of Chos-skyabs and dPal-mo)
1060s–1076	Early studies under his uncle Legs-pa'i-shes-rab and sPo Chung-ba Tshul-khrims-shes-rab
1073	Foundation of the monastery of gSang-phu sNe'u-thog by Legs-pa'i-shes-rab
1076	Full ordination under the name Blo-ldan-shes-rab; participation in a religious council (*chos 'khor*) at Tho-ling held by rTse-lde (r. 1057–1088); departure for Kashmir
1076–1092	Study and translation activities in Kashmir following the enthronement of dBang-lde as king of Gu-ge and his sponsorship of Blo-ldan-shes-rab (Vitali 1996: 342); study in Magadha
ca. 1092	Return to Gu-ge
after 1092	dBang-lde's death (Vitali 1996: 342); a short sojourn in Nepal; succession to the abbatial seat of gSang-phu; activity in Central Tibet (Lha-sa, sNye-thang, gSang-phu, and bSam-yas)
1109	Death at Ma-ri in bSam-yas

A Translation of Las-chen Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan's Sketch of rNgog's Life[11]

rNgog the Great Translator, a paternal nephew [of Legs-pa'i-shes-rab],[12] was born the son of Chos-bskyabs in the female earth-pig year (1059).[13] In his childhood, he served his uncle (i.e., Legs-pa'i-shes-rab). He took ordination[14] in the presence of

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[10] Kramer (2007) has helpfully extracted historical events of rNgog's life from the biography by Gro-lung-pa and collated it with those found in later sources.

[11] Cf. Roerich 1949/53: 324–326 and 328.

[12] A biographical sketch of Legs-pa'i-shes-rab is contained, among other places, in Las-chen Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, *bKa' gdams chos 'byung*, 147–149.

[13] Different sources give different birth years. For instance, Klu-grub-rgya-mtsho's *bsTan rtsis* has it corresponding to 1057. See Vostrikov 1970: 39–40 n. 98, van der Kuijp 1983: 268 n. 72, Kramer 2007: 32 n. 6, 43 n. 71. rNgog's mother dPal-mo is referred to by Tshal-pa Kun-dga'-rdo-rje; see *Deb ther dmar po* 66.19. Kramer (2007: 33, 35 n. 17) and Vose (2009: 46–47) discuss the rNgog clan as a whole. According to Gro-lung-pa, rNgog "was born in a nomad region," and, in his childhood, "dwelled in a part of a large town of dBus that was remote, and where [he found] a plentitude of things" (See Kramer 2007: 89–90).

[14] Shākya-mchog-ldan says that rNgog received the *upasaṃpadā* (*bsnyen rdzogs*) ordination

his uncle and sPo Chung-ba Tshul-khrims-shes-rab, a disciple from gZus, and studied much under the two.[15]

Pleased with his nephew's intelligence, his uncle sent him to Kashmir to study when he was seventeen. [Prior to] that time, accompanied by Rwa Lo-tsā-ba, gNyan Lo-tsā-ba,[16] Khyung-po Chos-brtson, rDo-ston, and bTsan Kha-bo-che, he attended a religious council in the male fire-dragon year (1076) held by King rTse-lde, who sent out invitations to most of the learned religious scholars (lit. [*tri*]*piṭakadhara*s) from dBus, gTsang, and Khams.[17]

dBang-phyug-lde, the son of rTse-lde, decided to sponsor rNgog, and [rNgog] proceeded on to Kashmir.[18] [There] he served and studied under six [teachers], including Sajjana and Parahitabhadra.[19] When his provisions were exhausted in

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when he was eighteen, before he left Tibet. See Shākya-mchog-ldan, *rNgog lo gtam gyi rol mo*, 445.6–446.1: *lo tsā ba chen pos | lo bcwa brgyad kyi ngo mthong ba na | khu bo'i drung du bsnyen par rdzogs* |. Cf. Kramer 2007: 36.

[15] Tshal-pa Kun-dga'-rdo-rje describes rNgog's studies in his youth in greater detail. See *Deb ther dmar po*, 67.2–7: *de nyid gzhon nu'i dus nas | brtson 'grus dang | blo gros dang | brtse ba rmad du byung bas | lo bdun gyi bar du khu bo dang | ka chu'i sbo tshul khrims shes rab la sogs kyi drung du | klog dang | yi ge dang | skad rigs dang | 'dul ba la sogs pa'i bstan bcos legs par sbyang shing | lus ngag gis kyang mnyes par mdzad do* ||.

[16] According to the biography of Rwa Lo-tsā-ba by his descendant Ye-shes-seng-ge (12th cent.), he and gNyan Lo-tsā-ba visited Nepal after the council, while another group including rNgog went to Kashmir. See Rwa Ye-shes-seng-ge, *Rwa lo tsā ba'i rnam thar*, 206: *de nas chos 'khor thon pa dang | lo tsā ba gzhan rnams mar byon | rwa gnyan dpon slob rnams bal yul du phebs | de'i tshe gnyan lo la gser srang* |. Rwa Lo-tsā-ba is said to have offered rNgog a manuscript of the *Prajñāpāramitā* (see *Rwa lo tsā ba'i rnam thar*, 264).

[17] For previous studies of the religious council (*chos 'khor*) in 1076, see the references mentioned by Vose (2009: 192 n. 41). At the Great Dharma Assembly, according to Rwa Lo-tsā-ba's biography, rNgog, along with bTsan Kha-bo-che, gNyan Lo-tsā-ba Dar-ma-grags and others, studied the treatises of Maitreya under bTsan's teacher Paṇḍita Prajñāna (*prajñā na*). See *Rwa lo tsā ba'i rnam thar*, 206.2–8. Cf. also Kano 2006b: 44–45 n. 10, 2006a: 97, 2014c: 82.

[18] Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer's *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud* (435) states that, most of the scholars of Kashmir having been invited to Tibet, not many were left in Kashmir. mKhas-pa lDe'u has a similar story, probably based on Nyang-ral's description. See *lDe'u chos 'byung*, 362.3–9.

[19] Accounting for four of the six teachers, Bu-ston states that in Kashmir rNgog studied *pramāṇa* under Parahitabhadra and Bhavyarāja, and Maitreya's treatises under Sajjana and Go-mi-'chi-med (see Bu-ston, *Chos 'byung*, 138a7–b1: *rtse ldes rngog blo ldan kha cher brdzangs te | gzhan phan bzang po dang skal ldan rgyal po la tshad ma bslabs | bram ze sad dza na dang | go mi 'chi med la sogs pa la byams chos bslabs | ... kha cher lo bcu bdun bzhugs* |). Las-chen's account suggests that rNgog's two remaining teachers were Tilakakalaśa and 'Bum-phrag-gsum-pa, the latter actually having come from Magadha. Despite the weight of Bu-ston's testimony, Go-mi-'chi-med does not seem to have been a scholar of Kashmir either, but to have also come from Magadha, as pointed out by Kramer (2007: 41 n. 52). See Gro-lung-pa, *'Jig rten*

the course of [his sojourn], he addressed a letter to [his patron in] mNga'-ris headed "Requesting Gold from Kashmir" (*Kha che gser slong*).[20] So dBang-lde sent him[21] a goodly amount of gold, and [at the same time] asked him to translate the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra*. This the latter did, in collaboration with Bhavyarāja.[22] Thus for seventeen years he studied intensively in Kashmir.[23]

Returning to Tibet, he further studied religious teachings under 'Bum-phrag-gsum-pa and Sumatikīrti.[24] He also visited Nepal (i.e. the Kathmandu Valley) for a short time and studied tantric teachings (lit. *mantra*s) under such masters as Atulavajra and Varendraruci, following which he again came back to Tibet.[25]

He translated many [texts, the results of] which are accurate and of high quality.

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mig gcig, (ed. Dram Dul), pp. 25.10–26.6.
Regarding rNgog's relationship with Pa-tshab in Kashmir (the latter stayed there in 1077–1100), Vose (2009: 49) states: "… the colophon to the translations stated above allows us greater certainty that Ngok and Patsab indeed studied in the same circles."

[20] This letter is listed by Bu-ston as written by rNgog (see Nishioka 1983, no. 3170: *khri bkra shis dbang phyug nam mkha' bstan la spring pa kha che gser slong*). See also Kramer 2007: 41, 113.

[21] The *lDe'u chos 'byung* states that dBang-lde had earlier given provisions to rNgog before the latter left West Tibet (see *lDe'u chos 'byung* 362.6: *rtse lde'i sras dbang lde*s *rgyags bskur nas kha cher slebs pa dang*).

[22] Kramer (2007: 62–65) reads the colophon of the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra* as stating that it was translated by rNgog and Bhavyarāja in Cakradhara (today, Semthan), east of dPe med (*Anupamapura), in the Kashmiri district of rNam-par-rgyal-ba'i-zhing, at the request of King dBang-lde (*grong kher dpe med shar phyogs na | yul 'khor lo 'dzin ces bya ba grub pa'i gnas rab grags pa yod pa'i 'dabs | rnam par rgyal ba'i zhing zhes bya bar kha che'i paṇḍita chen po skal ldan rgyal po dang | bod kyi lo tstsha ba blo ldan shes rab kyis bsgyur ba*).
Bhavyarāja is identified as a non-Buddhist teacher (see *lDe'u chos 'byung*, 362.8; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, 726.19–22). See also Jackson 1994: 382; Vose 2009: 192 n. 42.

[23] According to Gro-lung-pa, rNgog also studied in Magadha under Go-mi-'chi-med and 'Bum-phrag-gsum-pa, and visited the Mahābodhi temple in Bodhgayā. See Kramer 2007: 41 and Gro-lung-pa, *'Jig rten mig gcig*, (ed. Dram Dul), pp. 25.10–11 and 29.10–11. Gro-lung-pa (cf. Kramer 2007: 98) indicates that rNgog revised (*zhu chen mdzad*) previous Tibetan translations during his sojourn in Magadha. Among them, *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentaries (D 3791, 3793, etc.) were revised in collaboration with his teachers (e.g. Dhīrapāla, Go-mi-'chi-med, etc.).

[24] For the collaborative translations by rNgog and Sumatikīrti, see Kragh 2010: 216–217 n. 57.

[25] During rNgog's stay in Nepal in the 1090s, rNgog and Varendraruci translated five tantric texts (Kragh 2010: 212–213 n. 47). There rNgog also studied under Nayanaśrī and Saudita (see Kramer 2007: 41–42) and worshipped sacred places such as Svayambhu (*sa yam bha*), Patan (*bha thang*), Shing-kun, Bodhnāth (*bya ru kha sho*), and Thub-pa. See Gro-lung-pa, *'Jig rten mig gcig* (ed. Dram dul), pp. 29.11–30.1, and its translation by Kramer (2007: 100). See also Jackson 1994: 377. Kramer (2007: 41–42 n. 58) points out that rNgog, given the geographical constraints, may have approached Nepal from Magadha, before returning to Tibet in 1092.

As for the number of his translations, Gro-lung-pa said: "… mastering the translation of scriptures, he translated two *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*s and [various] *śāstra*s, [in total] consisting of more than 137,000 [*śloka*s]."[26]

When he lectured—in such places as Lha-sa, bSam-yas, gNyal sGang-thog, gTsang rGyang-mkhar,[27] and Ngan-lam Myug-gu-sna (?)—13,700 learned scholars and monks assembled in Lha-sa; 13,000 each in bSam-yas and sGang-thog; 20,000 in rGyang-mkhar; and 10,000 scholars (*dge bshe*s) and 20,000 *yogin*s and *yoginī*s in Ngan-lam. As for the number of his assistant teachers, on the other hand, there were 55 lecturers [who taught the *Pramāṇavārttika*]-*alaṃkāra* and Dharmottara['s treatises], 255 [who taught] the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, and 1,575 [who] taught [other] scriptural teachings (*lung chos smra ba*). [Thus] in total [they numbered] 1,885.[28]

[rNgog] composed many commentaries on such texts as Buddhist epistemology (*pramāṇa*), the treatises of Maitreya, and Madhyamaka [works].

This great man, who exemplified perfect conduct with regard to all Six Perfections (*pāramitā*), benefited the world in dBus and gTsang for seventeen years (1092–1109) and at the age of 51 passed away at Ma-ri of bSam-yas into the Tuṣita [celestial realm].[29]

Among the disciples who attended his classes whether in earlier or later times—[and] although there were countless groups of disciples in the Land of Snow—Zhang Tshes-spong Chos-kyi-bla-ma, Gro-lung-pa Blo-gros-'byung-gnas, Khyung Rin-chen-grags, and 'Bre Shes-rab-'bar are called his four main [spiritual] sons (*sras kyi thu bo bzhi*).[30] He also had many [other] disciples, including Gangs-pa

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[26] Gro-lung-pa, *'Jig rten mig gcig*, verse 19. Indian works translated by rNgog are listed by Gro-lung-pa (see Kramer 2007: 103–107) and bCom-ldan-ral-gri (see Schaeffer & van der Kuijp 2009: 238–241 [nos. 27.22–27.90]). See also Kramer 2007: 45–70.

[27] I emend the reading *rgyal mkhar* to *rgyang mkhar*, attested in the next sentence and in the *Deb ther sngon po* (394.8).

[28] These passages are clearly based on verses by Shes-rab-seng-ge included in the colophon of Gro-lung-pa's *'Jig rten mig gcig* (ed. Dam Drul) 71.14–72.10: *lha sa bsam yas sgang thog dang || lha yangs da lham myug gu snar || 'khor gyi grangs ni rim pa bzhin || khri dang sum stong bdun brgya dang || gnyis su stong tsho bcu gsum 'tshogs || khri tsho gnyis dang khri tsho gcig || rnam 'byor pho mo khri tsho gnyis || 'tshogs so lung rigs smra ba yi || zhar chos stong dang brgyad brgya dang || rgyan dang chos mchog lnga bcu lnga || rnam nges nyis brgya lnga bcu lnga || lung chos smra ba stong dang ni || lnga brgya bdun cu rtsa lnga yod* ||. gZhon-nu-dpal mentions a number that differs from the common figure referred to by Las-chen and Shes-rab-seng-ge (see Roerich 1949/53: 326).

[29] This passage is based on Shes-rab-seng-ge's verse. See Gro-lung-pa, *'Jig rten mig gcig* (ed. Dram dul), p. 72.11–14: *de ltar 'gro ba'i mgon po des || 'gro don mdzad pa mdzad nas ni || gung lo lnga bcu rtsa gcig la || srog gi dang* [= *dbang*] *po ma rir 'gags* ||. The last scene of his life is described in detail by Shes-rab-seng-ge. See *ibid*. 72.17–73.8 and Kramer 2007: 44, 115.

[30] For accounts of their lives, see Tshal-pa Kun-dga'-rdo-rje, *Deb ther dmar po*, 67; Las-chen

She'u, Gong-bu-ra-can, Sham-po Me-dig, Me-lhang-tsher, dMar sGas-lang, rDog-skyo, and Tre-bo mChog-gi-bla-ma.

The translator himself studied the teachings of Atiśa under his uncle (i.e. Legs-pa'i-shes-rab) and also composed a treatise on the stages of the path (*lam rim*). Therefore those who adhere to the tradition of [rNgog], uncle and nephew (i.e. the tradition of gSang-phu), are following in the tradition of Atiśa.

The Great Translator rNgog also composed summaries (*bsdus don*) of both [Atiśa's] *Madhyamakopadeśa* and *bDen chung* (i.e. Atiśa's *Satyadvayāvatāra*), but the extensive commentary on the *Madhyamakopadeśa* attributed to him does not appear in Gro-lung-pa's list.[31]

The Tibetan Text: Las-chen Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, bKa' gdams chos 'byung, 149.23–152.5[32]

de'i dbon po rngog lo chen po ni | chos bskyabs kyi sras su sa mo (p.150) *phag la sku 'khrungs | gzhon nu'i dus nas khu bo'i drung du byon | khu bo dang | gzus kyi slob ma spo chung ba tshul khrims shes rab gnyis la brten nas rab tu byung ste | de gnyis la gsan pa mang du mdzad pas | khong gi shes rab la khu bo mnyes nas | lo bcu bdun bzhes pa'i tshe kha cher slob gnyer la brdzangs |*

de'i tshe rwa lo | gnyan lo | khyung po chos brtson | rdo ston | btsan kha bo che rnams dang 'grogs nas byon pas | mnga' bdag rtse ldes dbus gtsang khams gsum gyi sde snod 'dzin pa rags pa rnams spyan drangs nas | me pho 'brug lo'i chos 'khor mdzad pa dang thug | rtse lde'i sras po dbang phyug ldes rngog gi yon bdag bya bar chad nas kha cher byon |

paṇḍi ta sa dzdza na dang pa ra hi ta bha dra la sogs pa drug tsam bsten | bar du brgyags chad nas kha cher gser slong bya ba'i yi ge mnga' ris su btang ba las | dbang ldes gser mang po yang bskur | tshad ma rgyan sgyur cig bya ba'i zhu ba byung bas | paṇḍi ta skal ldan rgyal po dang | rngog gis bsgyur | der kha cher lo bcu bdun du yang dag par sbyangs |

slar bod du byon | bod du yang paṇḍi ta 'bum phrag gsum pa dang | su ma ti k'irte gnyis la chos gsan cing | bal por yang yud gcig byon nas a tu la badzra dang | ba rendra ru tsi la sogs pa la sngags kyi gsan pa yang mdzad | slar bod du phebs | 'gyur mang po mdzad pa yang dag cing shin tu 'gyur bzang |

'gyur mdzad pa'i tshad ni | gro lung pas |

dam chos sgyur la mnga' brnyes pa || rgyal yum gnyis dang bstan bcos gzhung ||

'bum phrag gcig dang khri khrag gsum || stong phrag (p.151) *bdun ni lhag bcas bsgyur ||*

zhes 'byung ba de'o ||

Kun-dga'- rgyal-mtshan, *bKa' gdams chos 'byung*, 152–155; and dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, 728–729 etc.

[31] Gro-lung-pa's list is contained in his biography of rNgog. See Gro-lung-pa, *'Jig rten mig gcig* (ed. Dram dul), pp. 47.4–49.7. This last paragraph is not found in the *Deb ther sngon po* (cf. p. 395), and probably goes back to Las-chen himself.

[32] Cf. *Deb ther sngon po*, 393.3–395.9.

lha sa dang | bsam yas dang | gnyal sgang thog dang | gtsang rgyal mkhar dang | ngan lam gyi myu gu sna la sogs par bshad pa mdzad pa'i tshe | mkhas btsun grwa pa rim pa bzhin du lha sar khri dang sum stong bdun brgya | bsam yas dang sgang thog gnyis su stong tsho bcu gsum re dang | rgyang mkhar du khri tsho gnyis | ngan lam du dge bshes khri tsho gcig dang | rnal 'byor pho mo khri tsho gnyis te gsum 'tshogs so ||

zur chos pa'i grangs kyang | rgyan dang chos mchog 'chad mkhan lnga bcu rtsa lnga | rnam nges 'chad mkhan nyis brgya nga lnga | lung chos smra ba stong lnga brgya bdun cu don lnga | dril bas chos smra ba stong brgyad brgya brgyad cu rtsa lnga byung |

tshad ma dang | byams chos dang | dbu ma la sogs pa'i rnam par bshad pa mang du mdzad |

pha rol tu phyin pa drug gi spyod pa thams cad rdzogs par spyod pa'i sems dpa' chen po de ni dbus gtsang du lo bcu bdun 'gro don mdzad de dgung lo lnga bcu rtsa gcig bzhes pa'i tshe | bsam yas ma ri'i drung nas dga' ldan du sku gshegs |

de ltar chos gra snga phyir mdzad pa rnams las gangs can gyi ljongs su slob ma'i tshogs mtha' yas mod na'ang | zhang tshes spong chos kyi bla ma | gro lung pa blo gros 'byung gnas | khyung rin cen grags | 'bre shes rab 'bar bzhi la sras kyi thu bo bzhir grags | gangs pa she'u | gong bu ra can | sham po me dig | me lhang tsher | dmar sgas lang | rdog skya'o | tre bo mchog gi bla ma la sogs pa mang du byon no ||

lotstsha ba nyid kyis jo bo'i chos rnams khu bo la gsan nas lam gyi rim pa'i (p.152) *bstan bcos kyang mdzad de | khu dbon slob brgyud dang bcas pa rnams jo bo'i gzhung lugs 'dzin pa yin no ||*

rngog lo chen pos dbu ma'i man ngag dang bden chung gnyis la'ang bsdus don re mdzad kyi | dbu ma'i man ngag la 'dis mdzad zer ba'i ṭī ka rgyas pa cig snang ba ni gro lung pa'i dkar chag na mi snang ngo ||

Other Episodes

Las-chen Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan's biographical sketch of rNgog covers most major events, but some important episodes are missing. Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer documents one such episode, rNgog's departure for Kashmir and sojourn there:

> rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab, the nephew of rNgog Legs-pa'i-shes-rab, went to [meet] King rTse-lde. [The king then] invited Paṇḍita Sūryaśrī [to come and give teachings to Blo-ldan-shes-rab, but the latter] petitioned [the king, saying], "I would like [instead] to go to Kashmir." The king said, "[You] should study the dharma under these scholars, [who have been invited to come from Kashmir]." [Blo-ldan-shes-rab, however,] unwilling to heed [the king's advice, continued to] petition [him]: "I wish at all costs to go to Kashmir." [Finally the king] gave [him] gold and sent [him to Kashmir]. When he arrived in

> Kashmir, the king [of Kashmir] and his people said, "All [our] learned paṇḍitas have gone to Tibet. What will you do?" [He] asked, "Are there no other paṇḍitas?" They answered, "Here [only] ordinary paṇḍitas are [left]." [Thus he] studied [Prajñākaragupta's] *Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra* under Bhavyarāja [in Kashmir].[33]

The *Ngor chos 'byung* introduces a mystic episode involving Ḍombi Heruka during rNgog's sojourn in Kashmir, citing Gro-lung-pa as its source:[34]

> During that time (i.e. his sojourn in Kashmir) he had a direct vision of the great master Ḍombi Heruka in a remote area. [Ḍombi] said "Let's go to the mKha' spyod [realm]!" And [so] he set him on a "tiger as a flying conveyance" (*stag gi 'phang stegs*). Reaching high up in the sky, [they] saw the direction where Tibet lay to be much darker than other [places]—like a land of darkness. [rNgog] asked "What is down there?" [Ḍombi answered], "This is Tibet, the land of 'confusion' (*moha*)." Unbearable compassion arose [in rNgog]. He made the following commitment: "I shall establish there [the tradition of] exposition and learning and shall illuminate them (i.e. the Tibetans) like daylight with the light of intelligence. I will not go to mKha' spyod." He besought the master [Ḍombi to this effect], and the latter said: "All right!" He brought him back down to the starting point (i.e. Kashmir). [This account] occurs in Gro-lung-pa's writings.[35]

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[33] Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer, *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud*, 435.1–8: *rngog legs pa'i shes rab kyi tsha bo rngog blo ldan shes rab kyis mnga' bdag rtse lde'i drung du phyin nas pa ṇḍi ta surya shrī spyan drangs | bdag kha cher 'gro bar zhu zhus pas | mnga' bdag gi zhal nas paṇ ḍi ta mkhas pa 'di rnams la chos nyon gsungs pas | cis kyang kha cher 'gro ba zhu zer te ma nyan | gser brdzangs te btang | kha cher brtol tsa na | rgyal po dang yul mi kun na re | paṇ ḍi ta mkhas pa kun bod yul du bzhud | khyed ci byed zer nas | paṇ ḍi ta gzhan med dam dris pas | 'bring po 'dra yod zer pas | skal ldan rgyal po la tshad ma rgyan bslabs* |. mKhas-pa lDe'u's account in *lDe'u chos 'byung*, 362.3–9, while similar, displays some variation: ... *rngog lo tsā ba byon pas | khong kha cher bzhud zer | mnga' bdag rtse lde'i zhal nas kha cer bzhud mi dgos | mkhas pa 'di la chos gson byas pas | ma gsan par bdag cis kyang kha cher 'gro bas rgyags shas gcig zhu gsungs nas | rtse lde'i sras dbang lde s rgyags bskur nas kha cher slebs pa dang | kha che ba kun na re pa ṇḍi ta bod na bzhud nas khyed 'dir ci byed zer bas 'gyod pa yang ya ni lo | de tshur ma log par mu stegs skal ldan rgyal po la tshad ma rgyan bslabs skad* |.

[34] This episode is not recounted in Gro-lung-pa's biography of rNgog.

[35] *Ngor chos 'byung*, 265.6–266.1: *de dus mtha' 'khob cig tu slob dpon chen po ḍombhi he ru ka mngon sum du zhal gzigs nas | mkhas spyod du 'dong gsungs te stag gi 'phang stegs su bskyon | nam mkha' mthon por sleb bas | bod kyi thad gzhan bas ngam nag pa mun pa'i gling lta bur gzigs nas | ma gi gang lags zhus pas | bod rmongs pa'i gling ngo gsungs | brtse ba mi bzod pa 'khrungs | mkha' spyod*

The following is how Shes-rab-seng-ge reports the last significant event of rNgog's life,[36] the final advice given to his main disciples, Zhang Tshe-spong-ba Chos-kyi-bla-ma and Gro-lung-pa Blo-gros-'byung-gnas (later reproduced in a more elaborate form by dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba).

> [rNgog], having become weary of his impermanent body, said the following to his principal sons,[37] Zhang and Gro-lung-pa:
>
> "Entering the ocean [of the cycle of rebirths] with the idea that I will go beyond the ocean aboard this [ship-like] body, which is deteriorating as fast as bursting bubbles—and yet I regard its nature as [enduring as] Mount Meru—is totally deceptive. Study the doctrinal teachings of the *tripiṭaka*. Once you see the true reality of the mind,[38] the wisdom attained through valid[39] cognition arises."
>
> Having spoken [thus] to Zhang and Gro-lung-pa, [rNgog] passed away at the foot of Mount Ma-ri in bSam-yas, near the bank of the Lohita River (i.e. the sKyid-chu), to [the celestial realm of] Tuṣita.[40]

After his passing, miraculous signs, including an earthquake, occurred. The corpse (*spur*) was first brought to gSang-phu sNe'u-thog monastery and then moved to

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du mi 'gro bar der 'chad nyan btsugs te blo gros kyi snang bas de dag nyin mo bzhin gsal bar bya'o snyams nas dam bcas nas slob dpon la gsol bas legs so gsungs te sngar gyi sar babs ces gro lung pa'i gsungs las byung |. This same episode is summarized in *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, 725.21–23.

[36] dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, 727.13–23. Cf. Kramer 2007: 44 and 115.

[37] *bu'i thu bo zhang dang gro lung pa*. It is also possible to take this as a vocative, for the same names are repeated after the quotation. The particle *pa* is emended to *par*. The *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (727) shifts this phrase to after the quotation and embeds it within the clause *zhes bu'i thu bo zhang dang gro lung pa la gsungs te*.

[38] *rig pa yi chos nyid mthong bas*. An emendation of *yi* to *yis*, yielding "through valid cognition," would probably read better, though both Shes-rab-seng-ge's and dPa'-bo's versions have *yi*.

[39] Shes-rab-seng-ge reads *tshad mas nges shes*, while dPa'-bo has *tshad ma'i nges shes*. This is the only variation between the two versions.

[40] The colophon by Shes-rab-seng-ge is contained in *'Jig rten mig gcig*, (ed. Dram Dul), pp. 72.15–73.2 ≈ dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, 727.13–18: *bu'i thu bo zhang dang gro lung pa* [= *par*] || *mi rtag lus la thugs chad bka' stsal pa* || *'di la 'dzegs nas rgya mtsho'i pha rol du* || *'gro'o snyam nas rgya mtshor 'jug pa gang yin pa* || *lbu ba rdos 'dra rab tu 'jig pa'i lus 'di ni* || *ri mchog 'dra ba'i rang bzhin 'dis ni gtan nas bslus* || *khyed kyang sde snod chos la sbyongs shig rig pa yi* || *chos nyid mthong bas tshad mas nges shes skye bar 'gyur* || *zhes zhang dang gro lung pa gnyis la gsungs nas* || *chu bo lo hi ta'i 'gram* || *bsam yas ma ri'i rtsar dga' ldan du gshegs so* ||.

gSang-mda' where it was cremated (lit. purified, *sbyangs*).[41] Richardson photographed this site and reported: "It (i.e. gSang-mda'- sku-'bum) contains a *mchod rten* and remains of old wall-paintings. Nearby is Blo ldan shes rab's tomb, a small neglected building with a green-tiled roof on the left bank of the sKyid-chu, on the main road down that side of the river."[42] Chan (1994: 490) has described the site in greater detail: "Come back down the Sangphu Valley to Sangda (2hr from Sangphu), site of the Sangda Kumbum Chörten (destroyed). It is located at the junction of the Sangda Chu and the Kyi Chu where the large, earth *chörten*-tomb of Loden Sherab once stood inside Lhakhang Yujochen Chapel. This small, neglected building still stands but all the sacred objects are gone."

(Richardson 1994: 490, Tomb of Blo-ldan-shes-rab)

[41] The colophon by Shes-rab-seng-ge contained in Gro-lung-pa, *'Jig rten mig gcig* (ed. Dram Dul), p. 73.3–6: *de nas spur shing rta la drangs ba'i dus su || sa g.yo so || nam mkha' nas kyang 'ja' tshon dang | 'od dang | sgra dang | sa gzhi thams cad mchod rdzas kyis 'gengs par gyur to || de nas sne'u thog khar spur gdan drangs || de nas gsang mdar spur sbyangs |*.
Ferrari 1958: 30: *gsang mdar lo tsā ba blo ldan shes rab kyi sku gdung bzhugs sa'i khang chung zhig yod*. Kaḥ-thog Si-tu, however, identifies this tomb as that of Legs-pa'i-shes-rab. See *dBus gtsang gnas yig*, 131-132: *dgon gsham der blo ldan shes rab kyi gdung rten dang | de nas rgyang ring gsang mdar phyin nas | lha khang g.yu jo can du rngog legs pa'i shes rab kyi gdung rten sa 'bum chen po zhig kyang snang ngo ||*.

[42] Ferrari 1958: 166 n. 678.

Works

Some 48 titles of rNgog's works are known to later tradition, having been mentioned variously by Gro-lung-pa, bCom-ldan-ral-gri,[43] Bu-ston, and Shākya-mchog-ldan, among others.[44] In the following register, I give a composite list of rNgog's output based on all these sources, and make reference to the catalogue numbers of Dram Dul (2004: 47–49) [in the left column], Schaeffer & van der Kuijp (2009: 271–273) [abbr. bCom], Nishioka (1983: 118–119) [abbr. Bu-ston], and Kramer (2007: 126–127) [abbr. Shāk].[45] I have collated the published works contained in the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum* and works listed in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag*. Among rNgog's compositions, nine have been published so far. Facsimile reproductions of manuscripts or block prints of the nine are included in the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*. The nine have been transliterated and typeset in *dbu can* script (as diplomatic transcriptions of single manuscripts) by dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, and published in 2009.[46] Additionally, a facsimile reproduction and critical edition of a fragmentally extant work, *rGyud bla ma'i bsdus don*, is included in Kano 2008a.

[Table: A List of rNgog's Writings]

Gro-lung-pa's list		bCom	Bu-ston	Shāk	Remarks
Maitreya's works[47]					
1/2	Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan 'grel pa dang bcas pa'i don bsdus / rnam bshad	31.1/2	3065/6	1/2	1: published[48]
3	Yum brgyad stong pa'i 'grel pa'i don bsdus[49]	31.21	3067	3	

[43] bCom-ldan-ral-gri, *bsTan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od*, Schaeffer & van der Kuijp 2009: 271–273 (= *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 51, 152–53).

[44] rNgog's compositions are listed by van der Kuijp (1983: 34 and 57), Jackson (1994: 380–381), and Kramer (2007: 109–113).

[45] Kramer reproduces Shākya-mchog-ldan's list of rNgog's compositions (Complete Works, vol. 16, 446.7–447.5).

[46] *rNgog Blo ldan shes rab kyi gsung chos skor*. Beijing: dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, 2009.

[47] Cf. *'Bras spungs dkar chag*, p. 1656, no. 018819, *byams chos kyi 'grel pa*, *lo tsā ba dge slong blo ldan shes rab*, *bris ma dbu can*, 1 fol., 65.3x10.1 cm. (the details of the contents are unknown).

[48] *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos kyi don bsdus pa*, Dharamsala, 1993; *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, 125–203. This facsimile copy was reproduced from a *dbu med* manuscript preserved at 'Bras spungs gNas bcu lha khang (labelled Phyi Tsha 41). Its colophon reads: *shes rab kyi pha rol du phyin pa man ngag gi stan* [= *bstan*] *bcos don bsdus pa dge slong blo ldan shes rab kyis rab tu sbyar ba'o* ||. The title page of the manuscript mentions a subtitle: *rin chen sgron ma*.

[49] This work is not available at present. However, its contents can be reconstructed on the basis

4/5	Shes rab snying po 'grel pa dang bcas pa'i don bsdus / rnam bshad[50]	31.3/4	3068/9	4/5	4: published[51]
6/7	mDo sde'i rgyan [gyi] don bsdus / rnam bshad	31.5–12	3070–7	6–13	6: published[52]
8/9	rGyud bla ma['i] don bsdus / rnam bshad				8: published[53]
10/11	dBus dang mtha' rnam 'byed [kyi]				10: published[54]

of the *bCom ldan 'das yum brgyad stong pa'i don bsdus pa*, composed by rNgog's direct disciple, 'Bre Shes rab 'bar (11th cent.), for, according to its colophon, Shes rab 'bar closely followed rNgog's *Yum brgyad stong pa'i 'grel pa'i don bsdus*. See the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, 76: *bcom ldan 'das yum brgyad stong pa'i don bsdus pa | slob dpon seng ge bzang po'i rjes su 'brangs te | lo tsha ba chen po dge slong blo ldan shes rab kyis gzhan la phan par bya ba'i phyir sbyar ba las | dus phyis jo bo 'bum pa dang lo tsa ba de nyid kyi rjes su 'brang zhing mang du thos pa'i dge slong shes rab 'bar gyis mdo'i don legs par gtan la phab nas yang zhus te sbyar ba* ||.

50 This is a commentary (or a "concise guide"; cf. Hugon 2009 and 2014: 201 n. 26) on Vimalamitra's *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā* (D 3818; P 5217), as Tāranātha explains (Gengindani & Gonda 2011: 193). A facsimile copy reproduced from a manuscript in mKhan po Tshul khrims rgyal mtshan's possession is contained in the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, 111–119 (4 fols.). See *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum dkar chag*, p. 46: *mkhan po tshul khrims rgyal mtshan mdun nas ma dpe g.yar gnang byung ba shes rab snying po'i 'grel ba ldeb 5.* Gengindani & Gonda (2011) romanized the Tibetan text and translated it into Japanese.
A manuscript of the same work is listed in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag* (p. 1711, no. 019536): *shes rab snying po'i rgya cher 'grel gyi bshad pa*, *lo tsā ba slob dpon blo ldan shes rab*, *dpe tshugs*, 4 fols. 60 x 10 cm. rNgog mentions the title, *bCom ldan 'das ma shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i snying po rgya cher bshad pa*, at the beginning of the text. The colophon reads: *shes rab snying po'i rgya cher 'grel gyi bshad pa | lo tsa ba slob dpon blo ldan shes rab kyis mdzad pa rdzogs so* ||.

51 For the moment, I follow Hugon's (2014: 201 n. 26) identification.

52 *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, 207–253 (24 fols.). This facsimile copy was reproduced from a manuscript preserved at 'Bras spungs gNas bcu lha khang (labelled Phyi Tsha 60). See *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum dkar chag*, pp. 46–47.
A summary of rNgog's *mDo sde rgyan gyi don bsdus* by an anonymous author (= *mDo sde rgyan gyi don bsdus las btus pa*) is contained in the *Legs par bshad pa bka' gdams rin po che'i gsung gi gces btus nor bu'i bang mdzod*. See Jackson 1987: 148 n. 8

53 *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa*, Dharamsala, 1993; *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, 289–369 (40 fols.). This facsimile copy was reproduced from a manuscript in the private collection of bKra-shis-dbang-rgyal. See *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum dkar chag*, p. 47. Two more manuscripts are extant. See Chapter 9§(b2), pp. 244–245.
The *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum dkar chag* (p. 47) reports that there is another block print (*shing par ma*) preserved in the Bod ljongs dpe mdzod khang, the script of which is not clear (*rgyud bla ma'i 'grel ba shing par ma zhig bod ljongs dpe mdzod khang du bzhugs kyang yi ge gsal po med rkyen da lam 'dir par skrun zhus med*).

54 *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, 257–283 (12 fols.). This facsimile copy was reproduced from a manuscript preserved in 'Bras spungs gNas bcu lha khang (labelled Phyi Tsha 116). See *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum dkar chag*, p. 47. There is a fragment of a synoptic outline of the *Madhyāntavibhāga* in a Tibetan manuscript collection from Khara Khoto (Takeuchi & Iuchi 2016, p. 70, no. 105). This fragment might be part of no. 11 in the above table, given that this same collection contains rNgog's synoptic outline of the RGV.

	don bsdus / rnam bshad				
12/13	Chos dang chos nyid rnam 'byed [kyi] don bsdus / rnam bshad				
Madhyamaka					
14	dBu ma'i rtsa ba shes rab kyi don bsdus	31.22	3078	14	
15	Shes rab sgron ma'i don bsdus[55]	32.23	3079	15	
16/17	bDen gnyis kyi don bsdus / rnam bshad[56]	31.13/4	-/3086	16/17	
18/-	dBu ma'i rgyan gyi don bsdus / rnam bshad	31.15/6	3080/-	18/20	
19/-	dBu ma snang ba'i don bsdus / rnam bshad	31.24	3081/-	19/21	
20/21	Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa'i don bsdus / rnam bshad	31.17/8	3087/8	22/23	22: extant[57]
22	bSlab pa kun las btus pa'i don bsdus	31.25	3082	24	
23/24	De kho na la 'jug pa'i gzhung bsdus pa / don bsdus pa	31.26	3083	25	
25	bDen chung [gi] bsdus don[58]	31.27	3084	26	
26	Man ngag [gi] bsdus don[59]	31.28	3085	27	
27	dBu ma spyi'i don bsdus	31.41	3089	-	

[55] A commentary on Bhāviveka's *Prajñāpradīpa*.

[56] A commentary on Jñānagarbha's *Satyadvayavibhaṅga*. Shākya-mchog-ldan calls it *Ye shes snying po'i bden gnyis kyi bsdus don*. There is a work translated into the Tangut language entitled *An Exposition of the Two Truths according to rNgog lo tsā ba*. See Solonin 2015: 854.

[57] Two folios extant (three folios missing), incomplete. In September 2007 I had the opportunity to examine an old incomplete manuscript of rNgog's *Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa'i don bsdus* sold in an antique shop in Lhasa (according to the shop owner, the manuscript came from mNga' ris). Only the first and the last folios are available: fols. 1 and 5 (labelled Ka and Ca). The manuscript begins with the words *byang chub sems dpa' 'i spyod pa la 'jug pa'i don bsdus pa ni lnga ste*, while the colophon runs: *byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa'i don bsdus pa* || *lo tsa ba blo ldan shes rab gyis* [= *kyis*] *sbyar ba'o* || *'di'i dpe' lo tsa ba rang gis tha mas bcos pa la bri* || || *bag res dal nas 'da' lags* || *rdzogs s-hyo* || || *i thyi* || ||. I am preparing its critical edition. A passage from rNgog's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* commentary is known from a citation of it by bSod-nams-brtse-mo (1142–1182). See Vose 2010: 302–303. Another manuscript of the same work is preserved at gNas bcu lha khang in 'Bras spungs monastery. See Shes rab bzang po et al. 2010: 70 "[no.] 14, Tsa, 71-1 *śākya'i dge slong dam pa blo ldan shes rab kyi spyod 'jug don bsdus pa | sha* 17."

[58] A commentary on Atiśa's *Satyadvayāvatāra*. Shākya-mchog-ldan describes it as *jo bo'i bden gnyis kyi bsdus don*.

[59] A commentary on Atiśa's *Madhyamakopadeśa*. Las-chen Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan says that there is also an extensive commentary on this work attributed to rNgog (*bKa' gdams chos 'byung*, 152: *dbu ma'i man ngag la 'dis mdzad zer ba'i ṭī ka rgyas pa cig snang ba ni gro lung pa'i dkar chag na mi snang ngo* ||).

Pramāṇa[60]					
28/29	Tshad ma rnam par nges pa ṭi ka dang bcas pa'i bsdus don / rnam bshad chen po	31.19/20	3090/1	29/30	29: published[61]
30/31	Rigs thigs 'grel pa dang bcas pa'i bsdus don / rnam bshad	-	3092/3	31/32	30: published[62]
32	rNam 'grel rgyan dang bcas pa'i bsdus don	31.29	3094	28	
33	Le'u dang po'i stod cung zad kyi rnam bshad[63]		3095	-	
34	Chos mchog chen po'i [man] ngag dang po'i tshigs su bcad pa bdun gyi bshad pa[64]	31.32	3096	-	
35	[De]'i gzhan sel ba'i skabs cung zad bshad pa[65]	31.35/6	3097	-	
36	Slob dpon chos mchog gi tshad ma brtag pa	31.30[67]	3098	33	

[60] For the details of rNgog's Pramāṇa works, see Hugon 2014: 198–200.

[61] The work numbered 29 (*Tshad ma rnam par nges pa ṭi ka dang bcas pa'i rnam bshad chen po*) is probably the *Tshad ma rnam par nges pa'i dka' ba'i gnas rnam par bshad pa*. A facsimile copy was reproduced from a manuscript currently preserved in the library of Sera monastery (labelled Phyi Zha 83, 132 folios) and whose text forms part of the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, 419–707. This manuscript must once have been preserved at gNas bcu lha khang of 'Bras spungs monastery, as the label "Phyi" attached to the top page of the manuscript suggests. It was transferred to the China Nationalities Library in Beijing at least by September 1994 (van der Kuijp 1994: 6, CPN no. 5139[1]), before finally being deposited in Sera monastery.
The China Nationalities Library has another manuscript of the same work (van der Kuijp 1994: 6–7, CPN no. 005153[1]). A facsimile has yet to be published, but an edition in *dbu can* script was brought out in Beijing in 1994 (*Tshad ma rnam nges kyi dka' gnas rnam bshad*, Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang). This manuscript lacks the first folio, which has been supplemented by Kano (2007: 43–45) on the basis of the text contained in the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum* (vol. 1, 419–420). For a study of rNgog's doctrinal position regarding *sahopalambhaniyama* in this work, see Krasser 1997.

[62] A facsimile copy was reproduced from a manuscript preserved in rGyal rtse dPal 'khor chos sde, the text of which, under the title *Tshad ma rnam nges kyi don bsdus*, forms part of the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum* (vol. 1, 369–411, 21 fols.). This title is not attested in the manuscript itself, having been incorrectly inserted by the editor of the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*. Hugon (2009: 57 n. 15) corrects this misidentification, describing the work as a "concise guide" on Dharmottara's *Nyāyabinduṭīkā*. This manuscript is listed in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag* (p. 1452, no. 016371).

[63] Probably a commentary on the first portion of the Anumāna chapter of the *Pramāṇavārttika*.

[64] This could be a commentary on the seven eulogy verses of Dharmottara's *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā*. See Hugon 2014: 199.

[65] This could be a commentary on *apoha*-related discussion in Dharmottara's *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā*. Hugon 2014: 199.

[67] Two related works are listed in bCom-ldan-ral-gri's list: "an extensive commentary and topical outline (*rnam bshad* and *don bsdus*) of the *Chos mchog chung ba*" (not numbered in Schaeffer & van der Kuijp 2009: 272).

	chung ba'i bsdus don[66]				
37/38	Sel ba grub pa'i bsdus don / stod kyi bshad pa	31.33/4[68]	3099 /3100	34/-	
39	sKad cig 'jig pa grub pa'i bsdus don	31.31	3101	35	
40, 41	Bram ze chen po'i sel ba grub pa'i bsdus don / stod kyi rnam bshad[69]	31.37/8	3102/3	36/-	
42, 43	'Brel ba grub pa'i bsdus don / stod kyi rnam par bshad pa[70]	31.39/40	3104/5	37	
Works not mentioned by Gro-lung-pa					
-	Tsong ga ru gsum gyi dge 'dun la spring yig bdud rtsi'i thig le	31.43	3106	39	published[71]
-	Dag yig nyer mkho bsdus pa	-	-	-	published[72]

[66] A commentary on Dharmottara's *Laghuprāmāṇyaparīkṣā*.

[68] A *bsdus don* of Dharmottara's *Apohaprakaraṇa* and a commentary of its first part. bCom-ldan-ral-gri probably regards this as a commentary on the *Pramāṇavārtika* (no. 31.34: *rnam 'grel le dang gi stod 'grel*).

[69] Commentaries on Śaṅkaranandana's *Apohasiddhi*.

[70] Commentaries on Śaṅkaranandana's *Pratibandhasiddhi*.

[71] *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, 707–710. This facsimile copy was reproduced from a manuscript preserved in 'Bras spungs gNas chu lha khang (labelled Phyi La 251). The same manuscript is listed in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag*, p. 1635, no. 018550: *rngog lo chen po blo ldan shes rab kyi springs yig bdud rtsi'i thig le zhugs so*, *dge slong blo ldan shes rab*, *dpe tshugs*, 2 fols., 60.5 x 9.5 cm.
Kano (2007) presents a critical edition of this work, collating the text included in the *bKa' gdams gsung bum* and the verses (10–12, 14–27) cited in Shākya-mchog-ldan's commentary (*sPring yig bdud rtsi'i thig pa'i rgya cher bshad pa dpag bsam yongs 'du'i ljon phreng*, *Complete Works*, vol. 24, 320.6–348.6), and offers (2009) an annotated Japanese translation. According to its colophon, the *sPring yig bdud rtsi'i thig le* was composed for the Saṅgha at Ru gsum in gTsong kha province, probably sometime between 1092 and 1109. Three related works are known: one topical outline (*bsdus don*) by bCom-ldan-ral-gri (*bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 59, 251–253; critically edited in Kano 2009) and two commentaries by Shākya-mchog-ldan (the above-mentioned commentary and *sPring yig bdud rtsi'i thig pa'i rnam par bshad pa*, *Complete Works*, vol. 13, 178.6–181.6). The *sPring yig bdud rtsi'i thig le* is mentioned or cited by later masters, such as Klong-chen-pa, Tsong-kha-pa, and sTag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba. See Kano 2009: 156 n. 5. Cf. Kobayashi 1993 and 2008, Cabezón 2010: 27-28 n. 50, and Chapter 8 below.

[72] *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, 93–111 (9 fols.). The colophon of this work (9r4–5) reads: *dag yig nye* (sic) *mkho bsdus pa zhes bya ba | shākya'i dge slong blo ldan shes rab kyis phyogs gcig tu ldebs pa'o* || || *sarba mangga laṃ* || *gcig zhus so* ||. A facsimile copy was reproduced from a manuscript preserved at the Bod ljongs dpe mdzod khang in Lhasa, the text of which forms part of the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, pp. 93–111 (9 fols.) and in the *dPyad gzhi'i yig cha phyogs sgrigs* (藏文史料彙編第 3 輯. Tianjin: Tianjin Guji Chubanshe. no date), no. 3, vol. 6 as well. This work may be the "very brief grammatical fragment apparently written by rNgog" mentioned by Kramer (2007: 16 n. 4). The attribution of it to rNgog is, according to van der Kuijp

–	Khri bkra shis dbang phyug nam mkha' bstan la spring pa kha che gser slong	31.42[73]	3107	–	
–	sKyes bu gsum gyi lam gyi rim pa tshigs su bcad pa	–	–	38[74]	
–	Gro lung lo tsha ba'i gsung bzhin bris pa'i brgyad stong 'grel pa'i ti ka	31.44	–	–	
–	gZe ma ra mgo	–	–	–	cited[75]
–	Chos mngon pa mdzod kyi 'grel bshad	–	–	–	cited[76]
–	'Jam dpal yon tan ye shes bzang po'i bstod bsgrub bzhugs pa'i dbu phyogs	–	–	–	extant[77]
–	rGyud bla ma'i bsdus don	–	–	–	published[78]

Gro-lung-pa's list often contains two commentarial subgenres, *don bsdus* ("summary" or "essential meaning") and *rnam bshad* ("[extensive] commentary"), for a single basic text. Among the available works that mention their titles in colophons, works 1, 6, 8, 10, and 20 bear the genre designation *bsdus don* or *don bsdus pa*. I therefore identify them with the respective *don bsdus*-s from Gro-lung-pa's list. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, rNgog's usage of the term *bsdus don* is slightly ambiguous,[79] and may differ from Gro-lung-pa's. For instance, two works relating to the RGV are extant, and they both have the term *bsdus don* (or the equivalent *don bsdus pa*) in their titles[80]; one, though, is a "synoptic table" with only two folios, and the other is a "concise guide" with 40 folios.[81] For this reason,

(2003: 392) (2009: 18 n. 55), not at all unproblematic.

73 No. 31.42: *mnga' ris kyi btsad po la gser slong ba'i bsring* [= *spring*] *yig*.

74 For other references, see Roesler 2011: 120 n. 357.

75 See dPal-mang dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan, *bDen gtam snying rje*, 651–652: *rngog gi bstan bcos gze ma ra mgo zhes pa las | lam 'bras rdo rje tshig rkang la dgag pa yod par grags pa la |*. Cf. Karma 2005: 242 n. 53.

76 Dram Dul (2004: xiii) cites a very early biography of 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1235–1280) (unpublished) as stating that Nyi-ma-dpal passed on 'Phags-pa rNgog's teaching including the *Chos mngon pa mdzod kyi 'grel bshad* and *sPring yig bdud rtsi'i phreng ba*.

77 See *'Bras spungs dkar chag*, p. 586, no. 006384, *'jam dpal yon tan ye shes bzang po'i bstod bsgrub bzhugs pa'i dbu phyogs*, *rngog blo ldan shes rab*, *'bru tsha*, 3 fols., 44x8 cm.

78 This work was discovered in May 1914 in Khara Khoto by Sir Aurel Stein (1862–1943) and is now preserved in the British Library, labelled "KK. v. b. 35h." It consists of two folios, the first of which is missing. For a critical edition of and more details concerning it, see Kano 2008a.

79 See also Kano 2008a and Hugon 2009.

80 They are no. 8 and the last title of the register.

81 Hugon 2009.

my suggested identifications are only provisional.

Among the works of rNgog which are still extant, two (nos. 1 and 8) were reproduced in the form of block prints by the scholarly circle of Bla brang bkra shis dkyil in the 20th century, while most of the others were reproduced on the basis of old manuscripts recently rediscovered at the gNas bcu lha khang of 'Bras spungs monastery.

In addition to the works transmitted in Central Tibet, there is one work that was discovered at Khara Khoto in present-day southern Mongolia: the *rGyud bla ma'i bsdus don*, the last work in the register. This suggests the spread of the gSang phu tradition to the Tangut kingdom in Mi nyag/Xixia (西夏).[82]

The Spread of the Teaching of the gSang phu Tradition in Mi nyag and rNgog's Letter Addressed to a Community in Tsong kha

Besides teachings of the bKa' brgyud pa and Sa skya pa traditions (which are represented mainly by Tantric works), some materials relating also to non-Tantric teachings of the gSang phu pa tradition and the bKa' gdams pa tradition have been discovered in Khara Khoto.[83] Apart from the manuscript fragments of rNgog's *rGyud bla ma'i bsdus don* mentioned above, the most noteworthy is a manuscript of the *Shengli yia chu zhi nen lue shi* 正理意暗除之文略釈 (this title is a Chinese translation from the Tangut original presented in the catalogue by the catalogue compiler Tatsuo Nishida[84]) in Tangut translation, which can possibly be identified as a Tangut translation of a topical outline (**bsdus don*) of Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge's (1109–1169) *Tshad ma yid kyi mun sel*. We can date this translation to the time between the 1130s (the period in which the work was possibly composed) and 1374 (the destruction of Khara Khoto).[85] If this identification is correct, then the existence of the Tangut translation suggests that in Xixia the teachings of the gSang phu tradition were studied (or expected to be learned) in the Tangut language. This is also testified to by a recent finding in Khara Khoto of a Tangut translation of a work belonging to the gSang phu tradition, entitled *An Exposition of the Two Truths according to rNgog Lo tsā ba*.[86]

Furthermore, the relation of the bKa' gdams pa school to Mi nyag/ Xixia is

[82] There is another fragment of a synoptic outline of the RGV in the Tibetan manuscript collection of Khara Khoto: Takeuchi & Iuchi (forthcoming), no. 44. The contents approximately correspond with RGV I.66–95. See below, Appendix B, p. 412 n. 46.

[83] See Solonin 2015 and Takeuchi & Iuchi 2016 (forthcoming).

[84] See Kano 2008a: 168 n. 97.

[85] See Kano 2008: 168.

[86] See Solonin 2015: 854.

attested in a chronicle of Rwa sgreng monastery known as the *rGyal ba'i dben gnas rwa sgreng gi bshad pa nyi ma'i 'od* of 'Brom Shes-rab-me-lce, which was composed in 1299, as pointed out by Iuchi (2012: 60): During the regnal years of the Xixia king Weiming Renzong (嵬名仁宗, reign: 1139–1193), 25 disciples of the fifth abbot of Rwa sgreng monastery Zhang 'Od-'jo-ba (d. 1150) functioned as court chaplains of the Xixia king (*me nyag gi rgyal po'i bla mchod*). The relation between the bKa' gdams pa school and the Xixia kingdom is also testified to by the discovery of manuscript fragments of a *gsung thor bu* ("collection of teachings") type of text collecting bKa' gdams pa masters' instructions[87] and a fragment of Atiśa's *Bodhimārgapradīpapañjikā* (along with a Tangut translation of the same text?) from Khara Khoto.[88] The spread of the bKa' gdams pa tradition in the Xixia kingdom is further confirmed by discoveries of related works in Tangut translations: Atiśa's *Satyadvayāvatāra* (D 5298, P 3902), commentaries on this text,[89] and Atiśa's *Lokātītasaptāṅgavidhi* (D 2461, P 3289).[90] There are also Tangut translations of Indic works well studied in the bKa' gdams pa tradition, for instance, Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṃkāravivṛti* and *Abhisamayālaṃkārālokā*, the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, and the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*.[91]

In the late 11th or early 12th century, rNgog composed a letter titled *sPring yig*

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87 Iuchi 2010.

88 Takeuchi & Iuchi (forthcoming), no. 153 (British Library, K.K.V.b.017.n) ≈ D 3948, fol. 258b4-219b2. Nishida refers to this title (D 3948) as a possible candidate for a Tangut text (Nishida 1977: 56, no. 292). Thanks to Prof. Takeuchi and Dr. Iuchi (who kindly provided me with their unpublished transcriptions of the Tibetan manuscript collection from Khara Khoto preserved in British Library), I could identify this as Atiśa's along with Tibetan manuscript fragments of non-tantric works including the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārakārikā* (D 4020, Takeuchi & Iuchi [forthcoming], no. 72), *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (D 4026, *ibid.* nos. 47, 71, 72), *Abhisamayālaṃkārakārikā* (D 3793, *ibid.* no. 119), Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṃkāravivṛti* (D 3793, *ibid* nos. 83, 110, 121, 242, 243), Bhadanta Vimuktisena's *Abhisamayālaṃkāravārttika* (D 3788, *ibid.* no. 136), Kamalaśīla's *Bodhicaryāpradīpa* (D 2321, *ibid.* no. 80), Bodhibhadra's *Bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃśikāpañjikā* (D 4083, *ibid.* no. 234), the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (D 3871, *ibid.* no. 253), and Nāgārjuna's *Suhṛllekha* (D 4182, *ibid.* no. 111), and also fragments of tantras including the *Mahāsahasrapramardana* (D 558, *ibid.* no. 20), *Laghuśaṃvara* (D 368, *ibid.* nos. 68, 69, 70, 78, 140), *Catuspīṭhatantra* (D428, *ibid.* no. 220), and of other tantric works (D 1218, nos. 49, 99; D 2244, no. 64; D 805, no. 98; D 1218, no. 98; D 4378, no. 122; D 2327, no. 157; D 2194, no. 187; D 1805, no. 211; D 1428, no. 264; D 1302, no. 268; D 3648, no. 273).

89 See Nishida 1977: 30, nos. 120, 121 and Solonin 2015: 854. Solonin reports a relevant work in Tangut translation entitled *An Explanation of the Meaning of the Treatise on the Entry into the Two Truths* by *Byang-chub-seng-ge.

90 Nishida 1977: 17, no. 33. There is a Tangut translation of a commentary on Lūyīpāda's *Cakrasamvarābhisamaya* (Nishida 1977: 18, no. 35), Atiśa being one among several who composed a commentary on this text (D 1490).

91 Nishida 1977: 34, nos. 141–148 and Solonin 2015: 852. There is a Tibetan fragment of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* from Khara Khoto (Takeuchi & Iuchi 2016, no. 235, identified by Kano).

bdud rtsi'i thig le (see "Works not mentioned by Gro-lung-pa" in the list of rNgog's writings, above) and addressed to the Buddhist community of Ru gsum (Ru is a geopolitically defined area) in Tsong kha headed by rGa-ston Shes-rab-grags (*rga ston shes rab grags la swogs pa'i gtsong kha ru gsum gyi dge 'dun la spring pa'i yi ge*).[92] Tsong kha is located between Central Tibet and Xixia and thus a strategically important area for the spread of the bKa' gdams pa and gSang phu pa traditions (no matter which of the two rNgog may have belonged to). Although this letter has purely doctrinal content (see Chapter 8) and no bearing on any political matters, when the historical background of addressing a letter to a community in Tsong kha is considered within the larger context of the later bKa' gdams pa and Xixia relationship mentioned above, then it is evident that former masters such as rNgog early on established sufficient grounding for a continued spread of their tradition to this northern area.

Horlemann (2007: 83) points out that "[b]y the end of the eleventh century, the Tsong kha confederation was gradually disintegrating as the constituent tribes started to form independent alliances with either the Chinese or the Tanguts." In this regard, the late 11th century and early 12th century was a favorable period for the local spread of bKa' gdams and gSang phu traditions. Tsong kha/mDo smad finally became dominated by the Xixia king in the first half of the 12th century.[93]

The Composition of rNgog's Concise Guide to the Ratnagotravibhāga

To my present knowledge, there is no witness that precisely indicates the place and date of composition of rNgog's concise guide to the *Ratnagotravibhāga*. A passage in rNgog's biography by Gro-lung-pa states that rNgog, when he sojourned in Magadha, "correctly clarified [their] doctrinal contents (*don gyi tshul*)."[94] If we interpret this as alluding to his composition of commentaries, we may date the composition of this text to the period of his stay in Magadha, sometime between 1076 and 1092. Otherwise the only other reasonable alternative is that he composed it following his return to Tibet, sometime between 1092 and 1109. (Since the work is in Tibetan, he would have been writing for Tibetans in any case, among whom one would naturally expect him to be targeting particularly his own disciples. Finally, is there anything that would have kept him from composing the works prior to 1076.)

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[92] See Kano 2007: 13.

[93] *rGyal ba'i dben gnas rwa sgreng gi bshad pa nyi ma'i 'od*, 19b7: *de dus na me nyag rgyal po dbus byas pa mdo smad*; Iuchi 2012: 60.

[94] Kramer 2007: 98, fol. 9a. The word "Their" indicates texts that rNgog studied there.

Chapter 8

rNgog's Doctrinal Positions in Relation to Sajjana's and His Commentarial Style

As seen in Chapters 1–5, the RGV, which was composed around the 5th century, suddenly spread in the 11th century in both Eastern India and Kashmir. During the same period, the RGV was introduced to Tibet over two routes: Atiśa brought it from Vikramaśīla in the middle of the 11th century, and rNgog brought it from Kashmir in the last quarter of the 11th century.

The 11th century is the early phase of the Later Dissemination (*phyi dar*) period of the Tibetan Buddhism. Most texts introduced and translated into Tibetan during this period had already spread within India, where they attained to a certain eminence. The fact that translations of the RGV were repeatedly made and revised in Tibet (see Chapter 6) reflects the high esteem accorded to the text in its land of origin (see Chapters 1–5).

It is also remarkable that various scholastic traditions were introduced into Tibet in a short period, because they are sometimes not mutually consistent in terms of content or doctrinal system. Still, it is natural that they should display such diversity, for Indian Buddhism had been developing more than a thousand years and in widely scattered districts of the country. That these competing traditions flooded into Tibet in close succession posed problems. The Tibetan Buddhism of the 11th century did not have a solid enough tradition of its own to engage with the profound systems developed in India. In the case of Buddhist scholastic traditions that had survived from the imperial period in Tibet, they had been languishing ever since the fall of the kingdom in the 9th century.

One of the most important tasks for Tibetan translators in the 11th century was not only to translate texts or to revise prior translations but to evaluate each translated text and place it in a conformable doctrinal system.[1] This was crucial for the

[1] Although rNgog revised a number of preceding translations, he always maintained respect for earlier translators. This is reflected, for instance, in an autobiographical verse attributed to him: "Vairocana is equivalent to the sky, sKa and Cog are both like the pair of sun and moon, Rin-

formation of Tibetan Buddhism in the Later Dissemination period. Obviously conscious of this mission, rNgog composed many commentaries on Indian works he translated (see Chapter 7). Especially in composing what are known as "concise guide" (or "essential meaning") (*don bsdus pa* and its synonym *bsdus don*) commentaries, which convey the purport of texts quickly and concisely, rNgog aimed to teach the texts to his disciples effectively enough that the newly introduced doctrines could take root in Tibet.[2] Indeed, rNgog, in the concluding verse of the *mDo rgyan bsdus don*, states: "I have composed this *bsdus don* in order to benefit [disciples] of inferior intelligence, [at least] slightly, and also to cultivate myself."[3] Also, as we saw at the end of Chapter 6, the story of Sha-ra-ba's (1070–1141) disciples who shifted to using rNgog's RGV translation instead of Atiśa's demonstrates that rNgog's efforts benefited not only his own disciples but also those of his contemporaries.

With this historical background in mind, I shall in the present and following chapter (Chapters 8 and 9) analyze the unique doctrinal positions of rNgog's *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa* (abbr. *rGyud bla don bsdus*). In general, commentarial literature exhibits one of two tendencies: offering either literal explanations of the basic text or else loose explanations in which commentators' own doctrinal positions are reflected, sometimes in a deliberate misrepresentation of the original intent of the author of the basic texts. rNgog's *rGyud bla don bsdus* falls under the latter case (though it shares more or less both tendencies). For rNgog shapes his reading of the RGV/RGVV to the doctrinal system he has embraced. His unique doctrinal positions can accordingly be assessed in terms of how distant they are from the original intent of the RGV (i.e. Maitreya).

In this chapter I shall point out some problems in the Buddha-nature doctrine within the RGV itself, summarize the contents of the *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa* by Sajjana, who was one of rNgog's most influential teachers, review rNgog's doctrinal position, and analyze the commentarial style of rNgog's compositions, and in Chapter 9 I shall identify the essential points of his *rGyud bla don bsdus*.

Problems Associated with the Buddha-nature Doctrine of the Ratnagotravibhāga

The core idea of the RGV's teaching is that everyone possesses Buddha-nature.

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chen-bzang-po is just [like] a great star at dawn, [whereas] I am just a glow-worm." (*bai ro tsa ba nam mkha'i mtha' dang mnyam || ska cog rnam gnyis nyi zla zung cig 'dra || rin chen bzang po tho rangs skar chen tsam || kho bo de drung srin bu me khyer tsam ||*). See Kramer 2007: 9.

2 See Hugon 2009: 48–49, Kano 2008a: 146–147, and Vose 2009: 51.

3 rNgog, *mDo rgyan don bsdus*, (a) p. 252.10; (b) p. 544: *blo dman 'ga' la cung zad phan 'dod dang || rang nyid goms phyir bsdus don 'di byas so ||*.

This nature does not change at any time throughout the progression from the level of ordinary beings to that of a buddha; it is merely purified from adventitious defilements. The completion of this purification process constitutes awakening.

Both Indian and Tibetan traditions struggled with the question of the ontological status of Buddha-nature. In some sūtras one finds descriptions of Buddha-nature as both permanent and pervading every sentient being—the same characteristics ascribed by non-Buddhists to the Self (*ātman*). But if Buddha-nature is understood as a permanent entity akin to a Self, how could this teaching be compatible with the standard Buddhist doctrine that everything is impermanent and selfless?

Some Mahāyāna sūtras seem to offer support for the assimilation of Buddha-nature with a Self. The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*, for instance, is quite explicit in associating the two notions, characterizing as it does the *dharmakāya* as the perfection of the Self (*ātmapāramitā*). It is quick to warn, though, against confusing the "correct" *ātman,* namely Buddha-nature, with *ātman* taken in its ordinary sense.[4]

RGV I.37 and the RGVV also speak of the perfection of the Self as descriptive of the *dharmakāya*, but again these sources interpret Self (*ātman*) in the sense of selflessness (*nairātmya*) or the quiescence of conceptual proliferation (*prapañca*), thus distinguishing Buddha-nature from the notion of a personal, permanent Self (*ātman*).[5] Nevertheless, the RGV does not promote a doctrine of emptiness whereby everything is ultimately empty of an intrinsic nature. Quite the contrary, it stresses the real existence of Buddha-nature, and proclaims the superiority of the Buddha-nature doctrine to the emptiness doctrine of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*s.

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[4] The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* equates *ātman* with Buddha-nature (see D 103a2; P 105b5; T 407b9–10; T 883b15–16: *bdag ces bya ba ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i don to* ||) and characterizes the *dharmakāya* (that is, the resultant aspect of Buddha-nature) as the perfection of permanence (*nityapāramitā*), perfection of bliss (*sukhapāramitā*), perfection of the Self (*ātmapāramitā*), and perfection of purity (*śubhapāramitā*) (see D 33a2–33b3; P 33b3–34a2; T 377c–378a; T 862b). See Introduction, above.

[5] RGVV 31.13–16: *tathāgatas tu*[a] *punar yathābhūtajñānena sarvadharmanairātmyaparapārami-prāptaḥ*[b] | *tac cāsya nairātmyam anātmalakṣaṇena yathādarśanam avisaṃvāditatvāt*[c] *sarvakālam ātmābhipreto nairātmyam evātmeti*[d] *kṛtvā* | *yathoktaṃ sthito 'sthānayogeneti* |.
[a] Schmithausen (1971: 143) emends *tathāgataḥ* to *tathāgatas tu*; [b] Johnston xvi; [c] Schmithausen (1971: 143) emends *avisaṃvāditvāt* to *avisaṃvāditatvāt*; [d] Schmithausen (1971: 143) emends *evātmani* to *evātmeti*.
RGVV 32.9–10: *prajñāpāramitābhāvanayākāśopamasattvabhājanalokanairātmyaniṣṭhāgamanād*.
See also RGVV 33.8–10: *tām eva cāvidyāvāsabhūmiṃ pratītya sūkṣmanimittaprapañcasamudācārayogād atyantam anabhisaṃskārām ātmapāramitāṃ nādhigacchanti*.
Schmithausen (1971: 143–144 and 1973: 135) links these passages to the Madhyamaka view. For instance, the *Madhyamakahṛdaya* (III.284cd) similarly defines *dharmakāya* as the quiescence of conceptual proliferation (*buddhānāṃ dharmakāyo 'yaṃ prapañcopaśamaḥ śivaḥ*).

The RGV thus, on the one hand, distinguishes Buddha-nature from the disapproved view of a Self, while on the other it admits Buddha-nature as ultimately existent[6]—an ambiguous point of view, and a challenging one for its interpreters.

Among the Indian authors of Śāstric literature, Bhāviveka interprets Buddha-nature as a Threefold Doorway of Liberation (*trivimokṣamukha*), Kamalaśīla equates Buddha-nature with selflessness, and Jñānaśrīmitra takes Buddha-nature as emptiness (see Introduction and Chapters 2–5). By contrast, sutra works, such as the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* and *Ghanavyūha*, equate Buddha-nature with the *ālayavijñāna*. We thus find various interpretations of Buddha-nature in the course of the doctrinal development of Indian Buddhism.

Although there is some evidence of discussions of Buddha-nature in pre-11th-century Tibetan works,[7] as well as in 11th-century works,[8] rNgog was the first to compose a concise guide on the RGV, as well as a topical outline (or synoptic table, *bsdus don*) of the same text.[9] rNgog's RGV commentary has been available since 1996 in the form of a facsimile reprint from a xylograph version, and the text of an old manuscript was recently published in the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*.

In this commentary, entitled "*The Concise Guide (or Essential Meaning) of the Mahāyānottaratantra*" (*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa*), rNgog not only glosses the text of the RGV but also presents his own interpretation of Buddha-nature—an interpretation that would have a long-lasting impact in Tibet, especially in the early bKa' gdams pa tradition (more precisely, the tradition of gSang phu sNe'u thog monastery).[10]

bTsan Kha bo che (b. 1021) was also active in introducing the teaching of the

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6 Cf. RGV I.53, I.165; RGVV 2.11–13.

7 See Wangchuk 2005: 178–180.

8 Sajjana's collaborative translator gZu dGa' ba'i rdo rje composed a brief note (*zin bris*) on the RGV. See gZhon nu dpal, *rGyud bla me long*, 4.17–18 (*paṇḍita sadzjana'i gsung la lo tsā ba gzu dga' rdor gyis zin bris byas ba'i rgyud bla ma'i rnam bshad*) and A khu Ching Shes rab rgya mtsho, *Tho yig*, no. 11338.
Sajjana's disciple bTsan kha bo che composed the *Pad ma lcags kyu*, which discusses his teacher's *gzhan stong* view (see *Zab khrid yi ge*, 205.2–206.4). According to Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen, bTsan also composed a brief note (*zin tho*) on the text (*Zhu chen thob yig*, Kha 72a3–4: *'khor lo mtha' ma'i dgongs don dang mtha' phye chos dang chos nyid phye ba'i rjes su 'brang ba 'byed gnyis | rgyud bla rnams dpe tsam yang dka' bar byung tshul btsan kha bo che'i zin thor gsal ba bzhin rgya gar du'ang yod par grags pa'i gzhan stong gi brgyud pa ni ...*).

9 An incomplete manuscript of the topical outline found in Khara Khoto, preserved at the British Museum, was edited in Kano 2008a.

10 rNgog is time and again quoted by later masters. See Chapters 10 and 11.

RGV to Tibet.[11] The lack of surviving material prevents us from determining his position on Buddha-nature, and in any case his influence appears to have been limited.[12] According to gZhon nu dpal, the transmission of bTsan's teaching tradition had ceased by the 14th century (*Deb ther sngon po*, 424).

rNgog and bTsan's role in introducing the Buddha-nature doctrine to Tibet is well documented in the historical literature.[13] I shall first focus on their common teacher, Sajjana, in an attempt to clarify the most likely sources of their individual understanding of the teaching of the RGV. As seen in Chapter 2, the transmission lineage of the RGV starts with Maitrīpa's rediscovery of the manuscripts of the RGV from a stūpa. Maitrīpa passed the teaching on to *Ānandakīrti, who in turn passed it on to Sajjana, and Sajjana to rNgog and bTsan. Unfortunately, Maitrīpa's doctrinal position on Buddha-nature can hardly be assessed on the basis of the very fragmentary references in his own compositions,[14] particularly the *Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivaraṇa*, although Śākya-mchog-ldan (1428–1507) asserts that he approached the RGV (and the *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga*) from the doctrinal position of Mahāmudrā (Chap. 2, p. 56); while with regard to *Ānandakīrti's position we know virtually nothing. We can thus consider ourselves lucky that Sajjana's *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa* (available only in Sanskrit; abbr. *Upadeśa*) has survived.

Sajjana's Doctrinal Position

As noted in Chapter 5, Sajjana came from a Brahmanical family (he is called a

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11 See Mathes 2008: 32–34, 46–47.

12 Note, however, that Maitrīpa's teaching regarding Buddha-nature is said to have been introduced into Tibet by adherents of Mahāmudrā, and bTsan to have contributed to its spread. See Mathes 2008: 32–34. Tsering Wanchuk informed me of a RGV commentary in the bTsan tradition ascribed to a certain Chos gshes (*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i gsal byed* contained in *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 76, pp. 343–394). Mathes (2012) takes the *Theg chen rgyud bla ma'i gdams pa* attributed to sMon-lam-tshul-khrims (1219–1299) as belonging to the bTsan tradition (see also Chapter 2).

13 Las-chen's *bKa' gdams chos 'byung* suggests that an early bKa' gdams pa master gTsang-pa Rin-po-che (b. 1077) received the teachings from both rNgog and bTsan. See Las-chen, *bKa' gdams chos 'byung*, p. 346: "gTsang-pa Rin-po-che studied under five translators, i.e., rNgog lo, gNyan lo, Ba ri, Rwa lo, and bTsan Kha-bo-che, and when he learned *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* under bTsan, he understood it at once" (*bla ma lotstsha ba rang yang rngog lo | gnyan lo | ba ri | rwa lo | btsan kha bo che ste lnga tsam la gtugs | btsan la mdo sde rgyan gsan pas tshar gcig la mkhyen*).

14 In Maitrīpa's **Mahāmudrākanakamālā* II.27c, the expression *sangs rgyas kyi snying po* appears. See Klaus-Dieter Mathes, *A Fine Blend of Mahāmudrā and Madhyamaka: Maitrīpa's Collection of Texts on Non-conceptual Realization (Amanasikāra)*, Wien: VÖAW, 2016, p. 523 (see also *ibid.* p. 18).

bram ze), and was very likely a lay Buddhist (he had one or two sons).[15] A grandson (or nephew, *dbon po*) of Vikramaśīla's great scholar Ratnavajra, he flourished in the 11th century. At least three of Sajjana's compositions are available: the *Putralekha*, *Sūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha*, and *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa*. Both Sajjana and his doctrinal positions are occasionally referred to in Tibetan literature. According to Bu-ston, for instance, Sajjana took the three turnings of the wheel of the Dharma as corresponding to the Three Vehicles; whereas according to bTsan, he took them as corresponding to the teachings of the Four Noble Truths, the absence of an intrinsic nature, and the "*dharmacakra* of careful distinction," the latter a formulaic expression for the teachings of the *Madhyāntavibhāga* and *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga*, both regarded by Sajjana as encapsulating the supreme doctrine.[16]

Furthermore, he sets forth his own doctrinal views on the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* in his *Sūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha*; these views are referred to in Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge's and 'Jam-dbyangs-dga'-ba'i-blo-gros' (1429–1503) *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* commentaries.[17] In Phywa-pa's commentary, we can find more than 50 references to Sajjana (mentioned as *sa sdza* or *bram ze ma ha sa sdza*)[18] along with about 25 references to Parahitabhadra.[19] Sajjana is therein said to have explained that the spiritual disposition (*gotra*) abides in those who are in the course of soteriological path before attaining awakening and that, after attaining awakening, the three

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[15] Mahājana was the name of one son, while Sūkṣmajana may have been the name of another (probably the younger brother of Mahājana as the name itself suggests). See Chapter 5, 139ff.

[16] See Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, *Khrid brgya'i skor*, 104.3–5, Stearns 1999: 42–43, Kano 2006b: 33, Mathes 2008: 46.

[17] For the latter, see Odani 1984: 68 and Kano 2006b: 33–34. Cf. also Kimura 2010: 264. Li Xuezhu, Ye Shaoyong, and I are jointly preparing a critical edition of the Sanskrit text of the *Sūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha*. For a description of the manuscript, see Kano 2008c and Ye & Li & Kano 2013.

[18] Phywa-pa, *Theg pa chen po mdo sde rgyan gyi legs bshad yang rgyan nyi 'od gsal ba*, 352.1, 359.1, 362.4 (*bla ma dznya na shri dang | sa sdza dang | lo tsha ba dang | bdag gi bla ma dag gis* ...), 365.3 (*bram ze ma ha sa sdza na re*), 366.6, 368.8, 369.7, 371.8, 372.3, 372.6, 377.6, 379.2, 380.6, 383.1, 385.4, 394.2, 394.6, 395.8, 396.7, 397.1, 406.7, 410.3, 411.7, 414.7, 425.1, 425.3, 425.7, 427.1, 428.1, 431.1, 431.8, 434.1, 434.3, 438.3, 440.8, 445.1, 445.4, 450.3, 452.6 (*bram ze na re*), 455.6 (*bram ze yang*), 457.7, 462.1, 463.2, 464.7, 471.1, 474.6, 475.2, 475.5, 485.5, 504.1, 515.1, 530.2, 536.6.
In one passage (*ibid.*, 369.6–7), Sajjana about judged previous Tibetan scholars' views of particular matters as incorrect. Sajjana might have been somtiems critical to other commentaries. See Phywa-pa, *ibid.*, 369.6–7: *sngon bod kyi dge bshes rnams kyis ti ka bltas pas ... byed du mdzad do || de yin nam zhus pas bla ma sa sdza na re de ma yin te* ...

[19] Phywa-pa, *ibid.*, 353.7, 360.3: 361.2, 362.3, 377.6, 379.1, 380.6, 394.7, 396.2, 396.6, 403.2, 411.7, 411.8, 412.1, 414.3, 415.2, 425.2, 433.8, 462.2, 463.3, 465.6, 474.5, 475.1, 504.1, 536.5.

kinds of awakening (corresponding to the three vehicles) are no more called *gotra*.[20] He is also said to have divided the core body of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* into four parts and correlated the division with that of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*.[21] According to gZhon-nu-dpal, Padma-seng-ge (11th cent.) is said to have written an extensive commentary on the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* based on notes (*zin bris*) taken at Sajjana's lectures and worked up during his study under Sajjana.[22] Phywa-pa's and 'Jam-dbyangs-dga'-ba'i-blo-gros's references to Sajjana are probably based on these lecture notes, which are yet to be found.

Textual Materials relating to Sajjana's Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa

The only surviving material to provide insight into Sajjana's understanding of the RGV is his *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa*. This work occupies a single folio of a palm-leaf manuscript written in proto-Śāradā script (datable to between the 11th and 13th centuries[23]; palm leaf, 20⅔ × 2⅓ inches,[24] with two string holes). The scribe of the manuscript is a Kashmiri. The manuscript was once preserved at Zhwa-lu Ri-phug monastery, where it was very probably included in the proto-Śāradā manuscript set (see Chapter 5, the section on Sajjana). Today it is likely being housed in the Tibet Museum in Lhasa. The negative photographed by Sāṅkṛtyāyana (the positive prints of which are currently preserved at Göttingen University under shelf mark Xc14/1) is scarcely legible, while the photographs by Tucci are of a better quality.

As a complete work in 37 verses (in most cases *śloka*s), not only does it specifically aim to analyze the doctrine of Buddha-nature; it also summarizes the entire contents of the RGV. In fact, Sajjana models his own soteriological views after the doctrinal topics of the RGV, which are summarized as the seven *vajrapada*s, the three aspects of Buddha-nature, the ten topics, the ten defilements, and the ten similes.

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[20] Phywa-pa, *ibid*., 463.2–3: *sa sdza na re rigs zhes bya ba rang rang gis 'bras bu ma thob tshun chad lam bzhi na yod la 'bras bu thob nas bo de gsum zer gyi rigs mi zer bas sa 'tshams de na yod do*.

[21] Phywa-pa, *ibid*., 371.8–372.2: *bla ma sa sdza nyid kyis shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i mdo lta ba'i man ngag nas mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan la don bzhi mdzad de | shes bya la ji ltar gnas pa'i gnas lugs bstan pa dang | shes bya la ji ltar gnas pa de gang zag gis nyams su len lugs bstan pa dang | gang zag gis nyams su blangs pa las 'bras bu ci thob pa dang | 'bras bu thob pa des sems can gyi don byed pa'o || dang po ni dmigs pa yul mkhyen pa gsum mo || gnyis pa ni nyams su len pa'o tshul sbyor ba bzhi'o || gsum pa ni 'bras bu chos sku'o || bzhi pa ni 'phrin las so || de dang mdo sde rgyan 'dra ste ...*

[22] *Deb sngon*, 423.6–7: *des kyang sadzdza na la gtugs pa'i skabs kyi zin bris byas pa'i mdo sde rgyan gyi ṭī ka chen po zhig kyang snang ngo*. See Kano 2006b: 47 n. 28.

[23] In this manuscript, the scribe sometimes uses vowel signs with *pṛṣṭhamātrā*, which were in use until the 15th century; and also sometimes writes the syllable *rtha* in an old style. For details, see Kano 2006b: 36.

[24] The size is described by Sāṅkṛtyāyana (1935: 31).

Despite its great significance for the doctrine of Buddha-nature in Tibetan Buddhism, the *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa* has hitherto not been adequately studied, given both the lack of a critical edition and its highly elliptical style.

Previous Studies of the Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa

The work was first referred to by Johnston in 1950 (who saw a glass-plate image of the text photographed by Sāṅkṛtyāyana and preserved in Patna)[25] as part of his introduction to the Sanskrit edition of the RGV. Later it was mentioned by Giuseppe Tucci, who himself had photographed the manuscript (probably at Zhwa-lu) and then given a copy to V.V. Gokhale.[26] Jikidō Takasaki (1975) first provided an overview of the contents of the text and a rough transcription of the manuscript on the basis of the photocopy of the manuscript handed down from Tucci. Takasaki's transcription however did not include the interlinear notes of an anonymous hand inserted in the Sanskrit manuscript. Through Takasaki's great kindness, I could access a positive copy of the manuscript image. On the basis of this photocopy, I deciphered the interlinear glosses of the manuscript, provided a critical edition of the Sanskrit text including the glosses, analyzed the text (Kano 2006a), and presented a list of corrections to Takasaki's transcription, a paleographical analysis of the manuscript, and an overview of Sajjana's general doctrinal position (Kano 2006b).

As further *testimonia* for the text of Sajjana's *Upadeśa*, I reported quotations from it found in a Kashmiri RGV commentary known as *Mahāyānottaratantra-paricaya* (abbr. *Paricaya*) by an anonymous hand and included in a proto-Śāradā palm-leaf set (Kano 2014b, see Chapter 5). This *Paricaya* (fols. 6v6–7, 7r2–3) cites the verses 7c–8d, 9cd, 10ab, 11, 25cd, 26, 27, 14, and 15 (with some crucial variant readings) from Sajjana's *Upadeśa*, along with two lines and one verse of Sajjana not found in the *Upadeśa* manuscript.

An early draft of my unpublished annotated translation of the text (in 2006) was unexpectedly reproduced with minor changes by Karl Brunnhölzl in a book

[25] Johnston (1950: vi) writes "Of the three MSS. mentioned, one proved on examination not to be of the *Ratnagotravibhāga*. As at present constituted, it consists of three folios in a script, which is substantially older than that of the other two MSS., VIII century perhaps or even earlier, and is hard to decipher in the photographs; it contains a brief summary of the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, as appears from the colophon, *Mahāyānottaratantropadeśa kṛtiś ŚrīSatyajñapādānām*. The author, *Satyajñāna*, is apparently not mentioned elsewhere, and I have not noted any passages which throw light on the text of the main work." "*Satyajña*" is a wrong reading of *Sajjana*.

[26] Tucci 1958: xi "The Ratnagotra-upadeśa of Sajjanapāda I sent for publication to my friend V.V. Gokhale who has devoted a great part of his time to the study of the Ratnagotra."

of his in 2014 (which actually appeared in 2015).[27]

My own improved annotated translation is significantly different from what appears in his book, especially what concerns crucial points (See Kano 2015a; a critical edition of Kano 2006a will be published in the near future).

A Structural Analysis of the Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa

The *Upadeśa* follows the five-chapter structure of the RGV: verses 1–28 summarize the teaching of RGV I, verses 29–34 encapsulate RGV II–IV (verses 29–30b: general remarks, verses 30c–32: RGV II, verse 33: RGV III, and verse 34: RGV IV), and verses 35–37 provide a digest of RGV V. Although verses 1–28 present no clear structure at first glance, we can, on the basis of *antaraślokas*, "intermediate/concluding verses" (verses 14, 15, and 24), divide them into five parts: verses 1–7, 8–15, 16–24, 25–27, and 28.[28]

Within a structural analysis of verses 1–27, verses 7cd and 25–27 bear witness to the following division: verse 7cd[29] suggests that a series of explanations of *cintā* and *bhāvanā* practices relating to Buddha-nature starts with verse 8, while verses 25–27 conclude the explanations by associating the practices with verses in the RGV. Verse 26ab[30] (along with its interlinear gloss) teaches RGV I.27 and 28 as the basis of *cintā* practice, while verses 26cd and 25 associate the ten topics and the nine similes (RGV I.29–152) with *bhāvanā* practice. Sajjana's explanation of RGV I.27 and 28 actually starts with verse 8 and that of the ten topics begins with verse 16.

Sajjana's presentation has the following structural features: he first states a general idea and then provides details; e.g., verses 20ab (general statement) and 20c–21 (details), verses 22 (general statement) and 23 (details), verses 25 (general statement) and 26–27 (details), verses 30cd (general statement) and 31–32 (its details), verses 29–30b (general statement) and 30c–34 (details). The outline of the entire text can be analyzed accordingly:

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[27] Karl Brunnhölzl: *When the Clouds Part: The Uttaratantra and Its Meditative Tradition as a Bridge between Sūtra and Tantra* (Boston/London: Snow Lion, 2014), pp. 461–472, pp. 1121–1128 n. 1718–1803. His analysis of the text is again largely based on my draft (*ibid.* pp. 288–300). Unfortunately, mistakes in my earlier draft are also reproduced without correction in his book. For an evaluation and further problems of Brunnhölzl's book, see above, p. 19 n.5.

[28] An insertion "*iti smṛtaḥ*" by the scribe (or Sajjana's disciple) after verse 7 suggests a section marker that divides verses 1–7 from verses 8ff.

[29] Verse 7cd: *tato dhātvartham āśritya cintābhāvanayor viśet*.

[30] Verse 26ab: *tatra piṇḍārthanirdeśaḥ prāk cintāvatarāśrayaḥ*.

[Synoptic analysis of Sajjana's *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa*]

(RGV I)

The seven *vajrapada*s (RGV I.1–26)

1–4 The Three Jewels

5–6b The seven *vajrapada*s

6c–7ab The last three *vajrapadas* as soteriological foundations

7cd A starting point of *cintā* and *bhāvanā* practices

The *cintā* practice relating to Buddha-nature (RGV I.27, 28)

8–9b A compound analysis of *tathāgatagarbha*

9c–11 *Dhātu*, *tathatā*, *gotra*, and *dharmakāya*

12, 13 The soteriological sequence of the seven *vajrapada*s

14, 15 Summary in *antaraśloka*s

The *bhāvanā* practice relating to Buddha-nature (RGV I.29–152)

16–19 The ten topics as objects of cultivation (RGV I.29–94)

20, 21 The ten topics and the nine defilements (RGV I.130–143)

22, 23 Repressing laxity and excitation (the nine similes [RGV I.95–129], the three aspects [RGV I.144–152], and the nine defilements [RGV I.130–143])

24 Summary in an *antaraśloka*

Tracing *cintā* and *bhāvanā* practices back to the RGV

25 The sequence of *cintā* and *bhāvanā*—the three aspects, the ten topics, and the nine similes.

26, 27 Tracing *cintā* to RGV I.27, 28 and *bhāvanā* to RGV I.29–152

Removal of mistaken views on Buddha-nature (RGV I.156–167)

28 The tenet relating to Buddha-nature is established by refuting an objection to the authoritative teaching of it.

(RGV II–IV)

The last three *vajrapada*s

29–30b The soteriological sequence and the last three *vajrapada*s

30c–32 Awakening (RGV II)

33 Buddha-qualities (RGV III)

34 Buddha-activities (RGV IV)

(RGV V)

35–36 *Anuśaṃsā* and *rakṣā* of the treatise (RGV V.1–24)

37 Dedication (RGV V.25)

An Outline of the Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa

With the help of the interlinear Sanskrit glosses, we can summarize the contents of the work as follows:

Verses 1–4 teach the Three Jewels (i.e. the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha). Those who are devoted to one of the Three Jewels[31] understand them as separate, but ultimately the three are encapsulated within the Jewel of the Buddha, and so indivisible (cf. RGV I.19–21). The purpose of teaching the Three Jewels to ordinary persons is to promote their resolve to become a buddha (*cittotpāda*), which in turn is aimed at the complete attainment of Awakening; and for persons who have not yet accumulated a wholesome accumulation (*asaṃbhṛtasaṃbhāra*)[32] the Three Jewels serve as a fallback entry point into the Buddhist practice.

Verses 5–7 teach the seven *vajrapada*s (i.e. the Buddha, Dharma, Saṃgha, Buddha-nature, Awakening, Buddha-qualities, and Buddha-activities), the core subjects of the RGV, which relate in turn to the soteriological stages: the practitioner who has arrived at stages of the paths leading to liberation and penetration and the path of immediate succession (*mokṣabhāgīya*, *nirvedhabhāgīya*, and *ānantaryamārga*) has direct access to the conditions (i.e. Awakening, Buddha-qualities, and Buddha-activities), having merely to practice reflection (*cintā*) and cultivation (*bhāvanā*), with Buddha-nature as his mental object.[33]

Verses 8–11 discuss the three aspects of Buddha-nature (i.e. *dharmakāya*, *tathatā*, and *gotra*), based on RGV I.27–28. Sajjana follows the compound-analysis of *tathāgatagarbha* in the RGV[34] as a genitive-*tatpuruṣa* from the viewpoint of the *dharmakāya* and as a *bahuvrīhi* from the viewpoints of *tathatā* and the *gotra*. The *dharmakāya* (i.e. *adhigamadharma*), endowed with Awakening and the Buddha-qualities, has the instruction (i.e. *āgamadharma*) as its cause[35]; *tathatā* is counted as one of the three aspects of the *dhātu*, the other two being the stained dependent characteristic and the transcendent characteristic;[36] and these three correspond to the

[31] They are, according to the interlinear gloss on verse 1, either followers of the three-vehicles doctrine or else beginners who wish ordinary results.

[32] For this expression, cf. AS (ed. Pradhan) 87.17–19; MSA IV.8; VI.6 etc.; AA 35.7 (ad I.72).

[33] Verses 26–27 associate reflection (*cintā*) with RGV I.27–28 and the cultivation (*bhāvanā*) with RGV I.29–152.

[34] See RGVV p. 70.17–18: *tathāgatasyeme garbhāḥ sarvasattvā iti paridīpitam*; RGVV p. 71.11: *tathāgatas tathataiṣāṃ garbhaḥ sarvasattvānām iti paridīpitam*; RGVV p. 72.8–9: *tathāgatadhātur eṣāṃ garbhaḥ sarvasattvānām iti paridīpitam*.

[35] *Upadeśa*, verse 11: *bodhir guṇā dharmakāyād anyonyānatirekiṇaḥ | gambhīraudārikī cāsya deśanā kila kāraṇam ||*. Interlinear note on verse 11b quotes RGV I.145 and I.28.

[36] *Upadeśa*, verse 10ab: *dhātoś ca tathatākliṣṭaparatantraviviktatā*. An alternative interpretation

threefold *gotra* (a notion probably unique to Sajjana), that is, *tathatā*, the inherent disposition (*prakṛtisthagotra*), and the evolved disposition (*samudānītagotra*).[37] The *gotra* has rudimantary (*tanmātra*), inherent (*prakṛtistha*), and evolved (*samānīta*) aspects, the last pertaining to the paths of vision (*darśanamārga*) and cultivation (*bhāvanāmārga*).

Verses 12 and 13 summarize the entire structure of RGV I and teach the seven *vajrapada*s as the fruits of practices which are gradually undertaken at soteriological stages: The body of the entire treatise of the RGV is summed up by the seven *vajrapada*s, which are in turn encapsulated by three aspects, i.e., the *dharmakāya*, *tathatā*, and the *gotra*; and these three along with the nine similes serve as objects of reflective insight (*cintāmayī matiḥ*).[38] Having the six *vajrapada*s (all but the *dhātu*) as objective supports (*ālambana*), one approaches (*prapadyate*) the *dhātu*, which brings forth pure and impure results, and then gradually (*anukramataḥ*) attains the Three Jewels at the eighth, ninth, and tenth stages,[39] while gaining the last three *vajrapada*s (i.e. Awakening, Buddha-qualities, and Buddha-activities) simultaneously (*akramaṃ*) obtaining at the stage of a buddha. According to an interlinear note, the Three Jewels are called the "threefold body" (*kāya*); and Awakening, Buddha-qualities, and Buddha-activities, the "threefold *dharmakāya*."[40]

Verses 14 and 15, which are intermediate stanzas (*antaraśloka*) that summarize verses 8–13, state that when one has not yet completed a wholesome accumulation, one should center effort on six *vajrapada*s (all but the *dhātu*, which is the main

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of this line is "and *dhātu* is nothing but *tathatā* and is [possessed] of [three characteristics—] the defiled, the dependent, and the transcendent characteristics." This is the well-known Yogācāra doctrine of *trisvabhāva*. The *Paricaya* (fol. 6v4, etc.) discusses *kalpita* and *paratantra* in the same context before quoting this line of Sajjana.

37 *Upadeśa*, verse 15ab and the gloss on verse 10ab. The equation of *gotra* with *dhātu* is found, for instance, in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (ed. Dutt), p. 2.7–8: *tat punar gotraṃ bījam ity apy ucyate, dhātuḥ prakṛtir ity api*.

38 This is taught in a verse not found in the manuscript of Sajjana's text but only cited in the *Paricaya*: *śarīraṃ saptadhā yat tat tridhā tṛṇi navātmanā | mūlādicittabheditvād iyaṃ cintāmayī matiḥ* ||.

39 This is taught in RGVV 3.20–4.7.

40 Interlinear note on verse 15cd: *trikāyī buddhādivad acālādau | dharmakāyatrayī bodhiguṇakarmavad buddhabhūmau* ||. A similar explanation is found in the anonymous *Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya*, Ms. fol. 7r3–4: *trikāyīpratilambho hy atrācalāditraye buddharatnādikramāt pūrvavat | buddhabhūmau ca* [5 akṣaras illegible] *dharmakāyatrayapratilambho* (7r4) *bodhiguṇakarmayogād veditavyaḥ | yadvā svārthāpekṣayā trikāyī | parārthānusāreṇa ca hetuphalabhedād dharmakāyatrayī veditavyā* (see Chapter 5 and Kano 2014a: 156). This passage appears just after the quotation of *Upadeśa*, verses 14–15.

cause) as attendant conditions in gradual and spontaneous ways.[41] Then, after reaching the paths of vision and cultivation[42] and proceeding to gain the "threefold *gotra*" (i.e. *tathatā*, *prakṛtisthagotra*, and *samānītagotra*), one attains the same six *vajrapada*s as fruits (expressed as the "threefold body" and the "threefold *dharmakāya*") at the eighth through the eleventh stages.[43]

Verses 16–19 (together with their interlinear notes) teach that one treads the soteriological paths with the help of the ten Buddha-nature topics (*artha*s): the first three topics (i.e. *svabhāva*, *hetu,* and *phala*), are tailored to those who are free from affections but are still on the mundane level (*laukikavītarāga*); The fourth topic (*karman*) helps one to engage in the soteriological path[44]; the fifth and sixth topics (i.e. *yoga* and *vṛtti*) cater for the paths of vision and cultivation, respectively. The seventh and eighth topics (i.e. *avasthā* and *sarvaga*) serve to destroy such obscurations on the path of cultivation as a lesser Awakening (*hīnabodhyarthanā*); the ninth and tenth topics (i.e. *avikāra* and *abheda*) relate to the last three bodhisattva stages (i.e. the eighth, ninth, and tenth stages) and the stage of a buddha, respectively. According to verse 19cd, the inseparable characteristic of Buddha-nature which abides in practitioners enhances their expectancy for obtaining the fruit of the path (*phalaunmukhya*), and thereby motivates them to engage in the practice. In this verse, Sajjana is obviously conscious of the pragmatic function of Buddha-nature.[45]

Verses 20 and 21 teach that the nine topics (all but the sixth topic, *vṛtti*)[46] are

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41 Sajjana takes the Three Jewels as conditions calling for a continuous approach and Awakening, the Buddha-qualities, and the Buddha-activities as calling for a spontaneous one.

42 Cf. *Upadeśa*, verse 10: *dṛgbhāvanātmanī* (for °*ātmani*) *mārge samudānītaṃ iṣyate*.

43 Cf. *Upadeśa*, verse 13.

44 *Upadeśa*, verse 17: *phalāt sampratyayavataḥ karmaṇā pathi yujyate | yogo mārgeṇa śāstyasya vṛttyartho bhāvanāśrayaḥ ||*. I understand *phalāt sampratyayavataḥ karmaṇā pathi yujyate yogo* as one sentence, and *mārgeṇa śāstyasya vṛttyartho bhāvanāśrayaḥ* as the other; but there are also other possibilities. My provisional translation is based on the interpretation that one attains perfect faith by ensuring the future reaching of the goal (see RGV I.35ab: *phala*), is encouraged to engage in the path with the aid of the "function" topic (see RGV I.35cd: *karman*), and has a connection both with the causal qualities relating to purification and with the resultant immaculate qualities (see RGV I.42: *yoga*).

45 This motivating/ensuring function of Buddha-nature plays the central role in RGV. See RGV I. 35, 40, 41, 161, IV.23, V.7–10, RGVV, p. 5.6, etc. Cf. Chapter 1 and Kano 2014a: 211–212. This function (which premises the firm existence of Buddha-nature) for a long time seems to have failed to receive much attention following the composition of the RGV, the major interest in the Buddha-nature doctrine among Indian masters up to Jayānanda having shifted to the ontological status of Buddha-nature (see Chapter 1, pp. 31–33 and Kano 2014a: 211–212).

46 See interlinear note on verse 20: *vṛttyarthasyāśrayatvenāgaṇanāt* "The topic *vṛtti* being not counted, for it is the foundation [of the other topics]."

the means of destroying the nine kinds of defilements (taught in RGV I.130–131).

Verses 22 and 23 teach methods for counteracting *laya* "laxity, depression" and *auddhatya* "excitation, elation," the two main obstacles which occur during meditation. *Laya* is first mentally rejected through the practice of the nine similes (beginning with a buddha in a faded lotus) and then restricted by cultivating the three aspects of Buddha-nature (i.e. *dharmakāya*, *tathatā*, and *gotra*), while *auddhatya* is removed through a proper investigation of the nine defilements. It is remarkable that here Sajjana obviously teaches the pragmatic effect of Buddha-nature: an affirmation of the omnipresence of the potential to become a buddha clears away *laya*.[47]

Verse 24 (*antaraśloka*) concludes verses 16–23 (which consist of instructions on *bhāvanā*) and briefly teaches the cultivation of the ten topics along with the nine similes as purifying aids (*parikarmātmabhāvanā*).

Verses 25–27 demonstrate that the sequence of *cintā* and *bhāvanā* practices (taught in verses 8–24) is without doubt (*vyaktaṃ*) suggested (*sūcita*) by the topics (i.e. *gotra*, *tathatā*, *dharmakāya*, the ten topics, the nine defilements, and the nine similes) in the RGV itself. For the RGV teaches its essential meaning (*piṇḍārtha*) with the aid of the ten topics and its progression (*krama*) through the nine similes. According to Sajjana and the interlinear glosses, RGV I.27 and 28 are the basis for entering the *cintā* practice, while RGV I.29–94 clarifies the ten topics as objects of *bhāvanā* practice. RGV I.130–143 declares what is to be rejected (i.e. the nine defilements) through the cultivation of the ten topics, whereas RGV I.144–152 clarifies what is to be obtained (i.e. the three aspects of Buddha-nature: *dharmakāya*, *tathatā*, *gotra*) through the same cultivation. In verses 25–27, Sajjana justifies his interpretation by tracing the soteriological sequence of *cintā* and *bhāvanā* back to the verses in the RGV.

Verse 28 states that the tenet relating to Buddha-nature is established by refuting the objection to the authoritative teaching (*āptabādha*) taught in RGV I.156–167. An extensive interlinear note on the verse demonstrates that there is no contradiction between the teaching of emptiness taught in the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* and that of non-emptiness in the Buddha-nature doctrine, thus refuting the said objection.[48] To be precise, everything conditioned (*saṃskṛta*) is empty, but Buddha-

[47] Cf. RGV 160–167.

[48] *Upadeśa*, interlinear note on 28cd: *śūnyaṃ sarvaṃ sarvathā tatra jñeyaṃ meghasvapnety* (= RGV I.156ab) *āptabādhā* | *līnaṃ cittaṃ sarvasatveṣv avajñetyādi* (= RGV I.157a) *taduddhāraḥ* | *sarvaṃ śūnyaṃ saṃskṛtatvān meghādivad iti sarvatra pravacane 'viśeṣeṇa veditena cittaprakṛtipāramārthikatvaṃ tathāgatagarbhasūtroktaṃ bādhitam ity āptabādhārthaḥ* | *atra ca saṃskṛ-*

nature, being unconditioned, is not empty; the "luminous mind" (*prabhāsvaraṃ cittaṃ*), synonymous with Buddha-nature, is not conditioned by anything and is generated only by itself in each previous moment (*samanantarapratyaya*).[49]

Verses 29–32 teach the essential points made in the chapter on Awakening (RGV II); they take Awakening, Buddha-qualities, and Buddha-activities as resultant qualities attained at the stage of a buddha. The eight topics on Awakening taught in RGV II are classified into two groups: those offering an "explanation of [Buddha-]qualities" (*guṇākhyāna*) (nos. 1, 3, 4, 6: *śuddhi*, *viyoga*, *svānyārtha*, and *vṛtti*) and those dealing with the "exclusion of superimposition" (*āropāpoha*) (nos. 2, 5, 7, 8: *prāpti*, *āśrayatva*, *nityatva*, and *acintyatva*).

Verse 33 provides a gist of the chapter on the Buddha-qualities (RGV III), stating that the rise of the qualities depends on two kinds of *kāya*, namely the ultimate (*pāramārthika*) body (i.e. the *dharmakāya*) and the illusionary (*māyīya*) bodies (i.e. the *rūpakāya*s). These two types respectively harbour qualities which bring about liberation (or disengagement) (*visaṃyoga*) from defilements and the qualities of maturation (*vaipākika*).

Verse 34 summarizes the chapter on the Buddha-activities (RGV IV), which teaches that Buddha-activities arise under the influence of the above-mentioned qualities of liberation (or disengagement) and maturation, which ensure respectively their proper extent and their appropriateness (*yāvadyathāvadākāra*). This, their twofold aspect is taught under six topics[50] and nine similes,[51] respectively.

Verses 35–36 summarize the chapter on the benefit of teaching Buddha-nature

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taṃ śūnyatvābhivyāptaṃ, *na ca prabhāsvaraṃ cittaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ*, *pūrvasa*[a]*jātimātraprasavāpekṣatvād uttarasaṃvitprasūteḥ*, *saṃhatya hetupratyayair akaraṇāt* | *meghasvapnamāyādṛṣṭāntāś ca kleśakarmajanmasaṃkleśānāṃ sādhyadharmitvasūcanārthaḥ*, *kleśasaṃkleśādiṣu śūnyatāyās sādhyatvād dṛṣṭāntamātratve 'nyathānupapādād ānarthakyaprasaṅgāt* | *tasmāt tathāgatagarbhe saṃskṛtatvam asiddham* | *na ca tathāgatagarbhaḥ kleśādya udbhūta iti*, *sūtrāntarais tathāgatagarbhasūtrasya virodhaparihārārtham*[b] | *acintyatve 'pi tu pratyāyanaprayojanavarttanaṃ* .. (one *akṣara* illegible) *līnaṃ cittam ityādi* (= RGV I.157a) |. ([a] °*sa*° em.; °*sva*° Ms. [b] °*rtham*; °*rthaḥ* Ms.)
The photograph of the manuscript is in part illegible, and the text is yet to be improved. My early draft of the Sanskrit text (included in Kano 2006a, Appendix B) was copied and published by Brunnhölzl (2011: 162 n. 281), which therefore unfortunately contains a number of mistakes.

[49] That is, the luminous mind is not conditioned by other factors, since it is generated by the same kind (*sajāti*) of mind as itself the previous moment. See Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛtti* (on verse 8) 7.10–12: *pūrvasajātimātrahetutvāt śaktiprasūteḥ sāmagryā yogyatā ananyāpekṣiṇī ity ucyate*.

[50] RGV IV.1–12. RGV IV.5 lists the six topics: 1. *niryāṇa*, 2. *tadupastambha*, 3. *tatphala*, 4. *tatparigraha*, 5. *tadāvṛti*, and 6. *taducchittipratyaya*, which constitute *yāvadākāra*.

[51] RGV IV.13–98. RGV IV.13 lists the nine similes: 1 *śakra*, 2. *dundubhi*, 3. *megha*, 4. *brahman*, 5. *arka*, 6. *maṇiratna*, 7. *pratiśrutka*, 8. *ākāśa*, and 9. *pṛthivī*, which constitute *yathāvadākāra*.

(RGV V): the supreme praise taught in the verses on benefit (RGV V.1–19) induces those who hear (or learn) it to follow the teaching of the RGV, while the treatise's protective means, taught in the remaining verses (RGV V.20–24), leads those who know disadvantages (*ādīnavajña*) to refrain from misguided reasoning.

Verse 37 explains the purpose of teaching the dedicatory verses (RGV V.25–28): "[The verse of] dedication (*pariṇāmana*) has been taught here [in the RGV] not only in order to [promote] one's own activities (*svakriyā*) alone, but also in order to protect the merit of others."[52]

Sajjana's Soteriological Schemas on the Ratnagotravibhāga

In sum, Sajjana explains RGV I in verses 1–28 of the present work, where he constructs his own soteriological schema on a foundation consisting of the seven *vajrapada*s, the ten Buddha-nature topics, the nine illustrations of Buddha-nature, and the nine kinds of defilement of Buddha-nature. He takes the first three *vajrapada*s (the Jewels of the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha) as conditions for fledgling Buddhists to start the practice, who thereby confirm their resolve to attain the goal; and regards the last three *vajrapada*s (Awakening, Buddha-qualities, and Buddha-activities) as conditions for practitioners' attaining the goal at the stages of *mokṣabhāgīya*, *nirvedhabhāgīya*, and *ānantaryamārga*; the practitioners who have been cultivating their Buddha-nature (the fourth *vajrapada*) attain the first three *vajrapada*s respectively at the eighth, ninth, and tenth bodhisattva stages, and the last three at the stage of a buddha. He regards Buddha-nature as consisting of *tathatā*, *prakṛtisthagotra*, and *samānītagotra*.

[52] Verse 37: *svakriyāṃ kevalām atra noddiśya pariṇāmanam | kevalaṃ śubharakṣāyai pareṣām api darśitam* ||. The "dedicating verses" here refer to RGV V.25: *ratnāni vyavadānadhātum amalāṃ bodhiṃ guṇān karma ca vyākṛtyārthapadāni sapta vidhivad yat puṇyam āptaṃ mayā | teneyaṃ janatāmitāyuṣam ṛṣiṃ paśyed anantadyutiṃ dṛṣṭvā cāmaladharmacakṣurudayād bodhiṃ parām āpnuyāt* ||. Cf. also RGV V.16 (*itīdam āptāgamayuktisaṃśrayād udāhṛtaṃ kevalam ātmaśuddhaye | dhiyādhimuktyā kuśalopasaṃpadā samanvitā ye tadanugrahāya ca* ||).

[Table: Sajjana on the ten Buddha-nature topics]

Ten topics	Soteriological stage and function (*Upadeśa* 16–19)	Nine obscurations (*Upadeśa* 20–21)	Nine similes (*Upadeśa* 22)[53]
Nature	Entering the path (16cd)	Desire	Lotus
Cause	Fruition (16cd)	Hatred	Bees
Result	Faith (17a)	Delusion	Husks
Function	Engagement with the path (17b)	Outburst of three defilements	Excrement
Connection	The Path of Vision (17c; note)	Defilements to be abandoned on the Path of Vision	Ground
Manifestation	Basis for cultivation (17d)	(Not mentioned)	(Not mentioned)
Different states	The Path of Cultivation/Abandonment of *hīnabodhyarthanā* (18)	Defilements to be abandoned on the Path of Cultivation	Seed
All-pervasion			Rotten rags
Invariance	Three stages (the 8th–10th stages?) / Development of the path (19ab)	Defilements of the 8th–10th stages	Poor woman's womb
Indivisibility	(The 11th stage) / Expectation of the result (19cd)	Defilements of the final stage[54]	Clay molds

In this regard, Sajjana's *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa* does not seem to contribute to solving the above-mentioned ontological problems raised by Buddha-nature; however, the interlinear note on verse 28, mentioned above, provides evidence of Sajjana's understanding of them.

> In this statement, the conditioned (*saṃskṛta*) is comprehended (*abhivyāpta*)[55] as being empty, whereas the luminous mind (*prabhāsvaraṃ cittaṃ*) is not conditioned. This is because [in the luminous mind] there is nothing to be done through cause and conditions coming together,[56] based on the fact that the origination of the [luminous] mind in the succeeding moment depends on [the mind] that was generated by its (the mind's) own kind (*sajāti*) in the previous moment.[57]

[53] Sajjana's system lacks the *avidyāvāsabhūmi*, and thus, the mutual relation between the nine similes and obscurations is not in accordance with RGV I.134–143.

[54] RGVV 68.6 defines the defilement of the final stage: "[defilements] which should be eliminated by the *vajra*-like meditative absorption" (*vajropamasamādhijñānavadhyās*).

[55] *Abhivyāpta* can also mean "is logically included," thereby yielding: "the conditioned is necessarily empty."

[56] Cf. PVSV 7.10–12: *pūrvasajātimātrahetutvāt śaktiprasūteḥ sāmagryā yogyatā ananyāpekṣiṇī ity ucyate.*

[57] The note on verse 28: *atra ca saṃskṛtaṃ śūnyatvābhivyāptaṃ, na ca prabhāsvaraṃ cittaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ, pūrvasa*(Ms. *sva*°)*jātimātraprasavāpekṣatvād uttarasaṃvitprasūteḥ, saṃhatya hetupratyayair akaraṇāt.*

This note equates Buddha-nature with the "luminous mind" (*prabhāsvaraṃ cittaṃ*) and, building on Dharmakīrti's discussion,[58] posits that the "luminous mind" is unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*). If the author of the note was a direct disciple of Sajjana and reflects Sajjana's own thought, the above-mentioned equation implies that Sajjana accepted the ontological status of Buddha-nature as stated in the RGV literally (and thus stopping short of equating Buddha-nature with emptiness).

Such an understanding would accord with bTsan's view of Buddha-nature, for he too, according to gZhon-nu-dpal, equated Buddha-nature with the luminous mind, and indeed bTsan seems to have received the teaching from Sajjana directly.[59]

In connection to his strong interest in the soteriological path, Sajjana teaches the pragmatic function of Buddha-nature in verses 19cd and 23 of his *Upadeśa*: verse 19cd teaches that Buddha-nature's presence in practitioners enhances their expectancy for obtaining the fruit of the path (*phalaunmukhya*), and verse 23 that the affirmation of it as wholesome (*kuśale vyākṛta-*)—given the presence of Buddha-nature in everyone—restrains the arising of depressive *laya*.

rNgog's Doctrinal Position

Before focusing on rNgog's understanding of Buddha-nature (in Chapter 9), I shall recapitulate his doctrinal position in general. A number of later Tibetan works, and several modern scholars as well, define his position as Svātantrika-Madhyamaka.[60] It is true that rNgog's lineage including Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge, seems to follow the teaching of works by "three Mādhyamikas from the east" (*dbu ma shar gsum*), namely Jñānagarbha's *Satyadvayavibhaṅga*, Śāntarakṣita's *Madhyamakālaṃkāra*, and Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka*, and to have turned its back on Candrakīrti's Prāsaṅgika theory.[61] We cannot yet be sure whether rNgog himself was conscious of this divide, even if later Tibetan traditions often presuppose rNgog's knowledge of it. Śākya-mchog-ldan, for instance, in assigning rNgog to a third position of Madhyamaka neither Svātantrika nor Prāsaṅgika, presumes that rNgog knew of both schools.[62] Vose (2008: 57) states "it is within his com-

[58] See *Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛtti* (on verse 8) 7.10–12.

[59] See Mathes 2008: 33.

[60] According to Davidson (2004: 279) and Mathes (2008: 26), for instance, rNgog's Madhyamaka position is often identified as Svātantrika.

[61] For earlier studies of the Svātantrika-Prāsaṅgika distinction, see Seyfort Ruegg 2010: 159–194.

[62] See Śākya-mchog-ldan, *sPring yig bdud rtsi'i thig pa'i rnam par bshad pa*, Complete Works,

mentary to Śāntideva's famed text (= bSod nams rtse mo's [1142–1182] *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra* commenatry) that is found the earliest known use of 'Prāsaṅgika' and 'Svātantrika' to distinguish interpretations of the Middle Way."

Leaving the biases of later literature aside, we shall go straight to the source and review rNgog's own composition *sPrings yig bdud rtsi'i thig le*. Among rNgog's compositions, most of which are commentaries on Indian works (see Chapter 7: lists of rNgog's writings), the *sPrings yig bdud rtsi'i thig le* is, exceptionally, an independent creation, in which we find his thoughts presented straightforwardly. It is written in an epistolary style and consists of 29 stanzas. rNgog meant it to provide instruction to his disciples. According to its colophon, he sent it to a Buddhist community in Ru gsum of Tsong kha province that included his disciple (?) dGa'-ston Shes-rab-grags. rNgog himself, in verse 29, terms the work a *sems skyes kyi cho ga*, implying that his intended readership comprised those new to the path, even though the topics are sometimes highly sophisticated. The work was very likely composed during the last 17 years of his life, when he was actively educating his disciples in dBus province in Central Tibet, and thereby spreading the teaching he had received from his masters.[63] As we will see below (in *sPrings yig bdud rtsi'i thig le* verse 14), rNgog himself does not seem to agree with any division of Madhyamaka.

We can divide the contents of the *sPrings yig bdud rtsi'i thig le* into six parts: introduction (verses 1–2), fundamental practices (verses 3–9), the doctrine of emptiness (verses 10–20), the practice of emptiness (verses 21–23), the doctrine of the three bodies of buddhas (verses 24–27), and concluding verses (verses 28–29). His doctrinal position is clarified in verse 10:

> Once you have clearly understood the corpus of correct reasoning[64] taught by Nāgārjuna, which is the entrance gate to the method [for realizing] that everything is empty by nature—[understood it] with the aid of the beautiful doctrine of the master of logic, [Dharmakīrti], the author of the [*Pramāṇa*]-

vol. 13, 181.5 and Kano 2009: 124. Other possibilities (e.g. that the letter was sent from India) cannot, however, be completely excluded.

[63] See Kano 2007: 6–7. Verse 11 of the *sPrings yig bdud rtsi'i thig le* mentions where the work was composed, stating that so-called "paṇḍitas … come here" (i.e. Tibet, according to Śākya-mchog-ldan's commentary), in large part without enough grounding in Buddhist treatises.

[64] For the corpus of correct reasoning (*yang dag rigs tshogs*), cf. Gro-lung-pa, *bsTan rim*, 347b3: *des dbu ma'i rtsa ba shes rab thog mar byas pa rigs pa'i tshogs rin po che drug la sogs pa'i rigs pa dam pa'i tshul nye bar bkod pa'i sgo nas don 'di rab tu gsal bar mdzad de*. See also Chapter 11, section on gZhon-nu-dpal.

> *vārttika*—you [should] eliminate all other evil doctrinal positions, as if [uprooting] weeds.[65]

rNgog teaches that one should seek to understand Nāgārjuna's doctrine on the basis of Dharmakīrti's doctrinal system,[66] adding that that system should be utilized to counter opponents' views in polemic debate. This reminds us of the position of Śāntarakṣita in his *Madhyamakālaṃkāra*.[67] In verse 12, rNgog, on the other hand, criticizes those who claim to have established the true existence of mundane phenomena through logical argument as well as those who strive to determine the ultimate truth through *pramāṇa*:

> Those who claim that objects [are established] as existing by means of reasoning, and those who identify by means of valid cognition the reality that transcends the mode of the conditioned [phenomena]—they both have fallen into the mouth of the terrible great demon of ontology, and are being held tight by the sharp fangs of [incorrect] views.[68]

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[65] *sPrings yig bdud rtsi'i thig le*, verse 10: *chos rnams rang bzhin stong pa'i tshul la 'jug pa'i sgo || yang dag rigs tshogs klu sgrub zhal nas gsungs pa de || rigs pa'i dbang phyug rnam 'grel mdzad pa'i gzhung mdzes las || gsal bar rtogs nas lugs ngan gzhan kun rtswa bzhin dor ||*. In the third line of the verse, Śākya-mchog-ldan reads *mthar thugs* instead of *dbang phyug* (the manuscript's reading). For a critical edition of the Tibetan text, see Kano 2007; for an annotated Japanese translation along with three commentaries on the *sPrings yig bdud rtsi*, see Kano 2009. rNgog translated Prajñākaragupta's *Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra*, "a commentary that emphasizes the confluence of Dharmakīrti's logic and Nāgārjuna's Madhyamaka" (Vose 2009: 47), and rNgog's position proclaimed in this verse reflects that of Prajñākaragupta.

[66] rNgog's preference to Dharmakīrti (or *vārttikakāra*, *rnam 'grel mdzad*) is also reflected in Gro-lung-pa's praise of rNgog. Gro-lung-pa, *Lo tstsha ba dge slong blo ldan shes rab kyi bstod pa*, verse 7: *rnam 'grel mdzad gzhung rigs pa'i thur ma yis || legs par phye ba'i blo mig dag pa la || thub pa'i gsung rab 'od kyis rab gsal ba'i || shes bya mtha' med ji bzhin gnang ba can || blo ldan shes rab zhabs la phyag 'tshal lo ||*.

[67] *Madhyamakālaṃkāra*, verse 67: *dngos po kun gyi rang bzhin ni || rigs pa'i lam gyis rjes 'brangs pa || gzhan dag 'dod pa sel bar byed || de phyir rgol ba'i gnas med do ||*. See Ichigō 1985: 165 and Kano 2009: 159 n. 28.

[68] *sPrings yig bdud rtsi'i thig le*, verse 12: *don rnams rigs pa'i stobs kyis rnam 'gar gnas 'dod dang || 'dus byas lam 'das de nyid tshad mas nges 'dzin pa || gnyis ka dngos 'dzin gdon chen mi bzad khar song nas || lta ba'i mche ba rnon pos dam du bzung ba yin ||*. The reading *mi bzad* (*mi zad* in Ms.) in verse 12d is my conjecture based on a parallel expression in Prajñākaragupta's *Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra*: *siddhāntaviṣamagrahāḥ* (Tib. *grub mtha' mi bzad gdon*). See Kano 2009: 156 n. 34. For Śākya-mchog-ldan's interpretation of this verse, see Kano 2009: 156 n. 36.

rNgog asserts in verse 20 that the ultimate truth is beyond cognition.[69] He thus accepts the usefulness of *pramāṇa* on the mundane level, while placing the ultimate (i.e. supramundane) truth beyond its reach. This doctrinal position is in line with Atiśa's,[70] and was adopted by rNgog's direct disciple Gro-lung-pa.[71] rNgog himself affirms the transcendent nature of the ultimate truth, in no uncertain terms, in the *rGyud bla don bsdus*,[72] as gZhon-nu-dpal would later note: "The great translator (i.e. rNgog) and gTsang-nag-pa speak of what is called Buddha-nature in the sense of the ultimate truth; however, they say: Observe that the ultimate truth is not an object directly [captured by] speech or conceptualization. Nor is it an object [susceptible of being] determined conceptually."[73]

rNgog's own position on doctrinal hierarchy is suggested in verses 12 (see above), 13, and 14 of his *sPrings yig bdud rtsi'i thig le*, in which are successively criticized two kinds of adherents of ontological doctrines (i.e. Sautrāntikas [?] and those who admit the conceivability of the transcendent reality), two kinds of mind-only adherents (i.e. Nirākārajñānavādins and Sākārajñānavādins [?]), and a division of Madhyamaka into two branches (i.e. Māyopamādvayavādins and Sarvadharmāpratiṣṭhānavādins):

> Without holding in their mind (*yid la mi gnas par*) that this entire assemblage of *saṃskāra* (i.e. cognition?) does not exist (i.e. in that they believe in the real existence of the mind), some of them (i.e. Nirākāravādins) deny mere appearances (i.e. mental images, *ākāra*s), while others (i.e. Sākāravadins) deny the great portion (*mang dag*) of [appearances][74]; both of these groups of individuals leave the way of correct reasoning (*pramāṇa*) and fall into the vast desert

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[69] *sPrings yig bdud rtsi'i thig le*, verse 20: *de ltar dngos po yod min la || de dgag pa yang ma grub na || de gnyis las 'das don 'ga' yang || 'dzin pa'i yul du 'gro mi srid ||*. According to Śākya-mchog-ldan, this verse is based on Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, IX.35: *yadā na bhāvo nābhāvo mateḥ saṃtiṣṭhate puraḥ | tadānyagatyabhāvena nirālambā praśāmyati ||*. See Kano 2009: 165 n. 53.

[70] See Miyazaki 2005: 22–24.

[71] Gro-lung-pa does not accept any kind of cognition regarding the ultimate truth. See Cabezón 2010. See also Gro-lung-pa's *Rin po che'i phreng ba lnga bcu pa*, fol. 2a5 (verse 39d): *rigs pa'i shes pas de nyid tshol la 'bad*; fol. 2a6 (verse 40d): *de dag la sogs rigs tshogs rgya mtshos gzigs*; fol. 2a6 (verse 41ab): *de lta'i rigs pas mtha' gzhan bkag pa yis legs brtsags*.

[72] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 2b3–4; B 4a2–3, A 4a3–4; B 6b1–4, A 14b2; B 22b6–23a1, etc. See also Mathes 2008: 26–29.

[73] *Deb sngon*, 309.5–7: *lo tsā ba chen po dang slob dpon gtsang nag pa ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po zhes bya ba don dam pa'i bden pa la zer mod kyi | don dam pa'i bden pa ni sgra dang rtog* (text: *rtogs*) *pa'i dngos kyi yul ma yin pa lta zhog | zhen pa'i yul tsam yang ma yin zhes gsung |*.

[74] This sentence suggests that they do believe in the real existence of a certain portion of appearances, i.e., real images (*satyākāra*).

of inverted views (Verse 13).

Also, the division of two doctrinal positions of Madhyamaka, namely Māyopamādvaya[vāda] and Sarvadharmāpratiṣṭhāna[vāda], amazes only fools[75] (Verse 14).[76]

Verse 14 suggests that rNgog does not agree with any division of Madhyamaka (unlike what was accepted by Maitrīpa in his *Tattvaratnāvalī* etc.); that he holds in short to the indivisible Madhyamaka as his own position.[77]

The similes he utilizes in the *sPrings yig bdud rtsi'i thig le*, and its doctrinal content, echo what is found in Bhāviveka's *Madhyamakahṛdaya*, Jñānagarbha's *Satyadvayavibhaṅga*, and Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. rNgog's position thus seems to be based on Bhāviveka, Jñānagarbha, Śāntideva, Kamalaśīla, and Śāntarakṣita[78]; these authors, moreover, are the same ones whose works he composed commentaries on, according to Gro-lung-pa (see Chapter 7, a list of rNgog's compositions)—even if the works themselves have yet to be discovered. As for Buddha-nature, *sPrings yig bdud rtsi'i thig le*, verse 9, states:

After allaying the "heat" of defilements, with the "cool rainwater" of repeated study, carried by the "clouds" of good teachers; and after moistening the "seeds" of Buddha-nature (*bde gshegs snying po*), you should cultivate "crops" of perfect Buddha-qualities.[79]

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[75] A similar expression is found in Ratnākaraśānti's *Muktāvalī* (p. 2.11)*: mūḍhavismāpanārthaṃ*. See Kano 2009: 163 n. 40.

[76] *sPrings yig bdud rtsi'i thig le*, verses 13 and 14: *'du byed tshogs 'di med ces yid la mi gnas par || snang don nyid dam de la mang dag 'gog smra ba'i || mi de gnyis kyang tshad ma'i lam las rnam nyams nas || log lta'i mya ngan rgya chen thang du nges par lhung ||*(verse 13) *sgyu ma gnyis med chos kun mi gnas dbu ma yi || lugs gnyis rnam 'byed de yang rmongs pa mtshar bskyed yin ||* (verse 14). For the Tibetan text, see Kano 2007: 10–11. I consulted the translation of Cabezón 2010: 27 n. 50, which was very helpful; however, the reading of verse 13b (verse 12b in Cabezón's numbering) is different from mine. Cabezón reads: *snang don nyid de de la yang dag 'gog smra ba'i* ("with some emendation" by him). I do not bring Śākya-mchog-ldan's later interpretation of to my own interpretation of these verses. For the details of Śākya-mchog-ldan's understanding of verses 12 and 13, see Kano 2009: 160–161 n. 33 and 162 n. 37.

[77] For details of the division of the two branches and further consideration of verse 14 (along with the impact on the later traditions beginning with Gro-lung-pa), see Almogi 2010.

[78] For details, see Kano 2009. Gro-lung-pa in his *bsTan rim* (347b1–6) claims the importance of studying study Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka* and Bhāviveka's *Madhyamakahṛdaya* and *Prajñāpradīpa* etc. for correctly understand Nāgārjuna's logical approaches. See Kano 2009: 150 n. 68.

[79] *sPrings yig bdud rtsi'i thig le*, verse 9: *bshes gnyen sprin las legs byung mang du thos pa yi || char rgyun bsil bas nyon mongs gdung ba zhi byed kyis || bde gshegs snying po'i sa bon rab tu brlan byas*

This verse presupposes RGV I.26 and the commentary on it in the RGVV, which teach that Buddha-nature bears fruits with the support of "another's voice" (*para-toghoṣa*, i.e., the Buddha's discourse) and "well-grounded attentiveness" (*yoniśo-manasikāra*). In the *rGyud bla don bsdus*, rNgog will expound on this in detail. The third and fourth lines imply that the perfect buddha-qualities are not included in Buddha-nature, but attained after the cultivation (see Chapter 9, section h4).

rNgog's Commentarial Style

rNgog's extant compositions can be classified under the following five categories:

(a) Concise guides or essential meaning (*bsdus don* type I or *don bsdus pa*):
The concise guides to the RGV, *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, *Madhyāntavibhāga*, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, *Nyāyabindu*, Vimalamitra's *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā*[80]

(b) Synoptic tables or topical outlines (*bsdus don* type II):
The synoptic tables of the RGV, *Bodhicaryāvatāra*[81]

(c) Commentaries on the difficult points (*dka' gnas rnam bshad*):
The commentary on difficult points of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*[82]

(d) Letters (*spring yig*):
The *sPring yig bdud rtsi'i thig le*[83]

(e) Orthographical guides (*dag yig*):
The *Dag yig nyer mkho bsdus pa*.

Of these five, the categories (a) "concise guides" and (b) "synoptic tables" are both called *bsdus don* or else, equivalently, *don bsdus pa*,[84] but their scope and style are

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nas || sangs rgyas yon tan phun tshogs lo tog rab rgyas bya ||.

[80] Their Tibetan titles are respectively: *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa*, *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa man ngag gi bstan bcos don bsdus pa* (or *mNgon par rtogs pa'i rgyan 'grel rin po che'i sgron me*), *dBu dang mtsha' rnam par 'byed pa'i don bsdus pa*, *mDo sde rgyan gyi don bsdus*, *and Rigs thigs 'grel pa dang bcas pa'i bsdus don* (or *rnam bshad*? No title is given in the manuscript, this being the title mentioned, seemingly tentatively, by Gro-lung-pa; cf. Hugon 2008: 29), and *Shes rab snying po'i rgya cher 'grel gyi bshad pa*. The last work does not have *bsdus don* or *don bsdus pa* in its title, but its commentarial style is similar to rNgog's other works that have been categorized as concise guides.

[81] These are the *rGyud bla ma'i bsdus don* and *Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa'i don bsdus*. See Chapter 7, pp. 202–207 (lists of rNgog's writings) and Kano 2008a: 130 n. 13, 135.

[82] *Tshad ma rnam nges kyi dka' ba'i gnas rnam par bshad pa*.

[83] The Indian background of the *spring yig* genre has been studied by Kano (2007).

[84] rNgog regards the two words as synonymous. For instance, he calls the *mDo sde rgyan gyi don bsdus* (the title appearing in the colophon) a *bsdus don 'di* in the dedicatory verse of the text. See

markedly different. For instance, two compositions relating to the RGV are available, and both are named *bsdus don* or *don bsdus pa*, but one is a "synoptic table" (similar to a *sa bcad*), taking up only two folios, while the other is a lengthy "concise guide," spanning 40 folios (see Chapter 7).[85]

The works categorized as synoptic tables outline basic texts (Indic śāstra works), that is, they present their main subjects.[86] Hugon (2008) (2009) and Kano (2008a) have systematically studied the commentarial style and techniques displayed by rNgog's works of this category.[87]

The Commentarial Style and Techniques Characteristic of rNgog's Concise Guides

Category (a), on the other hand, the concise guide (or essential meaning), comprise works that provide succinct help to beginners in understanding the entire content of basic texts. Jackson (1993a: 5) properly distinguishes the style of rNgog's concise guides (*bsdus don* or *don bsdus pa*) from that of synoptic tables (*bsdus don* or *sa bcad*) of other authors, and states the characteristic of the former as "a commentary in which the author had restricted himself to more concise explanations and discussions of the main points."

rNgog's concise guides were, as again pointed out by Jackson,[88] very likely composed on the model of *piṇḍārtha* (*don bsdus pa*) type commentaries written by Indian Buddhists, which—to the best of my knowledge—can be classified into three types: (1) versified concise guides of basic texts, (2) concise guides in the form of a list of essential topics taken from basic texts, and (3) concise guides in the form of a systematic but more or less succinct exposition[89]; these might be termed "beginners' manuals," and it is this category that rNgog's concise guides most closely approximate to.

Regarding his *bsdus don* type II "synoptic tables" (commentarial style [b]), rNgog

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mDo rgyan don bsdus, p. 544: *blo dman 'ga' la cung zad phan 'dod dang || rang nyid goms phyir bsdus don 'di byas so ||*.

[85] For comparative features of rNgog's two RGV-related works and Phywa-pa's synoptic table of the RGV, see Kano 2008a.

[86] The differences between rNgog's two types of *bsdus don* have been pointed out by Kano (2008a) and Hugon (2008) (2009). Hugon (2009) investigates the nature of this genre. I follow Hugon (2009) regarding the translations of the term *bsdus don*.

[87] Regarding the historical roots of this type of commentary, Steinkellner (1989: 235) states that formally it is "neither a Tibetan invention nor of Indian but of Chinese origin."

[88] Jackson (1993b: 5) considers the Sanskrit equivalent of *bsdus don* or *don bsdus pa* to be *piṇḍārtha*, a term found in a number of titles.

[89] Kano 2008a: 144–147.

probably drew on the Indian model.[90] The pragmatic technique of "synoptic tables" of Tibetan authors in general (i.e. to summarize the contents of a work and to order them under their main topics and sub-topics)[91]—which rNgog and his followers call *bsdus don*, 'Bum la 'bar (11th cent.) *bsdus don sa bcad*, and later authors *sa bcad*[92]—was more likely, though, to have arisen under the influence of the style of the Chinese style of commentarial literature known as 科文 "synoptic table," as already pointed out by Steinkellner (1989: 235).[93]

One might expect *arthasaṃgraha* to be another possible Sanskrit equivalent for *don bsdus pa*. Davidson (2005: 424 n. 42), for instance, states that "the actual name *don bsdus pa* was evidently in imitation of the *arthasaṃgraha* commentary (*don bsdus pa*) attributed to Asaṅga," that is, the RGVV. It is true that rNgog's translation of the postscript of RGVV chapter I runs: *de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i skabs te tshigs su bcad pa dang po'i* ***don gyi bsdus pa'i*** *bshad pa rdzogs so* (RGVV Tib. 135.2–3; cf. 211.1–2 and 219.8–9), and that we can find, in the Tanjur, Indic śāstra works titled *arthasaṃgraha* (*don bsdus pa*). In his *rGyud bla don bsdus*, however, rNgog interprets the phrase *tshigs su bcad pa dang po'i don gyi bsdus pa'i bshad pa* as "a summary explanation of the meaning of the first verse," that is, an explanation of the meaning of Buddha-nature taught in RGV I.28.[94] Such an interpretation is far

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90 Ueno (2012: 71) raises the possibility that the Indian commentarial techniques of *uddāna* and *śārīra* had an impact on the composition of *bsdus don* type II "synoptic tables" in Tibet.

91 See Jackson (1993a: 4).

92 Kano 2008a: 137.

93 See also Jackson (1993a: 4). For Chinese literature in the genre of "synoptic tables" 科文, see e.g. Ōchō 1937: 166–182.
Ueno (2012: 71) notes two definitions of the technical word *piṇḍārtha* in Vasubandhu's *Vyākhyāyukti* and correctly points out that the second one more closely corresponds to the style of *bsdus don* type II than to the first, the one referred to by Jackson (1993a), Kano (2008), and Hugon (2009). He also rightly claims that we can-not restrict the model for rNgog's *bsdus don* commentaries to Vasubandhu's definition.
However, Ueno's criticism (2012: 71) of Kano (2008) and Hugon (2009) is not warranted. Ueno probably bases his argument on Nishizawa's summary (2011: 145 n. 554) in which Kano and Hugon are said to have mistakenly traced back the model of the style of *bsdus don* to the definition of *piṇḍārtha* in the *Vyākhyāyukti*. This is, though, not what they state; instead, Kano (2008: 140–141) and Hugon (2009: 57–58) just point out that one finds in the *Vyākhyāyukti* a definition of the term "*bsdus don*" as one member of a set of sub-topics of Vasubandhu's exegesis system (along with *brjod par bya ba*, *dgos pa, dgos pa'i dgos pa*, and *'brel pa*). In my opinion, tracing the original model of rNgog's *bsdus don* commentaries back to the *Vyākhyāyukti* is an uncalled-for leap in logic.

94 *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 28b5–6; B 46a4–5: ***tshigs su bcad pa dang po*** *zhes bya ba ni* | *khams kyi skabs la ltos pa'i dang po ste* | ***rdzogs sangs rgyas sku ni 'phro phyir dang*** (RGV I.28) *zhes bya ba'o* || *de'i* ***don*** *ni* | *de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po ste* | ***de'i bshad pa rdzogs so*** || ||.

from implying that for him the term *don gyi bsdus pa* denoted a commentarial sub-genre (i.e. an *arthasaṃgraha* commentary).

Additionally, the Sanskrit text of the RGVV does not use *arthasaṃgraha* in the sense of a commentarial sub-genre. Rather, as pointed out by Takasaki, the phrase *ślokārthasaṃgrahavyākhyānataḥ* refers to the structure of the RGVV.[95] The post-script of the Sanskrit text (RGVV 78.21–22 = Skt. manuscript A, fol. 19a6) reads: *tathāgatagarbhādhikāraḥ prathamaḥ paricchedaḥ ślokārthasaṃgrahavyākhyānataḥ samāptaḥ* "the first *pariccheda*, the chapter on Buddha-nature, is ended, the meaning of its [basic] verses having been summarized and explained." This is different from the reading of the Tanjur version, which is largely based on a corrupt reading of Sanskrit manuscript B (fol. 40b6: *tathāgatagarbhādhikāraprathamaślokārthasaṃgrahavyākhyānataḥ*) or of another manuscript that shares a similar corruption. Furthermore, the colophon of rNgog's translation of RGVV calls the work *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi* ***rnam par bshad pa*** (RGVV Tib. 219.11–12), not a *don bsdus pa*. Accordingly, rNgog would not have regarded Asaṅga's RGVV as an *arthasaṃgraha* commentary, nor does his own use of the term *don bsdus pa* seem to have any such nuance.

Now we shall briefly consider the basic commentarial style and formal techniques of rNgog's concise guides. At the beginning of these guides, rNgog usually analyzes the overall structure of the basic texts, as can be seen in the following two examples[96]:

In the first part of his concise guide to the *Madhyāntavibhāga* (*dBu dang mtha' rnam par 'byed pa'i don bsdus pa*), rNgog reads verse 1 (= Vasubandhu's verse) as presenting the well-known threefold set notion of the "beginning of the śāstra" (*śāstrāramba*), namely, "the essential meaning [of the basic text]," "the purpose (*prayojana*) of composition of the basic text," "[an explanation of] the meaning of the words [of the basic text]" (*bsdus pa'i don*, *dgos pa'i don*, *tshig gi don*). Then he explains verse 2 (= Vasubandhu's verse) as setting forth the entire body (i.e. the structure) of the treatise (*lus rnam par gzhag pa*). Verse 3 onwards he regards as analyzing details of the treatise's main subjects (*yan lag rnam par dbye ba*).[97]

This peculiar interpretation on rNgog's part was later accepted by Phywa-pa and rGyal-tshab, and even expanded upon by gZhon-nu-dpal. See Chapter 11, pp. 349–359 and Phywa-pa, *rGyud la don gsal*, 68a6–7; rGyal-tshab, *rGyud bla ṭīka*, 170b2ff.; gZhon-nu-dpal, *rGyud bla me long*, 451.23ff.

95 Cf. Takasaki 1966: 11 and 1989: 389.

96 For rNgog's concise guide to the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, see Matsuda 2014.

97 MAVBh verse 1: *śāstrasyāsya praṇetāram abhyarhya sugatātmajam | vaktāraṃ cāsmadādibhyo yatiṣye 'rthavivecane* ||; rNgog, *dBus mtha' don bsdus*, p. 626: *de 'chad pa la dang po'i tshigs su bcad pa slob dpon gyis gsung pa ni bstan bcos 'di ni rab mdzad pa zhes bya ba'o* || *'dir yang* ***bsdus***

In his concise guide to Vimalamitra's *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā* (*Shes rab snying po'i rgya cher 'grel gyi bshad pa*), rNgog breaks down the basic text (i.e. the *ṭīkā*) structurally into four parts: [an explanation of] the meaning of the opening passage, a presentation of the entire body (i.e. structure) of the sūtra, an analysis of the main subjects of the basic text, and the act upon successful completion of the work (*ngag dang po'i don*, *mdo'i lus rnam par gzhag pa*, *yan lag rnam par dbye ba*, *yongs su rdzogs pa'i bya ba*). The first topic, according to rNgog, consists of three sub-topics: the purpose of the basic text, its essential meaning, and an explanation of the meaning of the words in it.[98]

An explanation of the beginning part of the basic text leads on to the main part of concise guides, in which rNgog refers to the main subjects of the basic text, identifying the corresponding passages by quoting their first and last few words. rNgog's reading of verse RGV I.13 offers a typical example of his commentarial style:

> As for the Jewel of the Saṅgha, [there are verses in the RGV offering] a presentation (= RGV I.13), an explanation (= RGV I.14), and a detailed explanation (= RGV I.15–18) [of it]. With regard to the first [of these] (i.e. the presentation), eight points are taught: knowing [phenomena] as [they actually] are (*yathāvajjñāna*), knowing [phenomena] to the full extent (*yāvajjñāna*), […] and release. Here, [the part of verse I.13] up to "after correctly realizing" refers to knowing [phenomena] as [they actually] are (i.e. the first of the eight points).[99]

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pa'i don *dang* ***dgos pa'i don*** *dang* ***tshig gi don*** *gsum gyis shes par bya ba'o* || ... (p. 627) *tshig gi don ni slob dpon blo brtan gyis bshad pa de kho na ltar zad pas ma bris so* ||. MAVBh verse 2: *lakṣaṇaṃ hy āvṛtiḥ tattvaṃ pratipakṣasya bhāvanā | tatrāvasthā phalaprāptir yānānuttaryam eva ca* ||; rNgog, *dBus mtha' don bsdus*, p. 627: ***lus rnam par gzhag pa*** *ni | mtshan nyid bsgrib pa de kho na zhes pa'o* || ... ; *ibid*. p. 628: *lus rnam par gzhag pa'o* |. MAV I.1: *abhūtaparikalpo 'sti dvayaṃ tatra na vidyate | śūnyatā vidyate tv atra tasyām api sa vidyate* ||; rNgog, *dBus mtha' don bsdus*, p. 628: *de'i* ***yan lag rnam par dbye ba*** *rnam pa bdun las leu dang po 'dir mtshan nyid ston to* ||.

98 rNgog, *Shes rab snying po'i rgya cher 'grel gyi bshad pa*, p. 360: *bcom ldan 'das ma shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i snying po rgya cher bshad pa 'di don bsdus pa ni rnam pa bzhi ste | ngag dang po'i don dang | mdo'i lus rnam par gzhag pa dang | yan lag rnam par dbye ba dang | yongs su rdzogs pa'i bya ba'o || dang po ni dus gsum rgyal ba zhes bya ba la sogs pa tshigs su bcad pa'o || 'di la dgos pa'i don dang | bsdus pa'i don dang | tshig gi don to* ||. Gengindani & Gonda (2011) offers a romanized transcription and Japanese translation of the text.

99 rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 14a4–5, B 22a7–b1: *dge 'dun dkon mchog la 'ang | bstan pa dang | bshad pa dang | rgyas par bshad pa las | dang por ni don brgyad brjod do || ji lta ba rig pa dang | ji snyed rig pa dang |* […] *rnam par grol ba'o || de la yang dag rtogs nas* (= I.13b) *zhes bya ba yan cha kyis ni | ji ta ba rig pa brjod do* ||.

The function of the concise guide that consists in presenting the main subjects and quoting the corresponding passages is somewhat similar to that of rNgog's synoptic tables (category [b] above), which also identify the subject matter of basic texts and quote the first few words of the corresponding passages in tiny letters in the form of interlinear notes.[100] A significant difference between the synoptic tables and the concise guides is that the latter sometimes contain rNgog's own doctrinal stances, which do not necessarily agree with those of the basic texts. In this way, the concise guides advance a step further, in not only outlining the contents of the basic texts but also presenting the commentator's own point of view. In particular, we find rNgog's unique positions regarding the Buddha-nature doctrine spelled out clearly in his concise guide to the RGV, as we shall see below.

An Evaluation of rNgog's Commentarial Style within the Wider History of Tibetan Buddhism

rNgog was not the first translator who composed his own works, others (such as Ye-shes-sde and dPal-brtsegs) having already done so in the imperial period. Other translators of the 11th century earlier than rNgog, such as Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po, Rin-chen-bzang-po, and Nag-tsho, also authored their own compositions. rNgog's compositions have an especially strong tendency to focus on providing a concise introduction and clarification of individual Indian texts, and thus stand in contrast to doxographic works which deal with entire doctrinal systems. Such a tendency is dominant in both types of his *bsdus don* works, the synoptic tables and the concise guides. rNgog's compositions reflect a situation in which Tibetan Buddhism was still in the phase of introducing imported Buddhist teachings, and so needed overviews of the individual Indian works. rNgog's compositions must have been closely studied by his disciples, and so contributed significantly to the formation of the later diffusion of Tibetan Buddhism.[101] We indeed see the widespread impact of the rNgog's RGV tradition being not limited to Central Tibet alone but even extending piecemeal to Khara Khoto within the Xixia kingdom and to West Tibet (mNga' ris), where ca. 13th–14th century manuscripts of his synoptic table of the RGV and his concise guide of the RGV were respectively unearthed.[102]

[100] On the basis of hitherto available works, one may generalize that, whereas the basic texts covered by concise guides are written in prose, those covered by synoptic tables are verse.

[101] Regarding synoptic tables, Hugon (2009: 48–49) designates the activities of rNgog and others as translating, analyzing, structuring, summarizing, explaining, and discussing, and here equates structuring with their composition of synoptic tables. See also *ibid*. 72–73.

[102] See Kano 2008a and Chapter 7.

A SUMMARY AND FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

Among rNgog's six teachers in Kashmir, Sajjana functioned as the main figure in his direct transmission of the RGV. Sajjana not only assisted rNgog in the Tibetan translation of the RGV, but he also composed his own work on the RGV entitled *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa*, which focuses on providing a soteriological model on the basis of the RGV, and in this regard he also had an impact on rNgog's soteriological interpretation of the RGV. As to the interpretation of Buddha-nature, on the other hand, Sajjana and rNgog hold different views, for Sajjana equates Buddha-nature with the luminous mind, which is not empty, while rNgog equates it with emptiness.

rNgog's doctrinal position in general is a Madhyamaka one, and his *sPring yig bdud rtsi'i thig le*, along with text titles found in his work list (which texts have yet to become available), suggests that he follows such Madhyamaka masters as Jñānagarbha, Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīla, and Śāntideva.[103] rNgog prefers to compose concise guides to Indic treatises rather than doxographical works, and this style of writing fits his purpose, that of introducing the Indic śāstric tradition to Tibet and of firmly establishing it there.

[103] rNgog's pioneering contributions to Tibetan *Tshad ma* tradition have been studied, for instance, by van der Kuijp 1983, Kellner 1997, Krasser 1997, Hugon 2008 and 2014, Nishizawa 2011, and Choi 2014.

Chapter 9

rNgog's *rGyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa* as a Reflection of His Own Doctrinal Position

In Chapter 8, I investigated Sajjana's interpretation of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* (in order to clarify the doctrinal background that rNgog, his disciple, was steeped in), analyzed rNgog's writing style, and presented an overview of rNgog's own doctrinal position. In the present chapter, I shall focus on rNgog's interpretation of the *Ratnagotravibhāga*. I shall (a) summarize previous studies of rNgog's *rGyud bla don bsdus* ("Concise Guide to the RGV"), (b) describe the material available for reconstructing the original text, (c) list works quoted in it, (d) consider the author's structural analysis of the RGV, (e) introduce his evaluation of the place of the RGV amongst the Five Treatises of Maitreya, (f) analyze his interpretation of the seven *vajrapada*s and soteriological models of the RGV, (g) consider his classification of the Jewel of the Saṃgha, and (h) investigate his understanding of Buddha-nature.

§(a) *Previous Studies*

Most modern studies of the Buddha-nature teaching in the Tibetan tradition have focused on post-14th-century works, such as those of Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290–1364), Dol-po-pa Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan (1292–1361), rGyal-tshab Dar-ma-rin-chen (1364–1432), 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba gZhon-nu-dpal (1392–1481), Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas (1813–1899), and Mi-pham-rgya-mtsho (1846–1912),[1] while only a few pioneer studies address earlier developments.

Seyfort Ruegg (1969: 302–304) was the first scholar to utilize rNgog's text,[2] presenting an outline of his gloss on RGV I.1 in it (A 4a1–5b4; B 6a5–9a1: an explanation of the term *vajrapada* and its ineffability).[3] Seyfort Ruegg (1969: 293 n. 2) also

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1 The most relevant studies include Seyfort Ruegg 1969 and 1973, Ogawa 1969, Mathes 2008, Hookham 1991, and Duckworth 2008.

2 The block print used by Seyfort Ruegg was in the possession of Dwags-po Rin-po-che. It was published in 1993 (see Jackson 1993a).

3 Seyfort Ruegg compares gZhon-nu-dpal's presentation of rNgog's position (*Deb ther sngon*

refers to rNgog's position on the three aspects of Buddha-nature (A 18b5–6 and 26a5–6; B 29a3–4 and 41b6).

Van der Kuijp (1983: 42–43), based on statements made by Shākya-mchog-ldan, has outlined rNgog's and bTsan Kha-bo-che's doctrinal positions. Both were disciples of the same teacher, the Kashmiri Sajjana.[4] These two traditions of rNgog and bTsan were respectively called the "analytical tradition" (*thos bsam gyi lugs*)[5] and "meditative tradition" (*sgom lugs*).

Jackson (1993: 18–19), in the preface to the facsimile edition of the block-print version of rNgog's *rGyud bla don bsdus*, takes note of rNgog's philosophical positions regarding the ineffability of the ultimate truth (i.e. emptiness) (A 4a2–3; B 6b1); he also weighs up rNgog's discussion regarding an interpolated verse after RGV V.19 (A 39b1–3; B 64b3–6). Karma (2005) discusses this same position on the ineffability of the ultimate truth or emptiness.[6]

The structure of the *rGyud bla don bsdus* was studied by Kano (2008a), in comparison with that of the two synoptic tables of the RGV produced separately by rNgog and Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge.

The crucial points of the Madhyamaka approach to Buddha-nature taken by

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po, Cha, 10a6) with rNgog's own work.

[4] Van der Kuijp (1983: 43) translates Shākya-mchog-ldan's statement regarding rNgog's position as follows: "It, moreover, is nothing but the mode of inherent immaculacy of all phenomena which pervades all that is knowable, and it should also [be taken as] negation qua non-existence (*med par dgag pa*), being something like space. This is shown by the statement: 'Here there is nothing whatsoever that is to be removed (RGV I.154a)'." (Shākya-mchog-ldan, *dBu ma'i 'byung tshul*, vol. 4, 239.7–240.2: *de'i ngos 'dzin yang | chos thams cad kyi rang bzhin rnam dag gi cha | shes bya thams cad la khyab byed du 'jug pa de nyid yin la | de yang med par dgag pa nam mkha' lta bu zhig ste | ji skad du | 'di la bsal bya ci yang med || ces sogs kyis bstan pa de'o zhes bzhed ||*). This is set over against Shākya-mchog-ldan's statement regarding bTsan's position (van der Kuijp 1983: 43): "However, Yar-[k]lung[s]-pa, known as bTsan Kha-bo-che, said that the ultimate intent he obtained from having studied the 'Teachings of Maitreya[nātha]' when he was fifty-nine years old, was [that of] the inherently pure cognitiveness (*rang bzhin rnam dag gi ye shes*) which pervades [everything] from Buddha[s] to sentient beings, and that this very natural luminosity [of mind] (*rang bzhin gyi 'od gsal ba*) is what has been named *tathāgata-garbha*." (Shākya-mchog-ldan, *dBu ma'i 'byung tshul*, vol. 4, 240.2–3: *yang yar lung pa btsan kha bo cher grags pas | rang lo drug cu lon pa'i tshe byams pa'i chos gsan pa las rnyed pa'i nges don ni | sangs rgyas nas sems can gyi bar la khyab pa'i rang bzhin rnam dag gi ye shes | rang bzhin gyi 'od gsal ba de nyid bde bar gshegs pa'i snying por gsungs pa yin no zhes |*).

[5] It was also called the "epistemological tradition" (*mtshan nyid kyi lugs*). See van der Kuijp 1983: 43.

[6] Karma (2005: 198 and 204) translates *rGyud bla don bsdus*, 6b1–2, concering which he states (2005: 199): "Ngok links the ineffability of the ultimate to its transcendent nature of being unknowable by conceptual thought"; adding that "the Gelukpas argued that Emptiness is effable for it can be taught and understood."

rNgog in the *rGyud bla don bsdus* have been studied in Kano 2006a (my doctoral thesis), Mathes 2008: 25–32, and Kano 2010 & 2014a, and will be investigated in more detail below. Mathes sketches rNgog's understanding of Buddha-nature with the aim of clarifying the doctrinal background to gZhon-nu-dpal's understanding of it. Kano's purpose (Kano 2006a, 2010, 2014a) is to assess rNgog's contribution to the doctrinal development of the Buddha-nature doctrine in Tibet.

§(b) *A Description of Materials relating to the rGyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa*

A study of our text has been hindered by the poor state of transmission: the text had long been unpublished, and even after its publication, in 1993, the first published version (a block print) was found to contain a number of serious scribal errors and lacunas, which can be now corrected on the basis of a second published version, based on an *dbu med* manuscript. An additional hurdle, representing a challenge of their own, is the text's archaic grammatical features.

A critical edition of the first chapter, "the chapter on *dhātu*" (*khams kyi skabs*), and the colophons of rNgog's *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi don bsdus pa*, and an annotated translation of the chapter are included in the thesis I submitted to Hamburg University in 2006, revised versions of which are currently under preparation for publication. It is based on both an *dbu med* manuscript (siglum: A) from bKra-shis-dbang-rgyal's private collection and a block-print edition (siglum: B) prepared by Klu-'bum (or rDo-sbis) dGe-bshes Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho (1884–1968) at the request of bKa'-drung Padma-dbang-chen (1894–1917).[7]

§(b1) *The dbu med Handwritten Manuscript*

The precise date of the *dbu med* manuscript is unknown. Judging from its mixed use of both old and standard orthographies (e.g. the frequent use of *myed*, but no case of *da btags*), it may have been written in the period of orthographic transition (and so prior to the 15th or 16th century). The manuscript is preserved in the private collection of bKra-shis-dbang-rgyal, but its origin is unknown.

A Xerox copy of the manuscript was reproduced in 2006 in the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum* (vol. 1, pp. 290–367), and a diplomatic transcription of the manuscript is included in the edition of the *rNgog lo tsā ba blo ldan shes rab kyi gsung chos skor* (pp. 545–625) published in 2009. The size of the manuscript, consisting of 40 folios,

[7] Padma-dbang-chen, as Jackson (1993a: 15) notes, "... had been appointed a *bka'-drung* by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in India in 1912, and by 1915 he had already been made a *bka'-drung che-ba*. He had also composed several small works by then."

is not reported. The script is *dbu med*.

The title page has a handwritten note which refers to three dGe-lugs-pa works (*rnam bshad snying po brgyan ma tshang ba gcig | grub mtha'i rnam gzhag bris ma gcig | 'jam dbyangs dpa' gtso'i grub thab*[*s*] *ma tshang ba gcig*), but these have no relevance to the contents of the manuscript. Its colophon runs (fol. 40a3–4):

> The *Essential meaning of the Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra*, composed by the lion of declaimers, master of speech, monastic seminary (*'chad gra*) teacher, great translator, [and] monk rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab, is ended.
>
> *theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi don bsdus pa | smra ba'i seng ge | ngag gi dbang phyug | 'chad gra'i* [= *grwa'i*] *slob dpon | sgra sgyur gyi lo tsa ba chen po | rngog dge slong blo ldan shes rab kyis mdzad pa rdzogs s.h.yo || || he he || || ||*

§(b2) *Other Extant Handwritten Manuscripts*

Two other *dbu med* manuscripts containing the text are known of. One originally consisted of 32 folios, only the last of which has so far surfaced (I was able to photograph it at the Bar skor in Lhasa, August 2006; siglum: C). This last folio begins in the middle of running text: *ces bya ba'o || gron ma dang myig la brten nas lta ba rab tu 'jug cing*... (fol. 32a1 = A 39a7; B 64b1); and ends with the following colophon (fol. 32b2–3):

> The *Essential meaning of the Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra*, composed by the monk rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab, is ended. This [commentary on] the *Uttaratantraśāstra* (?*bla ma rgyud kyi bstan 'chos*) was composed by Blo-ldan rNgog, its author, [and] copied (or written down) by the scribe Nyang-stod Ze'u. Yol-ston Dar-brtsan was a patron.
>
> *theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan 'chos kyi don bsdus pa | rge* [= *dge*] *slong blo ldan shes rab kyis sbyar ba'o || || rdzogs s.h.yo || ||* (line 3) *bla ma rgyud kyi bstan 'chos 'di la || brtsams pa blo ldan rngog gyis brtsams || bris pa nyang stod ze'u gyis bris || yon bdag yol ston dar brtsan lags ||*

The scribe and patron have yet to be more precisely identified. The script and format of the manuscript are similar to manuscript A.

The *'Bras spungs dkar chag* (p. 1401) reports yet another manuscript of the text, at gNas bcu lha khang of 'Bras spungs monastery: "no. 15801, *rGyud bla ma'i don bsdus*

pa, Lo-tsā-ba Blo-ldan-shes-rab, script = *'bru tsha*, 15 fols., 61.5 x 9.5 cm." This manuscript bears the siglum "Phyi," signifying that it was brought from outside 'Bras spungs monastery. Most such manuscripts arrived during the Fifth Dalai Lama's time, gNas bcu lha khang having been his private library. We can place the *terminus ante quem* of the manuscript, then, to 1682 (the year of the Fifth Dalai Lama's death). Judging from the number of folios, this seems to be an incomplete manuscript.

§(b3) *The Block Print*

As noted by Jackson (1993), Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho, in his printing colophon to the present block-print edition, wrote dedication verses for Padma-dbang-chen (who had died in 1917), and in them described the printing process (which was spread out between 1916 and 1918), in particular the preparation of the printing original (*par yig*):

> Since we could not obtain more than a single old manuscript original (*ma phyi bris rnying*), and even that was full of such scribal errors as redundancies, omissions and [other] confusions, it seemed very difficult to investigate [the text]. Nonetheless, applying myself to the best of my abilities and carefully investigating the text in great detail, I revised it once and delivered [it to Padma-dbang-chen] (66a1–2).[8]

As the exemplar ("old manuscript original") has not come down to us, we do not know how much revising the editor, Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho, had to do.[9] (The block-print edition, it must be said, still has some serious corruptions). It was in the course of carving the printing blocks that the patron, Padma-dbang-chen, expired (1917), so that the project came to a halt. However, with the help of new patrons, including the former patron's elder brother dBang-chen-tshe-brtan (1891–1953) and bKra-shis-dpal-'byor, the project was resumed, and the blocks were completed in 1918.[10] We have at least three prints from this set of blocks (each is 66 folios, 8.4 x 54.5 cm). Despite the fact, though, that all derive from the same set, variant readings do exist. On the basis of these variants, we can classify the prints into two groups:

B_1: a block print preserved in the Library of Dwags-po Rin-po-che Blo-bzang-

[8] Cf. Jackson 1993a: 15.

[9] The block-print edition does not have any of the old Tibetan orthography that must have been used in the time of rNgog-lo. But we do not know if the exemplar (*ma phyi bris rnying*) had any either that Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho himself might have standardized.

[10] See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, B 66a2–4 and Jackson 1993a: 15.

jam-dpal Byams-pa-rgya-mtsho, Paris (reproduced as a facsimile edition in 1993);[11]

B_2: a block print preserved in Tōhoku University brought from Lhasa by Tōkan Tada (多田等観, 1890–1967), who returned to Japan in 1923 (Tōhoku Zōgai, no. 6798); a block print preserved in the library of the Shel-ri-sprul-sku in Dolpo (found by Klaus-Dieter Mathes in 1994) (NGMPP Reel no. L519/4).[12]

As reported by Fushimi (2002a: 61–62), who used both Dwags-po Rin-po-che's and Tada's versions, B_2 is a print made from a "revised" printing block: For instance, in fol. 38b, a scribal remark "*dag pa'i sa la brten pa'o*," which is added in the upper margin in B_1, is inserted (carved on the woodblock) in its proper location (38b2) in B_2.[13] Such revision of the printing block was likely carried out sometime between 1918 (the completion of the block) and 1923 (the arrival of Tada in Japan). Accordingly, we can say that B_1 is a working edition or the first edition, while B_2 is a revised version printed from the same blocks.[14]

§(b4) *Phywa-pa's Ratnagotravibhāga Commentary*

The earliest post-rNgog RGV commentary currently available is that by Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge, better known to most modern scholars for his contribution to the Tibetan *tshad ma* tradition. According to the colophon of this text, Phywa-pa received the teaching of the RGV from Chos-kyi-bla-ma, who is probably to be identified as rNgog's "spiritual son" Zhang-tshes-spong-ba Chos-kyi-bla-ma.[15] Phywa-pa's debt to rNgog's (and/or maybe to Chos-kyi-bla-ma's) RGV commentary is clearly visible, inasmuch as Phywa-pa's text largely follows the outline found in rNgog's commentary and adopts rNgog's interpretation of the major issues that

[11] Block print B_1 lacks the first folio, while B_2 is complete.

[12] I am indebted to Dr. Hidetoshi Fushimi for providing me facsimile copies of Tada's version and to Prof. Michael Zimmerman for sending me a reel of the NGMPP version.

[13] See also a scribal remark in the lower margin of fol. 39 in B_1 and B_2.

[14] The revised words found in B_2 are: 5a5 *sad pa* B_2, *sad pas* B_1; 7a6 *dag* B_2, *bdag* B_1; 8b4 *bsal* B_2, *gsal* B_1; 9a3 *cig* B_2, *gcig* B_1; 12a3 *byed* B_2, *byid* B_1; 15a1 *res* B_1; *des* B_2; 16a1 *bstan* B_2, *bsten* B_1; 16a4 *bstan* B_2, *bsten* B_1; 16a5 *pa* B_2, *pha* B_1; 20a2 *yin* B_2; *min* B_1; 20b4 *bzlog* B_2; *bzog* B_1; 24a1 *sa* (?) *brgyad* B_1; *brgyad* B_2; 25b3 *bde* B_2, *bda* B_1; 26a2 *bdag* B_2, *pa dang* B_1; 26b3 *nyid* B_2, *nyin* B_1; 27b2 *dgongs* B_1^{pc} B_2, *dgos* B_1^{ac}; 29b6 *ste* B_2, *sta* B_1; 34b2 *brtan* B_2, *brten* B_1; 35b2 *dag* B_2, *rag* B_1; 36b1 *slar* B_2, *spar* B_1; 38b1 *kho nar* B_2, *blo na'* B_1; 38b4 *pa* B_2, *bya* B_1; 38b4 *yod* B_2, *lod* B_1; 41b3 *gyis* B_2, *gyi* (?)B_1; 43b1 *yin* B_2, *yim* B_2; 43b1 *na* B_2, *ma* B_1; 43b1 *ste* B_2, *sto* B_1; 43b2 *lo* B_2, *la* B_1; 44a6 *phyir* B_2, *pha* B_1; (fols. 46a5–65a5 have not been checked); 65b4 *dran* B_1, *dag* B_2 (a hyper-correction); 66a1 *'phog* B_2, *dpog* B_1; 66a2 *sras* B_2, *sas* B_1; 66a3 *gcen* B_2, *gtson* (or *gtso na*) B_1.

[15] Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, 93a3. See Kano 2010b: 255 n. 21 and Chapter 10 below.

will be dealt with below. This commentary by Phywa-pa often includes passages of rNgog's RGV commentary, and such passages sometimes serve as a textual witness to confirm readings when the above-mentioned variants between the handwritten manuscript and the block print occur.[16]

§(c) *Works Quoted in the rGyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa*

In the *rGyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa*, rNgog both quotes and refers to other texts, including the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, the *Prajñāpāramitā*, the *Dhāraṇīśvararāja*, and the *Ugraparipṛcchā*.

In the case of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, rNgog, expounding the ineffability of the Dharma, quotes MSA XII.2 (*rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 4b3–4; B 7a4–5).[17] Later he refers to the same text (*ibid*. A 15b6; B 24b4–5) when asserting the priority to be accorded to the resultant refuge over the causal refuge.[18] He also refers to MSA XIII.7–10, as a scriptural source of the "four circles" (*catuścakra*, consisting of *prati-rūpadeśavāsa*, *satpuruṣa*, *ātmanaḥ samyakpraṇidhānatā*, and *pūrvakṛtapuṇyatā*) (*ibid*. A 20b1; B 32a1); and he identifies a verse quoted in the RGVV (71.1–4) as MSA IX.15 (*ibid*. A 26a3; B 41b1).

A passage from the *Prajñāpāramitā* is quoted to explain the causal power of emptiness to generate all worldly phenomena (*ibid*. A 2b2–3; B 4a1–2; see below §[h2]).[19] He quotes a long passage, too, from the *Ugraparipṛcchā* with regard to the causal and resultant refuges (*ibid*. A 16a2–b2; B 25a2–26b6);[20] and two passages from the *Maitreyavimokṣa*, that is, the Maitreya chapter of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, in support of the excellent qualities of the Jewel of the Saṃgha (*ibid*. A 15a5–b1; B 24a2 [with a lacuna]).[21] In his gloss on RGV I.2, he identifies phrases in the RGVV which encapsulate passages taught in the "introductory chapter" (*nidānaparivarta*)

[16] See, for instance, rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 2b3–4, B 4a2–3 and Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gdal*, 3b2. For the text and translation, see below §(h2) in the present chapter.

[17] This verse was identified by Seyfort Ruegg (1969: 304).

[18] *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 15b6; B 24b4–5: *de lta na yang* (*yang* A; *ni* B) *mdo sde'i rgyan las | 'bras bu'i skyabs su 'gro ba la gtso bor bzung nas bshad la | rgyu'i skyabs 'gro ni de'i yan lag yin pas | de'i khongs su 'dus pa'i phyir logs su ma bshad do* ||. Cf. MSA II.11. rNgog offers a similar explanation in the summary of his MSA commentary. See *mDo sde rgyan don bsdus las btus pa*, p.149: *de ni gtso bo nye bar bsgyur ba ste | 'bras bu la skyabs su nye bar 'dzin pa'o* ||.

[19] rNgog probably does not quote the passage directly from the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*, but rather from MSABh 22.6–8, for the wording is closer to what appears there (*Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, 232.10–13; *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, 1534.2–6; *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, 12.15–16, etc.).

[20] Nattier 2003, §§3C–3D and §§4A–4D.

[21] This same passage is quoted by Mahājana, concerning whom see Chapter 5.

of the *Dhāraṇīśvararāja*, tracing them back to the sūtra, and quoting the actual passages from the sūtra. He takes the opportunity to outline this sūtra, since the *Dhāraṇīśvararāja*, according to the RGV I.2, teaches the same subject as itself, namely the seven *vajrapada*s.[22]

§(d) *rNgog's Structural Analysis of the Contents of the Ratnagotravibhāga*

The RGV has five chapters: on Buddha-nature, on Buddha-awakening, on Buddha-qualities, on Buddha-activities, and on the benefits of reading the treatise. In the beginning part of the work (RGV I.1–3), the author of the RGV presents the seven main subjects of the treatise, the *vajrapada*s: the Three Jewels (Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha), Buddha-nature (or *dhātu* "Buddha-element"), Buddha-awakening (*bodhi*), Buddha-qualities (*guṇa*), and Buddha-activities (*karman*). The first four points are taught in the first chapter, and the last three points are taught in the second, third, and fourth chapters, respectively. This is the basic structure of the RGV. With this in mind, rNgog, in his *rGyud bla don bsdus*, analyzes the structure of the RGV as follows:

1. A systematic presentation of the body of the treatise (RGV I.1–3)
2. The resultant Three Jewels (RGV I.4–22)
3. The source which gives rise to the Three Jewels (RGV I.23–V.15)
3.1. A general presentation (RGV I.23–26)
3.2. Details of each of the last four *vajrapada*s (RGV I.27–IV.98)
3.2.1. An explanation of Buddha-nature (RGV I.27–167)
3.2.2. An explanation of Buddha-awakening (RGV II)
3.2.3. An explanation of Buddha-qualities (RGV III)
3.2.4. An explanation of Buddha-activities (RGV IV)
3.3. The benefits of devotion to [the teaching of] the RGV (RGV V.1–15)
4. The [concluding] act upon successful completion of a treatise (RGV V.16–28)

The first section presents general remarks on the seven *vajrapada*s; the second and third sections explain the first three and the last four *vajrapada*s, respectively; and the last section is a dedication. The divisions noted by rNgog faithfully reflect the overall structure of the RGV, and are a convenient way to approach the work systematically. This structural analysis is also found in another work of his (a topical outline of the RGV unearthed from a stūpa in Khara Khoto) and in Phywa-pa

[22] See Kano 2006, Appendix F: Nidānaparivarta of the *Dhāraṇīśvararājasūtra*.

Chos-kyi-seng-ge's topical outline of the RGV.[23] Later Tibetan RGV commentators more or less follow this outline.

§(e) *An Evaluation of the Ratnagotravibhāga among Maitreya's Corpus of Five Treatises*

rNgog considers the RGV to be a Madhyamaka work, and hence its teaching to be definitive. His position is made clear in the introductory passage of the *rGyud bla don bsdus*, where the RGV is identified as a treatise that explains sūtras of definitive meaning (*nītārtha*), whereas the other four treatises of Maitreya (i.e. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, *Madhyāntavibhāga*, and *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga*) are listed as treatises that explain sūtras of provisional meaning (*neyārtha*).

> When the Illustrious Maitreya [set out to] clarify in an unmistaken way the intention of the discourses of the Sugata, he presented the true meaning of the Mahāyāna by composing the treatise [called] the *Mahāyānottaratantra*, which [clarifies] precious sūtras of definitive meaning, namely the irreversible wheel of the Dharma; which teaches the *dharmadhātu* in a uniform fashion; and which declares the meaning of all religious discourses (*dharmaparyāya*) which are completely pure and certain.
>
> As for making [sentient beings] worthy recipients of an explanation of the "excellent" (*samutkarṣika*) Dharma through an explanation of the purport of the sūtras of provisional meaning, [this] was achieved by expounding the "two *alaṃkāra*s" (*rgyan gnyis*) and the "two *vibhāga*s" (*'byed gnyis*). This is because they present the ultimate from the viewpoint of conventional [teachings], the purport of which is different from [that of the definitive teaching of the Mahāyāna].[24]

It is surprising that rNgog classifies the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* under the latter group,

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[23] Kano 2008a: 150–161.

[24] See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 1b2–4; B 1b1–3: *bcom ldan 'das byams pas bde bar gshegs pa'i bka'i dgongs pa phyin ci ma log par gsal bar mdzad pa na | nges pa'i don gyi mdo sde rin po che phyir mi ldog pa'i chos kyi 'khor lo | chos kyi dbyings tshul gcig* (*gcig* B; *cig* A) *tu ston pa | shin tu rnam par dag pa gdon mi za ba'i chos kyi rnam grangs* (A inserts *khams*) *thams cad kyi don rab tu ston pa theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos 'di mdzad pas | theg pa chen po'i don gyi de kho na rnam par bzhag* (*bzhag* A; *gzhag* B) *pa yin no || drang ba'i don gyi mdo sde'i don rnam par bshad pas yang dag phul gyi chos bshad pa'i snod du byed pa ni | rgyan gnyis dang rnam 'byed rnam pa gnyis bshad pas byas te* (*byas te* em.; *byas ste* A; *bya ste* B) *| kun rdzob dang gzhan gyi bsam pa la ltos pa'i don dam pa rnam par gzhag pa'i phyir ro ||*.

thus implying that the *Prajñāpāramitā* is a sūtra of provisional meaning (it is normally regarded as a sūtra of definitive teaching in the Tibetan tradition). Indeed he is criticized on this point by Blo-gros-mtshungs-med (*rGyud bla sgron me*, A 13.1–4, B 246–247), nor is rNgog's classification followed by the majority of Tibetan scholars (rMa-bya Byang-chub-brtson-'grus being one of the earliest, followed by bCom-ldan-ral-gri and others), who assert that the RGV and the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* are Madhyamaka works (i.e. *nītārtha*), while the remaining three are Yogācāra ones (i.e. *neyārtha*).[25]

While by rNgog's time Maitreya's corpus of Five Treatises had spread far and wide within India (including to the scholarly circles of Vikramaśīla and Kashmir), we cannot determine precisely when it became accepted as such there. Our knowledge is still fragmentary: Jñānaśrīmitra's *Sākārasiddhi* refers to all five and quotes passages from them, but it does not mention them as a set corpus;[26] Vairocanarakṣita's works contain glosses on all works excluding the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*;[27] and Sajjana, according to later Tibetan accounts, knew the corpus.[28]

One of the earliest relevant sources, by 'Das-pa gZhon-nu-byang-chub (late 11th to early 12th century), refers to a Kashmiri tradition (*kha che pa dag*), very likely including Sajjana, that takes the RGV and *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* as ascertaining (or "schematizing"?) (*gtan la 'bebs pa*) the teachings of the Sūtrapiṭaka; the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, those of the Vinayapiṭaka; and the *Madhyāntavibhāga* and *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga*, those of the Abhidharmapiṭaka.[29] The same classification is

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[25] See rMa-bya Byang-chub-brtson-'grus, *'Thad pa'i rgyan*, 4b5–5a1 and Seyfort Ruegg 2002: 73 n. 167. On bCom-ldan-ral-gri's doctrinal position on Maitreya's five treatises, see Kano & Nakamura 2009: 120. See also Chapter 10, p. 315, below. By contrast, Phywa-pa has nothing to say against rNgog's classification. See *rGyud bla don gsal*, p. 164.3–4. For Shākya-mchog-ldan's view on Maitreya's five treatises, see Turenne 2010.

[26] Iuchi & Yoshimizu 2011: 7 n. 13.

[27] See Kano 2008b.

[28] See sMon-lam-tshul-khrims's account in Chapter 1, pp. 45-47. Sajjana asserts, according to Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, that the teachings of the *Madhyāntavibhāga* and *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga* are true to the supreme doctrine of the Buddha, equating to the third turning of the wheel of the Dharma (See Chapter 8, p. 215–217, above)

[29] gZhon-nu-byang-chub, *Chos mngon pa kun las btus pa'i ṭīkka shes bya thams cad gsal bar byed pa'i sgron me*, *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 40, p. 35.2–3: *de rnams kyang kha che pa dag na re sde snod gsum rtan* [= *gtan*] *la dbab par bya ba'i phyir yin te | mdo' sde'i sde snod rtan* [= *gtan*] *la 'bebs pa rgyud bla ma dang | mdo sde rgyan yin te | nges don dang grang* [= *drang*] *don rim pa bzhin no || 'dul ba'i sde snod rtan* [= *gtan*] *la 'bebs pa ni mngon rtogs rgyan te lhung ba 'dul ba'i 'dul ba* (p. 35.3) *min kyang nyes spyod rnam rtogs* [= *rtog*] *'dul bas so || mngon pa'i sde snod rtan* [= *gtan*] *la 'bebs pa ni rnam 'byed gnyis yin no zhes zer ro ||*.

mentioned by mKhas-pa lDe'u (13th cent.).[30] rNgog, by contrast, according to gZhon-nu-byang-chub, takes all five as ascertaining the teachings of the Sūtrapiṭaka, terming the RGV a treatise that explains sūtras of definitive meaning, and the other four, ones that explain sūtras of provisional meaning—among which the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* and *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* concern themselves with sound conventional truth (*yang dag pa'i kun rdzob*), and the *Madhyāntavibhāga* and *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga*, with unsound conventional truth (*log pa'i kun rdzob*).[31]

Later consideration in Tibet of how best to sub-classify Maitreya's corpus seems to have come out of critical reaction to rNgog's understanding rather than to the Kashmiri tradition, for most of it revolves around the division between provisional and definitive meaning, not around the Tripiṭaka.

The origin of the notion of Maitreya's corpus remains to be clarified, but the passage of rNgog's quoted above is one of the earliest clear references to it.

§(f) *The Seven vajrapadas and the Soteriological Models of the Ratnagotravibhāga*

In section [1] "A systematic presentation of the main body [of the treatise]" (*lus rnam par bzhag pa*)—of the *rGyud bla don bsdus*, rNgog sets forth the seven *vajrapada*s as the "main body" (*śarīra*, *lus*) or subject of the RGV: (1)–(3) the Jewels of the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha, (4) the Buddha-element (*dhātu*, i.e., Buddha-nature), (5) Buddha-awakening (*bodhi*), (6) Buddha-qualities (*guṇa*), and (7) Buddha-activities (*karman*). This section (A 1b3–12a3; B 2a1–19a3) forms about one third of the entire text. rNgog first presents his own soteriological model in correlation with the seven *vajrapada*s (A 1b3–4a1; B 2a2–6a5), and then explains RGV

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[30] mKhas-pa lDe'u, *lDe'u chos 'byung*, 169.1–6 (= 177.15–20 in the 1987 version): *de lta bu'i chos lnga po 'di yang sde snod gsum gtan la dbab pa'i phyir gsungs te | mdo de snod gtan la dbab pa'i dbang du byas nas | mdo sde rgyan dang rgyud bla ma mdzad | 'dul ba'i sde snod gtan la 'bebs pa la | mngon rtogs rgyan | mngon pa la chos dang chos nyid dang dbu dang mtha' gnyis mdzad | de lta bu'i chos lnga po de byams pas thogs med la gnang ste |*.

[31] gZhon-nu-byang-chub, *ibid*. 35.3–5: *rngog lo tsa ba na re byams chos lnga ka 'ang mdo' sde'i sde snod rtan* [= *gtan*] *la 'bebs pa'o || de yang mdo' sde la gnyis ste | drang don gyi dang | nges don gyi mdo' sde'o || de gnyis kyang brjod bya kun rdzob gyi* [= *kyi*] *bden pa ston pa ni drang don yin la | don dam pa'i bden pa ston pa ni nges don yin no || yang mthar thug gi rigs pas gnod pa dang mi gnod pa'i khyad par dang |* (p. 35.4) *sgras gzhan du drang bar nus pa dang mi nus pa'i khyad par ro || de la nges don ston par byed pa ni rgyud bla ma ste khams rang bzhin gyis dag par ston pas so || lhag ma ni drang don ston par byed pa'o || de yang yang dag pa'i kun rdzob ston par byed pa ni rgyan gnyis ste | lta ba ston pa mngon rtogs rgyan no || spyod pa ston pa mdo' sde rgyan no || log pa'i kun rdzob ¯ston pa ni* (?) *byed byed pa¯* [= *ston par byed pa*] *ni rnam 'byed gnyis yin te rnam rig tsam don dam par yod do zhes grub mtha' ngan pa'i rtog pas brtags pa'o ||* (p. 35.5) *de skad du yang dang po gnyis ste chu zla dang || grub mtha' ngan pa'i rtog pa'o zhes bshad do ||*.

I.1–3 in the remaining part of it (A 4a1–12a3; B 6a5–19a3).

Each of the seven *vajrapada*s has a causal relation with the others. The manner in which they are connected with each other is presented in RGV I.3, I.23, I.26, and RGVV (on I.2). However, the schematic features presented by the passages are not consistent, and so call for interpretation. rNgog takes ample advantage of this state of affairs and provides a complete schema of his own. In the following I shall first point out the inconsistencies, quoting the pertinent passages of the RGV, and then present rNgog's proposals for overcoming them.

§(f1) *The Ratnagotravibhāga's Presentation of Its Main Topic*

RGV I.3 teaches the Three Jewels and Buddha-nature (i.e. the first four *vajrapada*s) as causes of the Buddha's awakening, qualities, and activities (i.e. the last three *vajrapada*s):

> From the Buddha comes the Dharma, and from the Dharma the Saṅgha of noble ones. In the Saṅgha abides Buddha-nature, which is a constituent of wisdom and which conduces to its attainment; the attainment of wisdom is the highest awakening, accompanied as it is by [the Buddha-]qualities—the [Ten] Powers and the rest—that benefit all sentient beings (RGV I.3).[32]

Contrariwise, according to verses I.23 and 26, the Three Jewels are the successive results generated from Buddha-nature when the conditions supplied by the Buddha's awakening, qualities, and activities are met:

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[32] RGV I.3: *buddhād dharmo dharmataś cāryasaṅghaḥ saṅghe garbho jñānadhātvāptiniṣṭhaḥ | tajjñānāptiś cāgrabodhir balādyair dharmair yuktā sarvasattvārthakṛdbhiḥ* ||. RGV (tib) I.3: *sangs rgyas las chos chos las 'phags pa'i tshogs* || *tshogs las* (or *la*) *snying po ye shes khams thob mthar* || *ye shes de thob byang chub mchog stobs sogs* || *sems can kun don byed chos rnams dang ldan* ||.
The Tanjur version of the RGV renders the locative case of *saṅghe* (I.3b) with the ablative case (*tshogs las*), but rNgog's *rGyud bla don bsdus* clearly retains the locative (A 3b6; B 6a2: *rgyu yang dge 'dun la yod pas*). The Sanskrit manuscript of the RGV (here only Ms. B is available) reads *saṃghe* (Ms. B, fol. 4v5). This reading is supported by a quotation in the *Munimatālaṃkāra* (Skt. Ms. fol. 127r4; courteously supplied by Dr. Xuezhu Li). As Johnston (in his edition of the RGV, 1950: 7 n. 1) and Takasaki (1966: 154f. n. 92) noted, the former makes more sense, for Buddha-nature exists in each member of the community. Therefore, I adopt rNgog's rendering, *la*. Schmithausen (1971: 133) translates the same passage as follows: "Durch [den Einfluß der] Gemeinde (bzw., wenn man *saṅghe* beibehält: im [Rahmen der] Gemeinde) führt der [den Lebewesen innewohnende Buddha-]Embryo schließlich zur Erlangung der [spirituellen] Stufe des Wissens."

> Stained *tathatā*; then, stainless [*tathatā*]; Buddha-qualities, devoid of stains; and the activities of the Victorious One: these are objects of (i.e. things striven after by) those who see the ultimate truth. From them the auspicious Three Jewels arise. (RGV I.23)[33]
>
> What is to be awakened, the awakening, the ancillaries of it, [and] the acts which lead to [others'] awakenings—[of these four] successive [topics], one topic (i.e. the first) is the cause and the three [others] are the conditions [necessary] for its (i.e. *dhātu*'s) purification. (RGV I.26)[34]

A passage in the RGVV (on I.2) also teaches the last four *vajrapada*s (i.e. *dhātu, bodhi, guṇa*, and *karman*) as causes and the first three as results. The resultant Three Jewels are attained in succession at the eighth, ninth, and tenth stages:

> [The *Dhāraṇīśvararāja* teaches:] "The Illustrious One completely awakened toward the sameness of all phenomena, properly set the Wheel of the Dharma in motion, and trained numberless disciples well." [Starting] from these three basic pronouncements, one should [seek to] understand the systematic presentation of how one [comes to] know completely the successive rising of the Three Jewels [in oneself]. One should [also seek to] understand the remaining four topics (i.e. *dhātu, bodhi, guṇa,* and *karman*) as a [systematic] explanation that gives rise to a complete knowledge of [the four as being] the proper causes of the rise of the Three Jewels.
>
> With regard to [the basic pronouncement]: while abiding at the eighth stage of a bodhisattva, he attained power over all phenomena. Therefore, having arrived at the supreme seat of awakening, he is said to have "awakened completely to the sameness of all phenomena" (i.e. *buddha*).
>
> While abiding at the ninth stage of a bodhisattva, he attained the state of

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[33] RGV I.23: *samalā tathatātha nirmalā vimalā buddhaguṇā jinakriyā | viṣayaḥ paramārthadarśināṃ śubharatnatrayasambhavo yataḥ* || (d: °*sambhavo* em. Schmithausen 1971; °*sargako* Johnston = Ms.B). RGV (tib) I.23: *dri bcas de bzhin nyid dang dri ma med* || *dri med sangs rgyas yon tan rgyal ba'i mdzad* || *gang las dkon mchog dge ba gsum 'byung ba* || *don dam gzigs pa rnams kyi yul nyid do* ||.

[34] RGV I.26: *bodhyaṃ bodhis tadaṅgāni bodhaneti yathākramam | hetur ekaṃ padaṃ trīṇi pratyayas tadviśuddhaye* ||. RGV(tib) I.26: *rtogs bya rtogs pa de yi ni* || *yan lag rtogs par byed phyir te* || *go rim ji bzhin gnas gcig de** || *dag rgyu gsum ni rken yin no* ||. (*While Nakamura (1967) adopts the *ste* of other Tanjur versions, the verse text of the Derge version reads *de*, which corresponds to the Sanskrit *tad*.)
In *pāda*s cd of the Tibetan translation, rNgog subordinates *tadviśuddhaye* to *hetur*, but it ought logically to go with *pratyaya* (an understanding that the Chinese translation supports).

> a supreme expounder of the Dharma; precisely understood the intention of all sentient beings; and obtained the highest perfection of the cognitive faculties; and [so] became skilled in cutting away the continual [arising] of mental impressions associated with all [the various] kinds of defilements. Therefore, he, whose awakening is that of a completely Awakened One, is said to have "properly set the wheel of the Dharma in motion" (i.e. *dharma*).
>
> While [abiding] at the tenth stage, he attained the initiation of a crown prince, [as heir to] the supreme Dharma of the *tathāgata*, and immediately became unceasing in the effortless activities of a buddha. Therefore he, having properly set in motion the wheel of the Dharma, is said to have "trained numberless disciples well" (i.e. *saṅgha*). (RGVV 3.20–4.7)[35]

To sum up, the RGV teaches two soteriological models: verse I.3 defines the Three Jewels and the *dhātu* as causes and the last three *vajrapada*s (i.e. *bodhi*, *guṇa*, and *karman*) as results. By contrast, RGV I.23 and 26, supported by RGVV (on I.2), declare the *dhātu* to be the cause that generates the resultant Three Jewels, and the last three *vajrapada*s to be conditions necessary for that generation (see below).[36]

[Table: Three different schemata of the seven *vajrapada*s presented in the RGV/RGVV]

<table>
<tr><td>vajrapadas</td><td>RGV I.3</td><td>RGV I.23, 26</td><td colspan="2">RGVV on I.2</td></tr>
<tr><td>buddha</td><td rowspan="3">cause</td><td rowspan="3">result</td><td rowspan="3">result</td><td>at the 8th bhūmi</td></tr>
<tr><td>dharma</td><td>at the 9th bhūmi</td></tr>
<tr><td>saṅgha</td><td>at the 10th bhūmi</td></tr>
<tr><td>dhātu</td><td>cause</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="4">cause</td></tr>
<tr><td>bodhi</td><td rowspan="3">result</td><td rowspan="3">conditions</td></tr>
<tr><td>guṇa</td></tr>
<tr><td>karman</td></tr>
</table>

[35] RGVV 3.20–4.7: *bhagavān sarvadharmasamatābhisaṃbuddhaḥ supravartitadharmacakro 'nantaśiṣyagaṇasuvinīta iti | ebhis tribhir mūlapadair yathākramaṃ trayāṇāṃ ratnānām anupūrvasamutpādasamudāgamavyavasthānaṃ veditavyam | avaśiṣṭāni catvāri padāni triratnotpattyanurūpahetusamudāgamanirdeśo veditavyaḥ | tatra yato 'ṣṭamyāṃ bodhisattvabhūmau vartamānaḥ sarvadharmavaśitāprāpto bhavati tasmāt sa bodhimaṇḍavaragataḥ sarvadharmasamatābhisaṃbuddha ity ucyate | yato navamyāṃ bodhisattvabhūmau vartamāno 'nuttaradharmabhāṇakatvasaṃpannaḥ sarvasattvāśayasuvidhijña indriyaparamapāramitāprāptaḥ sarvasattvakleśavāsanānusaṃdhisamudghātanakuśalo bhavati tasmāt so 'bhisaṃbuddhabodhiḥ supravartitadharmacakra ity ucyate | yato daśamyāṃ bhūmāv anuttaratathāgatadharmayauvarājyābhiṣekaprāptyanantaram anābhogabuddhakāryāpratipraśrabdho bhavati tasmāt sa supravartitadharmacakro 'nantaśiṣyagaṇasuvinīta ity ucyate |.*

[36] The reason why RGV expounds two different causal typologies for the *vajrapada*s has yet to be clarified.

rNgog explicitly points out the inconsistency in the RGV, calling the schema presented in RGV I.3 the "cycle of *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa* (the *nirvāṇa* in which one is not stuck[37])" (*mi gnas pa'i mya ngan las 'das pa'i 'khor lo*) and that of RGV I.26 and RGVV on I.2 the "cycle of the Three Jewels" (*dkon mchog gi 'khor lo*).

§(f2) *The Cycle of apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*

The term *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa* refers to the three bodies of the Buddha (*kāya*), which exist both for one's own sake and for that of others. Benefiting oneself and others, one abides neither in *nirvāṇa* nor *saṃsāra*—a state called *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*[38]—and this is defined as the result in this model.

In *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa* the *dharmakāya*, *saṃbhogakāya*, and *nirmāṇakāya* respectively correlate with the last three *vajrapada*s, namely *bodhi*, *guṇa*, and *karman*. Of the three pairs, the first (i.e. the *dharmakāya* and *bodhi*) exists for one's own sake, while the last two exist for the sake of others.

Furthermore, rNgog relates the *kāya*s to the five wisdoms of the Buddha (*rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 2a1; B 2b5–3a1): The *dharmakāya* corresponds to the *dharmadhātu-jñāna*, the *saṃbhogakāya* to the *ādarśajñāna*, *samatājñāna*, and *pratyavekṣajñāna*, and the *nirmāṇakāya* to the *kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñāna*. This is close to Sthiramati's schema in his *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* commentary on verse IX.69cd, which has been dealt with by Sakuma (1987: 394).

The results, termed *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*, are generated by the *dhātu* and the Three Jewels, identified as causes. rNgog, defining the *dhātu* as uncontaminated "absolute reality" (*dharmatā*), calls it the "substantive cause" (*upādana*),[39] while he calls the Three Jewels attendant conditions.[40]

rNgog explains the term "cycle" (*'khor lo*, lit. "wheel/circle") in the sense of an endless cycle of causality kept in motion by the *vajrapada*s, since the *vajrapada*s

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[37] Or "the *nirvāṇa* in which one is not [irreversibly] established" or "... in which one does not [irreversibly] abide."

[38] See *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 1b7; B 2b4–5: *de ltar rang gi don gyis ni 'khor bar mi gnas la | gzhan gyi don gyis ni mya ngan las 'das pa la mi gnas pas | mi gnas pa'i mya ngan las 'das pa.* RGVV 35.12 and RGV I.39 define *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*: Bodhisattvas neither completely enter *nirvāṇa* (and so are able to benefit sentient beings) nor are they attached to *saṃsāra* (and so are different from *aparinirvāṇagotraka* "those who have no potential to attain *nirvāṇa*").

[39] *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 2a2; B 3a1.

[40] *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 2a2–3; B 3a1–3.

"move on like a wheel (*'khor lo bzhin du 'pho ba*)."[41] That is, relying on the cause and the conditions (i.e. the first four *vajrapada*s), a practitioner comes directly to perceive the resultant three bodies of the Buddha (i.e. the last three *vajrapada*s) at the culmination of meditative cultivation; and then, for the sake of sentient beings, teaches the way to attain those results; and assembles disciples.[42] It is in achieving benefits for himself and others in this way that he realizes *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*. Afterwards he induces his disciples to enter into the same cycle that he has. Finally, the disciples in turn attain *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*. This cycle thus goes on without end.

[Table: RGV I.3 and rNgog's *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa* cycle]

<table>
<tr><td>vajrapadas</td><td>RGV I.3</td><td colspan="3">rNgog's interpretation</td></tr>
<tr><td>buddha</td><td rowspan="4">cause</td><td colspan="3" rowspan="3">attendant conditions (lhan cig byed pa)
(the Three Jewels on the mundane level)[43]</td></tr>
<tr><td>dharma</td></tr>
<tr><td>saṅgha</td></tr>
<tr><td>dhātu</td><td colspan="3">substantive cause (nye bar len pa)</td></tr>
<tr><td>bodhi</td><td rowspan="3">result</td><td rowspan="3">result</td><td>benefit for oneself</td><td>dharmakāya</td></tr>
<tr><td>guṇa</td><td>benefit for pure beings</td><td>saṃbhogakāya</td></tr>
<tr><td>karman</td><td>benefit for impure beings</td><td>nirmāṇakāya</td></tr>
</table>

§(f3) *The Cycle of the Three Jewels*

The second schema, the "cycle of the Three Jewels" (*dkon mchog gi 'khor lo*), based on RGV I.26 and RGVV on I.2, defines the Three Jewels as results, Buddha-nature as the cause, and *bodhi*, *guṇa*, and *karman* as attendant conditions (also called causes). rNgog reinterprets this as a soteriology consisting of two steps, one coming under the sway of an "indirect cause" (*ring ba'i rgyu*, lit. "distant cause"), and the other, under that of a "direct cause" (*nye ba'i rgyu*, lit. "close cause").[44]

§(f3.1) *The Indirect Cause*

rNgog defines the "indirect cause" (*ring ba'i rgyu*) as the series of stages up to the *adhimukticaryā* ("faith-based practice") stage,[45] and only "indirectly" contributing

[41] *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 2a4; B 3a5.
[42] These three activities serve as the Three Jewels for others.
[43] *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 2a2–4; B 3a1–5.
[44] *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 2b5–4a1; B 4a4–6a5.
[45] *Adhimukticaryā* is attained before "entering the first bodhisattva-stage" (*bhūmipraviṣṭa*; see MSABh 14.7–8 and 117.6–9 etc.), and specifically at the *nirvedhabhāgīya* stage, the last stage

to the final result. rNgog declares this to be in accordance with RGV I.26 together with the commentary on it in the RGVV.[46]

rNgog defines the *dhātu* as, in general terms, the "mental continuum, whose nature is emptiness"[47] (see below [h1]). As long as the indirect cause holds sway within that continuum, the *dhātu* has "yet to be activated" (*ma sad pa*), being merely latent in ordinary people (who have neither entered the path towards release nor generated a *saṃyagdṛṣṭi* "correct view").[48] The *dhātu* is elsewhere defined as the basis of "individual well-grounded attentiveness" (*pratyātmayoniśomanasikāra*).[49]

The attendant conditions under the sway of the indirect cause, consisting of the last three *vajrapada*s (Buddha-awakening, Buddha-qualities, and Buddha-activities), form the basis for becoming attentive to "another's voice" (*paratoghoṣa*),[50] that is, to the Buddha's discourses, in particular "(a) [scriptures] which teach the purpose of discriminative insight (*prajñā*), namely the profound meaning; (b) [scriptures] which teach the purpose of the means (*upāya*), namely the extensive meaning; (c) and [scriptures] which properly relate discriminative insight to the means." The stage is set for these three by the respective conditions, that is, the last three *vajrapada*s (the awakening etc.) of previous Buddhas.[51]

On this part of the path, then, the result is the arising of a correct view which is achieved on the basis of "individual well-grounded attentiveness" and "another's voice."[52] This model, with *paratoghoṣa*, *yoniśomanasikāra*, and *saṃyagdṛṣṭi* as its foundations, is taught in *āgama* literature, Abhidharma works, Yogācāra works, and the RGVV.[53] The final results, namely the Three Jewels, are attained after acquiring

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of *pṛthagjana*; hence directly before entering upon the *darśanamārga* (see *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* III.3; *Bhāvanākrama* I, §22, 223.11–15, 224.7–11; Ichigō 2002).

46 RGVV 25.6–17.

47 *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 2b6; B 4a6: *sems kyi rgyud stong pa nyid kyi rang bzhin ni | nye bar len pa yin te | khams so ||*. See also *ibid*. A 3b3; B 5b3: *'di ltar stong pa nyid kyi rang bzhin du gyur pa'i sems kyi rgyud ni khams yin no ||*. Furthermore, the *dhātu* includes all other *vajrapada*s (see *ibid*. A 3b2–3; B 5b3: *des na 'bras bu dkon mchog gsum dang | nye ba'i rgyu rkyen bzhi dang | ring ba'i rgyu rkyen bzhi po ni mtha' dag kyang khams nyid do ||*).

48 *Ibid*. A 3a1; B 4b3: *ring ba'i rgyu rgyud tha dad pa ni | thar pa'i lam la mi brtson pa yang dag pa'i lta ba ma skyes pa'i dus kyi khams kyi rang bzhin*.

49 *Ibid*. A 3a1; B 4b3–4 and RGVV 25.11–12.

50 *Ibid*. A 3a2–3; B 4b3–4. On *paratoghoṣa*, see RGVV 25.14.

51 *Ibid*. A 3a4; B 5a2: *des na sangs rgyas snga ma'i byang chub la sogs pa'i rkyen gyis gzhan gyi sgra bsgrubs* (*bsgrubs* em.; *bsgrub* B; *grub* A) *la*.

52 *Yoniśomanasikāra* relates to *cintā* "reflection," while *paratoghoṣa* relates to *śruta* "learning."

53 Canonical sources of this model are *Aṅguttaranikāya* I. p. 87, and *Majjhimanikāya* I. p. 294, T vol. 1, 790c28–791a5, the Sanskrit version of which is found in AKVy 188.14–16 (see Nagao 1982: 218–219), a passage rNgog (*rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 3a2–3; B 4b4–5) quotes. The model is

saṃyagdṛṣṭi in a further stage, under the influence of the direct cause.

[Table: RGV I.26 and rNgog's "indirect cause" schema]

<table>
<tr><td>vajrapadas</td><td>RGV I.26</td><td colspan="2">rNgog's interpretation</td></tr>
<tr><td>buddha</td><td rowspan="3">result</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="3">result
(attained at the buddhabhūmi)</td></tr>
<tr><td>dharma</td></tr>
<tr><td>saṅgha</td></tr>
<tr><td>dhātu</td><td>cause
pratyātmayoniśo-
manasikārasaṃniśraya</td><td rowspan="3">indirect cause
(ring ba'i rgyu)
of saṃyagdṛṣṭi
before adhimukticaryā</td><td>substantive cause
(nye ba'i rgyu) of
yoniśomanasikāra</td></tr>
<tr><td>bodhi</td><td rowspan="3">conditions
paratoghoṣasaṃniśraya</td><td rowspan="3">attendant conditions
(scriptures)</td></tr>
<tr><td>guṇa</td></tr>
<tr><td>karman</td></tr>
</table>

§(f3.2) *The Direct Cause*

The "direct cause" (*nye ba'i rgyu*) operates on the soteriological path from the *adhimukticaryā* stage up to the stage of a buddha, leading "directly" to the final attainment of the resultant Three Jewels.

rNgog defines the *dhātu*, the substantive cause (*upādāna*), as "activated" (*sad pa*) by a practitioner who abides on the levels of the first bodhisattva-stage onward.[54] The *dhātu* is a mental continuum (whose nature is emptiness) which has become firmly established through wholesome accumulations.[55] The *dhātu* furthers these along to their natural result, and in this is assisted by the attendant conditions (*sahakārin*) consisting of the last three *vajrapada*s (i.e. *bodhi*, *guṇa*, and *karman*), which are respectively attained at the eighth, ninth, and tenth bodhisattva-stages.[56] All these causes come into play once one is steadied in "*vajra*-like meditative absorption" (*vajropamasamādhi*), the final point of the soteriological path.[57]

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expounded in such Abhidharma works as the *Apidamo jiyimenzu lun* 阿毘達磨集異門足論 (T vol. 26, p. 393ab) and the *Apidamo dapiposha lun* 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論 (T vol. 27, pp. 2b, 280a etc.), in such Yogācāra works as the *Yogācārabhūmi* (T vol. 30, pp. 333bc, 340a, 343b, etc.), and also in the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (ed. Tatia, pp. 35.8–11, 122.9–17, 106.1–2) and in *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* I.44. rNgog's teacher Parahitabhadra, too, mentions this model (*Sūtrālaṃkārādiślokadvayavyākhyā*, D 4030, 180a6–7).

[54] *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 2b5–7, 3b4; B 4a5–b1, 5b5.

[55] *Ibid*. A 2b6; B 4a5–6: *dge ba'i tshogs kyis legs par bsgrubs pa'i sems kyi rgyud stong pa nyid kyi rang bzhin ni | nye bar len pa yin te | khams so ||*.

[56] *Ibid*. A 2b6–3a1; B 4a6–b3.

[57] *Ibid*. A 2b6–7; B 4b1: *nye bar len pa dang lhan cig byed pa 'di bzhi yang bar chad med pa'i lam*

Finally, at the eleventh stage (the stage of a buddha), the resultant Three Jewels arise in three successive moments: first the Jewel of the Buddha arises, ushered forth by the Awakening; then the Jewel of the Dharma, propelled by the Buddha-qualities; and finally, the Jewel of the Saṅgha, under the impulse of the Buddha-activities.[58] rNgog states in addition that the Three Jewels arise concomitantly in a practitioner while attaining the three bodies of the Buddha, that is, the *svabhāva-kāya*, the *saṃbhogakāya*, and the *nirmāṇakāya*.[59]

RGV I.19 and the commentary on it in the RGVV teach that the resultant Three Jewels correspond to the three types of awakening attained under the three vehicles. In this regard, rNgog raises the objection that such a three-vehicle scheme is unacceptable, since the RGV, according to him, teaches only a "single vehicle" (*ekayāna*). Quoting the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka,* he asserts that persons adhering to the vehicles of the *śrāvaka* and *pratyekabuddha* are eventually led to the Mahāyāna,[60] and demonstrates that the teaching of RGV I.19 in no way contradicts the notion of a single vehicle. rNgog thus reads an *ekayāna* position into the RGV, even though the RGV itself sometimes suggests a position redolent of the Three Vehicles and never uses the word *ekayāna* itself,[61] whereas it does allude to sentient beings who have no chance of realizing Buddha-nature or of attaining a buddha's awakening (see Chapter 1).[62]

According to rNgog,[63] the direct cause schema is based on the above-quoted passage of the RGVV (3.20–4.7). His own version of it, however, differs in the following point: the RGVV teaches that the Three Jewels are attained from the

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gyis bsdus pa'i (A: *pa'*) *rdo rje lta bu'i ting nge 'dzin gyi skad cig gcig gi gnas skabs na tshogs pa yod par blta'o* ||.

58 *Ibid*. A 3b1–2; B 5a6–b2. The resultant Three Jewels attained at the stage of a buddha occupy the ultimate level.

59 *Ibid*. A 3b2; B 5b1: *sku gsum thob pa na de ltar dkon mchog gsum 'byung ba thob par blta'o* ||. In the cycle of *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*, the three *kāya*s correlate with *bodhi*, *guṇa*, and *karman* (see *ibid*. A 1b6–7; B 2b2–5). By contrast, Sajjana (or his disciple) calls the Awakening, Buddha-qualities, and Buddha-activities the "threefold *dharmakāya*." See *Upadeśa*, interlinear note on verse 15cd: *trikāyī buddhādivad acālādau | dharmakāyatrayī bodhiguṇakarmavad buddhabhūmau* ||.

60 *Ibid*. A 2a4–7; B 3a5–b4. This is criticized by Blo-gros-mtshungs-med (see *rGyud bla sgron me*, 48.5–49.5).

61 Takasaki 1974: 118 = 2009 (Collected papers of Takasaki, vol. 4): 149, Matsumoto 2013: 216 n. 93.

62 Cf. RGV I.41 (*agotra*), I.153 (*acakṣus*), and IV.41 (*śrotravikala*). Cf. also T 1611, vol. 31, 813a17: 順三乘菩提 and Matsumoto 2013: 121–150, 92–96, 167, 217 n. 112. Even though the Chinese title of the RGV has the words 究竟一乘 "ultimate ekayāna", this is very probably a scribal mistake for 究竟大乘 "ultimate Mahāyāna," inasmuch as it should be a rendering of *Māhāyānottaratantra* (cf. RGV I.160d). See Chapter 1, note 40.

63 *Ibid*. A 4a1; B 6a4.

eighth to the tenth stage, whereas he maintains that they are attained in three "moments" (*kṣaṇa*) at the stage of a buddha (see table below).

[Table: RGVV (on I.2) and rNgog's "direct cause" schema]

<table>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="2">RGVV on I.2</td><td colspan="3">rNgog's interpretation</td></tr>
<tr><td>buddha</td><td rowspan="3">result</td><td>8th bhūmi</td><td rowspan="3">result</td><td colspan="2">the first moment of the buddhabhūmi</td></tr>
<tr><td>dharma</td><td>9th bhūmi</td><td colspan="2">the second moment of the buddhabhūmi</td></tr>
<tr><td>saṅgha</td><td>10th bhūmi</td><td colspan="2">the third moment of the buddhabhūmi</td></tr>
<tr><td>dhātu</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="4">cause</td><td rowspan="4">direct cause</td><td>main cause</td><td>after adhimukticaryā until the 7th bhūmi</td></tr>
<tr><td>bodhi</td><td rowspan="3">attendant conditions</td><td>8th bhūmi</td></tr>
<tr><td>guṇa</td><td>9th bhūmi</td></tr>
<tr><td>karman</td><td>10th bhūmi</td></tr>
</table>

Having thus set forth the two cycles[64] and sought out inconsistencies in the RGV with regard to the soteriological paths, rNgog attempts to restore as much order as possible to them. Indian scholars contemporary with him discuss the same issue: Sajjana presents a single continuous soteriological path,[65] while Abhayākaragupta enunciates two different positions with regard to the schemata presented in RGV I.3, I.26, and RGVV on I.2.[66]

§(g) *Eight Qualities of the Jewel of the Saṅgha*

RGV I.13–18 teaches the Jewel of the Saṅgha of bodhisattvas, who possess the "knowledge of reality" (*yathāvadbhāvikatā*)[67] and "knowledge in extension" (*yāvadbhāvikatā*).[68] With their knowledge of reality, they see that the twofold selflessness (*pudgala-* and *dharmanairātmya*) is primordially quiescent (RGV I.15), and with their knowledge of its extent, they see that Buddha-nature pervades all sentient beings (RGV I.16). This twofold knowledge is called "individual wisdom vision" (*pratyātmajñānadarśana*), which is pure, "free from attachment" (*asaṅga*) and

[64] rNgog does not clarify the relation between the two cycles. Later scholars, such as Blo-gros-mtshungs-med and rGyal-tshab, regard only the cycle of the Three Jewels as definitive (see Chapters 10 and 11).

[65] See Chapter 8 above, p. 227, etc.

[66] *Munimata*, Skt. Ms. fols. 126v5–127r5, D 212a7–213a3; P 277b2–278b2. See Chapter 4.

[67] Otherwise "knowledge of reality as it is."

[68] Otherwise "knowledge of reality as to its extent."

"free of all hindrance" (*apratighāta*)[69] (RGV I.17). Because of this knowledge, bodhisattvas suffer no decline from a buddha's wisdom, and for this reason they are a refuge for others (RGV I.18).

Glossing these verses, rNgog enumerates eight qualities: (1) knowledge of reality, (2) knowledge in extension, (3) individual self-awareness, (4) release from the obstruction consisting in attachment, (5) release from the obstruction consisting in hindrances, (6) release from the obstruction consisting in the lower [state of the *śrāvakayāna*], (7) wisdom, and (8) release.[70] rNgog notes[71] that the RGV does not treat nos. 3, 6, 7, and 8 as independent topics.[72] His purpose in enumerating these qualities is to bring their number up to that of the other two Jewels (i.e. the Buddha and the Dharma), each of which has eight qualities (RGV I.4–8 and I.9–12). This interpretation was widely accepted by later scholars, with a few exceptions such as Tsong-kha-pa.[73]

§(h) *rNgog's Position on the Buddha-nature Doctrine*

With regard to rNgog's position on the Buddha-nature doctrine as set forth in his *rGyud bla don bsdus*, the following topics can be singled out:[74]

(1) The Three Aspects of Buddha-nature: *dharmakāya*, *tathatā*, *gotra*
(2) Buddha-nature/emptiness as a cause
(3) Buddha-nature and the *ālayavijñāna*
(4) the ontological status of the Buddha-qualities: an interpretation of RGV I.154–155, and
(5) the relation between the doctrines of emptiness and Buddha-nature: an interpretation of RGV I.156–167.

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[69] Attachment is removed through the knowledge of reality; hindrances, through the knowledge in extension (RGV I.17).

[70] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 14a4; B 22a6–b1.

[71] rNgog says that nos. 3 and 6 are taught only "implicitly " (*don gyis*, lit. "from a semantic viewpoint"), while nos. 7 and 8 are general notions that respectively subsume nos. 1–3 and nos. 4–6. See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 14b5–6; B 23a5–b1.

[72] In RGV I.14 and 17, no. 3 merely serves to expand on nos. 1 and 2; no. 6 does not feature as such in the RGV.

[73] Tsong-kha-pa, *gSer phreng*, 128b5-129a1. See also Chapter 11 below (on bSod-nams-grags-pa).

[74] The following section is a revised and enlarged version of Kano 2010b, which in turn is based on Chapter 4, "rNgog-lo's Philosophical Position," of my doctoral thesis (Kano 2006a).

§(h1) *The Three Aspects of Buddha-nature — dharmakāya*, *tathatā*, *gotra*

The three characteristic aspects[75] of Buddha-nature, namely the *dharmakāya*, *tathatā*, and the *gotra*, play a central role in the discourse of the RGV. They are introduced in RGV I.27–28 and explained in more detail in RGV I.130–152.[76] RGV I.27–28 states:

> [It is] because the Buddha's wisdom (i.e. the *dharmakāya*) pervades [all] categories of sentient beings, because these [sentient beings'] immaculateness (i.e. *tathatā*) is by nature non-dual (i.e. is not different from the Buddha's immaculateness), and because the fruit of that (i.e. buddhahood) is termed, metaphorically, the Buddha's *gotra* (i.e. potential to become a buddha), [that the Buddha] taught that all sentient beings have Buddha-nature (RGV I.27).
>
> [It is] because the body of the Perfect Buddha (i.e. the *dharmakāya*) is all-pervading, because *tathatā* is inseparable (i.e. since it pervades everything), and because [the Buddha's] *gotra* exists [in sentient beings that the Buddha taught] that all sentient beings always have Buddha-nature (RGV I.28).[77]

The three notions of *dharmakāya*, *tathatā*, and *gotra*, enumerated in the RGV as constitutive of the intrinsic nature (*svabhāva*) of Buddha-nature,[78] are identified by rNgog as expressing, respectively, its resultant (*'bras bu*), intrinsic (*rang bzhin*), and causal (*rgyu*) aspects.[79] All three are to be equated with emptiness. rNgog's commentary on the first states:

> [The *dharmakāya* pervades all sentient beings], because the *dharmakāya* is emptiness and because emptiness, in turn, abides in [all] sentient beings. Therefore, it is taught [in the RGVV][80]: "[There are no] sentient beings who

[75] The RGVV (69.17) calls them the "threefold intrinsic nature" (*trividhaṃ svabhāvaṃ*).

[76] rNgog's discussion of these notions is found in his commentary on RGV I.130–152. See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 25b6–26b3; B 41a2–42a6.

[77] RGV I.27: *buddhajñānāntargamāt sattvarāśes tannairmalyasyādvayatvāt prakṛtyā | bauddhe gotre tatphalasyopacārād uktāḥ sarve dehino buddhagarbhāḥ ||*; RGV I.28: *saṃbuddhakāyas-pharaṇāt tathatāvyatibhedataḥ | gotrataś ca sadā sarve buddhagarbhāḥ śarīriṇaḥ ||*.

[78] RGV I.144ab: *svabhāvo dharmakāyo 'sya tathatā gotram ity api |*.

[79] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 18b5; B 29a3–4: *rdzogs sangs sku ni 'phro phyir dang | zhes bya ba la sogs pa la | 'bras bu dang | rang bzhin dang | rgyu'i snying po can yin pa'i phyir | de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can du dgongs pa'o ||*.

[80] RGVV 70.18–19: *sa kaścit sattvaḥ ... yas tathāgatadharmakāyād bahir*.

> stand outside the *dharmakāya* of a *tathāgata*."[81]

Note that RGV I.145 uses the term *dharmadhātu* to explain *dharmakāya*[82]—*dharmadhātu* being the sphere of reality that is realized through non-conceptual wisdom and the Buddha's instruction (*deśanā*), and is associated with emptiness in works such as the *Madhyāntavibhāga*.[83]

rNgog's commentary on the idea that every sentient being possesses *tathatā*, an intrinsic nature shared by ordinary beings and Buddhas, brings out further aspects of the equivalence of *tathatā* and emptiness. Among other things, it spells out the difference between two "levels" of emptiness: the *dharmakāya* evinces the emptiness of the completely pure state alone (i.e. the emptiness realized by Buddhas), whereas *tathatā* broadens the scope to cover both pure and impure states:[84]

> As to the previous case (i.e. the *dharmakāya*), since the intrinsic nature of the pure state exists as such [in Buddhas], the pure state is also present in sentient beings (i.e. given that the *dharmakāya* of Buddhas pervades all sentient beings). Therefore, this utter purity (i.e. emptiness)[85] is called the "essence" (*snying po*). As to the present case (i.e. *tathatā*), even though [ordinary beings] have no [access yet to such a final resultant state], attained through the accumulation of purifications,[86] still the emptiness of the intrinsic nature is called "the essence."[87]

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[81] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 26b2; B 41b1: *chos sku de ni* (A: *nyid*) *stong pa nyid yin la | stong pa nyid kyang sems can thams cad* (*thams cad* om. in B) *la yod pa'i phyir ro || des na gang zhig de bzhin gshegs pa'i chos kyi sku las phyi rol tu gyur pa'i sems can de dag* (*dag* om. in B) *ni zhes gsungs so ||*.

[82] RGV I.145: *dharmakāyo dvidhā jñeyo dharmadhātuḥ sunirmalaḥ | tanniṣyandaś ca gāmbhīryavaicitryanayadeśanā ||*.

[83] See in *Madhyāntavibhāga* I.14: *tathatā bhūtakoṭiś cānimittaṃ paramārthatā | dharmadhātuś ca paryāyāḥ śūnyatāyāḥ samāsataḥ ||*. The equation of the *dharmadhātu* with emptiness is not explicit in the RGV.

[84] rNgog's understanding of *tathatā* as pertaining to both Buddhas and ordinary beings may have its source in the statement in RGVV ad I.148 that *tathatā* is luminous by nature and undifferentiated throughout all states of both Buddhas and ordinary beings.

[85] See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 26b2; B 41b1.

[86] In his gloss on the notion of *dharmakāya*, rNgog previously explained that the extremely pure *tathatā* is attainable in virtue of the immeasurable accumulations of the Dharma of realization by previous *tathāgata*s (rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 26a2; B 41a6).

[87] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus,* A 26a3–4; B 41b2–4: *sngar ni rnam par dag pa'i gnas skabs de nyid kyi rang bzhin yod pas | rnam par dag pa'i gnas skabs kyang sems can la yod pa yin la | des na rnam par dag pa de nyid snying por brjod pa yin no || da lta ni rnam par dag pa'i tshogs las yang dag par grub pa de med kyang | rang bzhin gyis stong pa nyid kho na snying por brjod pa yin no ||*.

As for the *gotra*, rNgog states:

> This cause (i.e. the *gotra*), again, is both emptiness and wholesome seeds.[88]

rNgog explains emptiness as *prakṛtisthagotra* and wholesome seeds as *samudānītagotra*:

> The *gotra* is twofold: *prakṛtistha* (naturally present [spiritual disposition]) and *samudānīta* ([spiritual disposition] that comes about by being generated). Of them, the *prakṛtistha* is emptiness, since it is not brought forth through the efforts of persons but is established by nature. Although it is regarded as spiritual disposition (*gotra*), being endowed with the capacity (*nus pa*) to generate the Buddha's qualities, it is nothing but *tathatā* [itself] (i.e. emptiness). The *samudānīta*, then—that is, wholesome impressions which will remain/continue after the fundamental transformation (*āśrayaparāvṛtti*) at the moment of awakening—comprises the *sambhogakāya* and the *nirmāṇakāya*, [as stated in verse I.150]. Therefore, the two types [of spiritual disposition] are illustrated through the analogies of a treasure and a [seed of a] tree, for the former dispels the poverty of some in virtue of its wholesome qualities, namely the teaching, while for others the latter causes the maturation of fruits, namely release [from *saṃsāra*].[89]

rNgog thus equates *prakṛtisthagotra* with emptiness/*tathatā* and admits "the capacity to generate the Buddha's qualities" in it; he does not agree that perfect Buddha-qualities are fully present in the causal state of sentient beings. rNgog sums up:

> [Buddha-nature is called] the *gotra* in view of its causal character, *tathatā* in

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[88] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus,* A 26a7; B 42a1: *rgyu yang stong pa nyid dang* (*dang* om. in A) | *dge ba'i sa bon te* |.

[89] See also *ibid.*, A 29b8–30a2; B 48a6–b2: *rigs ni* (*ni* om. in B) *gnyis te* | *rang bzhin du gnas pa dang* | *bsgrubs pa las gyur pa'o* || *de la rang bzhin du gnas pa ni stong pa nyid yin te* | *de ni skyes bu'i byed pas ma bsgrubs par chos nyid du grub pa'i phyir ro* || *de'ang* (A: *de la*) *sangs rgyas kyi chos skyed* (A: *bskyed*) *pa'i nus pa dang ldan pas rigs su gzhag kyang de bzhin nyid* (B: *nyin*) *kho na yin no* || *des na bsgrubs pa las gyur pa dge ba'i bag chags nyid sangs rgyas pa na yongs su gyur nas gnas pa ni* | *longs spyod rdzogs pa dang sprul pa yin pas na gter dang ljon shing gi dpes bstan te* (B: *to*) | *yon tan chos kyis gzhan gyi dbul pa sel ba dang* | *rnam par grol pa'i 'bras bu gzhan la smin par byed pa'i phyir ro* ||. In another passage (A 25b5–6; B 40b6–41a1), rNgog again clarifies the twofold *gotra* on the basis of RGV I.149.

> view of its pervading character, and the *dharmakāya* in view of its resultant character. Mere emptiness pertains to all three.[90]

Though Buddha-nature can be considered under three aspects, it is in the end nothing but emptiness—a conclusion that accords with rNgog's definition of Buddha-nature as "the mental continuum, which has emptiness as its nature" (*sems kyi rgyud stong pa nyid kyi rang bzhin*).[91]

Another discussion of these three aspects concerns the nominal (*btags pa*) versus the actual (*dngos*) status of the *dharmakāya*, *tathatā*, and the *gotra*, depending on whether ordinary beings or Buddhas are being considered. The distinction stems from the significance of the metaphorical designation (*upacāra*, *nyer btags*), as mentioned in RGV I.27c. The underlying idea is that the *gotra*, representing as it does the potential within sentient beings to become a buddha, can be viewed as a cause of buddhahood.[92] It can thus be metaphorically so designated, by the name of its effect.

rNgog adopts this distinction with regard to the *dharmakāya* and *tathatā* as well: the term *dharmakāya* refers directly to the result—buddhahood—and indirectly to the causal factor present in ordinary beings,[93] while the term *tathatā* refers directly to both the resultant and causal aspects of Buddhas and ordinary beings.

This distinction also applies in the context of the essence (*snying po*), a term already met with in the above passage on *tathatā*.[94] The Buddha's essence (that is,

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[90] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 26a7; B 42a2: *des na rgyu'i mtshan nyid nas ni rigs yin la | khyab byed kyi mtshan nyid nas ni de bzhin nyid | 'bras bu'i mtshan nyid nas ni chos kyi sku ste | stong pa nyid 'ba' zhig rnam pa gsum gar yang 'gyur ro ||*.

[91] In the introductory part of his *rGyud bla don bsdus*, rNgog explains the soteriological path according to two schemata of the seven *vajrapada*s (see the present Chapter, section [f]). It is in this context that he redefines Buddha-nature as the mental continuum that has emptiness as its nature. See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus,* A 2b5–6; B 4a5–6: *yang dag pa'i lta ba sngon du btang nas thar pa'i don du* (A: *phyir*) *brtson pa tshogs kyi lam nas brtsams te* (B: *nas*) *byang chub sems dpa'i sa bdun pa'i bar du thob pa'i rang bzhin gi* (*gi* om. in B) *dge ba'i tshogs kyis legs par bsgrubs pa'i sems kyi rgyud stong pa nyid kyi rang bzhin ni | nye bar len pa yin te | khams so ||*.

[92] The literal meaning of *tathāgatagarbha* (as a *bahuvrīhi*) is "he who has a *tathāgata* internally," which possibly means, "he who already has the result and so does not need a cause of/potential for its production."

[93] rNgog has previously restricted the presence of the *dharmakāya* to Buddhas; however, in order not to contradict the teaching of RGV I.27–28, according to which the Buddha's *dharmakāya* pervades every sentient being, he admits its nominal existence in ordinary beings.

[94] Although Sanskrit dictionaries do not define *garbha* as essence (*snying po*), some Indian sources allow such a meaning (cf. Zimmermann 2002: 41). For instance, Ratnākaraśānti glosses *garbha* in his analysis of the compound *vajragarbha* as *hṛdaya* (pointed out by Prof.

the result in and of itself) equates directly to the *dharmakāya* (the resultant aspect of Buddha-nature) and indirectly to the *gotra* (its causal aspect).[95] Sentient beings' essence (*sems can gyi snying po*, that is, the cause in and of itself) for its part equates directly to the *gotra*.[96]

§(h2) *Buddha-nature/Emptiness as a Cause*

Among the three aspects of Buddha nature dealt with above, the causal aspect (i.e. the *gotra*), the spiritual potential to become a buddha, plays the most significant role.

rNgog's predicament in this regard is a Madhyamaka one: everything is empty by nature and there is no real entity on the ultimate level; how, then, can Buddha-nature be called a cause and how can it produce a result? Indeed, if we understand Buddha-nature as a real, causally efficient entity, then it could not be emptiness.

rNgog's solution is to accept it as a substantive cause, which for its part, however, is a conventional object (*tha snyad kyi yul*) devoid of real existence:

> Therefore, the *dhātu* (i.e. Buddha-nature), which is a conventional object corresponding to a non-affirming negation (*prasajyapratiṣedha*), is called the substantive cause (*upādāna*) of the *dharmakāya*,—which is [itself] a conventional object [which satisfies the conditions of] a non-affirming negation. It is not the case, however, that objects which are inevitably produced [by it] or which it produces really exist. The term conventional object means something that is established as having the nature of a non-affirming negation—something that does not exist in reality.[97]

Isaacson in a personal communication), while Jayaratha interprets *garbha* as *sāra* (see Zimmermann 2002: 41 n. 58). Furthermore, gZhon-nu-dpal lists several Sanskrit equivalents of *snying po*: *sāra*, *hṛdaya*, *garbha*, and *maṇḍa* (see his *rGyud bla me long*, 262.24–25).

[95] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 18b5–6; B 29a4–5.

[96] rNgog, *ibid*., A 18b7–19a1; B 29b1.

[97] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 2b3–4; B 4a2–3: *des na med par dgag pa'i tha snyad kyi yul du gyur pa'i khams ni med par dgag pa'i tha snyad kyi yul du gyur pa'i chos kyi sku'i* (*chos kyi sku'i* om. in B) *nyer len du brjod kyi bskyed par bya ba dang skyed par byed pa'i* don nyid ni dngos su yod pa ma yin no || tha snyad kyi yul zhes bya ba ni | med par dgag pa rang bzhin du grub pa de kho nar med pa'i don to* (A: *te*) ||.

* *bskyed par bya ba dang skyed par byed pa'i* is a conjecture. A reads: *bskyed par bya ba dang bskyed par byed pa'i*; B reads: *skyes bu byed pa'i*. The reading of A ("it is not that objects which are inevitably produced and which produce [in turn] really exist") is more likely than that of B ("it is not that the objects of human activity really exist"), since rNgog asserts here that Buddha-nature, the *dhātu* (that is, emptiness), does not engage in ontologically grounded but merely in nominal causation. Furthermore, this reading is supported by a similar expression

rNgog, then, accepts neither that the *dhātu* and *dharmakāya* need to be entities in order to be causes nor that the causation in question is a causation of the type that occurs between a seed and a sprout. Even though all phenomena are empty by nature, everything is able to exist and function conventionally. In this sense Buddha-nature can serve a causal function.[98]

In other words, rNgog does not accept Buddha-nature as an engendering cause (*jananahetu*),[99] for if Buddha-nature, which is defined as unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*), were an engendering cause, like a seed producing a sprout, then it would be a conditioned entity (*saṃskṛta*).

Does rNgog then admit Buddha-nature as a supporting cause (*pratiṣṭhāhetu*), as Ratnākaraśānti and Abhayākaragupta do?[100] These latter two, more particularly, describe the supporting function of the *dharmadhātu* as a cause in the same sense that space, which is formless (*arūpin*) and without an intrinsic nature (*niḥsvabhāva*), functions as a cause of support for the presence of everything (if there were no space, nothing spatial would exist).[101] Their stance is more or less in line with the *Madhyāntavibhāga*, which takes emptiness as a foundation,[102] so that it in turn can ensure that Buddha-nature is something unconditioned.

rNgog's stance, at first glance, looks similar to that of Ratnākaraśānti and Abhayākaragupta's, but once we consider Phywa-pa's commentary on rNgog's passage quoted above, it is obviously seen to be different, particularly in view of rNgog's understanding of emptiness.

According to Phywa-pa, emptiness is conventionally called a "cause" in terms of mere exclusion (*ldog pa tsam*), regardless of the fact that it does not have any real direct efficacy: "just as the absence of food is a cause of hunger, so the absence of

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found in Phywa-pa's *rGyud bla don gsal*, 3b2: *dngos myed dang dkon mchog gsum la rjes su 'gro ba'i rang bzhin skyed byed dang skyed bya myed kyang ldog pa tsam las rgyur tha snyad gdags pa ste* ||. "Although [Buddha-nature] is not a true entity, is of a nature conforming to the Three Jewels, and does not engage in producing or being produced, it is nonetheless conventionally termed 'cause' in vertue of [its property] to 'merely excluded'."

98 The RGV teaches Buddha-nature not only as the cause of one's becoming a buddha but also as the universal foundation of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* (see below [h3]), and this latter fact underlies the function it serves of enabling all phenomena (which include *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*) to exist on the conventional level.

99 For *jananahetu*, see, for instance, AKBh on II.65.

100 For *pratiṣṭhāhetu*, see, for instance, AKBh on II.65.

101 See Chapter 3 and 4 (*Sāratamā*, D 30a4–5, *Munimatālaṃkāra*, Skt. Ms. 86v1 ≈ D 3903, 170b7). See also Matsumoto 2004: 107, 114, Kano 2012b: 131, Kano 2014a: 228.

102 Cf. MAV I.14, which equates the *dharmadhātu* with emptiness.

impurities in the context of the ultimate nature (*don dam pa'i rang bzhin gyi dri ma*)[103] is the cause of buddhahood, and this very absence is called 'cause'."[104]

rNgog's concern is not to categorize emptiness either as conditioned or unconditioned, probably premising his position here on *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* 24.14:

> And when emptiness is possible, everything is possible.
> When emptiness is impossible, everything is impossible.[105]

From another point of view, emptiness is a soteriological cause, inasmuch as one gradually attains awakening by meditating on emptiness:

> Emptiness is the cause of the [resultant] pure state (i.e. awakening) arising, if one takes it as one's objective support [in a meditative state].[106]

§(h3) *Buddha-nature and the Ālayavijñāna*

When explaining the *gotra*, the causal aspect of Buddha-nature, the RGVV quotes a verse from the *Abhidharmasūtra*:

> The beginningless *dhātu* is the universal basis of all phenomena. Owing to its presence, there are all forms of existence as well as the attainment of *nirvāṇa*.[107]

After quoting this verse, which teaches that the *dhātu* is the universal basis of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, the RGVV identifies the *dhātu* with Buddha-nature.[108] One will remain in *saṃsāra* as long as Buddha-nature is covered with defilements, and

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[103] Lit. impurities that have an ultimate nature.

[104] Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, 3b2–3. See Kano 2010b: 273 n. 78.

[105] *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* 24.14: *sarvaṃ ca yujyate tasya śūnyatā yasya yujyate | sarvaṃ na yujyate tasya śūnyaṃ na yasya yujyate ||*. An altnernative translation is "And what applies to emptiness applies to everything, and what does not apply to emptiness does not apply to anything." Rong ston traces back rNgog's position to *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* 24.14 when explaining *rGyud bla don bsdus* A 2b2–3; B 4a1. See Rong ston, *rGyud bla legs bshad*, 79.13–16 (he also refers to the *Vigrahavyāvartanī*); 79.16–20.

[106] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 26a7; B 42a1–2: *stong pa nyid kyang de la dmigs nas* (A: *pas*) *rnam par dag pa'i gnas skabs skye ba'i rgyu yin no ||*. See also Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, 61b4–5. See Kano 2010b: 273 n. 78.

[107] RGVV 72.12–13: *anādikāliko dhātuḥ sarvadharmasamāśrayaḥ | tasmin sati gatiḥ sarvā nirvāṇādhigamo 'pi ca ||*.

[108] RGVV 72.16–73.1: *dhātur iti | yad āha | yo 'yaṃ bhagavaṃs tathāgatagarbho lokottaragarbhaḥ prakṛtipariśuddhagarbha iti |*.

will attain *nirvāṇa* when Buddha-nature is purified.

This same verse is quoted in Yogācāra works, such as Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* and Sthiramati's *Triṃśikābhāṣya*. These works identify the *dhātu* with the *ālayavijñāna*[109]: seeds stored in the *ālayavijñāna* give rise to further existences in *saṃsāra*, whereas the transformation of the *ālayavijñāna* (i.e. *āśrayaparivṛtti*) gives rise to *nirvāṇa*.

rNgog endorses the RGVV's identification of the *dhātu* with Buddha-nature, as well as the Yogācāra identification of the *dhātu* with the *ālayavijñāna*:

> The [*dhātu*] as such, which is endowed with the various faculties [for generating everything that pertains to *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*], is also called the *ālayavijñāna*.[110]

The identification of Buddha-nature with the *ālayavijñāna* also echoes what we find in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* and *Ghanavyūhasūtra*, both very probably composed after the RGVV[111] (or if not, at least they did not have any impact on the RGV in this regard).

rNgog leaves unresolved the problem of how this identification is to be reconciled with his definition of Buddha-nature as emptiness. The notion of *ālayavijñāna* indeed involves, as will be discussed below, a level of reality which is hardly compatible with complete emptiness. This difficulty is probably the reason why rNgog's successors (for instance, Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge) rejected the identification of Buddha-nature with it (see Chapter 10).

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[109] *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* (ed. Nagao), §I.1, and *Triṃśikābhāṣya* (ed. Buescher), p. 116.1–2.

[110] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 26b2–3; B 42a6: *de 'dra ba nus pa sna tshogs pa can de la ni kun gzhi'i rnam par shes pa zhes kyang brjod do*. In the gloss on RGV I.1, too (*rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 4b5–7; B 7b1–4), rNgog starts off from the presupposition that the *dhātu* is the foundation of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* and goes on to explain why the conventional truth of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* is applicable to it, belonging though it does to the ultimate level. This idea can be linked to rNgog's understanding of Buddha-nature as a foundation that includes all seven *vajrapada*s. See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 4b4–5; B 7a6: *rdo rje'i gnas bdun po 'di mtha'* (*mtha'* om. in B) *dag khams kyi rang bzhin du bsdu ba ni sngar bshad zin pa nyid do* ||.

[111] One clear indication occurs in *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* VI (Takasaki ed. p. 6.1–2; Nanjio ed. p. 221.12–13): *aparāvṛtte ca tathāgatagarbhaśabdasaṃśabdita ālayavijñāne nāsti saptānāṃ pravṛttivijñānāṃ nirodhaḥ* |). The same notion is found in the *Ghanavyūhasūtra*: P 778, Cu, 62b1–2: *sa rnams sna tshogs kun gzhi ste* || *bde gshegs snying po dge ba'ang* || *snying po de la kun gzhi'i sgras* || *de bzhin gshegs pa ston pa mdzad* || *snying po kun gzhir bsgrags par yang* || *blo gzhan rnams kyis mi shes so* ||; T no. 681, vol. 16, 747a17–19; T no. 682, vol. 16, 775a13–15. For the doctrinal background and development of Buddha-nature becoming identified with the *ālayavijñāna*, see Takasaki 1982. Mathes (2007: 416–417) summarizes gZhon-nu-dpal's and others' positions with regard to the equation of Buddha-nature and the *ālayavijñāna*.

§(h4) *The Ontological Status of the Buddha-qualities: An Interpretation of RGV I.154–155*

Verses I.154–155 of the RGV introduce the notion of emptiness to the exposition of the Buddha-nature doctrine as follows:

> There is nothing to be removed from it (i.e. from Buddha-nature) and nothing to be added. The real should be seen as real, and seeing the real, one becomes liberated. (RGV I.154)[112]
>
> The *dhātu* is devoid of adventitious [stains], which have the defining characteristic of being separable; but it is not void (*aśūnya*) of unsurpassable qualities, which have the defining characteristic of not being separable. (RGV I.155)[113]

The RGVV explains:

> There is no defiling factor (*saṃkleśanimitta*) to be removed from it—that is, the *dhātu*, which is naturally pure—because it is naturally devoid of adventitious stains. Nor does anything need to be added to it as a purifying factor (*vyavadānanimitta*), because it is naturally endowed with pure qualities which are inseparable [from it].[114]

In sum, Buddha-nature is primordially devoid of adventitious stains but not of Buddha-qualities. Hence the RGV teaches that it is "not empty" (*aśūnya*), inasmuch as it is not devoid of these qualities. The question that is likely to arise for a Mādhyamika interpreter—and is actually already prefigured in RGV I.156 (see below)—is how this affirmation of Buddha-qualities in the RGV can be reconciled with the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*'s stance that "everything is empty by nature"? Let us consider rNgog's interpretation of these two verses:

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[112] RGV I.154 almost parallels *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* V.21. rNgog, in his *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentary, explains that verses V.18–21 teach the fruit of the *darśanamārga* stage, with V.21 teaching, in particular, that the view of emptiness offers a reasonable way to liberation. See rNgog, *mNgon rtogs sgron me*, A 86b3–5; B 34a8–9.

[113] RGV I.154–155: *nāpaneyam ataḥ kiṃcid upaneyaṃ na kiṃcana | draṣṭavyaṃ bhūtato bhūtaṃ bhūtadarśī vimucyate || śūnya āgantukair dhātuḥ savinirbhāgalakṣaṇaiḥ | aśūnyo 'nuttarair dharmair avinirbhāgalakṣaṇaiḥ ||*.

[114] RGVV 76.5–7: *na kiṃcid apaneyam asty ataḥ prakṛtipariśuddhāt tathāgatadhātoḥ saṃkleśanimittam āgantukamalaśūnyatāprakṛtitvād asya | nāpy atra kiṃcid upaneyam asti vyavadānanimittam avinirbhāgaśuddhadharmaprakṛtitvāt |*.

> When one neither superimposes an [unreal] ultimate existence (*paramārthasat*) upon the objective support (*dmigs pa*) of defilements nor denies the conventional existence (*saṃvṛtisat*) of the objective support of the mind and the mental factors relating to purification, [one's grip on reality] remains in conformity with the Two Truths as they are.... In this way, it is by virtue of one's neither superimposing ultimate existence nor denying conventional existence that true reality, which has the conjoined nature of the Two Truths, is taught [in verse 154].

rNgog's strategy is here to appeal to the distinction between the Two Truths. Insofar as the perception of reality involves avoiding the denial of "conventional existence" (*kun rdzob tu yod pa*), the possibility remains that something may be "not empty." For the RGVV explains that even after wrong assertion and denial have been removed,[115] there still remains Buddha-nature, which is devoid of defilements, so that there is thus "something remaining" (*avaśiṣṭa*), and rNgog interprets this as meaning that on the conventional level there remains an objective support of purification which is devoid of all objective support of defilements on the ultimate level.[116] He is thus resorting to a strategy often met with in Madhyamaka, namely taking the view that everything is empty by nature to apply on the ultimate level, while admitting that existence on the conventional level is not empty.

rNgog's interpretation along these lines thus succeeds in reconciling the view of Buddha-nature being "not void" of Buddha-qualities with the "everything is empty" standpoint, but leaves the problem of the status of the Buddha-qualities unresolved: in rNgog's framework, the Buddha-qualities would necessarily be conventionally existent. The RGV, by contrast, teaches that the Buddha-qualities are really existent (*bhūta*),[117] and that Buddha-nature endowed with the Buddha-qualities

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[115] RGVV 76.11: *samāropāpavādāntaparivarjanād aviparītaṃ*[a] *śūnyatālakṣaṇam anena ślokadvayena paridīpitam* |. [a] Schmithausen (1971: 159) emends *aparyantaṃ* to *aviparītaṃ*.

[116] See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 27a8–b1; B 43b5–6.

[117] As pointed out by Schmithausen (1973: 134), the RGV restricts such "emptiness" to mundane factors, which are accidental and unreal (RGV I.158), while claiming the true existence of "reality" (*bhūta*), which is devoid of faults (RGV I.164cd). See also Schmithausen 1971: 160–161. Furthermore, RGV III.1–3 teaches that the Buddha-qualities, such as the Ten Powers, belong to a buddha's "ultimate body" (*paramārthakāya*), whereas the "characteristics of a Great One" (*mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*) belong to his "conventional body" (*saṃvṛtikāya*). Phywa-pa for his part explicitly states that the Ten Powers etc. fall under the conventional truth. See Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, 76a7.

are unconditioned, or ultimate.[118]

rNgog appears not to subscribe completely to the existence of the Buddha-qualities in Buddha-nature, for he says that all Buddha-qualities are "summoned, as if called, when one realizes the *dharmadhātu*."[119] What rNgog implies here is that the *dharmadhātu* (i.e. Buddha-nature) is the cause of one's attainment of the Buddha-qualities; the Buddha-qualities are thus not, strictly speaking, present in Buddha-nature, but generated by it. In this way, rNgog strives to avoid the non-Buddhistic view of *satkāryavāda* (the position that the result exists in the cause). This stance is reflected in his explanation of *prakṛtisthagotra* as having the capacity to generate the Buddha's qualities,[120] and also accords with verse 9 of his *sPring yig bdud rtsi'i thig le*:

> After allaying the "heat" of defilements with the "cool rainwater" of repeated study, carried by the "clouds" of good teachers; and after moistening the "seeds" of Buddha-nature (*bde gshegs snying po*), you should cultivate "crops" of perfect Buddha-qualities.[121]

"Cultivate" nicely expresses rNgog's idea that the complete buddha-qualities (the results) are not included within Buddha-nature—are not, that is, a potential in a causal state—whence he is secured against the presence of the result in a cause.

Furthermore, this doctrinal position accords with what is introduced as rNgog's opinion (with the expression *rngog na re*) in Phywa-pa's *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* commentary, which states "if one takes the Buddha-qualities as existent in the state of ordinary beings, there follows the fault that is established in the Sāṅkhya school."[122] This fault ascribed to a non-Buddhist position admits of a result abiding in its cause.

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[118] RGV I.53 describes Buddha-nature as "unconditioned" (*asaṃskṛta*), while the RGVV (p. 2.11–13) teaches that the expressions "Buddha-nature," "the ultimate" (*paramārtha*), and "the sphere of sentient beings" (*sattvadhātu*) are synonyms.

[119] See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 21b1; B 33b2–3: *don dam pa rtogs pa ni yon tan kun gyi rgyu yin te | chos kyi dbyings rtogs na sangs rgyas kyi yon tan thams cad bos pa bzhin du 'du ba'i phyir ro ||*. Cf. Mathes 2007: 31.

[120] See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 29b8–30a2, B 48a6–b2. For further details, see §(h2) in the present chapter.

[121] See Chapter 8. For the text and an interpretation of it, see Kano 2007 and 2009.

[122] Phywa-pa, *mDo rgyan nyi 'od*, 364.1–2: *rngog na re 'di sems kyi chos nyid la bston skyed nus yod* [364.2] *tsam gcig la byed dgos kyi chos can la byas nas sangs rgyas kyi yon tan rnams sems can gyi dus na yod par byas na grangs can la bkod pa'i skyon 'ong ces gsungs pa la* ...

§(h5) *The Relation between the Doctrines of Emptiness and the Buddha-nature Doctrine: An Interpretation of RGV I.156–167*

RGV I.156–167, the last twelve verses of the first chapter, discuss the purpose of teaching Buddha-nature. RGV I.156 first introduces an objection:

> Why did Buddhas teach here (i.e. in the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* etc.) that the *dhātu* of the Buddha exists in every sentient being, after teaching here and there (*tatra tatra*) (i.e. in sundry *sūtra*s, including the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*)[123] that everything should be known to be empty in every respect, like clouds, [visions in] a dream, and illusions?[124]

Replying to this objection, RGV I.157 teaches that the purpose of teaching Buddha-nature is so that one will abandon five faults: a depressed mind, contempt for those who are inferior, clinging to things unreal, speaking ill of truth, and affection for one's self.[125] Further, RGV I.158–159 teaches that the claim that "everything is empty in every respect" implies the absence of defilements and the like against the background of the real existence of Buddha-nature. RGV I.160 for its part hints at the superiority of the Buddha-nature doctrine to the emptiness doctrine—a notion encapsulated in the very title *Mahāyānottaratantra* itself. rNgog comments on RGV I.157 as follows:

> [Maitreya] teaches here (i.e. in the RGV) that [emptiness] is a cause of one's attaining Buddha-qualities, having in mind the defining characteristic [of emptiness] taught there (i.e. in the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*). He thus establishes the defining characteristic mentioned there as a cause. The purpose [of teaching Buddha-nature] is "to eliminate five faults."[126] In this way, the contradic-

[123] Regarding *tatra tatra*, I follow Vairocanarakṣita's gloss, *tatra tatreti sūtre* (see Vairocanarakṣita, *Mahāyānottaratantraṭippaṇī*, 1411) and also a suggestion by Schmithausen (1971: 169): "Allenfalls wäre es denkbar, daß *tatra tatra* zu *ity uktvaivaṃ* zu ziehen ist und bedeutet: in manchen [Mahāyānasūtren]."

[124] RGV I.156: *śūnyaṃ sarvaṃ sarvathā tatra tatra jñeyaṃ meghasvapnamāyākṛtābham | ity uktvaivaṃ buddhadhātuḥ punaḥ kiṃ sattve sattve 'stīti buddhair ihoktam ||.*

[125] See RGV I.157: *līnaṃ cittaṃ hīnasattveṣv avajñābhūtagrāho bhūtadharmāpavādaḥ | ātmasnehaś cādhikaḥ pañcadoṣā yeṣāṃ teṣāṃ tatprahāṇārtham uktam ||.*

[126] RGV I.160cd (commentarial verse on I.157): *pañcadoṣaprahāṇāya dhātvastitvaṃ prakāśitam ||.*

> tion [between the teaching of Buddha-nature and that of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*] is eliminated.[127]

In order to bridge the gap between the emptiness teaching of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* and the "pragmatic function" ascribed to Buddha-nature in the RGV, rNgog utilizes his understanding of emptiness as a cause (see above [h2]). Accordingly, and contrary to what is taught in RGV I.157ff., rNgog does not agree that the Buddha-nature doctrine is superior to the emptiness doctrine. Rather, he seeks to adapt the Buddha-nature doctrine of the RGV to make it accord with the emptiness doctrine of Madhyamaka.

A Summary and Further Considerations

In the present chapter, before going into an analysis of rNgog's doctrinal position as attested in his *rGyud bla don bsdus*, (a) I summarized previous studies of this text published after Seyfort Ruegg 1969, (b) described the available textual material, and (c) reported the works (*Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Dhāraṇīśvararāja*, *Maitreyavimokṣa*, *Ugraparipṛcchā*) quoted in the text.

I discussed rNgog's RGV interpretation in §§(d)–(h):

§(d) rNgog conducts his own structural analysis of the RGV, and in so doing faithfully reflects its overall structure. His analysis had a significant impact on the later Tibetan tradition, including Phywa-pa's synoptic outline of the RGV.

§(e) In rNgog's eyes, it is only the RGV amongst the five treatises of Maitreya that explains sūtras of definitive meaning. According to 'Das-pa gZhon-nu-byang-chub (late 11th to early 12th century), a Kashmiri tradition classifies the five treatises under three types, depending on whether they confirm the teachings of the Sūtrapiṭaka (RGV and MSA), the Vinayapiṭaka (AA), or the Abhidharmapiṭaka (MAV and DhDhV); whereas rNgog associates all five with the Sūtrapiṭaka.

§(f) On the basis of RGV I.3 and I.26 (along with RGVV on I.2), rNgog proposes two soteriological models which elucidate the causality at work among the

[127] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 28a6; B 45a5–6: *'dir ni der bstan pa'i mtshan nyid de la dmigs nas* (A: *pas*) *sangs rgyas kyi chos 'grub pa'i rgyu yin no zhes der brjod pa'i mtshan nyid de nyid rgyur gzhag* (A: *bzhag*) *pa yin no || de'i dgongs pa yang nyes pa lnga spang bar bya ba'i phyir* (B: *spang ba'i phyir*) *ro zhes de ltar 'gal ba spong ba'o ||*

seven *vajrapada*s: he interprets RGV I.3 as underlying a model he calls the "Cycle of the Three Jewels" (in which the Jewels are results); and RGV I.26 (along with RGVV on I.2) as underlying a model he calls the "Cycle of *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*" (in which the last three *vajapada*s are results). He thus creates two independent soteriological models, in contrast to his teacher Sajjana, who had come up with a single continuous soteriological model on the basis of the same verses of the RGV.

§(g) rNgog posits that the Jewel of the Saṃgha has eight qualities in order to bring the number of them up to that of the two other Jewels (i.e. the Buddha and the Dharma).

§(h) I analyzed rNgog's interpretation of Buddha-nature under the following five topics:

§(h1) While the RGV teaches Buddha-nature as displaying three aspects—*dharmakāya*, *tathatā*, and *gotra*—rNgog holds that all three are nothing but one or another form of emptiness: the *dharmakāya* is the completely pure emptiness found at the stage of a buddha; *tathatā* is the emptiness that pervades the stages of both a buddha and ordinary sentient beings; and the naturally present disposition (*prakṛtisthagotra*) is the emptiness that, in pervading every sentient being, serves to give rise to the Buddha-qualities. For rNgog, the evolved disposition (*samudānītagotra*) is not emptiness but wholesome seeds. Further, rNgog takes Buddha-nature as the mind as characterized by emptiness.

§(h2) One of the most crucial tasks faced by rNgog is to demonstrate that emptiness functions as a cause, given that he identifies Buddha-nature, the cause of a buddha, with emptiness. He pins upon both Buddha-nature and its result, the *dharmakāya* (i.e. buddhahood), a conventional status ("a conventional object corresponding to non-affirming negation") and thereby denies their ontological existence on the ultimate level, but he does not reject a causal relationship between Buddha-nature and the *dharmakāya*. For him, this type of causation is not that of an engendering cause (*jananahetu*), as in the case of a seed and its sprout; instead, it is a universal "cause" that makes the conventional existence of every phenomenon (i.e. *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*) possible, as taught in *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* 24.14. It is true that rNgog's understanding of emptiness is similar to that of the *Madhyāntavibhāga* and such scholars as Ratnākaraśānti and Abhayākaragupta, who take emptiness as a foundation that sustains the existence of every conditioned phenomenon, and so functions as a supporting cause (*pratiṣṭhāhetu*). However, rNgog probably understands emptiness more in terms of a pure absence—something like, as Phywa-pa comments, a lack of food that results in hunger. At the same time, he is

able to make the case that emptiness is a soteriological cause, given that one attains awakening by cultivating meditation on it.

§(h3) rNgog states, citing a verse from the *Mahāyānābhidharmasūtra*, that Buddha-nature is just another name for the *ālayavijñāna*, but this equation is criticized by later scholars including Phywa-pa (rNgog very probably understands the difference between the *tathāgatagarbha* and the *ālayavijñāna* as merely nominal one [*tha snyad kyi yul*]).

§(h4) RGV I.154–155 allude to the presence of the result (the Buddha-qualities) in the cause (Buddha-nature), but rNgog, based on his Madhyamaka standpoint, denies its ontological presence there. He reads the Madhyamaka theory of the Two Truths into the two verses of the RGV and proceeds to interpret them accordingly: there are no objective supports (*dmigs pa*) of defiling factors to be added to Buddha-nature on the ultimate level, nor are there any similar supports of mental factors of purification (which are, according to the RGVV, the Buddha-qualities) to be removed from Buddha-nature on the conventional level (it may be questioned, however, whether the resulting Buddha-nature would have causal efficacy). rNgog further denies the full presence of Buddha-qualities in Buddha-nature, asserting instead that Buddha-nature gives rise to the Buddha-qualities only after it has been purified. He thus avoids the vulnerabilities of *satkāryavāda*, but his interpretation of the Buddha-qualities as mundane remains incompatible with what is stated in the RGV, which depicts the Buddha-qualities as unconditioned.[128]

§(h5) RGV I.156–167 suggest the superiority of the doctrine of Buddha-nature to the doctrine of emptiness, whereas rNgog unambiguously equates Buddha-nature with emptiness, contending that it is nothing but emptiness.

[128] rNgog's *Madhyāntavibhāga* commentary *dBus dang mtha' rnam par 'byed pa'i don bsdus pa* and his interpretation of emptiness in that text are yet to be studied.

Conclusion to Chapters 7–9

Tibetan Buddhism in the 11th Century

Tibetans' devotion to the resurrection of Buddhism reached its peak in the 11th century, especially in West Tibet, and their enthusiasm resulted in the Great Dharma Assembly of Tho ling monastery in Fire-Dragon year 1076. The king, rTse-lde, sent out invitations to the majority of learned religious scholars from dBus, gTsang, and Khams. At the assembly, according to Rwa Lo-tsā-ba's biography, 18-year-old rNgog, along with bTsan Kha-bo-che, gNyan Lo-tsā-ba Darma-grags, and others, studied Maitreya's treatises under bTsan's teacher Paṇḍita Prajñāna (*prajñā na*, see p. 164 n. 39). After the assembly, Rwa Lo-tsā-ba and gNyan Lo-tsā ba left for Nepal, while rNgog and others proceeded to Kashmir. Financially supported by dBang-phyug-lde, the son of rTse-lde, rNgog studied under six teachers in Kashmir: Sajjana and Go-mi-'chi-med (under whom he studied Maitreya's treatises); Parahitabhadra and Bhavyarāja (under whom he studied *pramāṇa*); and two others, Tilakakalsaśa and 'Bum-phrag-gsum-pa.

rNgog's Teacher Sajjana

Among his teachers, it was Sajjana who transmitted the teaching of the RGV to rNgog, who in turn played a central role in carrying the teaching to Tibet. Sajjana was thus one of the most crucial figures in the transmission lineage of the RGV. Sajjana's doctrinal position is known from his own work *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa* and fragmentary references in Tibetan sources.

Sajjana's understanding of Buddha-nature was different from rNgog's, however. In certain points rNgog was influenced by his teacher's soteriological interpretation of the RGV: according to an interlinear gloss in the manuscript of his work, Sajjana (or a Kashmiri disciple of his) takes Buddha-nature as the luminous mind (*prabhāsvaraṃ cittaṃ*), which "is not conditioned because [in the luminous mind] there is nothing to be done through [external] causes and conditions coming together (*saṃhatya*), based on the fact that the origination of the [luminous] mind in a succeeding moment (*uttarasaṃvitprasūti*) depends on [the mind] that was generated only (*mātra*) by its (i.e. the mind's) own kind (*sajāti*) in the previous

moment."[1] This passage apparently is premised on a passage in Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛtti*.[2] The gloss concludes that defilements are empty, inasmuch as they are conditioned, whereas Buddha-nature is not empty, inasmuch as it is not conditioned. This understanding is significantly different from rNgog's view of Buddha-nature as nothing but emptiness.

rNgog's Writing Style

Nearly half of rNgog's compositions belong to the genre known as "summary/essential meaning" (*bsdus don*, *don bsdus pa*), comprising concise guides (sometimes synoptic outlines) to Indian treatises, conveying as they do only the main points of a text. Among his 52 writings known of to date (of which 14 are extant), 27 bear *bsdus don* or a synonymous term in their title. With his mission of resurrecting Buddhism in Tibet utmost in mind, rNgog not only translated a large number of Indian works but also composed the *bsdus don* type of commentary for his Tibetan disciples. This genre was essential to rNgog's mission of introducing the Indian tradition of exegesis to Tibet.

rNgog's RGV commentary is one such *don bsdus pa* type of work, and thus it conducts the reader expeditiously through the contents of the RGV, and in doing so often provides unique interpretations of Buddha-nature as well.

rNgog's Doctrinal Position in General

Verse 10 of rNgog's *sPrings yig bdud rtsi'i thig le* asserts that if one is to eliminate base doctrinal positions it is important to understand Nāgārjuna's "corpus of correct reasoning" (*yang dag rigs tshogs*) with the aid of Dharmakīrti's doctrines. Judging from his doctrinal position and statements in this text that echo what is found in works of Bhāviveka, Jñānagarbha, and Śāntideva, as well as in rNgog's own commentaries on the works of these three masters (along with ones of Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla yet to be found), it is very likely that these are the chief Madhyamaka masters rNgog followed, with his knowledge of and attitude toward Candrakīrti remaining unclear.

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1 *atra ca saṃskṛtaṃ śūnyatvābhivyāptaṃ*, *na ca prabhāsvaraṃ cittaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ*, *pūrvasajātimātraprasavāpekṣatvād uttarasaṃvitprasūteḥ saṃhatya hetupratyayair akaraṇāt*. We can understand this luminous mind as being different from the ordinary mind. Cf. *Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā*, 61.2–4: *prakṛtaiva prabhāsvaratvāc cittasyeti*. *atra ca cittadharmataiva cittaśabdenoktā*, *cittasyaiva malalakṣaṇatvāt* (I owe this reference to Prof. Mathes).

2 Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛtti* (on verse 8), 7.10–12: *pūrvasajātimātrahetutvāc chaktiprasūteḥ sāmagryā yogyatā ananyāpekṣiṇī ity ucyate*.

rNgog's Buddha-nature Interpretation

rNgog's concise guide to the RGV sets great store by the RGV as a unique treatise that, alone among the five treatises of Maitreya, explains sūtras of definitive teaching. rNgog interprets the Buddha-nature doctrine in it in conformity with his own Madhyamaka stance. One of his crucial tasks was to unravel the incompatibilities between the Buddha-nature and the Madhyamaka doctrines, especially with regard to the ultimate ontological status of Buddha-nature, which has never been accepted as Madhyamaka doctrine.

In the face of this problem, a Madhyamaka thinker (i.e. a follower of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*) will attempt to find a solution that reflects one of two alternatives: either (a) one redefines the Buddha-nature doctrine within the framework of the Madhyamaka system, or (b) one takes the Buddha-nature doctrine as stated in the RGV in a literal sense and downgrades it to a provisional doctrine within a Madhyamaka-centered doctrinal hierarchy. rNgog, along with Kamalaśīla and Abhayākaragupta, opts for the former course (a), while Candrakīrti (along with his followers including Sa-skya Paṇḍita) and Bu-ston opt for the latter.[3]

rNgog redefines the three aspects of Buddha-nature, that is, the *dharmakāya*, *tathatā*, and *gotra*, as respectively resultant, intrinsic, and causal aspects of emptiness.

In the RGV (and this is true of the Indic Buddha-nature doctrine in general), Buddha-nature serves as a cause or foundation in two respects: as a soteriological cause or potential (towards becoming a buddha) and as a universal or phenomenal foundation (for *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*; "染浄依持 [*senjōeji*]").[4] Corresponding to these two aspects (although he does not strictly distinguish them), rNgog explains emptiness both as a soteriological cause (given its effect as a meditational object that leads one to awakening) and as a phenomenal foundation (given its functionality that enables every spatial phenomenon to be present on the conventional level).

The RGV teaches the real presence of Buddha-nature in every sentient being—

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[3] Jayānanda attempts a solution conformable to both (a) and (b), and as a result becomes entangled in self-contradiction (see Chapter 5, pp. 148–152). Sajjana in his own writing takes what is taught in the RGV regarding Buddha-nature to all intents and purposes literally and thus, as later Tibetan sources point out, likely viewed the RGV as definitive teaching (see Chapter 8, p. 228, etc.). Ratnākaraśānti, on the other hand, redefines Buddha-nature as present only in bodhisattvas (i.e., he excludes its presence in *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s) so that it will conform to his Yogācāra position (see Chapter 3, pp. 74–77).

[4] It was Takasaki (1974 [conclusion] and 2010, vol. 7, 399, etc.) who gave these two aspects of Buddha-nature these labels. See also Introduction.

present in such a way that ensures awakening to everyone and so motivates them to enter onto the Buddhist path. This pragmatic function plays a central role in the Buddha-nature doctrine of the RGV, and a newcomer's devotion is only enhanced by the fact that the Buddha-qualities are inherently present within Buddha-nature (*guṇavattva*).[5] However, from a Madhyamaka standpoint, neither (a) the real existence of the Buddha-qualities nor (b) their inherent presence in a causal state is acceptable. Confronting the first point (a), rNgog meets its challenge by shifting the ontological status of Buddha-qualities from the ultimate to the conventional level (i.e., in reality they are all empty), while stressing that they do conventionally exist—this with an eye to keeping their motivating function intact. Regarding the second point, involving a result being already contained in its cause, (b) rNgog denies the Buddha-qualities' presence in the state of ordinary beings and instead maintains that all Buddha-qualities are "summoned, as if called, when one realizes the *dharmadhātu*." Thus rNgog tackled the ontological problem and the *satkāryavāda* problem head-on.

In sum, we can point out three characteristics regarding rNgog's position as set forth in his *rGyud bla don bsdus*: rNgog, basing himself on Madhyamaka doctrine, (a) identifies Buddha-nature with emptiness, (b) embraces the single-vehicle doctrine, and (c) understands the Buddha-nature doctrine as a definitive teaching.

Possible Sources of rNgog's Buddha-nature Interpretation

Among these three points, (a) the equation of Buddha-nature with emptiness lies at the very core of rNgog's interpretation of the RGV. One naturally wonders about the roots of this idea and whether, in particular, it could have originated in Indian sources.

Two of the three aspects of Buddha-nature, the *dharmakāya* and *tathatā*, were already being identified with emptiness in such earlier works as the *Madhyāntavibhāga*.[6] However, these works did not explicitly discuss Buddha-nature, and they do not seem to have influenced rNgog's own views in this regard.

The writings of Indian Mādhyamikas are more likely to have been such an influence. The first Madhyamaka master to discuss Buddha-nature was Bhāviveka, who addresses the topic in association with the "Three Doors of Deliverance"

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[5] RGV I.35, 40, 41, 161, V.7–10, RGVV p. 5.6. Cf. Kano 2014a: 211–212.

[6] MAV I.14: *tathatā bhūtakoṭiś cānimittaṃ paramārthatā | dharmadhātuś ca paryāyāḥ śūnyatāyāḥ samāsataḥ ||*. rNgog's understanding of emptiness is not that of the *Madhyāntavibhāga*.

(*trivimokṣamukha*). He asserts that "the teaching that all sentient beings have Buddha-nature implies, among other things, that emptiness, signlessness, and wishlessness abide in the mind of all sentient beings; this teaching does not refer to any 'inherent' (*antaḥkaraṇa*) eternal *puruṣa* (i.e., *ātman*) pervading everything."[7] Kamalaśīla further develops Bhāviveka's idea in his *Madhyamakāloka*:

> [The teaching] that "all sentient beings have Buddha-nature" (*tathāgatagarbhāḥ sarvasattvāḥ*) refers to the notion that all [sentient beings] are able to attain the state of perfect awakening; for, it is held, the term *tathāgata* (i.e., the first member of the compound *tathāgatagarbha*) refers to the "sphere of reality" (*dharmadhātu*), whose defining characteristic is the selflessness of persons and phenomena, that is, "natural luminosity" (*prakṛtiprabhāsvara*).[8]

Here Kamalaśīla proposes taking the word *tathāgatagarbha* as synonymous with **dharmadhātugarbha*[9] and interprets the teaching that "all sentient beings have Buddha-nature" in the sense that all sentient beings are pervaded by the *dharmadhātu,* which is devoid of a self. In other words, he understands Buddha-nature as selflessness. Even though rNgog does not explicitly acknowledge Kamalaśīla's pioneering integration, it is likely that such an integration of the Buddha-nature teaching into Madhyamaka doctrine had an impact on rNgog's interpretation.[10]

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7 *Tarkajvālā* VI, D 169a1–3: *de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can zhes bya ba yang stong pa nyid dang | mtshan ma med pa dang | smon pa med pa la sogs pa rnams sems can thams cad kyi rgyud la yod pa'i phyir yin gyi | nang gi byed pa'i skyes bu rtag pa thams cad du khyab pa lta bu ni ma yin te | ji skad du | chos thams cad ni stong pa nyid dang | mtshan ma med pa dang | smon pa med pa'i ngo bo | gang stong pa nyid dang | mtshan ma dang | smon pa med pa de ni de bzhin gshegs pa'o zhes bya ba la sogs pa 'byung bas so* || Bhāviveka probably premises his interpretation on a passage in LAS, 77.13–79.9. Cf. Takasaki 1980: 232–236 and Eckel 2008: 154–155. See also Introduction, above pp. 7–8.

8 Kamalaśīla, *Madhyamakāloka*, D 242b4–7: *sems can thams cad ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can no zhes bya ba 'dis kyang | thams cad bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub kyi go 'phang thob par rung ba nyid du yongs su bstan te | de bzhin gshegs pa'i sgra ni chos kyi dbyings gang zag dang chos la bdag med pa'i mtshan nyid rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal ba yin par brjod par bzhed pa'i phyir ro* ||. This is paraphrased in the *Munimatālaṃkāra*, Ms. fol. 69r4–5: *tathā tathāgatagarbhāḥ sarvasattvā ity anena sarveṣām anuttarasambodhipadādhigamayogyataiva paridīpitā | tathāgataśabdenāpi pudgaladharmanairātmyalakṣaṇasya dharmadhātoḥ prakṛtiprabhāsvarasya vivakṣitatvāt* |. See Introduction, Chapter 4 (section on Abhayākaragupta), Li & Kano 2014: 19. Cf. Kano 2010: 269–270.

9 This term is found in the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra*, and quoted in the RGVV. See RGVV, p. 76.16–18: *sa khalv eṣa tathāgatagarbho yathā dharmadhātugarbhas tathā satkāyadṛṣṭipatitānām agocara ity uktaṃ dṛṣṭipratipakṣatvād dharmadhātoḥ* |.

10 According to Seyfort Ruegg (1981: 95 n. 308), Kamalaśīla was "perhaps the first of the leading Madhyamaka masters to incorporate the theory of the *tathāgatagarbha* into the Yogācāra-

Jñānaśrīmitra equates Buddha-nature with emptiness, but the degree of rNgog's acquaintance with Jñānaśrīmitra is not clear.[11] Precise statements of the equation of Buddha-nature with emptiness are found in the works of Jayānanda and Abhayākaragupta; whether, as younger contemporaries of rNgog, they had any impact on the latter's position is difficult to ascertain.[12]

As to the three characteristics of rNgog's position mentioned above, the other two (b and c) also accord with the stance resulting from Kamalaśīla having introduced the notion of Buddha-nature in support of his single-vehicle position.[13]

Madhyamaka school."

[11] A work titled *gNyis med thig pa* (hitherto unavailable) mentioned in the list of works that rNgog himself translated (Kramer 2007: 106, no. 36) possibly refers to a translation of Jñānaśrīmitra's *Advaitabinduprakaraṇa*. See Chapter 2, p. 69 n. 112.

[12] As regards Abhayākaragupta's position, Seyfort Ruegg (1977: 302) notes: "In Abhayākaragupta's comments it is especially interesting to find the assimilation of the *tathāgatagarbha* with the *prakṛtisthagotra* whose nature is *dharmadhātu*, in other words non-substantiality (*nairātmya*) of both *pudgala* and *dharma*s, absence of own being (*niḥsvabhāvatā*) and Emptiness." This is Abhayākaragupta's paraphrase of Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka* passage (see above). For the details of Abhayākaragupta's discussion, see Chapter 4, above pp. 111–113.
Jayānanda equates Buddha-nature with emptiness in *Madhyamakāvatāraṭīkā*, D 211b5: *sems can thams cad kyi lus kyi nang na mchis par brjod de zhes bya ba ni stong pa nyid kyis thams cad la khyab pa'i phyir ro* ||; See also *ibid*., D 212b2–3 and 213a4–5.
Whether Jayānanda had direct contact with rNgog is unclear. He flourished slightly later, for he is said to have debated with Phywa-pa, who was born the year of rNgog's death, 1109, but it is very likely in any case that rNgog imbibed a Kashmirian tradition of Madhyamaka during his stay in that region (sometime between 1076 and 1092) and integrated its thought into his RGV commentary.

[13] See Introduction, pp. 9–11 and Kano 2014a: 220–222.

PART THREE

rNgog's Impact on Later Developments

Chapter 10

rNgog's Impact on Doctrinal Developments from the 11th to the Early 14th Century

The foregoing chapter have shown that rNgog Lo-tsā-ba Blo-ldan-shes-rab played a pioneering role in introducing the systematic theory of Buddha-nature from India into Tibet. He not only introduced that teaching, but also, from his own viewpoint, rendered it more systematic. The doctrinal system of Buddha-nature that he established had a significant impact on the later Tibetan tradition down through the centuries. In Chapters 10 and 11, I shall clarify the impact, employing sources beyond those utilized by Seyfort Ruegg (1969), whose seminal works, focussed on the post-dGe-lugs-pa period, first studied rNgog's RGV commentary and its related positions.[1]

An Overview of Later Tibetan Scholars' Reactions to rNgog's Position

Before going into details, I would like to summarize rNgog's positions and the later reactions to them. I shall select the original theses/interpretations "established"[2] by rNgog which had an impact on later tradition. To present the reactions of later Tibetan scholars, in most cases I use RGV commentaries, but sometimes also non-commentarial works.[3] I shall study the authors and their works in chronological order (the folio numbers in my synopsis refer to these works):

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1 Sources utilized by Seyfort Ruegg are mainly works of dGe-lugs-pa scholars, such as Tsong-kha-pa, rGyal-tshab, bSod-nams-grags-pa, 'Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa, and Gung-thang 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs (for the position of the last named one, see Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 393–403). Seyfort Ruegg sometimes quoted rNgog's RGV commentary (see Chapter 9, pp. 241–242), and in his summary of rGyal-tshab's position we can see some of rNgog's theories being presented in statements made by rGyal-tshab (Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 291–296).

2 Of course, we cannot exclude the possibility that the theses which I attribute to rNgog were already established before his time by earlier teachers, whose works are today unavailable. Further studies will be required in this regard.

3 Note that some scholars modulate their positions between genres, namely commentarial works and non-commentarial works. Dol-po-pa Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan, for instance, takes

1. rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab (1059–1109). *rGyud bla don bsdus*.[4]
2. Gro-lung-pa Blo-gros-'byung-gnas (ca. 1040s–1120s). *bsTan rim*.[5]
3. Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge (1109–1169). *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi tshig dang don gyi cha rgya cher bsnyad pa phra ba'i don gsal ba* (abbr. *rGyud bla don gsal*), *dBu ma shar gsum gyi stong thun* and later citations.
4. Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgya-mtshan (1182–1251). *sDom gsum rab dbye*.
5. bCom-ldan-ral-gri (1227–1305). *rGyud bla ma'i ṭī ka rgyan gyi me tog*.
6. gSang-phu-pa Blo-gros-mtshungs-med (ca. early 1300s). *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi nges don gsal bar byed pa'i rin po che'i gron me*.
7. Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290–1364). *De bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po gsal zhing mdzes par byed pa'i rgyan*.
8. sGra-tshad-pa Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal (1318–1388). *bDe snying yang brgyan*.
9. rGyal-tshab Dar-ma-rin-chen (1364–1432). *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i ṭīka*
10. Rong-ston Shākya-rgyal-mtshan (1367–1449). *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos legs par bshad pa*.
11. 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba gZhon-nu-dpal (1392–1481). *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi 'grel bshad de kho na nyid rab tu gsal ba'i me long*.
12. Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428–1507). *Blo mchog gi dri lan*; *rGyud bla rnam bshad*; *Byams chos rab gsal*; *Mus rab 'byams pa'i dris lan.*
13. Paṇ-chen bSod-nams-grags-pa (1478–1554). *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos 'grel pa dang bcas pa'i dka' 'grel gnad kyi zla 'od*.

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different attitudes to Buddha-nature in his RGV commentary and in an original work of his own, the *Ri chos nges don rgya mtsho*. His own position is hardly detectable in the RGV commentary. There are some RGV commentaries yet to be studied. For a list of RGV commentaries, see Appendix B.

[4] I also refer to his other works, such as the *Sher phyin bsdus don* and *mDo sde rgyan gyi don bsdus las btus pa* (the latter is actually a summary of rNgog's work by an anonymous hand). Other works by rNgog are yet to be studied.

[5] The full title of the *bsTan rim* is *bDe bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa rin po che la 'jug pa'i lam gyi rim pa rnam par bshad pa*. This text has survived in three versions: (a) a *dbu-can* manuscript (contained in *bKa' gdams gsungs 'bum*, vol. 5, 3–242), (b) a *dbu-med* manuscript (contained in Khenpo Appey's private collection; I am grateful for this material to Prof. Mathes), and (c) a block print in the Patna collection (see Jackson 1993b; cf. ACIP, SE0070). Manuscript (a), according to its colophon (*bKa' gdams gsungs 'bum*, vol. 5, 239), was prepared by Dam-chos-yar-'phel (the scribe of Klong-rdol Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang [1719–1794]) on the basis of an old manuscript in the possession of Phur-bu-lcog Ngag-dbang-byams-pa (1682–1762). Block print (c) was printed at Zhol printing house sometimes in the 1820s or 1830s. See Kano 2007: 46–47 n. 30.

Thesis I: On the Five Treatises of Maitreya (see Chap. 9 §[c])[6]

rNgog asserts that among the Five Treatises of Maitreya, only the RGV explains the sūtras of definitive meaning (*nītārtha*), and the remaining four treatises explain the sūtras of provisional meaning (*neyārtha*) (A 1b1–3; B 1b2–2a1).

Phywa-pa follows rNgog's position (1b3–5).

bCom-ldan-ral-gri defines the RGV as a treatise that imparts the definitive teaching of the Mahāyāna,[7] and, in his *Byams pa dang 'brel ba'i chos kyi byung tshul*, asserts that the teaching of the RGV contradicts neither the Two Truths doctrine of Madhyamaka nor the Yogācāra doctrine of the Threefold Intrinsic Nature, while the other four treatises of Maitreya teach either one or the other of these two doctrines (but not both at the same time).

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med does not accept rNgog's position.[8] He takes not only the RGV but also the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* to be treatises that explain sūtras of definitive meaning, since the latter is a commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*, which teaches definitive meaning (13.2–4).

rGyal-tshab's position is identical with that of Blo-gros-mtshungs-med (3b2–5a6).

Thesis II: On the Reclassification of the Seven Vajrapadas: Interpretation of RGV I.1–3, I.26 (see Chap. 9 §[f])

rNgog reclassified the seven *vajrapada*s (main topics of the RGV) into two kinds of soteriological models/cycles (*'khor lo rnam pa gnyis*)[9] (A 3b6–7; B 6a1–3).[10]

Phywa-pa follows rNgog's position (2a5ff.).

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med does not accept rNgog's position, regarding the Three Jewels simply as results (44.5–53.5, see also 67.5–69.5).

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6 Although there are any number of stances taken on the classification of the Five Treatises of Maitreya (*byams chos sde lnga*), I focus on ones documented in the RGV commentaries.

7 Kano 2010a: 28.

8 Although Blo-gros-mtshungs-med does not directly mention the name of rNgog as an opponent, it is clear from his exposition that he had rNgog's position in mind.

9 gZhon-nu-dpal makes use of the expression *'khor lo rnam pa gnyis* (see his *rGyud bla me long*, 80.1).

10 Abhayākaragupta introduces two controversial positions regarding interpretations about the seven *vajrapada*s in his *Munimatālaṃkāra* (Skt Ms. fols. 126v5–127r5, Tib. D 212a7–213a3; P 277b2–278b2). The point at issue is whether the Three Jewels are regarded as results or causes in the system of the seven *vajrapada*s (Abhayākaragupta does not clearly present his own final position). The discussed point is very close to rNgog's presentation, though it is not clear whether Abhayākaragupta knew of it. His *Munimatālaṃkāra* was composed around the last years of rNgog's life, during ca. the first decade of the 12th century. See Chapter 4, pp. 115–118 (*Munimatālaṃkāra* [4]).

rGyal-tshab summarizes rNgog's position (6b3–8a4).
gZhon-nu-dpal follows rNgog's position (79.25–80.11).

Thesis III: On the Ultimate Truth

rNgog states that the ultimate truth, which is synonymous with Buddha-nature, cannot be attained through any verbal or conceptual ascertainments (A 4a2–3; B 6a6–b2).[11]
Gro-lung-pa follows rNgog's position and asserts that the ultimate truth is embedded in the *dharmakāya* and that it cannot be attained through any verbal or conceptual ascertainments (360a3, 516a4).[12]
Phywa-pa asserts that the ultimate truth can be attained through verbal or conceptual ascertainments (mentioned in *Deb sngon*, 424).[13]
gTsang-nag-pa follows rNgog's position (mentioned in *Deb sngon*,424).[14]
Sa-skya Paṇḍita agrees, asserting that the ultimate truth is not the object of knowledge or perception.[15]
gZhon-nu-dpal represents rNgog's position.

Thesis IV: On the Eight Qualities of the Jewel of the Saṅgha (cf. Chap. 9 §[g])

rNgog deals with the Jewel of the Saṅgha as falling naturally under eight topics (A 14a4; B 22a6–b1).
Phywa-pa follows rNgog's position (24b4–5).
bCom-ldan-ral-gri has a different position (6a4–7a3).
Blo-gros-mtshungs-med follows rNgog's position (152.1).
Tsong-kha-pa does not adopt rNgog's position (*gSer phreng*, 128b5–129a1)

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[11] See Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 31–33. Go-rams-pa and Shākya-mchog-ldan refer to this position of rNgog's: Go-rams-pa, *rGyal ba*, 383.4.5–384.2.3: *gnyis pa ni rngog los | kun rdzob bden pa dang | don dam bden pa'i mtshan nyid rim pa ltar | blo'i dmigs pa'am ji ltar snang ba dang | ci ltar yang ma yin pa zhes bzhed pa*; Shākya-mchog-ldan, *dBu ma rnam par nges pa*, vol. 15, 72.5–6: *rngog lo chen po dang khyung rin chen grags ni | don dam bden pa'i mtshan nyid | blo'i yul du bya rung ba ma yin pa dang | cig shos kyi mtshan nyid der rung ba'o zhes 'chad |*. See also Jackson 1987: 397 and 1993: 37 n. 83.

[12] According to Shākya-mchog-ldan (*dBu ma rnam par nges pa*, vol. 15, 72.5–6), the positions rNgog and his disciple Khyung were identical. See also Go-rams-pa, *rGyal ba*, 383.4.4–5: *khyung rin chen grags kyis | kun rdzob bden pa'i mtshan nyid | shes bya'am | gzhal bya'am | brjod bya tsam yin la | don dam bden pa'i mtshan nyid shes brjod gzhal bya thams cad las 'das pa'o ||*.

[13] See Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 302 and Jackson 1993a: 18–19.

[14] According to Go-rams-pa's account, however, the positions of rNgog and gTsang-nag-pa are different (see Jackson 1987: 397 and Jackson 1993a: 37 n. 83).

[15] Sa-paṇ, *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal*, 32.2.6–3.1: *des na dpyad na blo ngor ma grub pas don dam pa shes bya ma yin*. See also Fushimi 2002b.

Rong-ston adopts rNgog's position precisely (67.1–4).
rGyal-tshab follows rNgog's position (42a).
gZhon-nu-dpal supports rNgog's position (185.25–28).
bSod-nams-grags-pa selects rNgog's position rather than Tsong-kha-pa's (388.6)

Thesis V: On the Three Aspects of Buddha-nature: on RGV I.27–28 (see Chap. 9 §[h1])

rNgog understands the *dharmakāya*, *tathatā*, and the *gotra* as nominal (*btags pa*) or actual (*dngos*) with regard to ordinary beings and buddhas, respectively (A 18b5–19a1 and 25b7–26a7; B 29a3–b2 and 41a3–42a2).
Gro-lung-pa summarizes rNgog's position (371a3–5).
Phywa-pa develops rNgog's thesis (34a7–b1, 61a1–8; quoted by Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, 208.2–209.6).
Blo-gros-mtshungs-med refutes rNgog's position and asserts that the *dharmakāya* really exists in every sentient being in the form of the *prakṛtisthagotra* (209.6–211.3).
sGra-tshad-pa Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal basically agrees with rNgog's position, but understands Buddha-nature only in the sense of the *dharmakāya*[16] (*Yang rgyan* 21a4–b1).
Rong-ston outlines rNgog's position (81.1–8).
gZhon-nu-dpal summarizes rNgog's position and develops it by expanding the threefold classification into a sixfold one (268.2–6).
rGyal-tshab holds that only the causal aspect of Buddha-nature has definitive meaning (74a6–b2).

Thesis VI: On the Spiritual disposition (see Chap. 9 §[h1])

rNgog admits two types of spiritual disposition, namely the *prakṛtisthagotra* (the inherent spiritual disposition) and *samudānītagotra* (the evolved spiritual disposition), in the sense of emptiness and wholesome seeds, respectively (A 18b7–19a1, 25b5–6, and 26a5–7; B 29b1, 40b6–41a1, and 42a1–2).[17]
Gro-lung-pa developed the classification of spiritual disposition based on rNgog's position (37b7–39b4).
Phywa-pa asserts that the *prakṛtisthagotra* represented by emptiness could not be an actual cause, since it lacks efficacy (*don byed nus pa*). Thus it is a merely nominal cause of one's attaining awakening, whereas the *samudānītagotra* represented

[16] This point is incompatible with rNgog's understanding of Buddha-nature in the sense of emptiness.
[17] According to rNgog, the mental continuum as characterized by emptiness is called the Buddha-element (*rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 3b3; B 5b3: *'di ltar stong pa nyid kyi rang bzhin du gyur pa'i sems kyi rgyud ni khams yin no*). See also rNgog, *Sher phyin don bsdus*, 34b4–35b4.

by wholesome seeds is a cause in the true sense of the word (*rgyu mtshan nyid pa*) (33b7–34a1; quoted by Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, 201.6–202.4).

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med refutes Phywa-pa's position and asserts that although emptiness lacks efficacy, nevertheless it should be regarded as a cause in a real sense, and indeed emptiness is an indispensable cause[18] of one's attaining awakening (379.6–382.2 and 380.5–381.5).[19]

rGyal-tshab follows Phywa-pa's position, despite being influenced by Blo-gros-mtshungs-med (6b6–7a1).

Thesis VII: On the Nine Defilements: on RGV I.130–131

rNgog presents a reason why the fourth among the nine defilements, the outburst of the three defilements, should be counted as one topic (A 24b5–6; B 39a3–4).

gZhon-nu-dpal refers to rNgog's position and accepts it (413.8–10).

Thesis VIII: On the Five Faults (doṣa)

rNgog explains the five faults of RGV I.160 (A 28b3; B 45b6).

sGra-tshad-pa adopts rNgog's explanation (*Yang rgyan*, 22b2–3).

Thesis IX: On the Postscript to RGV Chapter I

rNgog asserts that the expression "first verse" (*tshigs su bcad pa dang po*) in the postscript to the first chapter of the RGV refers to verse I.28 (A 28b5–6; B 46a4–5).[20]

Phywa-pa follows rNgog's position (68a6–7).

gZhon-nu-dpal developed rNgog's position (451.23–452.3).

rGyal-tshab basically follows rNgog's position, while offering the alternative idea that "the first verse" can also be taken as RGV I.1–3 (170b2–3).

Thesis X: On an Interpolated Verse after RGV V.19

rNgog points out that a certain Sanskrit manuscript of the RGV contains an interpolated verse which is not preserved in other manuscripts. He considers

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[18] *avinābhāvahetu*, *med na mi 'byung ba'i rgyu*. Later the expression is used by rGyal-tshab in the same context (see *rGyud bla ṭīka*, 6b6–7a1).

[19] See also Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, *rGyud bla sgron me*, 217.4–218.5, 240.3–242.5. On spiritual disposition, see *ibid.*, 178ff.

[20] Note that this is a misunderstanding derived from a corrupt reading in the Sanskrit manuscript (Ms. B). rNgog wrongly renders it as *tshigs su bcad pa dang po* (the correct reading being **le'u dang po*, *prathamaḥ paricchedaḥ*).

the verse unnecessary in light of the context (A 39b1–3; B 64b3–6).
Phywa-pa follows rNgog's position (90b8–91a5).
bCom-ldan-ral-gri follows rNgog's position and identifies the document as a Sanskrit manuscript from Kashmir (*kha che'i dpe kha cig*) (17a5).
gZhon-nu-dpal quotes rNgog's position (568.24–569.3).
rGyal-tshab follows rNgog's position (225b3–5).
Glo-bo mKhan-chen refers to the positions of rNgog, Phywa-pa, and bCom-ldan-ral-gri.[21]

Details of Later Reactions

In the following, I shall present a series of arguments in their chronological order. The impact of rNgog's position on later tradition took four different forms: those traditions either (1) were in accord with his understanding, (2) developed it further, (3) refuted it, or (4) differed from it. I attempt to determine which of those four was the case, to the extent that could be clearly determined, and then to summarize my result as a chart at the end of Chapter 11.

Gro-lung-pa Blo-gros-'byung-gnas (ca. 1040s to 1120s)[22]

Gro-lung-pa's Writings

Gro-lung-pa was one of rNgog's "four main [spiritual] sons" (*sras kyi thu bo bzhi*).[23] Eight of his works are extant ("A" is an abbreviation for A-khu Ching Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho's *mTho yig* = *MHTL*; "K", for the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*):

(1) *Blo ldan shes rab kyi rnam thar bstod 'grel* (A 10903; K vol. 3)
(2) *Blo ldan shes rab kyi bstod pa* (Jackson 1993b)[24]
(3) *bsTan rim chen mo* (A 11108; K vols. 4 and 5)[25]

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[21] See Glo-bo mKhan-chen, *sDom gsum dgongs rgyan*, 298.2–299.2 (I owe the reference to this material to Prof. van der Kuijp).
[22] For the dating, see Cabezón 2010: 13–14.
[23] The remaining three are Zhang Tshe-spong-ba Chos-kyi-bla-ma, Kyung Rin-chen-grags, and 'Bre Shes-rab-'bar. For sources documenting their lives, see Chapter 7, p. 196f. n. 30.
[24] Full titles of (1) and (2) are the *'Jig rten mig gcig blo ldan shes rab gyi rnam thar* and the *Lo tstsha ba dge slong blo ldan shes rab kyi bstod pa*. See Chapter 7, p. 191–192.
[25] On the topical outline of his *bsTan rim*, see Jackson 1996 and Cabezón 2010.

(4) *bsTan rim chen mo'i don bsdus* (A 11108; K vol. 5)[26]
(5) *Rin po che'i phreng ba lnga bcu pa* (K vol. 4)[27]
(6) *Nyi khri'i 'grel pa* (A 11492; K vol. 5)[28]
(7) *Phar phyin gyi ṭikka* / *brGyad stong 'grel chen gyi bshad pa* (A11495; K vol. 3)
(8) *mDo sdud pa'i 'grel pa* / *'Phags pa yon tan rin po che sdud pa thigs su bcad pa rnam par bshad pa* (K vol. 3)

(1) has been critically edited and published by Dram Dul (2004), and selected passages have been edited and translated by Kramer (2007); (3), (4), (6), (7), and (8) were recently typeset and published.[29] The following four of his works are mentioned by Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho but have yet to become available:[30]

(9) **Chos chung brgya rtsa'i sa bcad* (A 11109)
(10) **rGyud bla ma'i ṭikka* (A11332)
(11) **mDo sde rgyan gyi 'grel pa* (A 11493)
(12) **Byang sa'i 'grel pa* (A 11494)

His commentary on the RGV (10) is also referred to by gZhon-nu-dpal (*rGyud bla me long*, 4.23; 574.5). Some of Gro-lung-pa's views concerning the RGV are known from his other works including the *bsTan rim* (fols. 355b7, 370b7–371a1, 510a4–b1, 537a5, etc.). In the following, we shall note passages in his *bsTan rim* that directly relate to rNgog's positions.[31]

Gro-lung-pa on the Ultimate Truth

Gro-lung-pa understands the ultimate truth in accordance with rNgog's position. Gro-lung-pa and rNgog assert that the ultimate truth is not attainable by means of any verbal or conceptual ascertainments.[32] Furthermore, rNgog understands the

[26] Its full title is *Sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa la rim gyis 'jug pa'i tshul* (*bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 3, pp. 243–321).
[27] I am currently preparing a critical edition and annotated translation of this work.
[28] This is listed in the *'Bras dpung dkar chag*, p. 1611, no. 018248 (134 fols. 66 x 8 cm). The full title is *rGyal ba'i yum bar ma le'u brgyad pa nyi khri lnga stong pa mdo' 'grel rnam par bshad pa* (*bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 4, pp. 331–602).
[29] *Gro lung pa blo gros 'byung gnas kyi gsung chos skor*, vols. 1–2, Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009.
[30] There are still other works of Gro-lung-pa, ones not listed by Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho. For instance, sMon-lam-tshul-khrims lists a ritual text (no reference to the title, but set among a series of ritual manuals) by Gro-lung-pa. See *Shākya'i btsun pa smon lam tshul khrims kyis thos yig*, vol. 50, p. 267.1.
[31] Gro-lung-pa's own positions as set forth in other works of his are yet to be studied.
[32] See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 4a2–3; B 6a6–b2, and also Gro-lung-pa, *bsTan rim*, 360a3: *de* (i.e. *don dam pa*) *ni spros pa med pa yang yin te sgra dang rtog pa thams cad kyi zhen yul ma yin pa'i*

dharmakāya (one of the three aspects of Buddha-nature) in the sense of emptiness on the ultimate level.[33] Similarly, Gro-lung-pa states that the *dharmakāya* is included within the ultimate truth.[34] On the conventional level, however, the *dharmakāya* is the repository of natural qualities (i.e. naturally abiding Buddha-qualities)[35]

Gro-lung-pa on the Three Aspects of Buddha-nature

A small section in the eighth chapter of Gro-lung-pa's *bsTan rim* is devoted to a discussion of Buddha-nature.[36] After his versified overview of the section, Gro-lung-pa summarizes rNgog's own pronouncements, explicitly ones in rNgog's *rGyud bla don bsdus*[37] (i.e. the gloss on RGV I.27–28). These two verses (RGV I.27–28) teach that the *dharmakāya*, *tathatā*, and the *gotra* represent three reasons why all sentient beings possess Buddha-nature.[38] rNgog considers whether the *dharmakāya*, *tathatā*, and the *gotra* are to be understood as nominal (*btags pa*) or substantial/real (*dngos*) with regard to their existence in sentient beings and the Buddha.[39]

[Table: Gro-lung-pa on the three aspects of Buddha-nature]

	dharmakāya	*tathatā*	*gotra*
Buddha:	real	real	nominal
Sentient beings:	nominal	real	real

phyir ro ||. For further details of Gro-lung-pa's stance on the ultimate truth, see Cabezón 2010.

[33] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 27b5–6; B 44a6–b1: *yang na bden pa gnyis kyi rang bzhin don dam par stong pa nyid dang | kun rdzob tu yon tan rang bzhin gyis gnas par grub pa ni chos kyi sku'o* ||. This passage also teaches that the *dharmakāya* is what is established as harboring by nature the Buddha-qualities on the conventional level.

[34] See Gro-lung-pa, *bsTan rim*, 516a4: *'di ltar chos sku bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i rgyu ni lnga ste | brjod pa'i zhen yul du ma grub pas tshig la sogs pa'i sgras brjod du med pa'i phyir dang | de nyid kyang phyin ci ma log pa'i dmigs pa med pa nyid kyis don dam pas bsdus pa'i phyir dang |*.

[35] See Chapter 9, §(h1), pp. 262–266.

[36] The section is entitled: "The teaching of the [nature of the mind] in view of Buddha-nature" (*de nyid de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying por bstan pa ni*). See Gro-lung-pa, *bsTan rim*, 370b7–372a2. This section is contained in the eighth chapter, entitled "How to cultivate meditatively a realization of ultimate reality." See Jackson 1996: 231 and Gro-lung-pa, *bsTan rim*, 345a–447a.

[37] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 18b5–19a1 and A 25b7–26a7; B 29a3–b2 and B 41a3–42a2. Gro-lung-pa does not refer to rNgog by name here, though in other passages he does so: Gro-lung-pa, *bsTan rim*, 355b7–356a2: *de ltar de kho na la 'jug pa theg pa chen po'i tshul mdor bsdus pa | shes bya'i de kho na rnam par nges pa* (see 348b3ff.) *dang | rnal 'byor rjes su sgrub pa* (see 352b6ff.) *dang | de'i 'bras bu thob pa* (see 354a2ff.) *gsum spyi tsam du bshad pa 'di ni bdag gi bla ma rje btsun* (= rNgog) *la shin tu gus pas de'i gsung la gces par 'dzin pa chen pos 'dir bkod par zad de |*.

[38] For the text and translation of RGV I.27–28, see Chapter 9, §(h1), p. 262.

[39] See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 18b5–19a1 and A 25b7–26a7; B 29a3–b2 and B 41a3–42a2.

Gro-lung-pa summarizes rNgog's thoughts on this subject:

> By reason of these three intentions/considerations, [the Buddha] taught that all sentient beings possess the essence (*snying po*) or intrinsic nature (*rang bzhin*) of a buddha: (a) they possess the essence in terms of a result, namely the *dharmakāya*, (b) they possess the essence in terms of nature, namely *tathatā*, and (c) they possess the essence in terms of cause, namely the spiritual disposition (*gotra*). Of these, (a) the *dharmakāya* is real [only] with respect to the Buddha, whereas its existence in sentient beings is termed nominal, in that they only have the potential to attain [buddhahood]. (b) *Tathatā* exists both in the Buddha and sentient beings in reality, since it is the essence/nature of the Buddha himself and abides with certainty in all sentient beings as well. (c) The spiritual disposition exists only nominally [with regard to the Buddha], since it is the cause of [one's becoming] a buddha (i.e. it is no longer applicable to a buddha), whereas it actually exists in sentient beings. Therefore, it is also [taught: ... (the quotation of RGV I.28 follows).][40]

In all these points, Gro-lung-pa faithfully follows rNgog.[41] Regarding *tathatā*, rNgog understands it in the sense of emptiness, and Gro-lung-pa similarly contends that it lacks an intrinsic nature (*niḥsvabhāva*).[42]

Gro-lung-pa on the Gotra

Gro-lung-pa extensively discusses the spiritual disposition in the second chapter of his *bsTan rim*.[43] After presenting some general remarks on the spiritual disposition,[44]

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[40] Gro-lung-pa, *bsTan rim*, 371a3–5: *dgongs pa 'di gsum gyis sems can thams cad sangs rgyas kyi snying po can nam rang bzhin can du gsungs pa ste | 'bras bu chos sku'i snying po can dang | rang bzhin de bzhin nyid kyi snying po can dang | rgyu rigs kyi snying po can no || de la chos sku ni sangs rgyas dngos yin la | sems can la yod pa ni 'thob tu rung ba tsam la btags pas so || de bzhin nyid ni gnyi ga dngos su yin te sangs rgyas nyid kyi rang bzhin yang yin la sems can thams cad la'ang nges par gnas pas so || rigs ni sangs rgyas kyi rgyu yin pas btags pa ste sems can la yod pa ni dngos su'o || de'ang | [...].*

[41] See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 18b5–6; B 29a4–b2.

[42] Gro-lung-pa, *bsTan rim*, 68b3: *chos thams cad kyi de bzhin nyid ni rang bzhin med pas ci'ang mi dmigs pa'o ||*.

[43] The second chapter of the *bsTan rim* (37a–47a) is entitled "How to cultivate an awareness of the value of a human life that is free from the conditions that obscure the practice of religion." See Jackson 1996: 231.

[44] Previously he explained the two kinds of *gotra*: the *prakṛtistha* and *samudānīta* in a general

he explains the twofold spiritual disposition of the Mahāyāna: that of the ultimate level and that of the conventional (*vyavahāra*) level. The former equates to the *dharmatā*, and the latter consists of both the inherent spiritual disposition (*prakṛtisthagotra*) and the evolved spiritual disposition (*samudānītagotra*). The inherent spiritual disposition is bound up with the single-vehicle (*ekayāna*) theory, while the evolved spiritual disposition is the basis for practices and is activated by wholesome roots at stages of the paths leading to liberation (*mokṣabhāgīya*), being cultiated particularly within the Mahāyāna tradition.[45]

[Table: Gro-lung-pa's position on the spiritual disposition according to the Mahāyāna]

1. *paramārtha*	= *dharmatā*
2. *vyavahāra*	a. *prakṛtisthagotra*: possessed naturally and equally by every sentient being
	b. *samudānītagotra*: activated by wholesome roots of the *mokṣabhāgīya* stage

This threefold *gotra* of Gro-lung-pa almost parallels Sajjana's *trigotra*, which consists of *tathatā*, *prakṛtistha-gotra*, and *samānīta-gotra*.[46] It is highly possible that this notion was transmitted from Sajjana via rNgog to Gro-lung-pa.

In general, as seen in colophons of his works,[47] Gro-lung-pa largely adopted rNgog's position, and Gro-lung-pa's position was adopted in turn (sometimes critically) by Phywa-pa.[48]

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sense. As to the former, all sentient beings possess it, both naturally and equally, in the form of the *ṣaḍāyatanaviśeṣa* (cf. *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, p. 3). The latter is established by conditions, such as instruction (*paratoghoṣa*, lit. proclamation from others) and well-grounded attentiveness (*yoniśomanasikāra*). See Gro-lung-pa, *bsTan rim*, 37b7–38a5.

45 See Gro-lung-pa, *bsTan rim*, 39b1–4.

46 Sajjana, *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa,* verse 15ab: *tathatāprakṛtāvasthasamānītatrigotrakaḥ*.

47 Gro-lung-pa, *rGyal ba'i yum bar ma le'u brgyad pa nyi khri lnga stong pa mdo 'grel rnam par bshad pa*, *Gro lung pa blo gros 'byung gnas kyi gsung chos skor*, vols. E, Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009, p. 476: *bla ma lo tsā ba chen po'i gsung sgros rnams || ji bzhin bzung ste rang nyid dran phyir dang || blo dman 'ga' la cung zad phan 'dod pas || brjed byang 'di byas*.... In other works, too, Gro-lung-pa's works are usually called not "compositions" but *brjed byang* "memorandums."

48 Of course, we cannot completely determine the extent to which Gro-lung-pa's position is wholly his own or is based on either Indic works or other works of rNgog which are not available today.

Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge (1109–1169)[49]

The earliest post-rNgog RGV commentary currently available within the gSang phu tradition[50] is the one by Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge, who is better known to most modern scholars for his contribution to the Tibetan *tshad ma* tradition.

Phywa-pa's Writings

Titles of Phywa-pa's writings have been known to us from, among other things, the list of rare works by A-khu Ching Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho (1803–1875).[51] Among his writings, the *dBu ma shar gsum gyi stong thun/dBu ma de kho na nyid kyi snying po* was published in 1999 (edited by Helmut Tauscher), and 18 works were published in 2006 (in *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vols. 6–9). The following is a list of titles mentioned by Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho (siglum "A") collated with works contained in the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum* (siglum "K") [Asterisks * show works that have yet to become available][52]:

(1) *dBu ma bden gnyis kyi ṭikka* (A 11317; K)
(2) *dBu ma bden pa gnyis kyi don bsdus pa* (K)
(3) *dBu ma snang ba'i ṭikka* (A 11318; K)
(4) *dBu ma rgyan gyi ṭikka* (A 11319; K)
(5) *dBu ma'i bsdus pa che* [= *dBu ma shar gsum gyi stong thun/dBu ma de kho na nyid*

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[49] The main part of this section (on Phywa-pa) is based on Kano 2010b: 271–276. Dung-dkar Blo-bzang-'phrin-las refers to a manuscript containing a biography of Phywa-pa by his disciple gTsang-nag-pa. See Dung-dkar Blo-bzang-'phrin-las, *dPe rgyun rigs kyi dpe tho bsdu rab mdzad pa khag gcig* (in: *mKhas dbang dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las kyi gsung 'bum*, Peking: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004, vol. Kha), p. 193: *phya pa chos seng gi rnam thar dad pa'i 'od zer phyogs brgyar 'gyed pa | gtsang nag pa brtson 'grus seng ges mdzad pa | shog grangs | 7 |*. Cf. Kano 2007: 48–49 n. 32.

[50] Two commentaries of rNgog's direct disciples Zhang Tshe-spong-pa Chos-kyi-bla-ma and Gro-lung-pa Blo-gros-'byung-gnas are listed by gZhon-nu-dpal (*rGyud bla me long*, 4.23; 574.5) but yet to be found. See Appendix B, p. 407.

[51] Cf. van der Kuijp 1983: 63, 299 n. 259.

[52] For the full titles, see Kano 2007: 22–23 and 47–48 n. 31. I do not present here a complete list of his writings, for which a systematic study will be needed. For futher details on previous studies of Phywa-pa, see Tauscher 2010 and "Compiled Information on the Life and Works of Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge and Bibliographical Resources" currently being prepared by Dr. Pascale Hugon (Open access at http://www.ikga.oeaw.ac.at/Online_Texte).

kyi snying po?] (A 11321; K)
(6) **dBu ma'i bsdus pa chung* (A 11321)
(7) *s*Pyod 'jug gi ṭikka* (A 11076)
(8) *sPyod 'jug bsdus don* (K)
(9) *Slab btus kyi bsdus don* (K)
(10) **Slab btus kyi 'grel pa* (*bKa' gdams gsung 'bum dkar chag*)
(11) *rGyud bla ma'i ṭikka* (A 11320; K)
(12) *rGyud bla ma'i bsdus don* (K)
(13) **Phar phyin ṭikka* (A 11473)
(14) *mDo sde rgyan gyi 'grel pa* (A 11474; K)
(15) *mDo sde rgyan gyi lus rnam bzhag* (K)
(16) **dBu mtha' rnam 'byed kyi 'grel pa* (A 11474)
(17) **Chos chos nyid rnam 'byed kyi 'grel pa* (A 11474)
(18) *Tshad ma rnam nges kyi 'grel pa* (A 11803; K)
(19) *Tshad ma rnam nges kyi bsdus don* (K)
(20) *Tshad ma'i bsdus pa yid kyi mun sel rang 'grel dang bcas pa* (A 11804; K)
(21) **Tshad bsdus yid kyi mun sel rkyang pa gcig* (A 11805)
(22) **Shes bya gzhi lnga'i bshad pa* (A 11806)
(23) *So thar mdo'i 'grel pa* (K)
(24) *'Od ldan zhes bya ba'i ṭikka tshig don rab gsal* (K)
(25) *dGe tshul rnams kyi bslab pa'i rim pa ston pa'i rnam bshad* (K)
(26) *Phyi nang gi grub mtha'i rnam bzhag bsdus pa* (A 11910; K)
(27) **dPal lha mo nam mkha'i gos can gyi gtor chog* (*'Bras spungs dkar chag*, p. 1822)

Phywa-pa, like rNgog, composed commentaries on all five treatises of Maitreya (see nos. 11–17 above). rNgog had received teachings on these treatises from his Kashmiri teachers Sajjana and Parahitabhadra (see Chapters 5 and 7), and Phywa-pa entered rNgog's tradition via rNgog's direct disciples. Phywa-pa's adoption of rNgog's teaching is obviously seen in his *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* commentary, *Theg pa chen po mdo sde rgyan gyi legs bshad yang rgyan nyi 'od gsal ba* (no. 14),[53] which mentions the Kashmiri teachers Sajjana, Parahita, and Jñānaśrī by name, and introduces their own views.[54]

[53] The colophon of the text mentions the author's name as *dharma seng ge* (for Chos-kyi-seng-ge). See Phywa-pa, *mDo rgyan nyi 'od*, p. 537.5: *mdo sde rgyan gyi bshad pa shag kya'i dge slong dha rma seng ges legs par sbyar ba rdzogs shyo* || ||.

[54] For the locations of references to Sajjana and Parahita in the text, see Chapter 8 (section on "Sajjana's Doctrinal Position"). Jñānaśrī is mentioned in Phywa-pa's *mDo rgyan nyi 'od*, pp. 362.4 and 383.2. An interlinear gloss (below line 6 of *ibid*., p. 537) states: *theg pa chen po mdo*

Phywa-pa's Ratnagotravibhāga Commentaries

Like rNgog, Phywa-pa authored two different types of RGV commentary: an extensive commentary (*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi tshig dang don gyi cha rgya cher bsnyad pa phra ba'i don gsal ba*, abbr. *rGyud bla don gsal*) and a topical outline, both of which were found recently at gNas bcu lha khang of 'Bras spungs monastery and published in 2006 in the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*.[55]

The first work, the *rGyud bla don gsal*, seems to have been well studied by later Tibetan traditions, for it is referred to by such later masters as Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, gZhon-nu-dpal, and Glo-bo mKhan-chen.[56]

In his topical outline (*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bsdus pa'i don*, which is about twice as large as rNgog's topical outline), Phywa-pa follows rNgog's basic structure almost exactly, while at the same time spinning out further sub-topics on it.[57]

According to the colophon of his *rGyud bla don gsal*, Phywa-pa received the teaching of the RGV from Chos-kyi-bla-ma, who is probably to be identified as

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sde rgyan gyi rnam par bshad pa 'di la bla ma'i <(gloss:) *'grel tig dznya shri pa ra he ta sa rdza*> *gsung ma lus pa zin bris byas pas*.... This gloss shows that Phywa-pa consulted five commentaries (*'grel, tig*, *dznya shri*, *pa ra he ta*, and *sa rdza*), which very probably refer to Vasubandhu's *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya*, Asvabhāva's *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāraṭīkā*, Jñānaśrī's *Sūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha* (D 4031; P 5533), Parahitabhadra's commentary (not necessarily D4030; P 5532), and Sajjana's commentary (= *Sūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha* preserved only in a Sanskrit manuscript; see Chapters 5 and 8), respectively. The lack of reference to the *Sūtrālaṃkāravṛttibhāṣya* ascribed to Sthiramati (D 4034; P 5531) suggests that it was not known to Phywa-pa or else was not regarded by him as an Indic commentary. Phywa-pa's *mDo rgyan nyi 'od* also mentions rNgog and his position (pp. 362.1, 364.1–2 [*rngog na re 'di sems kyi chos nyid la bston* (sic) *skyed nus yod* [2] *tsam gcig la byed dgos kyi chos can la byas nas sangs rgyas kyi yon tan rnams sems can gyi dus na yod par byas na grangs can la bkod pa'i skyon 'ong ces gsungs pa la* ...]) as well as the RGV (*ibid.*, pp. 352.7, 364.3, 365.4, 415.6, 454.5–6 [*rgyud bla'i de ni dgongs pa* [6] *can no*], 513.7).

[55] See *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi tshig dang don gyi cha rgya cher bsnyad pa phra ba'i don gsal ba* (abbr. *rGyud bla don gsal*), *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 7, pp. 163–345; *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bsdus pa'i don*, *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 7, pp. 145–156. The latter is listed in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag* (p. 1399: *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bsdus pa'i don*, 7 fols.).

[56] See *rGyud bla me long* 4.24; 574.5; *sDom gsum dgongs rgyan* 298.2–299.2. For references to Phywa-pa's RGV commentary by Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, see below in the section on Blo-gros-mtshungs-med within the present chapter. A-khu Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho lists this work in his list of rare works, *Tho yig*, no. 11320.

[57] See Kano 2008a: 158–161. It is to be noted that Phywa-pa's topical outline does some restructuring in some places. For example, it divides the last topic, "the [concluding] acts relating to the successful completion of the treatise's practice" (*bstan bcos yongs su rdzogs pa'i bya ba*), into five sub-topics, whereas rNgog divides it first into two and then the first sub-topic into a further three points.

rNgog's "spiritual son" Zhang Tshes-spong-ba Chos-kyi-bla-ma.[58]

The authorship of this *rGyud bla don gsal* is confirmed on the basis of (a) the colophon of the manuscript stating that it was "composed by the monk Chos-kyi-seng-ge" and (b) a citation nominally attributed to Phywa-pa in Blo-gros-mtshungs-med's RGV commentary (see Kano 2007: 109 n. 75).

In the following, I shall mainly consult Phywa-pa's *rGyud bla don gsal*, especially his commentary on the first chapter of the RGV, in order to clarify rNgog's impact on Phywa-pa's understanding of the RGV. It is to be noted that at least 18 of his 27 compositions are currently available (see above), and that a systematic study of his understanding of Buddha-nature covering all of his writings is a task for the future.

Phywa-pa's Positions That Accord with rNgog's

Phywa-pa's debt to rNgog's (and also, if somewhat less so, to Chos-kyi-bla-ma's) RGV commentary is clearly visible, since Phywa-pa's text largely follows the outline found in rNgog's commentary and adopts rNgog's interpretation of the major issues dealt with above, such as

—the evaluation of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* among Maitreya's Corpus of Five Treatises (cf. Chap. 9, §[e]),[59]

—the eight qualities of the Jewel of the Saṅgha (cf. Chap. 9, §[g]),[60]

—the equation of Buddha-nature with emptiness (cf. Chap. 9, §[h1]),[61]

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[58] Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, fol. 93a3: *theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi tshig dang don gyi cha rgya cher bsnyad pa phra ba'i don gsal ba zhes bya ba || sha kya'i dge slong chos kyi bla ma'i zhabs kyi rdul phyi bos nod pa dge slong chos kyi seng ges nye bar sbyar ba rdzogs s.hyō ||*. See Chapter 9, §(h2) and Kano 2010b: 225 n. 21.

[59] Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, fol. 1b3–5: *de la bcom ldan 'das ma pham papas rgyan rnam pa gnyis dang rnam 'byed rnam pa gnyis kyis skyob pa'i thabs la rten te rims kyis bkri ba'i lam las gdul* (1b4) *bya rnams legs par rab tu btul ste* (|) *skal ba dang ldan par gyur ba na dus phyis 'os su gyur pa'i gdul bya la mchog gi don theg pa chen po'i gsang pa* [= *ba*] *dngos kyi don la blo gros gzhan gyis gnod pa med cing zhugs nas spang par bya ba ma yin pa phyir mi ldog pa'i chos kyi 'khor lo'i don rnam par 'byed pa theg pa chen po'i rgyud bla ma'i stan* [= *bstan*] *bcos 'di* (1b5) *'di sbyar bar mdzad do ||*. Cf. rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 1b2–4; B 1b1–3.

[60] Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, fol. 24b4–5: *bstan pa'i tshigs su bcad pa'i don la rnam* (24b5) *pa brgyad de | ji lta ba rig pa dang | ji snyed pa rig pa dang | so so rang rig pa dang | chags pa'i sgrib las grol ba dang | theg pa'i sgrib pa las grol ba dang | dman pa'i sgrib pa las grol ba dang | rig pa dang | rnam par grol ba'i spyi gnyis so sor bgrangs pas brgyad do ||*.

[61] Phywa-pa defines Buddha-nature as "the reality of the mind, that is, emptiness" (*rGyud bla don gsal*, 3b8: *gnyis pa ni tshogs kyi lam nas brtsams te sa bdun pa'i bar gyi dge ba'i chos kyis rigs kyi dri ma bsal ba'i sems kyi chos nyid stong pa nyid ni khams te nye bar len pa'o ||*). See also Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, 62a1–2: *des na 'bras bu'i snying po nye bar btags nas yod pa'am thams cad kyi khyab byed stong pa nyid kyi snying po dngos su yod pa'am rgyu'i snying po ma btags*

—the causal function of emptiness (cf. Chap. 9, §[h2]),[62]
—the three aspects of Buddha-nature (cf. Chap. 9, §[h1]),[63]
—the reconciliation of the teachings in the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* and the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* (cf. Chap. 9, §[h5]),[64]
—and an interpolated verse after RGV V.19.[65]

Phywa-pa's Positions That Develop rNgog's Further

(1) *The Ālayavijñāna*

Phywa-pa's agreement with rNgog's views is, however, not complete. A noticeable point of divergence occurs, for instance, with regard to the relationship between Buddha-nature and the *ālayavijñāna*. When commenting on the notion of *dhātu* occurring in the sense of Buddha-nature in the verse from the *Abhidharmasūtra* quoted in the RGVV on RGV I.149–152, rNgog identified this *dhātu* with the

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par yod pa la dgongs nas rnam pa gsum du bsnyad pa yin no || "Therefore, [sentient beings] possess the resultant essence (i.e., the *dharmakāya*) in a figurative sense; they truly possess the essence of emptiness (i.e., *tathatā*) that pervades everything; and they possess the causal essence (i.e., the *gotra*) not figuratively [but truly]. It is with this in mind that [the RGV] explained that [Buddha-nature] has three aspects."

[62] See Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, 3b5, 61b4, and 61b8–62a1. Phywa-pa also discusses the question of how emptiness can be a cause. His initial answer is that emptiness is conventionally called a "cause" from the viewpoint (or "by a process") of "mere exclusion" (*ldog pa tsam*), although ontologically it does not have any real efficacy: "just as the absence of food is a cause of hunger, so the absence of impurities that have an ultimate nature (*don dam pa'i rang bzhin gyi dri ma*) is the cause of buddhahood, and this very absence is called 'cause'." (*rGyud bla don gsal*, 3b2-3).
In another context (Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, 61b4-5.), Phywa-pa describes emptiness as a figurative cause of one's attaining the Buddha's gnosis (or *nirvikalpajñāna*), insofar as it is the object of meditation leading to such attainment; it is, however, the meditating mind of the practitioner that is the "real cause."

[63] Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, 34a7 and 61a3 (on the *dharmakāya*), 34a7–8 and 61a7–8 (on *tathatā*), 34b1 and 62a1 (on the *gotra*).

[64] Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, 67a7–8. There Phywa-pa explicitly states that the Buddha-nature doctrine taught in the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* is provisional (*dgongs pa can*), and so not to be taken literally (*sgra ji bzhin ma yin*). He thus considers the doctrine of emptiness to be primary, leaving to the Buddha-nature doctrine a secondary role.

[65] rNgog points out that a certain Sanskrit manuscript of the RGV contains an interpolated verse which is not preserved in other manuscripts. He considers that the verse was not composed by the original author of the RGV but was inserted by a later hand in pursuit of personal ends (*mi rang dgar byed pa 'ga' zhig gis bcug par snang bas*). Cf. rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 39b1–3; B 64b3–6. Phywa-pa follows rNgog's position and also states that this interpolated verse was taught by someone with an agenda of his own (*'di ni mi rang dga' ba kha cig gis bshad pa yin no*).

ālayavijñāna (see Chap. 9, §[h3]). Phywa-pa, on the other hand, claims that the *dhātu* consists of both (a) emptiness and (b) wholesome seeds, which respectively correspond to the *prakṛtisthagotra* and *samudānītagotra*. Buddha-nature is thus the foundation of *nirvāṇa*, for *nirvāṇa* presupposes (a) a correct understanding of emptiness and (b) wholesome seeds. On the other hand, Buddha-nature is also the foundation of *saṃsāra*, for *saṃsāra* presupposes (a) an incorrect understanding of emptiness and (b) defilements. The latter do not arise from wholesome seeds themselves but from seeds of defilements stored in the *ālayavijñāna*.[66] By avoiding the exclusive identification of Buddha-nature with the *ālayavijñāna*, Phywa-pa seems to be aiming at avoiding both the conflation of the *ālayavijñāna* with emptiness and the attribution of an ultimate status to the *ālayavijñāna*.

(2) *Mistaken Views on Emptiness and Yogācāra*

Phywa-pa's originality as a thinker is also notable in his discussion of issues not addressed in detail by rNgog. A noteworthy discussion in this regard concerns the bodhisattvas' understanding of emptiness. The RGVV divides bodhisattvas who have newly set out on the Mahāyāna into two categories: (a) those who misunderstand emptiness as mere cessation and (b) those who misunderstand emptiness as something existing (as a real entity).[67] While rNgog merely offers a summary of

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[66] See Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, 62a8–b4, and in particular 62a8–b1: *bsgrubs pa las byung pa'i rigs thar pa'i cha 'thun gyi dge ba'i sa bon dngos las kun nas nyon mongs mi 'byung yang de'i rten kun gzhi la nyon mongs pa'i sa bon bsgoms las kun nas nyon mongs 'byung bas de'i rten du brjod de kun gzhi ni nus pa sna tshogs pa'i phyir ro* ||.
Explaining the word *anuśaya* (RGVV 13.2), Phywa-pa offers a systematic explanation of the rise of defilements in connection with the *ālayavijñāna*. Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, 23a9–b1: *'on te yang dag pa ma yin pa'i rgyu mtshan gyi yul yid la byed pa zhes tshogs drug la mi brjod de | kun gzhi la don dang sems du snang pa la brjod pas nyes pa de myed do zhe na | des* (read *de*) *mi rung te don dang sems du snang ba'i ldog pa nas ni kun gzhi rnams* (read *rnam*) *smin gyi cha yin la bag la nyal ni sa bon gyi cha la brjod pa yin na rnam smyin gyi cha la bag la nyal du brjod pa 'gal ba'i phyir ro* || ...

[67] The RGVV describes the former (a) as: "[bodhisattvas] who assume that the door to deliverance, which consists in emptiness, leads to the destruction of something existing, saying that *parinirvāṇa* is the cessation or destruction through all future time of a *dharma* that exists." (RGVV 75.14–15: *ye bhāvavināśāya śūnyatāvimokṣamukham icchanti sata eva dharmasyottarakālam ucchedo vināśaḥ parinirvāṇam iti*). It describes the latter (b) as: "[bodhisattvas] who hang on to emptiness, taking emptiness as they do as an object, saying, 'We shall attain and realize a certain entity called emptiness that exists differently from visible matter (*rūpa*) etc.'" (RGVV 75.15–17: *ye vā punaḥ śūnyatopalambhena śūnyatāṃ pratisaranti śūnyatā nāma rūpādivyatirekeṇa kaścid bhāvo 'sti yam adhigamiṣyāmo bhāvayiṣyāma iti*). According to RGVV 74.5–6, they are those whose minds have deviated from emptiness (*śūnyatāvikṣiptacittānām*) and

this passage,[68] Phywa-pa extensively discusses both positions. He identifies the first as the attitude of Mind-only adherents, Yogācāra-oriented bodhisattvas, for whom "cessation" is the cessation of *paratantra*, a process that is also identified with "*nirvāṇa,*" conceived of as "immaculate purity" (i.e., *pariniṣpanna*).[69] As to the second erroneous position (b), he considers it to be the position of those who identify emptiness as self-awareness (*rang rig*) and who approach emptiness in terms of an affirming negation.[70] The identification of the first category of mistaken bodhisattvas as Yogācāra is significant, inasmuch as it implies that the RGVV is a work that rejects the Yogācāra position. As in the previous discussion, here again Phywa-pa's preference for the Madhyamaka view appears to dictate his interpretation.

(3) *Buddha-nature and Emptiness*

Phywa-pa ventures to extend rNgog's interpretations to cover passages in the RGV for which rNgog himself did not explicitly claim coverage. This is especially evident in Phywa-pa's identification of Buddha-nature with emptiness in connection with several passages of the RGV.

In his interpretation of RGV I.23, for instance, Phywa-pa redefines the fourth and fifth *vajrapada*s (i.e. Buddha-nature and Awakening) as emptiness, namely,

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cannot perceive Buddha-nature.

[68] See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 42b1–2; B 26b4.

[69] Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, 63b5–7: *stong pa nyid kyi tshul de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po ni dgag bya rnam par gcad pa tsam gyis stong pa'o || de las nyams pa yongs gcod du lta ba'o || gang dag zhes pa ni sems tsam pa gang dag go || yod pa'i chos nyid dus phyis rgyun chad pa ni ma dag pa'i gzhan dbang don dam* (*don dam*: in the bottom margin) *du yod pa phyis ste gsal bas* (*bas* em.; *ba'i* Ms.) *zhig nas myed pa'i stong nyid do || de mya ngan las 'das par 'dod pa ni dri ma myed pa'i rnam dag du khas len pa'o || de rnam par thar pa'i sgor 'dod pa don dam par khas len pa'o* ||. "Buddha-nature which has emptiness as its mode means being empty in the sense of the mere elimination of objects which are to be negated. Those who have fallen from this [correct view] are [called] those who [incorrectly] see [emptiness] as the elimination [of anything whatsoever]. '[Bodhisattvas] who ...' means [bodhisattvas] who belong to the Mind-only school (*sems tsam pa*). [The words] 'destruction through all future time of a *dharma* that exists' mean that emptiness, i.e., the impure *paratantra* that exists on the ultimate level, ceases through rejection and becomes a non-entity. [The words] 'they assert that this is *nirvāṇa*' mean: [the Mind-only school] accepts [this] as immaculate purity [i.e., *pariniṣpanna*]. [The words] 'to assert that this is the door to deliverance' mean: to accept [this] as ultimate." Note that rGyal-tshab (*rGyud bla ṭīka*, 160a1–3) identifies the second mistaken view instead as that of Yogācāra.

[70] Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, 63b7–8: *gcig la gcig myed pa khas len pa ni yang gang dag zhes pa ste | rtogs par bya ba ni 'bras bu'i dus na'o || bsgom par bya ba ni lam gyi dus na'o || gzugs la sogs pa ni gzung 'dzin gnyis so || de las tha dad pa'i dngos po ni des dben pa'i sems rang rig ma yin* (*ma yin*: in the bottom margin) *dgag gzhan dbang don dam pa'i stong pa'o || stong pa nyid la rten zhes pa ni nyi tshe ba'i stong par khas len pa'o* ||.

Buddha-nature as stained emptiness and Awakening as stainless emptiness.[71] This interpretation is not found in rNgog's commentary on RGV I.23,[72] and is probably original to Phywa-pa or his teacher Chos-kyi-bla-ma.

Further, in glossing a passage of the **Tathāgatotpattisaṃbhava* quoted in the RGVV (on I.25), Phywa-pa states that the words "the Buddha's gnosis enters into the mind-stream of all sentient beings" suggests the omnipresence of the substantive cause (*nye bar len pa*)—or the possibility (*rung ba*)—within every being of attaining the threefold body of a buddha; that is, the omnipresence of emptiness, which is not different from the Buddha-qualities.[73] This again is not found in the corresponding commentary of rNgog's *rGyud bla don bsdus*.[74]

Another example is Phywa-pa's interpretation of the words "ordinary people do not precisely know the single *dhātu*" (RGVV on I.11–12) as meaning that "not knowing that the *dhātu* is emptiness, they become attached to it as to an entity (*dngos po*)."[75]

(4) *A Definition of the Two Kinds of Gotra*[76]

Phywa-pa's position on the *gotra* "spiritual disposition" is mentioned by Blo-gros-mtshungs-med as a thesis of an opponent (in the following quotation, what comes from the RGVV on I.26 is in quotation marks).

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71 Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, 32a2–3: *rigs de gang zhe na | dri bcas de bzhin nyid dang* (= RGV I.23) *zhes gsungs te | dri bcas ni chos can kun* (32a3) *rdzob pa'i dri ma yod pa'o || de bzhin nyid ni chos nyid stong pa nyid de chos can dri ma dang bcas pas khyad par du byas pa'i stong nyid ni khams so || chos can kun rdzob pa dri ma myed pa'i dag pa'i gzhan dbang gis khyad par du byas pa'i chos nyid stong pa nyid ni byang chub po || dri ma myed pa'i byang chub la rten pa'i yon tan ni yon tan no || rgyal ba'i mdzad pa ni 'phrin las so ||*.

72 rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 18a4ff.; B 28a5ff.

73 See RGVV 23.14–15: *evam eva bho jinaputra tathāgatajñānam apramāṇajñānaṃ sarvasattvopajīvyajñānaṃ sarvasattvacittasaṃtāneṣu sakalam anupraviṣṭam*. Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, 33a2–3 (the words of the RGVV are bold-faced): ***de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes*** *zhes pa ni zab pa'i rang bzhin chos kyi sku'i nye bar len pa'o ||* ***tshad med pa'i ye shes*** *ni rgya che ba'i rang bzhin long spyod rdzogs pa'i sku'i nye bar len no ||* ***sems can thams cad nye bar 'tsho ba'i ye shes*** *ni byed pa rgya che ba sprul pa'i sku'i nyer len no ||* ***ma tshang pa med par rjes su zhugs*** (33a3) ***pa*** *ni thams cad thob du rung pa yod pa 'am | sangs rgyas kyi yon tan dang tha mi dad pa'i stong pa nyid yod pa ste | stong pa nyid yon tan gyi de bzhin nyid la yon tan zhes ming btags pa'o ||*.

74 rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 18b1–3; B 28b4–29a1.

75 Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, 24.2–3: *dang po ni byis pa rnams kyi* (*bālānāṃ*: RGVV 13.11) *zhes pa te | khams stong pa nyid du ma shes pas dngos por zhen la de las kun nas nyon mongs pa gsum 'byung bar dngos su bstan pa na....* Cf. RGVV 13.11: *sa punar eṣa sarvākārakleśakarmajanmasaṃkleśo bālānām ekasya dhātor yathābhūtam ajñānād adarśanāc ca pravartate*.

76 Following section is enlarged version of Kano 2003.

As to the [word "the source of the Three Jewels (*ratnatrayagotra*)"], the Master of Logic Phya-pa said: [§1] "Because [Buddha-nature is] the seed for supramundane Dharma"[77] means that since the wholesome impression of the path leading to liberation (*mokṣabhāgīya*) is the cause generating the supramundane qualities. [§2] "The basis for individual well-grounded attentiveness (*yoniśomanasikāra*)"[78] means that since an object-grasper (*yul can*), namely the well-grounded attentiveness, is a cause [establishing] the insight (*shes rab*) into non-appearance, we nominally call its perceived object (*yul*), namely *tathatā*, a cause as well.[79] [§3] Therefore the inherent spiritual disposition (*prakṛtisthagotra*), [which is a synonym of *tathatā*,] is a nominal cause (*rgyu btags pa ba*),[80] [§4] whereas the evolved spiritual disposition (*samudānītagotra*) is a cause in the true sense of the word (*rgyu mtshan nyid pa*). [§5] Thus, it is taught [in the RGVV], "It is in this way that one [*vajrapada*, namely the *dhātu*], is a cause[81]".[82]

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77 RGVV 25.11: *lokottaradharmabījatvāt*.

78 RGVV 25.11–12: *pratyātmayoniśomanasikārasaṃniśrayeṇa*.

79 The same idea (i.e. the equation of object with subject on the ultimate level) is also asserted by rNgog (see *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 18b2; B 28b5: *shes rab de shes bya dang rnam par dbye bar med do* (B: *dang dbyer med do*) "this insight is inseparable from its objects."; *ibid.* A 18b3; B 28b6–29a1: *mthong ba med pa'i ye shes de yang de bzhin nyid kho na yin te* "The gnosis of seeing nothing is none other than *tathatā* [itself]").

80 On *btags pa ba* and *mtshan nyid pa*, see Ārya Vimuktisena's *Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛtti* ad I.39. He criticizes the position of Vijñānavāda/Yogācāra and asserts that the *prakṛtisthagotra* of Yogācāra is just a nominal one (*prājñaptika*, *prā°* is an emendation of Pensa's reading *pra°*), and actually corresponds to the *samudānītagotra* of the Mādhyamikas. Further, the *prakṛtisthagotra* accepted in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* is actual/definitive (*lākṣaṇika*, *mtshan nyid pa*. See ed. Pensa, p. 77.3–4: *prājñaptikaṃ vā teṣāṃ gotre, idaṃ tu lākṣaṇikam*). In his Tibetan translation of this work, rNgog renders *prājñaptika* and *lākṣaṇika* as respectively *btags pa* and *mtshan nyid pa* (P 5185, Ka, 68a8). The arguments of both Ārya Vimuktisena and Phywa-pa are similar at first glance, though the background contexts differ, for Phywa-pa discusses the two types of spiritual disposition as causes generating the Three Jewels, whereas Ārya Vimuktisena comments upon spiritual disposition as a basis of the path leading to *abhisamaya*. See also sGra-tshad-pa, *Yang rgyan*, 19b2: *gzhan de thams cad rgyu la 'bras bus btags pa dang | yur* [=yul] *la yul can gyi ming gis btags pa la sogs par 'dod |*.

81 RGVV 25.12–13 *ityevam ekaṃ padaṃ hetuḥ*.

82 Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, *rGyud bla sgron me*, 201.6–202.4 (numerals in square brackets indicate passage numbers in the translation): *'di dag la rigs pa'i dbang phyug phya pa'i zhal nas |* [§1] *'jig rten las 'das pa'i chos kyi sa bon yin pa'i phyir zhes pa ni thar pa cha mthun gyi dge ba'i bag chags 'jig rten las 'das pa'i dge ba'i chos skye ba'i rgyu yin pas so ||* [§2] *rang nyid tshul bzhin yid la byed pa'i gnas ni yul can tshul bzhin yid la byed pa snang ba med pa'i shes rab kyi rgyu yin pas yul de bzhin nyid kyang rgyur btags pa yin la |* [§3] *des na rang bzhin du gnas pa'i rigs ni rgyu btags pa ba dang* [§4] *bsgrubs pa las byung ba'i rigs rgyu mtshan nyid pas* [§5] *de ltar gcig ni rgyu*

As pointed out elsewhere (Kano 2007: 109 n. 75), this passage is found in Phywa-pa's *rGyud bla don gsal*.[83] This highly condensed account requires some further explanation. Phywa-pa's position consists of the following points:

A The seed of supramundane Dharma is the wholesome impression of the *mokṣabhāgīya* [§1].
B The *yoniśomanasikāra* is a cause of insight into non-appearance [§2].
C *Tathatā* is a cause of insight into non-appearance as well [§2].
D *Tathatā* is a synonym of *prakṛtisthagotra* [§2][§3].
E The *prakṛtisthagotra* is a provisional cause generating the Three Jewels [§3].
F The wholesome impression of the *mokṣabhāgīya* equates to the *samudānītagotra* [§1][§4].
G The *samudānītagotra* is an actual cause generating the Three Jewels [§4].

Points D and F are not explicitly stated here, but they can be understood based on the context. Points ABCF can be traced in Yogācāra texts and D is found in Indian commentaries on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. AF can be traced in Phywa-pa's *dBu ma shar gsum gyi stong thun* (p. 128.1–2).

In sum, Phywa-pa claims that Buddha-nature is the main cause generating the Three Jewels and it consists of two aspects (or modes), namely an actual cause (*rgyu mtshan nyid pa*) and a nominal cause (*rgyu btags pa ba*). He asserts that the actual cause is the *samudānītagotra*, whereas the nominal cause is the *prakṛtisthagotra*.

Phywa-pa identifies the *samudānītagotra* with the wholesome seed (or impression), that is, a direct cause of becoming a buddha; while he equates the *prakṛtisthagotra* with emptiness, that is, an indirect cause of becoming a buddha, for one takes

yin no zhes gsungs so ||.

83 Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, 33b7-34a1 (numerals in square brackets indicate passage numbers in the translation): *de'ang sgrub pa las byung ba'i rigs ji ltar rgyu yin zhe na* | [§1] ***'jig rten las 'das pa'i chos kyi sa bon yin pa'i phyir*** *zhes smos te* | ***thar pa'i cha mthun kyi dge ba'i bag chags 'jig rten las 'das pa'i chos skye ba'i rgyu yin pas so*** || [§2] *rang bzhin du gnas pa'i rigs ji ltar rgyu yin zhe na* | ***rang gi tshul bzhin yid la byed pa'i gnas*** *kyi rgyur rtogs par bya zhes sbrel te* | ***yul can tshul bzhin yid la byed pa snang ba myed pa'i shes rab kyi rgyu yin pas yul de bzhin nyid kyang rgyur gdags pa*** *'am | de rnam par dag pa la brten nas rgyur rtogs par bya zhes sbrel te dri ma sbyangs pas spangs pa thob pas spangs pa'i rgyur bzhag pa'o* || [§3] ***des na rang bzhin du gnas pa'i rigs ni rgyu btags pa ba dang*** [§4] ***bsgrubs pa las byung ba'i rigs ni rgyu mtshan nyid pa yin pas*** [§5] ***de ltar gcig gi rgyu yin no*** *zhes bya ba'o* ||. Bold-faced words are virtually parallel to ones found in Blo-gros-mtshungs-med's quotation (*rGyud bla sgron me*, 201.6–202.4), while underlined words are not found in it.

emptiness as a meditative object and attains thereby a buddha's insight into non-appearance. A similar explanation is repeatedly found in Phywa-pa's RGV commentary,[84] and the latter point (emptiness as a cause) was already found in rNgog's RGV commentary,[85] whereas Phywa-pa's subdivision of the *gotra* into actual and nominal causes was not discussed by rNgog, having probably been introduced by Phywa-pa himself or Phywa-pa's teacher Chos-kyi-bla-ma.

Phywa-pa's interpretation itself seems somewhat unnatural in view of the original context of the RGV (I.26), suddenly shifting as it does to "two kinds of spiritual disposition" (*gotra*), whereas RGV I.26 discusses the term *gotra* in the completely different sense, that is, "the source of the Three Jewels." As pointed out by Seyfort Ruegg, the term has two different meanings in the RGVV: the first is "the source (or mine) of the Three Jewels," namely the last four *vajrapada*s (*dhātu*, *bodhi*, *guṇa*, and *karman*; see RGV I.24–26). The second is "the two kinds of spiritual disposition (the inherent and evolved potentials)," namely one of three aspects of the fourth *vajrapada* (i.e. *dhātu*) (see RGV I.27, 28, 41, 86, and 149–152). Phywa-pa obviously conflates these two different *gotra*s unjustifiably.[86] Phywa-pa's position is later refuted by Blo-gros-mtshungs-med but accepted by rGyal-tshab.[87]

In his *dBu ma shar gsum gyi stong thun*, Phywa-pa asserts that spiritual disposition is

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[84] Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, 61b2–3: *'o na rang bzhin de bzhin nyid kyi snying po dang khyad par ci yod ce na | de bzhin nyid ni rang bzhin tsam ldog yin la 'di* (= *prakṛtisthagotra*) *ni 'di la dmigs nas snang ba myed pa'i shes rab skyer rung pa dang dri ma dag du rung pa 'bras bu la nus pa'i snying po la 'dod pas tha dad do* ||; *ibid.*, 61b8–62a1: *khams grub pa'i snying por zhes pa ni thob du rung pa'i snying po'o* || *des na stong pa nyid dang dge ba'i sa bon de la de bzhin gshegs par gdags te | stong pa nyid la dmigs* (62a1) *nas sam dge ba'i sa bon 'phel nas de bzhin gshegs pa 'byung ba'i phyir ro* ||.

[85] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 26a7; B 42a1–2: *stong pa nyid kyang de la dmigs nas* (A: *pas*) *rnam par dag pa'i gnas skabs skye ba'i rgyu yin no* ||. See Chapter 9, §(h2), pp. 266–268.

[86] Despite this aberrant discussion on the part of Phywa-pa, Blo-gros-mtshungs-med's criticism is directed at another point, namely the *prakṛtisthagotra* as an actual cause (see p. 334).

[87] In another passage, too, Blo-gros-mtshungs-med obviously takes aim at Phywa-pa's position. See his *rGyud bla sgron me*, 358.6–359.2: "The great scholar (i.e. Phywa-pa) said that emptiness is only nominally called a 'cause of the wisdom,' since non-conceptual insight arises by practicing well-grounded attentiveness (*yoniśomanasikāra*), whose object is emptiness. This [position] is, however, not tenable" (*blo gros chen po kha cig na re stong pa nyid la dmigs pa'i tshul bzhin yid la byed pa la goms pas rnam par mi rtog pa'i shes rab skye bas ye shes kyi rgyur btag pa yin zhes gsungs pa ni mi 'thad de*). Similarly to Phywa-pa's position as presented by Blo-gros-mtshungs-med in the previous passage (*ibid.* 201.6–202.4), this passage again has him equating emptiness with the *prakṛtisthagotra* and taking it as a nominal cause. By contrast, though, the previous passage identifies the real cause as well-grounded attentiveness (*yoniśomanasikāra*) as opposed to the *samudānītagotra* in the current passage.

activated by the development of wholesome roots along with the path leading to liberation (*mokṣabhāgīya*).[88] While Phywa-pa's classification of the *gotra* into nominal and actual cannot be traced back to his predecessors (see above), his identification of the two *gotra*s with emptiness and wholesome seeds mirrors stances taken by rNgog and Gro-lung-pa. rNgog interprets the two types of spiritual disposition (*prakṛtisthagotra* and *samudānītagotra*) as consisting in emptiness and wholesome seeds, respectively, and Gro-lung-pa goes on to develop that idea. Phywa-pa thus takes up the baton from them.[89]

[Table: rNgog and Phywa-pa on the *gotra*.]

RGV	rNgog	Phywa-pa
prakṛtisthagotra	emptiness/*tathatā*	*tathatā*
samudānītagotra	wholesome seeds	wholesome impressions of the *mokṣabhāgīya*

Phywa-pa's brief explanation of the difference between *tathatā* and the *prakṛtistha-gotra* is, again, not found in rNgog's *rGyud bla don bsdus*. Given that both are identified as emptiness, Phywa-pa explains the difference by stating that *tathatā* is the intrinsic nature of Buddha-nature, whereas the *prakṛtistha-gotra* is a cause that has the capacity to produce results, namely insight into non-appearance and the purification of obscurations.[90]

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[88] See Phywa-pa, *dBu ma shar gsum gyi stong thun*, 127.14–128.2: "After generating the mind of devotion [to the Three Jewels] and after generating wholesome roots of the *mokṣabhāgīya*, by practicing the eight common topics for training in (*bslab bya*) and the single uncommon one, then the power of the spiritual disposition will be activated (i.e. the *samudānītagotra* will arise), so that [bodhisattvas] become receptive to the soteriological path of the Mahāyāna."... *skyabs su 'gro ba'i sems bskyed de | ...mthun mong gi bslab bya brgyad dang... mthun mong ma yin pa'i bslab bya la bslab bas thog mar thar pa'i cha mthun gyi dge ba'i rtsa ba bskyed de rigs kyi nus pa sad pas theg pa chen po'i lam gyi snod du 'gyur ba yin no ||*.

[89] This was obviously a popular understanding of spiritual disposition in the early gSang-phu tradition. sGam-po-pa, who studied first within the bKa' gdams pa tradition, expounds a similar subdivision of spiritual disposition (see *Thar rgyan*, chapter 1). Later Dol-po-pa does the same in his RGV commentary (see Dol-po-pa, *rGyud bla 'od zer*, 987.2–3: *thog ma med pa'i dus nas sems kyi rang bzhin du nye bar gnas pa'i chos kyi dbyings rnam par dag pa rang bzhin gyi rigs dang | de la dmigs te thos pa la sogs pa byas pas 'bad rtsol gyis gsar du yang dag par blangs pa las byung ba'i dge ba thar pa'i cha dang mthun pas mchog tu gyur pa rgyas 'gyur gyi rigs nyid do ||*).

[90] Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, 61b2–3: *'o na rang bzhin de bzhin nyid kyi snying po dang khyad par ci yod ce na | de bzhin nyid ni rang bzhin tsam ldog yin la 'di* (= *prakṛtistha-gotra*) *ni 'di la dmigs nas snang ba myed pa'i shes rab skyer rung pa dang dri ma dag du rung pa 'bras bu la nus pa'i snying po la 'dod pas tha dad do ||*.

(5) *On the Ultimate Truth*[91]

Phywa-pa's position on the ultimate truth is documented by gZhon-nu-dpal, who presents four philosophical positions on Buddha-nature in his *Deb ther sngon po*: (a) that of rNgog and gTsang-nag-pa, (b) Phywa-pa, (c) bTsan, and (d) Red-mda'-ba. Of them, (a)[92] and (b) are treated in the following:

> The great translator (i.e. rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab) and the master gTsang-nag-pa take so-called Buddha-nature to be the ultimate truth. But on the other hand they say: "The ultimate truth is not even a mere object of ascertainment, let alone an actual object of terms and conceptions."[93] The master Phywa-pa for his part maintains that non-affirming negation—which means that entities are empty of a true being—is the ultimate truth, and that it is an object of verbal and conceptual ascertainment. [94]

The discussion of the ultimate truth by all three seems to relate to the statement of the RGVV ad I.1 (a quotation from the *Dṛḍhādhyāśayaparivarta*), which teaches that the ultimate truth can be perceived only by a buddha (whereas others have to rely on faith in the Buddha)[95] and that the ultimate truth is synonymous with Buddha-nature.[96] Indeed, rNgog, gTsang-nag-pa, and Phywa-pa accept that Buddha-nature equates to the ultimate truth.[97] The difference between rNgog and

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[91] On Tibetan sources and modern studies concerning the Two Truths theory, see Jackson 1987: 396–399 n. 95; on Phywa-pa's and his teacher rGya-dmar-ba's positions on the Two Truths theory on common points and differences, see Hugon 2015, section 3.3 "Precedents for Phywa-pa's Discussion in the Works of rGya-dmar-ba." For rNgog's position, see Chapter 7, p 203n$_{56}$.

[92] Note that Go-rams-pa says that the positions of rNgog and gTsang-nag-pa are not identical. See Go-rams-pa, *rGyal ba*, 147.1, Jackson 1987: 397 n. 95 and 1993: 37 n. 83.

[93] Roerich renders *zhen pa* or *adhyavasāya* as "approximate judgment."

[94] gZhon-nu-dpal, *Deb sngon*, 424: *de la lo tsā ba chen po dang slob dpon gtsang nag pa ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po zhes bya ba don dam pa'i bden pa la zer mod kyi | don dam pa'i bden pa ni sgra dang rtogs* [=*rtog*] *pa'i dngos kyi yul ma yin pa lta zhog | zhen pa'i yul tsam yang ma yin zhes gsung | slob dpon phywa pa ni dngos po rnams bden pas stong pa'i med par dgag pa ni don dam pa'i bden pa yin zhing | de sgra rtog gi zhen pa'i yul du yang bzhed |*.

[95] RGVV 2.8–11.

[96] RGVV 2.11–12: "O Śāriputra, the ultimate truth is another expression for the mass of sentient beings (*sattvadhātu*). The mass of sentient beings is, O Śāriputra, nothing but another expression for Buddha-nature." *paramārtha iti śāriputra sattvadhātor etad adhivacanam | sattvadhātur iti śāriputra tathāgatagarbhasyaitad adhivacanam |*

[97] rNgog's position as presented here is traceable to his RGV commentary. See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 4a2–3; B 6a6–6b2. This has already been pointed out by Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 302–304 and Jackson 1993a: 18–19.

Phywa-pa's views is whether or not the ultimate truth is attainable in the form of a verbal and conceptual ascertainment (*sgra rtog gi zhen pa*). Phywa-pa claims that it is, but rNgog strongly rejects the idea.[98]

SA-SKYA PAṆḌITA KUN-DGA'-RGYAL-MTSHAN (1182–1251)

It might seem methodologically problematic to treat here Sa-skya Paṇḍita's position on the RGV or on Buddha-nature teaching, since he composed no commentary on the RGV. However, he discussed Buddha-nature in some detail in an independent doctrinal work, the *sDom gsum rab dbye*. There he aimed at confirming that the teaching of Buddha-nature in the RGV is merely a provisional one,[99] but did not attempt to gloss the RGV or to validate its conceptual framework. Therefore it is meaningful to discuss his position here, taking into consideration his remarkable view and its impact.

Sa-skya Paṇḍita was probably one of the earliest Tibetan scholars who, in accordance with Candrakīrti's statement in the *Madhyamakāvatāra*,[100] explicitly judges Buddha-nature of the RGV to be of provisional meaning (*neyārtha*). (More precisely, Sa-paṇ's position is strikingly in line with Jayānanda's position, which holds Buddha-nature to be equatable with emptiness and, as described in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, to be of provisional meaning; see Chapter 5.) An opinion shared by rNgog and Sa-paṇ is that Buddha-nature should be understood in the sense of emptiness.[101] The difference is that rNgog directly equates Buddha-nature with emptiness, whereas

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98 For further details of Phywa-pa's criticism of rNgog's Two Truths theory, see Moriyama 2001.

99 Sa-paṇ discusses the topic in his *sDom gsum rab dbye*, I.59–143. Later, bSod-nams-grags-pa concisely summarized this assertion of the *sDom gsum rab dbye* and *mKhas 'jug*, together with rTa-nag-pa's commentaries on them (see bSod-nams-grags-pa, *rGyud bla dka' 'grel*, 400.1–401.7. "rTa-nags-pa" is probably rTa-nag Nor-bzang-rgya-mtsho (1423–1489), otherwise Go-rams-pa, the abbot of rTa-nag Thub-bstan-rnam-rgyal monastery).

100 Sa-paṇ, *sDom gsum rab dbye*, I.142 "Know, too, that Candrakīrti, in the *Madhyamakāvatāra*, pronounced the Sugata's matrix an interpretable doctrine" (translation by Rhoton 2002: 58. *slob dpon zla ba grags pas kyang || dbu ma la ni 'jug pa las || bde gshegs snying po drang don du || gsungs pa de yang shes par gyis ||*). Cf. *Madhyamakāvatāra*, VI.95 and *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* on the same verse (see Introduction, p. 9 n. 30).

101 See Sa-paṇ, *sDom gsum rab dbye*, I.138, 139 and rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 3b3; B 5b3. The notion of emptiness as described by Sa-paṇ in his *sDom gsum* I.132–135 and that of rNgog (*rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 2b3–4; B 4a2–3) are alike.

Sa-paṇ regards the intentional ground (*dgongs gzhi*) of Buddha-nature to be emptiness.[102] Shākya-mchog-ldan accurately summarizes the difference between rNgog and Sa-paṇ:[103]

> Furthermore, rNgog, the Great Translator, claims that [the Buddha] thus taught (i.e. all beings have Buddha-nature) having the essence of a perfect buddha[104] in mind and asserts that actual [Buddha-]nature is emptiness. Saskya Paṇ-chen said that [the teaching regarding] Buddha-nature has [another] intention (*dgongs pa can*) (i.e. is not of definitive meaning) and that actual Buddha-nature is a perfect buddha, while [only] the basis of [this] intention (*dgongs gzhi*) is emptiness.[105]

Later on, rGyal-tshab would criticize this position of Sa-paṇ.[106] As for the *gotra*, Sa-paṇ also presents a general theory in his *Thub pa dgongs gsal*, which is in accordance with the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* and does not seem to directly relate to rNgog's thesis[107] although Sa-paṇ's knowledge of rNgog's *gotra* theory is obvious.[108]

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[102] Sa-paṇ, *sDom gsum rab dbye*, I.139 and 140: *sems can rnam la sangs rgyas kyi || snying po yod par gsungs pa ni || dgongs pa yin par shes par bya || de yi dgongs gzhi stong nyid yin ||*.

[103] In his *Mus rab 'byams pa'i dris lan*, too, Shākya-mchog-ldan compares the positions of rNgog and Sa-paṇ (see vol. 23, 409.4: *de nyid snying po dngos su 'chad pa rngog lo'i lugs dang | snying po btags pa par 'chad pa sa lo'i lugs gnyis byung ngo ||*).

[104] "Perfect Buddha" (*rdzogs sangs rgyas*) refers to the resultant *dharmakāya*. Cf. RGV I.27 and 28.

[105] Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Untitled* (1), Vol. 23, 91.2–3: *de yang rngog lo chen po ni || rdzogs sangs rgyas kyi snying po la || dgongs te mdo las de ltar bshad || snying po dngos ni stong nyid gsung || sa skya paṇ chen sangs rgyas kyi || snying po'ang dgongs pa can yin te || snying po dngos ni rdzogs sangs rgyas || dgongs gzhi stong nyid ces gsungs ||*. The last line is unmetrical. The original reading might have been *gsungs so* in place of *gsungs*.

[106] rGyal-tshab discriminates two kinds of teachings of Buddha-nature, namely the one taught in the RGV (which has definitive meaning) and the other taught in sūtras. Cf. rGyal-tshab, *rGyud bla ṭīka*, 77a1–2. Shākya-mchog-ldan stresses the resultant aspect of Buddha-nature. See Chapter 11.

[107] See Sa-paṇ, *Thub pa dgongs gsal*, 2b–3b.

[108] The *Thub pa dgongs gsal* was apparently composed under the influence of Gro-lung-pa's *bsTan rim* (which in turn generally follows rNgog's teachings faithfully), for the *Thub pa dgongs gsal* (91b-92a) borrows a long passage from the *bsTan rim* (ACIP, SE0070, 523a-524a1). See Kano 2007: 46 n. 30.

BCOM-LDAN-RAL-GRI (1227–1305)[109]

bCom-ldan-ral-gri (a.k.a. bCom-ldan-rig-pa'i-ral-gri, Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan, and Dar-ma-rgyal-mtshan)[110] is widely known for his compilation of an early canonical catalogue.[111] In the earlier stage of his career he studied under teachers of Sa skya monastery including Sa-skya Paṇḍita,[112] and then became active at sNar-thang monastery.[113]

bCom-ldan-ral-gri as a gZhan stong Forerunner

Interestingly, bCom-ldan-ral-gri is listed by Tāranātha (1575–1634) as one of the forerunners of Dol-po-pa Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan (1292–1361), the actual founder of the doctrinal system of *gzhan stong*.[114] Tāranātha's *Zab mo gzhan stong dbu ma'i brgyud 'debs* lists the lineage of teachers of *gzhan stong* tradition as follows:

Maitreya → Asaṅga → dGa'-ba-grags-pa → Byung-gnas-zhi-ba → Sajjana → gZu dGa'-ba'i-rdo-rje → bTsan-kha-bo-che Dri-med-shes-rab → Dar-ma-brtson-'grus → gNyen Ye-shes-'byung-gnas → 'Jad-ston Byang-chub-skyabs

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[109] For his dates, I follow Schaeffer 2005: 124. For the problem of dating, see Mimaki 2014: 513.

[110] Although he is widely referred to in modern publications as bCom-ldan-rig-pa'i-ral-gri or bCom-ldan-rig-ral, colophons in manuscripts of his works often give his name as bCom-ldan-ral-gri. Concerning his ordination name, Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan, see below.

[111] See Schaeffer & van der Kuijp 2009.

[112] The teachings received from Sa skya Paṇḍita are listed in his biography by bSam-gtan-bzang-po, *Dad pa'i ljon shing* (*bCom ldan rigs pa'i ral gri'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, pp. 55.6–56.1): *chos rje sa skya paṇḍi ta la tshad ma rigs gter | ngan song sbyong rgyud | tshogs chos | sems bskyed | snang ba mtha' yas kyi sgom don rnams thob |*. See also Schaeffer & van der Kuijp 2009: 5.

[113] For his biography by bSam-gtan-bzang-po and his collected works, see Schaeffer & Kuijp 2009 and Kano 2010a: 15.

[114] Of the several classifications of Buddha-nature interpretations in Tibet, many Tibetan traditions divide Tibetan Buddha-nature interpreters into two groups: the tradition of the intrinsic-emptiness doctrine (*rang stong*) and that of the extrinsic-emptiness doctrine (*gzhan stong*). The former understands Buddha-nature itself as empty, while the latter takes the Buddha-qualities within Buddha-nature (as opposed to the defilements which cover them) as not empty. The first includes rNgog, among others, whereas the latter was founded by Dol-po-pa Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan (1292-1361). Of course, this classification is a later contrivance, rNgog having never identified himself as a teacher of the *rang stong* tradition. There are a number of studies of the *gzhan stong* tradition (see, for instance, Mathes 2008). *gZhan stong* adherents (and modern scholars) in general have a strong tendency to trace the doctrine back to previous masters.

→ 'Jad-ston gZhon-nu-byang-chub → sKyo-ston sMon-lam-tshul-khrims → **bCom-ldan-rig-pa'i-ral-gri** → sKyi-ston 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs → Dol-po-pa ... [115]

As already pointed out (Kano 2010a: 14), the large part of the transmission lineage down to bCom-ldan-rig-pa'i-ral-gri (=bCom-ldan-ral-gri) corresponds with the lineage presented in the *Theg chen rgyud bla ma'i gdams pa*, which is attributed to the eighth abbot of sNar-thang monastery, sMon-lam-tshul-khrims (1219–1299)[116]: Maitreya→Maitreyanātha ...[117] Ānandakīrti (or Anantakīrti)→Sajjana→ gZu rGa-ba-rdo-rje→bTsan kha-bo-che Dri-med-shes-rab→Lha-stod lho-pa→ Do-pa rNyan→sMon-lam-tshul-khrims→**Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan** (= **bCom-ldan-ral-gri**).[118]

Leaving aside the problem whether Tāranātha himself compiled the list of the lineage or had received it orally from his teachers, one burning question is why bCom-ldan-ral-gri is regarded as a forerunner of the founder of *gzhan-stong* tradition, Dol-po-pa. To answer this question, it might be helpful to point out that both sMon-lam-tshul-khrims and his disciple bCom-ldan-ral-gri received the teaching of the RGV from the same teacher, namely the seventh abbot of sNar-thang monastery, mChims Nam-mkha'-grags (1210–1285) [119] (all three figures within the tradition of sNar-thang monastery).

sMon-lam-tshul-khrims states in his record of teaching transmissions heard that he received three traditions of the RGV from mChims: those of Phywa-pa

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[115] The last part of this text (3b3–4a1) lists alternative transmission lineages, and it is remarkable that one of them does not contain bCom-ldan-ral-gri in its lineage.

[116] *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 50, pp. 154.8–156.1. For this work and its authorship, see Chapter 2, pp. 45–46 n. 9. Biographical sketches of sMon-lam-tshul-khrims are contained in, among other places, Las-chen's *bKa gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me*, p. 405, which identifies sMon-lam-tshul-khrims as a teacher of bCom-ldan-ral-gri. sMon-lam-tshul-khrims's record of teaching transmissions heard, entitled *Shākya'i btsun pa smon lam tshul khrims kyis thos yig*, provides very valuable background material relating to his scholastic activities. This record lists such interesting works as the *bKa' gdams kyi byung tshul* (imparted by Bla-ma lha-btsun [bSod-nams-snying-po: in *mchan*], probably a very early work relating to the history of the bKa' gdams school; see *Shākya'i btsun pa smon lam tshul khrims kyis thos yig*, vol. 50, p. 272.5).

[117] The link between Maitreyanātha and Ānandakīrti is not filled in.

[118] Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan or Dar-ma-rgyal-mtshan is bCom-ldan-ral-gri's ordination name. This is attested in Rong-ston's praise of bCom-ldan-ral-gri. See *gSung thor bu*, 413.2–414.2. Cf. also Schaeffer & van der Kuijp 2009: 1, Kano & Nakamura 2009: 118 n. 7, and Kano 2010a: 33 n. 10. Brünnholzl (2011: 193) does not identify Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan as bCom-ldan-ral-gri.

[119] mChims Nam-mkha'-grags received the teaching of the RGV from his teachers mChims Blo-gros-bstan-pa and the fifth abbot of sNar-thang, Zhang-ston Chos-kyi-bla-ma (d. 1241). See Fushimi 2010: 25, 27. Gha-rung-pa (p. 409 below) in his colophon also supports this lineage.

(*phya pa'i lugs*), Mar-pa (*bla ma mar lugs*), and Zu (*zu lugs*).[120] The first one is the tradition of gSang phu monastery stemming from rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab, while the second is probably that of Mar-pa Do-pa Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug (1042–1136), who is one of the six known translators of the RGV.[121] The third one is very probably the tradition of Zu (or gZu) dGa'-ba'i-rdo-rje, who was a translator in Kashmir working in active collaboration with Sajjana, and later regarded as a *gzhan stong* teacher. According to sMon-lam-tshul-khrims's record of transmissions heard, he also received the teaching of the RGV along with related instructions from Rin-chen-'od.[122] bCom-ldan-ral-gri, according to the biography of him by bSam-gtan-bzang-po, received the teaching of the RGV along with the other four treatises of Maitreya from mChims (i.e. very likely Nam-mkha'-grags).[123]

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[120] Kano 2010a: 34 n. 27. See *Shākya'i btsun pa smon lam tshul khrims kyis thos yig*, vol. 50, pp. 257.7–258.6: *bla ma yang dag pa'i dge ba'i bshes gnyen mkhyen pa nam mkha' mthar son zhing thugs rje dang rtogs pa lhun gyis grub pas mdzad* (257.8) *rgyun mi 'chad pa snyigs dus kyi thams cad mkhyen par phyogs thams cad du grags pa bla ma mchims las* | ... (258.1) *gzhung chos mngon pa mdzod rtsa ba dang* | (258.2) *'grel pa chen po dang* | *mdo'i ṭi ga dang* | *nyi shu pa dang* | *sum bcu pa dang* | *las bsgrub pa dang* | *rnam bshad rigs pa dang* | *phung po lnga pa'i rab tu byed pa dang* | *mdo sde brgyan gyi 'grel* (258.3) *pa dang* | *dbus mtha'i 'grel pa dang* | *rten 'grel gyi mdo 'grel dang* | *mngon rtogs rgyan dang* | *mdo sde brgyan dang* | *dbus mtha' dang* | *chos nyid dang* | ***rgyud bla ma*** *rnams kyi bshad pa* (258.4) ***phya ba'i lugs*** *dang* | *mngon rtogs rgyan gtsang pa'i lugs mdo sbyor dang bcas pa dang* | *bla ma nyid kyis mdzad pa'i bshad pa dang* | *mdo sde'i rgyan gtsang pa'i lugs kyi bshad pa dang* | (258.5) *dbus mtha' dang* | *chos nyid dang* | *rgyud bla ma'i 'grel bshad dang* | ***rgyud bla ma mar lugs*** *dang* | *gzhan yang* ***byams chos lnga la zu lugs kyi gzhung*** *man ngag gi chings dang* (258.6) *bcas pa dang* |...

[121] See Chapter 6 and Kano 2014c. There is a RGV commentary entitled *rGyud bla ma'i tshig don rnam par 'grel pa* by a disciple of Mar-pa Do-pa Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug contained in the *dPal mnga' bdag sgra sgyur mar pa lo tsā ba chos kyi blo gros kyi gsung 'bum*. See above, Chapter 5, pp. 136–137 n. 7.

[122] See *Shākya'i btsun pa smon lam tshul khrims kyis thos yig*, vol. 50, pp. 276.8–277.8: *bla ma rin chen 'od las* ... (277.7) *byams chos spyi'i rgyud pa dang* | *rgyud bla ma'i brgyud pa dang* | *bsam mi khyab tu ngo sprad pa dang* | *spra khrid kyi gdams pa dang* | *khams dri med dang* | *'od gsal snying po'i don dang* | (277.8) *mdo rgyan dang* | *mngon rtogs rgyan dang* | *dbus mtha' dang* | *chos nyid rnams kyi khrid dang* | *bla ma brgyud pa'i mtshan lags pa dang* | *dbu ma'i man ngag gi khrid dang* | ...
The teacher Rin-chen-'od is unknown to me, but seems to have been an important figure for sMon-lam-tshul-khrims, for some of the teachings received from him appear as titles of works written by sMon-lam-tshul-khrims (in the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vols. 50 and 61). They include the *rGyud bla ma'i brgyud pa* (= *ibid.*, vol. 50, pp. 147.1–148.7 or pp. 154.8–156.1?), the *'Od gsal snying po'i don* (= *ibid.*, vol. 50, pp. 421–424), the *mDo sde rgyan gyi khrid* (= *ibid.*, pp. 305–310), *Chos nyid kyi khrid* (= *ibid.*, pp. 311–316), *dBus mtha'i khrid* (= *ibid.*, vol. 61, pp. 119–132).

[123] Kano 2010a: 34 n. 28. See *Dad pa'i ljon shing* (*bCom ldan rigs pa'i ral gri'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, pp. 57.1–58.5): *mkhan chen mchims la* ... (58.5) *mdo sde'i rgyan rtsa 'grel* | *rgyud bla ma* | *mngon rtogs rgyan* | *dbus* (58.6) *mtha' dang chos nyid rnam 'byed* | *rten 'grel chen po'i ṭikka* | *las sgrub pa'i rab tu byed pa* | *rnam shad rigs pa* | *dam tshig* (59.1) *gsum bkod kyi rgyud kyi de bzhin gshegs pa'i le'u dang de'i sgrub thabs dang* | *phyag na rdo rje'i mtshan brgyad pa'i man ngag la sogs* (59.2) *pa zhus so* ||.

There are thus good reasons for Tāranātha's listing of sMon-lam-tshul-khrims and bCom-ldan-ral-gri as *gzhan stong* forerunners (even though the two did not identify themselves as *gzhan stong* adherents), inasmuch as the two were exposed to the tradition that goes back to Sajjana (as suggested by *zu lugs*), who is regarded by later tradition as one of the most important *gzhan stong* teachers in Kashmir/India.

bCom-ldan-ral-gri's Position as Reflected in His RGV Commentary

Now we shall focus on bCom-ldan-ral-gri's doctrinal position regarding Buddha-nature in his RGV commentary. This commentary, entitled *rGyud bla ma'i ṭi ka rgyan gyi me tog*, is a short work consisting of 17 folios in a *dbu med* manuscript and 15 folios in a *dbu can* manuscript. Previously[124] I provided a synopsis of the entire text, having collated the two versions in the two manuscripts and supplied verse numbers from the RGV, and presented a critical edition and annotated translation of it (up to the commentary on RGV I.22).[125]

The commentarial style of the work is what is called *mchan 'grel* in later traditions; that is, he quotes significant words from the verses of the RGV and inserts his own glosses on them before going to the next word. A remarkable feature of his commentary is several quotations from Tantric works, as he himself states in this work: "I (i.e. bCom-ldan-ral-gri) will explain [the RGV] by quoting a number of [passages from] sūtras and tantras which were not quoted by him (i.e. Asaṅga) in his commentary [of the RGV]."[126]

In the opening part of his commentary, bCom-ldan-ral-gri defines the RGV as a treatise that imparts the definitive teaching of the Mahāyāna.[127] This stance cor-

[124] See Kano 2010a and 2013a.

[125] The following analysis of bCom-ldan-ral-gri's position is a summarized version of Kano 2010a.

[126] Kano 2010a: 28 (*rGyud bla ma'i ṭi ka rgyan gyi me tog*, A3b1; B2b4): *kho bos 'grel par ma drangs pa'i mdo rgyud du ma drangs te bshad par bya ste*. Cf. also *ibid*. A 12a2–3: *bla ma'i rgyud* (= RGV I.160b) *ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po la sogs mdo rgyud zab mo rnams so*. In the beginning part of his *Dohā* commentary, bCom-ldan-ral-gri quotes the RGV and finds the Buddha-nature doctrine expounded in it to be faithfully reflected in Sahaja's later teaching on the same subject (see Schaeffer 2005: 124–125); and we see there again his penchant for interweaving non-tantric with tantric teachings.
Tantric works quoted in his RGV commentary include: *rDo rje rtse mo* (A 2a2; P. 113, Nya, 169a–b), *Thams cad gsang ba'i rgyud* (A 6a4–5, P. 114, Nya, 302a2), *rNam snang mngon byang* (A 6b4–5, 12b2–3; P. 126, Nya, 17a8–b2), *dPal gsang ba 'dus pa* (A 6a5–6; *Guhyasamāja* XVIII.2), *Zhal gyi lung* (A 6b1–2, 6b5–6; P. 2716, Ti, 14a4–5, 3b8–4a1), *lHa mo bzhis zhus pa* (9b3–4; P. 85, Ja, 295a6–7), and *dGyes pa'i rdo rje* (A 10b5–6; *Hevajra* II.iv.69).

[127] Kano 2010a: 26 (*rGyud bla ma'i ṭi ka rgyan gyi me tog*, A1b–2a; B1b): *thub pa'i dbang po'i theg*

responds with what is stated in his *History of the Treatises Linked to Maitreya* (*Byams pa dang 'brel ba'i chos kyi byung tshul*), which furthermore asserts that the teaching of the RGV contradicts neither the Two Truths doctrine of Madhyamaka nor the Yogācāra doctrine of the Threefold Intrinsic Nature, while the other four treatises of Maitreya teach either one or the other of these two doctrines (but not both at the same time).[128]

In his commentary on RGV I.3, he defines Buddha-nature as "the natural luminous mind that is inseparable from *dharmatā*,"[129] and, glossing RGV I.153, states: "The ultimate truth, which is unconditioned and primordially existent by itself, is the element (i.e. Buddha-nature)."[130] This latter point strikingly corresponds with what is taught in the Sanskrit interlinear gloss of verse 28 of Sajjana's *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa*.[131] bCom-ldan-ral-gri further characterizes the doctrine of Buddha-nature as definitive.[132]

bCom-ldan-ral-gri's understanding of Buddha-nature is compatible with that of the tradition of bTsan Kha-bo-che, which defines Buddha-nature as the "natural luminous mind,"[133] and in accordance with Dol-po-pa's stance, which sees the Buddha-nature teaching being echoed in tantric literature. bCom-ldan-ral-gri's position is in general close to that of his teacher sMon-lam-tshul-khrims (which may be accounted for in part by the fact that both received the teaching of the RGV from the same teacher, mChims Nam-mkha'-grags).

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chen gsung rab kyi || mthar thug nges pa'i don 'di bdag gis bshad ||; *bskal pa bzang po'i sangs rgyas lnga pa 'phags pa byams pas mdzad pa nges pa don gyi mthar thug 'di sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa'i chos kho na ston pas theg pa chen po dang*.

[128] For an edition of the *Byams pa dang 'brel ba'i chos kyi byung tshul*, see Kano & Nakamura 2009: 131: *de la* (2a1) *mngon rtogs brgyan ni | lta ba dbu ma'i lugs kyi bden gnyis su gnas so || mdo sde rgyan dang dbus mtha' dang chos nyid gsum ni theg chen gyi* (2a2) *mdo mtha' dag gi dgongs 'grel lta ba ngo bo nyid gsum du gnas so || rgyud bla ma ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i mdo la sogs pa theg chen gyi lta ba mthar thug pa ston pa ste |* (2a3) *lta ba de gnyis ka dang mi 'gal bar gnas so ||*.

[129] *rGyud bla rgyan gyi me tog*, Kano 2010a: 20, 28, A4a1-2, B3a4: *de ni chos nyid dang dbyer med pa rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal ba'i sems yin no*.

[130] *rGyud bla rgyan gyi me tog*, Kano 2010a: 20, A11b5, B10a1-2: *rkyen gyis ma byas par ye nas rang byung gi don dam ni khams te so so skye bos dad par bya ba tsam yin gyi sa thob pas ni mthong ba'o*.

[131] See Chapter 8, p. 227 and Kano 2006a (Appendix B): "The luminous mind (*prabhāsvaraṃ cittaṃ*) is not conditioned. This is because [in the luminous mind] there is nothing to be done through causes and conditions coming together (*saṃhatya hetupratyayair akaraṇāt*), given the fact that the origination of the [luminous] mind in a succeeding moment (*uttarasaṃvit-prasūti*) depends on [the mind] being generated only (*mātra*) by [what is of] its (i.e. the mind's) own kind (*sajāti*) in the previous moment."

[132] *rGyud bla rgyan gyi me tog*, Kano 2010a: 20, A12a3, B10a4: *'dis khams drang don du 'chad pa ni ma yin*.

[133] For bTsan's position as represented by gZhon-nu-dpal, see, for instance, Mathes 2008: 33.

On the other hand, bCom-ldan-ral-gri's evaluation of the RGV as a treatise of definitive teaching is incompatible with the stance of another teacher of his, Saskya Paṇḍita, who follows Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra* in judging the Buddha-nature teaching to be provisional (see above, p. 309f.). Also, it is obvious that bCom-ldan-ral-gri does not follow rNgog's reasoning that leads to identifying Buddha-nature with emptiness (see Chapter 9, pp. 262–268).

Although we need more systematic research to clarify bCom-ldan-ral-gri's understanding of Buddha-nature, the points mentioned above are enough to consider that Tāranātha was being reasonable when he integrated bCom-ldan-ral-gri into the lineage of forerunners of the *gzhan stong* tradition. In sum, bCom-ldan-ral-gri, in his RGV commentary, does not systematically teach the *gzhan stong* doctrine, but he does expound some fragmentary elements that possibly link him to the *gzhan stong* position of Dol-po-pa.

*bCom-ldan-ral-gri's Refutation of the *Amalavijñāna*

bCom-ldan-ral-gri calls upon the Buddha-nature teaching in support of his disproof of the theory of the ninth consciousness (i.e. **amalavijñāna* "the Stainless Consciousness") of Paramārtha (Zhendi 眞諦, 499–569). It is well known that Tsong-kha-pa (1357–1419) in his *Kun gzhi dka' 'grel* (= *Yid dang kun gzhi'i dka' ba'i gnas rgya cher 'grel pa*) introduces and refutes Paramārtha's theory of the ninth consciousness on the basis of Wonchuk's (圓測, 613–696) commentary on the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* (*Jieshenmijing shu* 解深密經疏),[134] whereas it is relatively less known that the theory of the ninth consciousness was being discussed even before Tsong-kha-pa's time, and was refuted in Tibetan commentaries on the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* by gZad-ring Dar-ma-tshul-khrims (latter half of the 12th century), bCom-ldan-ral-gri, Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290–1364), and dPang Blo-gros-brtan-pa (1276–1342).[135] bCom-ldan-ral-gri, explaining Yogācāra doctrine in his *Grub mtha' rgyan gyi me tog*, states:

> Ācārya Paramārtha (Yang-dag-bden-pa) claims that there are nine kinds of consciousness including the Stainless Mind (*dri ma med pa'i yid*, i.e., the ninth

[134] This Chinese text was translated into Tibetan sometime between 815 and 824. For details of the translation, see Kano 2012d: 12. Tsong-kha-pa criticizes bCom-ldan-ral-gri (known to him as Rig-pa'i-ral-gri) in the same context of the same work (*Kun gzhi dka' 'grel*), for according to him bCom-ldan-ral-gri attributes the theory of the ninth consciousness, wrongly, to Wonchuk (rather than to Paramārtha). Kano 2012d: 10–11.

[135] See Kano 2012d.

> consciousness). There is a detailed [explanation] of the meaning of these [nine] in [my] *Kun las btus pa rgyan gyi me tog* (i.e. bCom-ldan-ral-gri's *Abhidharmasamuccaya* commentary).[136]

The reference to Paramārtha and the ninth consciousness in this passage is quite clear. "Yang-dag-bden-pa" is a back-translation from Chinese name Zhendi 眞諦 rather than a translation of the Sanskrit original (i.e. Paramārtha). It is noteworthy that bCom-ldan-ral-gri uses here the expression *dri ma med pa'i yid* for the ninth consciousness instead of the expected form **dri ma med pa'i rnam shes* as the exact equivalent of **amalavijñāna*. In the final sentence of this passage, bCom-ldan-ral-gri refers to a work of his own, and this suggests that he composed his own *Abhidharmasamuccaya* commentary (*Kun las btus pa rgyan gyi me tog*) before writing the *Grub mtha' rgyan gyi me tog*.

This "detailed explanation" of the ninth consciousness appears in the *vijñāna* section in bCom-ldan-ral-gri's *Abhidharmasamuccaya* commentary. Therein he is concerned with two things: the refutation of others' doctrinal positions and the establishment of his own position.[137] The existence of the ninth consciousness is one of the positions he seeks to disprove, approaching the matter from what scripture (*āgama*) and reasoning (*yukti*) can yield. Regarding the former of the two he states:

> [The Buddha] taught what was stated in the *Samādhirāja*—"the essence of the Sugata (i.e. Buddha-nature) completely pervades all beings"—and the teaching that "all sentient beings have Buddha-nature," considering as he did mind that the seed of purification exists in the foundation (*kun gzhi*, *ālaya*) and that the mental continuum is pervaded by *tathatā*.[138]

This passage presupposes that an opponent utilized the passage of the *Samādhirāja*

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[136] *Grub mtha' rgyan gyi me tog*, 345.5-6: *slob dpon yang dag bden pa ni | dri ma med pa'i yid dgu 'dod do || 'di dag gi don rgyas pa ni kun las btus pa rgyan gyi me tog na yod do ||*

[137] *Kun las btus pa rgyan gyi me tog*, (a) 118.3–6, (b) 134.4–5: *rnam par shes pa'i phung po'i rnam bzhag la dang po spyi'i* [(b): *phyi'i*] *don la gzhan phyogs dgag pa dang | rang lugs bzhag pa gnyis las dang po la rnam par shes pa'i grangs mang bar smra ba dgag pa dang | nyung bar smra ba dgag pa dang | kun gzhi'i don rnam* [(b): *rnams*] *pa gzhan du 'chad pa dgag pa dang....*

[138] *Kun las btus pa rgyan gyi me tog*, (a) 119.2–3, (b) 134.6–135.2: *gang yang ting nge 'dzin rgyal po las | bde gshegs snying po 'gro kun yongs la khyab | ces bya ba dang sems can thams cad ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can no zhes gsungs pa de ni kun gzhi la rnam byang gi sa bon yod pa dang sems rgyud la de bzhin nyid kyis khyab pa la dgongs nas de skad du* [(b): *om.*] *gsungs pa yin te |*

(i.e. Buddha-nature's all-pervasiveness) in support of the omnipresence of the ninth consciousness.[139] Countering this opponent, bCom-ldan-ral-gri contends that the passage, rather than putting forward the existence of a ninth consciousness, is referring to the omnipresence of the seed of purification, or *tathatā*. In other words, this passage shows bCom-ldan-ral-gri's understanding of Buddha-nature: Buddha-nature in this context is nothing but the seed of purification abiding in the *ālaya* as *tathatā* that pervades every entity (the *ālaya* is obviously the *ālaya-vijñāna*). bCom-ldan-ral-gri establishes here the number of forms of consciousness as eight, his argument, and those of gZad-ring Dar-ma-tshul-khrims and Bu-ston (all in their disproof of the ninth consciousness), leading to the conclusion that the ninth consciousness is actually part of *ālayavijñāna*.[140] In support of this understanding, bCom-ldan-ral-gri in the succeeding passage of the same *Abhidharmasamuccaya* commentary refers to the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra* and quotes *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* IX.37.[141]

In his RGV commentary, bCom-ldan-ral-gri lists *ālayavijñāna* as one of synonyms of Buddha-nature.[142] In applying the exposition in his *Abhidharmasamuccaya* commentary to this equation in his RGV commentary, how is one to square the fact that the same Buddha-nature which is equated with the *ālayavijñāna* is also said to be the seed of purification abiding in the *ālayavijñāna* (rather than being the entire *ālayavijñāna*)?

Like Wonchuk and bCom-ldan-ral-gri, Bu-ston understood that ninth consciousness as ultimately the seeds of the eighth consciousness, or else the pure part of that consciousness. In dealing with the controversy, gZad-ring, bCom-ldan-ral-

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[139] The same passage is quoted by an opponent in parallel passages of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* commentaries by gZad-rings and Bu-ston (see Kano 2012d: 18).

[140] For the details, see Kano 2012d.

[141] See Kano 2012d: 17. The same combination of references to the *Samādhirāja* and the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra* appears in his RGV commentary (on RGV I.27–28). *rGyud bla rgyan gyi me tog*, Ms. (a), fol. 8a3–b1: *ting nge 'dzin rgyal po las | bde gshegs snying pos 'gro kun yongs la khyab | 'di na* (8a4) *snod min sems can 'ga' yang med || ces pa dang | lang kar gshegs pa las | de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po de rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal ba thog ma nas rnam par dag pa'i mtshan* (8a5) *nyid mtshan dang dpe byad dang ldan pa sems can thams cad kyi yul kyi nang na | mchis pa'o || zhes pa la sogs don ston pa ni sku 'phro ba ni chos skus khyab pa dang | sangs rgyas kyi de bzhin* (8a6) *nyid ces sbyar ro || rigs ni zag med kyi sa bon te | dpal 'phreng seng ge'i nga ro'i mdo las | zag pa med pa'i sa bon las dgongs nas nges sems can thams cad de bzhin gshges pa'i snying* (8b1) *sa bon du bstan to | zhes bshad do ||*.

[142] Kano 2010a: 28: *ming gi rnam grangs ni khams dang rigs dang rten dang sa bon dang sangs rgyas kyi snying po dang kun gzhi la sogs pa yin te*. See also Kano 2010a: 19–20, 24–25, 28–29, 33 n. 20.

gri, and Bu-ston largely follow a common approach. They refer to the *tathāgata-garbha* doctrine, relying upon a passage from the *Samādhirāja-sūtra* as their touchstone text; and in order to refute the doctrine of ninth consciousness, they propose that the ninth consciousness must exist either actually or potentially, and then proceed to show how both alternatives can be ruled out. Since this two-part strategy cannot be identified in Wonchuk's commentary, we can postulate that the issue as it played out among these scholars was an innovative development within Tibetan Buddhism. Furthermore, it seems that in the transmission of the ninth consciousness doctrine in Tibet there arose certain distortions of (or deviations from) Wonchuk's presentation, such as when gZad-ring ascribes the doctrine of the ninth consciousness not to Paramārtha but to Bhavya (*bha phya*).[143]

bCom-ldan-ral-gri on RGV V.19

bCom-ldan-ral-gri mentions that a Sanskrit manuscript from Kashmir (*kha che'i dpe*) contains an additional verse after RGV V.19 not contained in other versions of the RGV.[144] We can find the very same discussion in rNgog's RGV commentary.[145] The point was later discussed again by rGyal-tshab, gZhon-nu-dpal, and Glo-bo mKhan-chen.

[143] For the details, see Kano 2012d. We also must not overlook the fact that the doctrine of the ninth consciousness affirmed in these commentaries on the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* is not completely identical with the description of it by Tsong-kha-pa. A comparison with these texts, which form the immediate context for his discussion, brings to light the fact that in discussing Paramārtha's doctrine of the ninth consciousness as it appears in Wonchuk 圓測, Tsong-kha-pa cites Wonchuk's work directly rather than second-hand (i.e. rather than relying upon predecessors who utilize Wonchuk's exposition); and in refuting the doctrine of the ninth consciousness, he attempts to construct proofs on the basis of his own original viewpoint rather than recycling the arguments of his predecessors. We are surely justified in judging that it was Tsong-kha-pa's achievement to absorb Wonchuk's commentary for himself, and to attempt to correct the distortions incidental to the transmission of the ninth consciousness doctrine in Tibet.

[144] See bCom-ldan-ral-gri, *rGyud bla me tog*, 17a4–b1: *bar 'dir* (17a5) *kha che'i dpe kha cig las | ma rig ldongs rnams kyis kyang srin bu'i yig 'dra'i mu stegs bstan bcos su'ang || don ldan chos ldan sa gsum nyon mongs zad byed brjod gyur gang yin* (17a6) *dang || 'jig rten so so'i legs bshad gang de'ang blo ldan drang srong bzhin 'dzin na || gsung gang zag med blo mnga' rnams kyi zhal nas byung ba smos ci dgos | zhes 'don pa yod de de ni* (17b1) *sdom gyis ma zin cing mi rang dga' bas bcug pa yin no || zhes lo tsa ba chen pos dor ro ||*.

[145] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 39b1–3; B 64b3–6.

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med
(ca. early 14th cent.)

Who Is Blo-gros-mtshungs-med?

The name Blo-gros-mtshungs-med "one of matchless intelligence" is quite common in Tibet. There are are several masters of that name (or accorded it as an honorary title) from the 13th to the 15th centuries. We can roughly identify them on the basis of the titles attached to their names: gSang-phu-pa, gNas-drug-pa, Ri-khrod-pa, and mNyal-pa. Among them, only Ri-khrod-pa (1316–1358) is datable through a biography.[146]

Seyfort Ruegg (1973) refers to gSang-phu-pa's RGV commentary and his relation to Bu-ston. Van der Kuijp (1993a) differentiates gNas-drug-pa from Ri-khrod-pa. Khenpo Appey (1999) equates gSang-phu-pa with gNas-drug-pa.[147] Gyalbo (2000) suggests that gSang-phu-pa, gNas-drug-pa and Ri-khrod-pa are all different persons.

In my opinion, the above four persons named Blo-gros-mtshungs-med are all different. Four reasons favor this: (1) Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, the disciple of Shākya-gzhon-nu, is always called gSang-phu-pa, but never called gNas-drug-pa (the latter is a disciple of Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan). (2) gSang-phu-pa and gNas-drug-pa belong to different monasteries, namely respectively to gSang-phu sNe'u-thog Gling-smad bGros-rnying-grwa-tshang and Sa-skya monastery (probably gNas drug palace). (3) One can distinguish gNas-drug-pa from Ri-khrod-pa, given that gNas-drug-pa was still alive in 1371, after the death of Ri-khrod-pa (1316–1358). (4) gNyal-pa remained active longer than the other three (at least up until 1415).

I shall roughly date each of these four Blo-gros-mtshungs-meds: Based on the dates of his disciples and of Bu-ston, gSang-phu-pa lived between the second half (or last quarter) of the 13th century to the first half of the 14th century. Based on datable colophons in which his name appears, gNas-drug-pa lived at least between 1330[148] and 1371. Ri-khrod-pa lived between 1316 and 1358. gNyal-pa lived one or

[146] See van der Kuijp 1993a: 128 n. 32 and dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims, *Ri khrod pa chen po blo gros brtan pa'i rnam thar*, 37.

[147] Khenpo Appey published gSang-phu-pa's RGV commentary (reproduction of the Padma bkod edition).

[148] He requested Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan to compose a commentary, which was written between 1330 and 1341.

two generations later, namely between the second half of the 14th century to the first half of the 15th century. To summarize what is known about each:

(1) gSang-phu-pa Blo-gros-mtshungs-med
— was active the second half of the 13th century to the first half of 14th century.
— was born in dBus.[149]
— was the author of commentaries on the RGV and the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and two other works.[150]
— discussed Buddha-nature with Bu-ston (1290–1364) when the latter was a monk (*gra/grwa pa*).[151]
— was an assistant teacher (*zur chos pa*) at gSang-phu Gling-smad bGros-rnying monastic college (*grwa tshang*). [152] His teacher was 'Jam-dbyangs Shākya-gzhon-nu[153] and his disciples include the Third Karmapa, Rang-byung-rdo-rje

[149] The colophon of his RGV commentary refers to his birth place: *yul dbus kyi char byung*. On this phrase, Khenpo Appey (1999) adds a *mchan* (gloss) (*g.yo ru gra'i phu stod gron zhes par sku 'khrungs*), which is not very reliable, since it is not contained in the manuscript (Padma-bkod edition) that he most likely copied (this birth place is the same as Klong-chen-pa's).

[150] *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi nges don gsal bar byed pa'i rin po che'i sgron me* (see bibliography); *Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa'i de kho na nyid gsal bar byed pa rin po che'i snang ba* (*bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 15, 339–649 ['Bras spungs, Phyi Tsa 73] = *'Bras spungs dkar chag*, p. 1377, no. 015557, *bris ma dbu can*, 160 fols., 46 x 9 cm); *bsNgo ba yon bshad kyi stong thun* (*bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 15, 651–654 ['Bras spungs, Phyi La 351]); *Theg pa rin po che gsal byed rin po che'i rgyan snang* (*bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 16, 14–618 ['Bras spungs, Phyi La 29]).

[151] sGra-tshad-pa, *Bu ston rnam thar* 34b3–5: *sngar gra pa mdzad dus na slob dpon blo gros mtshungs med gsang phu sne thog pa dang gsung gleng mang po mdzad 'phro yod pa la | bde gshegs snying po mtshan nyid pa sems can la yod par ston pa'i mdo rnams drang don dgongs pa can yin cing | nges don la bde gshegs snying po mtshan nyid pa sems can la med pa 'thad pa'i gzhung bsrang ba'i phyir | bde gshegs snying po'i mdzes rgyan zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos mdzad* |. See also Seyfort Ruegg 1966: 152.

[152] On the history of gSang-phu sNe'u-thog monastery, see van der Kuijp 1987, Onoda 1989 and 1990.

[153] In his RGV commentary, Blo-gros-mtshungs-med refers to his own teacher Shākya-gzhon-nu as well as his own name. See *rGyud bla sgron me*, 678.2–5: *tshul 'di mkhyen rabs mthu stobs mchog gis **shākya** seng ge'i bstan pa'i khur || **gzhon nu**'i dus nas yun ring 'dzin yang bsnyel med thugs mnga' thugs rje can || gang de'i dring las lung rigs don la **blo gros** spobs pa myur 'jug cing || mkhas pa'i bya bas mkhas nyams dka' skyed **mtshungs med** blo can de yis bkod* ||. See also *ibid.*, 681.3–6: *theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi nges pa'i don gsal bar byed pa rin chen'i sgron me zhes bya ba yul dbus kyi char byung pa || rigs par smra ba blo gros mtshungs med kyis || skyes bu mkhas pa' i tshogs kyis brten pa'i bsti gnas dpal gsang bu ne'u thog gi chos gra chen por sbyar ba'o* ||.
Shākya-mchog-ldan refers to the transmission of Blo-gros-mtshungs-med. See *dBu ma'i byung tshul*, vol. 4. 236.7–237.7: rNgog Lo-chen → 'Bre-chen-po Shes-rab-'bar → gZhon-nu-tshul-khrims → Byang-chub-'bum → gNyal-zhig → Jo-bo Nam-mkha'-dpal → 'Od-zer-mgon-po → Śākya-gzhon-nu → Blo-gros-mtshungs-med → Rang-byung-rdo-rje.
See also *ibid.* 237.6–7: *shāk gzhon slob dpon gyi 'gros rnying pa bzung nas gdan sa dang | tshul chos 'khor gling gi bshad grwa btsugs | de'i slob ma blo gros mtshungs med ces grags pa ni | theg pa*

(1284–1338),[154] Grags-pa-seng-ge (1283–1364) and g.Yag-sde Paṇ-chen (1299–1378).[155] His teacher 'Jam-dbyangs Shākya-gzhon-nu is said to have taught the RGV to Rang-byung-rdo-rje, who in turn taught it to Dol-po-pa.[156]

(2) gNas-drug-pa Blo-gros-mtshungs-med

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chen po'i chos mtha' dag la mkhas shing mang du gsan pa rgya che ba zhig ste | de la rje rang byung rdo rjes mang du gsan cing | des kyang de nyid la mang du gsan |.
See also Shākya-mchog-ldan, *rNgog lo tstsha gtam gyi rol mo*, vol. 16, 452.7–453.1: *mnyal zhig gi slob ma jo nam gyis lo bcwa lnga | de'i slob ma 'od zer mgon pos lo so lnga | de'i slob ma shāk gzhon gyis | slob dpon gyi bgros la brten zhing | kha rag pas bgros gsar du brtsams pas | bgros gsar rnying so sor gyes |*. Tshal-pa Kun-dga'-rdo-rje, *Deb ther dmar po*, p. 70.15–20: *slob dpon shākya gzhon nus | tshal gung thang du bshad grwa btsugs nas lo drug song ba na | ne'u thog tu spyan drangs nas gdan sa lo nyi shu rtsa bdun mdzad cing | blo gros mtshugs med dang | phyogs las rnam rgyal | g.ye pa rdor gzhon | rgya sde ba gzhon nu seng ge | mkhas pa'i skye bo du ma dang | chos rje skar* [= *kar*] *ma ba dang | rtogs ldan grags seng la sogs mkhas grub du ma smin par mdzad do* ||. Rang-byung-rdo-rje (*chos rje kar ma pa*) is a disciple of 'Jam-dbyangs Shākya-gzhon-nu and also Blo-gros-mtshungs-med. dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, p. 730.22: *'jam dbyang shāk gzhon gyis tshal gung thang gi bshad grwa btsugs | lo drug nas gling smad kyi gdan sa lo nyer bdun mdzad | blo gros mtshungs med phyogs las rnam rgyal | rgya sde ba gzhon 'od sogs mkhas pa mang du byung |* gZhon-nu-dpal, *Deb ther sngon po*, Nya, 54b2–3: *de nas gsang phur byon nas bla chos pa 'jam dbyangs shāk gzhon dang | zur chos pa slob dpon blo gros mtshungs med la gtugs nas mtshan nyid kyi sde snod sa sde lnga | byams chos lnga dang | tshad ma rnam nges dang | sdud pa dang spyod 'jug la sogs pa mang du zhus | khyad par phar phyin gyi ṭīka cig brtsams pa slob dpon blo gros mtshungs med kyis gzigs pas legs po byung 'dug na'ang sgros 'dzin mi ni mi 'ong zhog gsung nas rtsom 'phro bzhag |*. Cf. Roerich 1949/53: 524–525.
Si-tu Paṇ-chen, *Kaṃ tshang bka' brgyud chos byung*, 237.4–6: *dbus su phyags phebs pa'i dus su chos nyan bshad gar dar dris pas gsang phu dar zer nas gsang phu ne'u thog tu byon te | slob dpon 'jam dbyang shākya gzhon nu dang | slob dpon blo gros mtshungs med la pha rol tu phyin pa dang | tshad ma la sogs pa la slob gnyer lo drug gi bar du mdzad | dbus gtsang gnyis su grwa bskor byas pas phar phyir* [= phyin] *gyi ston pa bzang ba'i thog chod | da lta'i slob gnyer byed pa rnams kyis nga'i slob gnyer byed pa de'i phyed kyi dka' las kyang mi nus gsungs |*. See also Seyfort Ruegg 1973: 4–5 fn. 3; Gyalbo 2000: 199 n. 301 (who utilizes the *Ho rong chos 'byung*, 284 and *Gung thang dkar chag*, 46a).

[154] Si-tu Paṇ-chen, *Kaṃ tshang bka' brgyud chos byung*, 199.1–4: *gsang phu'i gdan sa pa slob dpon chen po shāk gzhon pa la byams chos lnga 'grel dang bcas pa dang | dbu ma rtsa shes 'grel pa ga la 'jigs med dang | rang rgyud shar gsum dang | de rnams kyi 'grel pa lnga dang | dgongs 'grel dang | sā lu ljang pa'i mdo 'grel dang | rnam par mi rtog la 'jug pa'i 'grel pa dang | dbu ma sgom rim rnam pa gsum dang | jo bo'i chos chung brgya rtsa dang | mngon pa gong 'og gnyis 'grel bshad dang bcad pa dang | bslab btus dang | mdo sde kun las btus dang | tshad ma kun las btus rtsa 'grel dang bcas pa dang | rig pa'i sgo dang rtog ge sde bdun dang | dmigs pa brtags pa dang | 'dul ba 'od ldan dang | chos mchog chung ngu dang | nyi khri snang ba dang | sher snying 'grel pa dang bcad pa de rnams gsan no |*. Cf. Tshal-pa Kun-dga'-rdo-rje, *Deb ther dmar po*, 70.15–20.

[155] Si-tu Paṇ-chen, *Kaṃ tshang bka' brgyud chos byung*, 272.2–3: *gsang phu ba blo gros mtshungs med la rnam nges dang | byams chos lnga | spyod 'jug | tshad ma bsdus pa | snyan ngag dpag bsam 'khri shing rnams zhus |*. Cf. Roerich 1949/53: 532.

[156] This is stated in the RGV commentary by bKra-shis-'od-zer (1454–1506). See Mathes 2012: 213.

— was a Sa-skya-pa scholar of the 14th century.
— composed a commentary on the *Madhyāntavibhāga*.
— His teachers included Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312–1375),[157] dBang-phyug-dpal, Sangs-rgyas-yon-tan-dpal-bzang-po[158] and dPang Lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros-brtan-pa (1272–1342).[159]
— requested bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan to compose a commentary on the *Hevajratantra* (*'Bum phrag lnga pa'i zab don rtag pa gnyis pa'i tshig don mtha' dag rgya cher 'grel pa'i rnam bshad Nyi ma'i 'od zer*), which was composed between 1330 to 1341.[160]
— was a scribe (*yi ge pa*) of a commentary on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (*Byang chub kyi spyod pa la 'jug pa'i rnam par bshad pa dgongs pa nges par gsal ba*) by bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, finishing that task in 1338 at Sa-skya.[161]
— was also a scribe of the *sMon pa byang chub mchog tu sems bskyed pa theg chen lam gyi snying po* by bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, which he finished in 1371 at Sa-skya.[162]
— criticized Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub in his *Madhyāntavibhāga* commentary.[163]

(3) Ri-khrod-pa Blo-gros-mtshungs-med (alias Blo-gros-brtan-pa, 1316–1358)
— was a Sa-skya-pa scholar and meditator, an adept of Lam 'bras practice

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[157] Cf. van der Kuijp 1993a: 127, 128, 141, 142, 141.
[158] Cf. Roerich 1949/53: 633.
[159] This is stated in the colophon of his *Madhyāntavibhāga* commentary. See gNas-drug-pa, *dBus mtha' rnam 'byed kyi 'grel pa dbu ma'i rgyan*, 139(/140).2–5: *rgyal ba byams pas mdzad pa'i bstan bcos dbus dang mtha' rnam par 'byed pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa'i 'grel pa 'di ni | lung rigs kyi dbang phyug mkhas pa chen po dbang phyug dpal dang | de'i bla mar gyur pa mkhas pa chen po sangs rgyas yon tan dpal bzang po dang | ston pa'i chos kyi tshul la tsad ma'i skyes bur gyur cing | ding sang mkhas pa rnams kyi mig lta bu dpang lo tsā ba blo gros brtan pa la sogs pa | bla ma dam pa rnams kyi legs bshad kyi 'od dkar gyis blo gros kyi chu gter mtshungs pa med par rgyas pa gnas drug pas sbyar ba rdzogs so || 'dis bstan pa dang sems can la phan pa rgya chen po 'byung bar gyur cig || dge'o || bkra shis par gyur cig || gser gyi phyi ba* [= *ma*] *gzhung yin pas || 'byor ldan rnams kyis mtshal du bris || bdag ni 'byor dang mi ldang zhing || shes khar sra bas gser du byis || ||*. dPang Lo-tsā-ba was a teacher of bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan. See van der Kuijp 1993a: 144 and Jackson 1987: 138ff.
[160] Van der Kuijp (1993a: 127-128) refers to the colophon: *lungs rigs kyi dbang phyug gnas drug pa blo gros mtshungs med la sogs pa'i dge ba'i bshes gnyen du mas yang dang yang du bskul ba dang |*.
[161] Van der Kuijp (1993a: 141–142) refers to the colophon: *...bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal pos | 'bru mang po'i lo | rta pa'i zla ba'i dkar phyogs kyi tshes brgyad la | chos grwa chen po dpal ldan sa skya'i gtsug lag khang du | legs par sbyar ba'i yi ge pa ni | lung rigs rgya mtsho'i pha rol tu son pa'i gnas drug pa blo gros mtshungs med kyis bgyis te |*
[162] Van der Kuijp (1993a: 141) refers to the colophon: *...bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal pos | 'gal byed can gyi lo khra'i zla ba'i nyi shu lnga la | dpal ldan sa skya'i dgon par yongs su rdzogs par grub pa'i | yi ge pa blo gros mtshungs med kyis bgyis so |*.
[163] gNas-drug-pa, *dBus mtha' rnam 'byed kyi 'grel pa dbu ma'i rgyan*, 54.2–3: *btsun pa bu ston na re | sems kyi rang bzhin 'od gsal du bshad pas sems sems byung rdzas tha dad du grub ces smra ba mi 'thad de...*

— His main teacher was Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312–1375) and his main disciple was dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims.[164]
— 'Jam-dbyangs Don-yod-rgyal-mtshan gave him the name (otherwise, honorary title) Blo-gros-mtshungs-med in 1330, according to the biography of him.[165]

(4) gNyal/mNyam-pa Blo-gros-mtshungs-med
— was the *gsang ston* ("*vinaya* examiner") at mKhas-grub-rje's ordination in 1415.[166]

We shall focus on gSang-phu-pa Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, who known for his extensive RGV commentary. This has been studied by Kano (2000) and Mathes (2008). The former includes a critical edition and Japanese translation of the first chapter of the text.[167]

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med quotes preceding Tibetan RGV commentaries, in most cases critically. His criticism of rNgog's position is particularly striking and pointed, though, following the usual scholarly convention, he never refers to rNgog by name.[168]

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med on the Five Treatises of Maitreya

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med quotes various positions on the classification of the Five Treatises of Maitreya. He presents rNgog's position as follows.

> Someone (i.e. rNgog)[169] said that the first four (i.e. the Five Treatises of Maitreya except for the RGV) are [treatises] that clarify the contents of provisional teachings. [However], this is not true. [If that were so, it would follow that] the first *alaṃkāra* (i.e. the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*) would not correctly explain the meaning of the Second Wheel of the Dharma, inasmuch as [the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*] would be [a treatise that] explains a text of provisional meaning (i.e. whereas according to Blo-gros-mtshungs-med it is actually of definitive meaning), just like commentaries (*dgongs 'grel*) on the First Wheel

[164] See Jackson 1989a: 61 and 65.
[165] See van der Kuijp 1993a: 128 n. 32.
[166] See mKhas-grub-rje, *mKhas grub gsan yig* 2b6–7 and Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan, *mKhas grub rnam thar* 3b2
[167] A comparison of the two published versions of this text makes it clear that Khenpo Appey's edition is virtually a reproduction of the Padma-bkod edition. My edition and translation in Kano (2000) covers the Padma-bkod edition, pp. 1–389, and Khenpo Appey's edition, pp. 1–431. I used the Padma-bkod edition as the sole basic text.
[168] Blo-gros-mtshungs-med refers to rNgog only indirectly, as, for instance, "somebody" (*kha cig*), or "a certain teacher" (*slob dpon 'ga' zhig*).
[169] See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 1b1–3; B 1b2–2a1.

of Dharma.[170]

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med holds that, just like the RGV, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* is a treatise concerned with explaining definitive meaning, namely the content of the *Prajñāpāramitā*.

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med on the Vajrapadas

In terms of reclassifying the seven *vajrapada*s, Blo-gros-mtshungs-med refutes an anonymous position taken on it (identifiable as rNgog's), which he terms "another tradition" (*gzhan lugs*).[171] Of the "two Cycles" proposed by rNgog,[172] Blo-gros-mtshungs-med does not accept the "Cycle of *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*" (i.e. RGV I.3), since it is incompatible with RGV I.26.[173] He does adopt the "Cycle of the Three Jewels" (i.e. RGV I.26) but not in the way proposed by rNgog, who relates the Jewel of the Saṅgha to all three *yāna*s.[174] Blo-gros-mtshungs-med says that the Three Jewels rightly relate to the Mahāyāna alone.[175]

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med on the Worship of Śrāvakas

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med cites a sentence from the RGV (prose commentary on I.18) "There is no mention of the jewel of the *śrāvaka-saṅgha* immediately after the

[170] Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, *rGyud bla sgron me*, 13.2–4: *kha cig na re | dang po bzhi ka yang drang ba'i don gyi gsung rab kyi don gsal bar byed pa ste zhes gsung pa ni ma yin te | rgyan dang pos bka' 'khor lo bar pa'i don phyin ci ma log par ma bshad par 'gyur te | drang pa'i don gyi gsung rab 'chad byed yin pa'i phyir || 'khor lo dang po'i dgongs 'grel rnams bzhin no ||*.

[171] Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, *rGyud bla sgron me*, 44.5–49.6 and rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 1b6–2a1 and 2a3–7; B 2b2–4 and 3a3–b4. This discussion appears in Blo-gros-mtshungs-med's commentary in a section containing "refutations of other traditions (*gzhan lugs dgag*)"

[172] I.e., the Cycle of *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa* (in which *bodhi*, *guṇa*, and *karman* are taken to be results) and the Cycle of the Three Jewels (in which the Three Jewels are taken to be results).

[173] Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, *rGyud bla sgron me*, 47.3–48.1.

[174] Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, *ibid.*, 48.1–49.5 and rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 2a4–7; B 3a5–b4. rNgog accepts the Saṅgha of both *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s into the Cycle of the Three Jewels, saying that those who belong to these two *yāna*s will later engage with the Mahāyāna.

[175] See Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, *rGyud bla sgron me*, 50.1–53.5 and 205.5–206.3. He regards the *dhātu* as a substantive cause (*upādāna*), and the remaining three *vajrapada*s (*bodhi*, *guṇa*, *karman*) as attendant conditions (*sahakārin*). In his gloss on RGV I.3, Blo-gros-mtshungs-med again refers to the Cycle of *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa* (see *ibid.* 67.5–69.5 and rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 3b6–7; B 6a1–3) together with an unknown position (attributed to "other persons" *gzhan dag na re*), which glosses RGV I.3 and 26 as implying that the Three Jewels are the definitive results and that *dhātu* is a term for Buddha-nature until the latter is realized (Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, *rGyud bla sgron me*, 69.5–72.4).

jewel of bodhisattva community, because the former is not worthy of worship."[176] and presents an interpretation of it by an anonymous opponent (*kha cig*):

> Someone asserts that this is because the bodhisattva community is worthy of worship, but *śrāvaka*s are not. This explanation is, however, not the literal meaning of the scripture.[177]

This "someone" can probably be identified as rNgog, who, in his RGV commentary, states:

> As for the clause "because it is worthy of worship,[178] [it is not the jewel of the *śrāvaka-saṅgha* that is being referred to]; the word "it" [here] refers to[179] "the community of bodhisattvas," whence [the clause] means "because only the community of bodhisattvas is worthy of worship."[180]

rNgog claims that only bodhisattvas are worth revering, while Blo-gros-mtshungs-med reads him as claiming that *śrāvaka*s are not worth revering. The latter criticizes this: *śrāvaka*s are indeed worthy of worship, but what is not acceptable is rejecting the bodhisattva community and worshiping only *śrāvaka*s.[181]

rNgog's understanding is doubtless more naturally attuned the original context

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[176] RGVV 16.15: *śrāvakasaṅgharatnāgrahaṇaṃ bodhisattvagaṇaratnānantaraṃ tatpūjānarhtvāt*.

[177] Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, *rGyud bla sgron me*, 161.6–162.1: *kha cig na re | byang chub sems dpa'i dge 'dun de mchod par 'os pa yin gyi nyan thos de mchod par mi 'os pa'i phyir ro || zhes 'chad pa ni gzhung gi don ma yin te |*.

[178] rNgog's reading of the RGV lacks a negative particle (*mchod par 'os pa* instead of *mchod par 'os pa ma yin pa* in the Tanjur; see RGV-Tib, 29.15–16). rNgog's reading is supported by the Chinese translation (T vol. 31, 825b3 以應供故), but the corresponding Sanskrit text is illegible in the manuscript (*tatpūjā .. .. tvāt*); it reads either *tatpūjārhatvāt* or *tatpūjānarhatvāt*. Blo-gros-mtshungs-med reads *mchod par 'os pa ma yin pa* (*rGyud bla sgron me*, 161.6). rNgog's reading equates to "they (i.e., bodhisattvas) are worthy of worship," and that of the Tanjur and Blo-gros-mtshungs-med to "they (i.e. *śrāvaka*s) are not worthy of worship." The latter sounds more fitting in the present context.

[179] Lit. has caught up with (*bsnyegs pa*).

[180] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 15a4, B 24a2–3: *de mchod par 'os pa yin pa'i phyir ro zhes bya ba la | de'i sgra ni byang chub sems dpa'i dge 'dun la bsnyegs pas na | byang chub sems dpa'i dge 'dun de kho na mchod par 'os pa'i phyir ro zhes bya ba'i don to ||*.

[181] Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, *rGyud bla sgron me*, 162.1–6: *bcom ldan 'das kyis nyan thos ni phyag bya ba'i legs par zhugs pa | phyag bya ba'i 'os su gyur pa zhes pa dang | spyod 'jug las | bde gshegs chos kyi sku mnga' sras bcas dang || phyag 'os kun la gus par phyag 'tshal te ||* (BCA I.1ab) *zhes phyag gi gnas su bshad pa'i phyir ro || gal te 'grel pa las phyag gi yul ma yin par bshad pa dang 'gal lo zhe na | de ni byang chub sems dpa' dor nas nyan thos la skyabs su bzung nas phyag byed pa bkag pa yin te | phyag byed pa po byang chub sems dpa'i gzhan la phan pa'i bsam pa can yin pa'i phyir ro ||*.

of the RGV. Blo-gros-mtshungs-med for his part is more intent on harmonizing the expression in the RGV with other scriptures, and probably was fully conscious of the fact that lack of reverence for *śrāvaka*s contradicted his *ekayāna* stance. As for the two refuges, causal and resultant, Blo-gros-mtshungs-med quotes a position of some previous teacher (*sngon gyi slob dpon kha cig*), who again can be identified as rNgog, whose commitment to separate statuses for each three *yāna*s he criticizes as being incompatible with the *ekayāna* doctrine of the RGV.[182]

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med on RGV I.28

After his gloss on RGV I.28, Blo-gros-mtshungs-med again presents rNgog's position as a thesis of an anonymous opponent ("some teacher," *slob dpon 'ga' zhig*).[183] rNgog asserts the following three points: (1) the *dharmakāya*, namely the potential for attaining buddhahood, pervades all sentient beings only nominally (*btags pa*);[184]

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[182] Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, *rGyud bla sgron me*, 168.1–169.3: *don 'di la sngon gyi slob dpon kha cig na re skyabs su 'gro ba'i rang bzhin ni rgyu dang 'bras bu'i skyabs gnas kyi mtshan nyid gtan la phab nas gang zag so sor nges pa dang thob pa gcig gis brten par bya'o zhes dam 'cha' ba ste | theg pa chen po pas ma 'ongs pa na rang las 'byung ba'i sangs rgyas thob par bya'o zhes dam 'cha' ba dang | de bzhin du rang rgyal ba'i rang la 'byung ba'i rtogs pa'i chos thob bar bya'o zhes dam 'cha' la | nyan thos pas rang la 'byung pa'i dge 'dun thob par bya'o zhes dam 'cha' ba 'bras bu'i skyabs 'gro dang | de dag gi thabs su gzhan gyi rgyud la byon zin pa'i dkon mchog gsum la ston pa dang lam dang grogs su brten par bya'o zhes rgyur dam 'cha' ba rgyu'i skyabs 'gro yin no zhes pa ni mi 'thad de | 'bras bu de dag thob par dam 'cha ba ni theg pa gsum gyi sems bskyed pa yin pa'i phyir ro || kha cig dam bca'i lcags kyun snga phyi'i khyad par yod gsungs pa'ang rang ldog khyad par med na dam bca' snga phyi tsam gyis tha dad du byed mi nus pa'i phyir ro ||.*
This thesis of the opponent is in accordance with rNgog's position. See *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 15b1–2; B 24a4–5: *de la skyabs ni gnyis te | 'bras bu'i skyabs su rnam par gzhag pa dang | rgyu'i skyabs su rnam par gzhag pa'o || dang po ltar na | theg pa gsum gyi rigs can la so sor rnam pa gsum mo || gnyis pa ltar na ni | theg pa chen po'i rigs can 'ba' zhig la'ang gsum ga skyabs yin la | rang sangs rgyas dang | nyan thos kyi theg pa la'ang de bzhin no ||* "Furthermore, the refuge is twofold: (1) a systematic presentation of the resultant refuge and (2) a systematic presentation of the causal refuge. As to the first, each of the Three [Jewels is a refuge] for each person possessing the spiritual disposition of the three vehicles. As to the second, all Three [Jewels] are [meant to be] refuges exclusively for those possessing the spiritual disposition of the Mahāyāna, and correspondingly for (lit. the same is the case also for) [those possessing the spiritual disposition of] the *śrāvakayāna* and *pratyekabuddhayāna*."

[183] *Ibid.* 208.2–209.6. rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 18b5–6; B 29a4–b2 (see also A 25b5–26a7; B 40b6–42a2). The discussion appears under the section called "A presentation that teaches that the *dhātu* pervades all sentient beings" (*lus can kun la khams kyis khyab par bstan pa*) (Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, *ibid.* 207.4–211.3).

[184] I.e., the *dharmakāya* is designated (*btags pa*) as only a nominal aspect of Buddha-nature as far as sentient beings are concerned.

(2) *tathatā*, namely emptiness, truly penetrates both the Buddha and sentient beings; (3) and spiritual disposition, which rNgog calls the essence of sentient being (*sems can gyi snying po*), namely wholesome impressions and the seeds of gnosis and compassion, abides truly only in sentient beings.[185] Blo-gros-mtshungs-med in particular criticizes points (1) and (3).

> This [position of rNgog] is not acceptable. The *dharmakāya* is the *dharmadhātu* inseparable from qualities. Because there is no disproof of the fact that it abides in all sentient beings pervading them and being identical with them, it is not tenable to present [the *dharmakāya*] as being [merely] nominal. And because if the [first aspect]—"the radiation/pervasion[186] of the *dharmakāya*"—meant the potentiality for attaining that [*dharmakāya*], it would follow that [this first aspect] is not separable from the [third aspect] "the existence of the spiritual disposition."
>
> (Objection:) The [third aspect,] "the existence of the spiritual disposition," refers to that which was brought forth by a practice (i.e. *samudānītagotra*).[187]
>
> (Reply:) In that case, it would follow that [such spiritual disposition] pervades all sentient beings, since it can be established that all sentient beings possess Buddha-nature in virtue of the fact that [such spiritual disposition] pervades [all sentient beings].[188] In a later [verse], it was taught: "The spiritual disposition should be known to be twofold on account of the similes of a treasury and a tree [grown] from a fruit. These represent, [respectively, the spiritual disposition] that abides throughout beginningless time and the supreme

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[185] In this passage, almost all of Blo-gros-mtshungs-med's representation can be traced to passages in rNgog's own commentary, the following passage being one exception: Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, *rGyud bla sgron me* 208.2–4: Regarding the [three reasons], the *dhātu* is called the *dharmakāya* in view of one's attainment of the very pure result; is called a cause, namely the spiritual disposition, in view of the potential [it confers on one] to attain the [result]; and is called *tathatā* in view of *tathatā* alone, which is not specified by possessing the property of pervading both [cause and result]." (*de la khams ni rnam par dag pa'i 'bras bu thob pa'i ldog pa nas chos kyi sku zhes bya la | de thob tu rung ba'i nus pa'i cha nas rgyu rigs zhes bya zhing | de gnyis la khyab pa chos can gyis khyad par du ma byas pa'i de bzhin nyid tsam gyi ldog pa nas de bzhin nyid do* ||). It is possible, though, that Blo-gros-mtshungs-med quotes this passages not directly from rNgog's commentary but from one of his successors.

[186] *'phro ba*, *spharaṇa*.

[187] I.e., the first aspect equates to the *prakṛtisthagotra* and the third equates to the *samudānītagotra*.

[188] I.e., if one takes the spiritual disposition of the third aspect in the sense of the *samudānītagotra*, it follows that all sentient beings including those who have not yet begun the practice possess the *samudānītagotra*.

> [spiritual disposition] that is brought forth completely" (RGV I.149).[189] Of these two [spiritual disposition], what pervades sentient beings is the inherent [spiritual disposition] (*prakṛtisthagotra*). Therefore, to abandon [the expression] "Buddha-nature," which was actually taught in [the RGV], and to explain [the expression] "the essence of sentient beings" (*sems can gyi snying po*) [in rNgog's terms][190] is not the intended sense of the scriptures of definitive meaning.[191]

rNgog says that the *dharmakāya* abides in sentient beings only nominally. Blo-gros-mtshungs-med asserts that, on the contrary, sentient beings truly possess the *dharmakāya*, which is the *dharmadhātu* inseparable from the qualities.[192]

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med's Own Position on Buddha-nature

To show in more detail the difference between the positions of rNgog and Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, I shall sketch Blo-gros-mtshungs-med's own position on Buddha-nature by summarizing two relevant sections.

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med first presents his own position in a section called "The uncommon presentation of the spiritual disposition" (*thun mong ma yin pa'i rnam bzhag*).[193] In this section, he first refutes other traditions that admit the *prakṛtisthagotra* either in view of the sphere (*dbyings*) alone or in view of gnosis (*ye shes*)—

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[189] RGV I.149: *gotraṃ tad dvividhaṃ jñeyaṃ nidhānaphalavṛkṣavat | anādiprakṛtisthaṃ ca samudānītam uttaram ||.*

[190] This expression seems to have been coined by rNgog. See, for instance, rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 19a1; B 29a6.

[191] Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, *rGyud bla sgron me* 209.6–211.3: *de ni mi 'thad de chos kyi sku ni yon tan dang dbyer med pa'i chos kyi dbyings yin la de sems can thams cad la bdag gcig du khyab byed du yod pa'i* [= *pa ni*?] *dngos yin pa la gnod byed med pa'i phyir btags pa bar 'jog pa de mi 'thad pa dang | chos sku 'phro ba'i don de thob tu rung ba yin na rigs yod pa las logs su byar med pa'i phyir ro || gal te rigs yod pa bsgrubs pa las byang ba yin no zhe na | 'o na de sems can thams cad la khyab byed du yod par 'gyur te | de khyab byed du yod pa'i rgyu mtshan gyis sems can thams cad de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can du bsgrub nus pa'i phyir ro || 'og nas kyang gter dang ljon pa'i shing bzhing du || rigs de rnam gnyis shes byas te || thog med rang bzhin gnas pa dang || yang dag blangs pa mchog nyid do || zhes gsungs la de gnyis las sems can la khyab pa ni rang bzhin du gnas pa'i rigs yin no || des na dngos su gsungs pa'i de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po bor nas sems can gyi snying po 'chad pa ni nges pa'i don gyi gsung rab kyi dgongs pa ma yin no ||.*

[192] On the conventional level, to be sure, rNgog does accept that the qualities do abide in Buddha-nature or in the dharmakāya of sentient beings. See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 27b5–6; B 44a6–b1.

[193] Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, *rGyud bla sgron me*, 183.6–191.6. This is contained in a section called "The systematic presentation (*spyi'i rnam bzhag*) of the spiritual disposition" (178.1–191.6) containing introductory remarks on RGV I.23.

in other words, prespectively, the perceived object and perceiving subject[194]—and then asserts that one should simultaneously observe Buddha-nature from the viewpoints of both the sphere and gnosis.[195] Furthermore, he calls such non-differentiation between the sphere and gnosis (that is, the self-sameness of object and subject) *tathatā*,[196] which he also calls *prakṛtisthagotra*. The *samudānītagotra* (or *samānītagotra* "evolved spiritual disposition"), on the other hand, he explains as the spiritual disposition newly generated by means of wholesome conditions.[197] At the end of this section he answers four objections:

> The third topic, namely the rejection of objections, is as follows:
>
> (Objection 1:) There would be the [undesired] consequence that the *dharmadhātu* would become an entity, because [for you] it is a [generating] cause of the Buddha.[198]
>
> (Reply 1:) There is no [undesired] consequence of the *dharmadhātu* becoming an entity [for me], inasmuch as it is not an engendering cause (**janana-hetu*) that imparts (*nye bar sbyor*) potential to a [result] to be produced, though it is a cause of the transformation of the basis—in view of the *dharmakāya* endowed with twofold purity—and is an [indispensable] cause of such [resultant] qualities as the [Ten] Powers and [wholesome] accumulations—owing to a strict positive and negative concomitance (*rjes 'gro ldog*) [between the cause and the result],[199] that is, if [a cause] exists, [its result] will arise later, and if it does not exist, [the result] will not arise later—.

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[194] Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, *rGyud bla sgron me*, 183.6–186.3 (a subsection called "refutation of other tradition" *gzhan lugs dgag pa*). The division consisting of sphere and gnosis corresponds to that of the emptiness aspect and the gnosis aspect (see *ibid.* 204.5–205.1).

[195] *Ibid.* 186.3–190.3 (a subsection called "The presentation/establishment of our own tradition" *rang lugs rnam par gzhag pa*).

[196] *Ibid.* 188.1–5. This view of Blo-gros-mtshung-med is similar to that of rNgog (*rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 19b2; B 28b2: *shes rab de shes bya dang rnam par dbye ba med do* (B: *dang dbyer med do*) and A 18b3; B 28b6–29a1: *mthong ba med pa'i ye shes de yang de bzhin nyid kho na yin te*).

[197] *Ibid.* 188.5–189.1: *de la dbyings dang ye shes gdod ma nas grub pa ni rang bzhin du gnas pa'i rigs yin la | sangs rgyas kyi rgyur rung ba'i dge ba rkyen gyis gsar du bsgrubs pa ni rgyas 'gyur gyi rigs yin te |*.

[198] This opponent accepts the *samudānītagotra* as an endendering cause and holds that the *dharmadhātu* does not feature as a cause, for it is not an entity.

[199] *Anvaya* and *vyatireka* (*rjes su 'gro* and *ldog*) apply here to usual causation (not logical pervasion), namely if A exists then B inevitably arises, whereas if A does not exist then B never arises (A →B, ~A→~B). Blo-gros-mtshungs-med repeatedly makes use of this type of *anvaya/vyatireka* scheme (*rGyud bla sgron me*, 238.1–242.5 = on RGV I.40–41 and 358.1). The pair *anvaya* and *vyatireka* otherwise defines the relation of identity (in the sense of logical pervasion), that is, if A exists then B necessarily exists, whereas if B does not exist then A never exists (A→B, ~B→~A).

(Objection 2:) If the Buddha-gnosis is primordially established [in all sentient beings], there would be the [undesired] consequence of the effort for the path being superfluous.

(Reply 2:) That undesired consequence does not occur, inasmuch as one needs to remove the [obscurations], for [the Buddha-gnosis] is obscured by adventitious impurities, as is taught in the [*Hevajra*]*tantra*: "Sentient beings are none other than buddhas themselves. But these are obscured by adventitious impurities."[200]

(Objection 3:) It would also follow that a result [already] abides in [its] cause.[201]

(Reply 3:) That would not follow, [because] although gnosis which is free from all impurities is the result, it is not found in the continuum of sentient beings, and although gnosis endowed with impurities is found in the continuum of sentient beings, it is not the result.

(Objection 4:) If the [Buddha-]qualities, such as the [Ten] Powers, are present in the continuum of sentient beings, it would not be acceptable that [sentient beings] would not cognize these [qualities].

(Reply 4:) Although they are present, they are not cognized, because they are obscured by impurities, just like a treasure[202] beneath the ground.[203]

In his first answer, Blo-gros-mtshungs-med expounds the *dharmadhātu* (or the *dharmakāya*)[204] not in the sense of an "engendering cause" but as an "indispensable

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[200] *Hevajratantra* II.iv.69ab: *sattvā buddhā eva kuṃ tu āgantukamalāvṛtaḥ*. In similar contexts, the verse is quoted by bCom-ldan-ral-gri (*rGyud bla me tog*, 10b5–6) and Shākya-mchog-ldan (Complete Works, vol.17, 571.6–7).

[201] I.e., the resultant Buddha-gnosis abides in the causal state of all sentient beings (this is the faulty position that goes by the name of *satkāryavāda*).

[202] Cf. RGV I.149–152. This simile is used for the analogy of the *prakṛtisthagotra*.

[203] Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, *rGyud bla sgron me*, 190.3–191.6: *gsum pa rtsod pa spang ba la chos kyi dbyings de dngos por 'gyur te | sangs rgyas yi rgyu yin pa'i phyir ro zhe na | dag pa gnyis ldan gyi chos sku la ltos nas gnas gyur gyi rgyu yin zhing stobs sogs kyi yon tan dang tshogs pa la ltos nas yod na 'byung du rung la med na 'byung du mi rung pas phyis byung gis rjes su 'gro ldog byas par gyur pa'i rgyu yin yang bskyed bya la nus pa nye bar sbyor ba'i bskyed byed kyi rgyu ma yin pas dngos por thal bar mi 'gyur ro || sangs rgyas kyi ye shes gdod ma nas grub na lam la 'bad pa don med par 'gyur ro zhe na || mi 'gyur te dri ma glo bur bas bsgribs pas de sel dgos pa'i phyir ro || rgyud las | sems can rnams ni sangs rgyas nyid || 'on kyang glo bur dri mas bsgribs || zhes so || rgyu la 'bras bu gnas par 'gyur ro zhe na | mi 'gyur te dri ma thams cad kyis rnam par dag pa'i ye shes 'bras bu yin yang sems can la med cing dri ma dang bcas pa'i ye shes sems can gyi rgyud la yod kyang de 'bras bu ma yin no || sems can gyi rgyud la stobs sogs kyi yon tan yod na mi rtogs par mi rigs so zhe na | yod kyang rtogs par mi 'gyur te dri mas bsgribs pa'i phyir sa 'og gi gter bzhin no ||*.

[204] Blo-gros-mtshungs-med equates the *dharmadhātu* with the *dharmakāya* (see *ibid.* 209.6–210.1).

cause" (*avinābhāvahetu*), thereby avoiding any ontological causality between Buddha-nature and awakening. This interpretation plays a central role in his presentation of Buddha-nature. In his second answer, Blo-gros-mtshungs-med stresses the importance of the soteriological path for dowing away with adventitious impurities. In his third answer, he defines the result as the immaculate gnosis (stained gnosis is the cause that leads to it), a distinction that avoids *satkāryavāda*, for him the faulty view that accepts that a result already abides in its cause. Contrary to rNgog, who does not admit that the Buddha-qualities abide in sentient beings on the ultimate level, Blo-gros-mtshungs-med does.

To describe further Blo-gros-mtshungs-med's interpretation of emptiness, I shall summarize here his section called "The purpose in general terms" (*dgos pa spyir btang*), a gloss on RGV I.160.[205] In this section, Blo-gros-mtshungs-med equates emptiness with the *dharmakāya* and also with Buddha-nature.[206] First, an opponent (probably reflecting Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge's position[207]) says that well-grounded attentiveness (*yoniśomanasikāra*) is an actual cause of result it generates (i.e. buddhahood) and emptiness is a nominal cause. Blo-gros-mtshungs-med criticizes this position and takes emptiness to be an actual cause of the resultant buddhahood, for it is an indispensable cause (*avinābhāva*) of the transformation of the basis (*āśrayaparivṛtti*).[208] We have already seen a very similar discussion in the passage just quoted (answer to no.1).

Furthermore, the same opponent judges the RGV to be a provisional text,[209] since the purpose (*prayojana*) of the teaching was presented there (RGV I.156–167). Blo-gros-mtshungs-med replies: if presenting a purpose (*prayojana*) makes a teaching non-literal, there should be a teaching with no purpose to it in the Buddha's teachings.[210]

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[205] Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, *rGyud bla sgron me*, 377.1–382.5. This section is included in a part called "The intention behind presenting the *dhātu*" (*khams bstan pa'i dgongs pa*, *ibid.* 376.6–389.2).

[206] *Ibid.* 377.4–378.2: *rgyal ba'i yum dang 'gal bar mi 'gyur te de las chos thams cad rang bzhin gyis stong par gsungs pa ni 'dir bstan pa'i chos kyi sku nyid yin la | kun rdzob tu nyon mongs pa dang las dang phung po rnams sprin la sogs pa bzhin du gsungs pa ni kun nas nyon mongs pa'i chos rnams blo bur ba yin gyi | sems kyi rang bzhin ma yin par bstan la | de nyid de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po yin te | sems sgrib pa dang rang bzhin gyis bral ba ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i yon tan gdod ma nas grub pa'i phyir ro ||*. See also *ibid.* 204.3–205.5.

[207] This position is similar to a previous statement attributed to Phywa-pa. Cf. *ibid.* 201.6–202.4.

[208] *Ibid.* 380.2–381.1

[209] *Ibid.* 378.5–380.2. Sa-paṇ and Bu-ston, for instance, take Buddha-nature to be a provisional teaching and present its intentional ground (*dgongs gzhi*), purpose (*dgos pa*), and a disproof of the literal sense of provisional statements (*dngos la gnod byed tshad ma*). See Sa-paṇ's *sDom gsum rab dbye*, I.139–140 and Seyfort Ruegg 1973: 32.

[210] See *ibid.* 379.6–380.1: *dgos pa brjod pas sgra ji bzhin pa ma yin par 'gyur na bde bar gshegs pa'i*

In a succeeding passage, Blo-gros-mtshungs-med accepts sūtras of both the Middle and Last Wheels of Dharma (i.e. both the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* and the sūtra*s* quoted in the RGV) as the *nītārthasūtra*s (*sūtra*s of definitive meaning).[211] Uniting these two teachings, he concludes:

> Even the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*s did not negate the fact that all phenomena exist as mere appearances. The teaching that [all phenomena] are by nature empty [should] not [be understood in its] literal sense. [On the other hand], if there necessarily exists something which is not empty by its nature, it is not possible to demonstrate it either.[212]

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med does not, then, take the teaching of the "emptiness of all phenomena" in the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* to have been meant in a literal sense, whereas he does so with regard to the notion "existence as mere appearance" (*snang tsam du yod pa*) in the same sūtra.

In a further passage, Blo-gros-mtshungs-med criticizes Sa-paṇ's position of taking Buddha-nature, with backing from Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra*, to be a provisional teaching. He insists that the statement of Candrakīrti's utilized by Sa-paṇ is implicative (i.e. not definitive).[213]

From those two sections, Blo-gros-mtshungs-med's own position can be summarized as follows: Blo-gros-mtshungs-med accepts Buddha-nature both under its gnosis aspect and under its emptiness aspect (or sphere aspect).

Under the gnosis aspect, Buddha-nature is endowed with the Buddha-qualities, and actually abides in all sentient beings, though it is covered with impurities. In this regard, Blo-gros-mtshungs-med's position coincides not so much with

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gsung rabs la dgos pa med pa gang zhig yod |.

[211] *Ibid.*, 378.4–5: *des na mdo snga phyi mi 'gal zhing dgongs pa mthun pa nyid yin te gnyis ka nges don gyi gsung rab yin pa'i phyir ro* ||.

[212] *Ibid.* 380.3–5: *chos thams cad snang tsam du yod pa ni yum las kyang ma bkag la rang bzhin gyis stong par gsungs pa sgra ji bzhin ma yin rang bzhin gyis mi stong pa 'ga' zhig yod dgos na de yang bstan par nus pa ma yin no* ||. As an alternative interpretation of the passage, one can relate *yod dgos na* to *sgra ji bzhin ma yin*.

[213] *Ibid.* 382.2–5: *gal te mdo gzhan las | de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po bstan pa dgongs pa can du gsungs pa dang dbu ma 'jug pa las kyang de ltar bshad pa dang 'gal lo zhe na | de ltar bshad pa ni rigs pas spyad bzod pa'i don med pa la dgongs nas bden pa'i rang bzhin du rtog pa 'gogs pa'i phyir gsungs pas de nyid dgongs pa can yin te | ji ltar theg pa gcig tu gsungs pa drang ba'i don du bstan pa bzhin no* ||. Blo-gros-mtshungs-med does not refer to Sa-paṇ by name.

rNgog's[214] as with the *gzhan stong pa*'s.[215]

The emptiness aspect figures in Blo-gros-mtshungs-med's thought as follows: He takes the sūtras belonging to both the Middle and Last Wheels of the Dharma to be *nītārthasūtra*s. Therefore, he accepts both emptiness and Buddha-nature[216] as literal and interprets emptiness in the sense of an indispensable cause (*avinābhāva-hetu*) for the resultant buddhahood. In tus posting a causality between emptiness and the resultant buddhahood, he is critically building on rNgog's position. The emptiness aspect so established by Blo-gros-mtshungs-med had an impact on later scholars, such as Rong-ston and rGyal-tshab.

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med on the Gotra

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med summarizes Phywa-pa's position on the *gotra* as admitting the *prakṛtisthagotra* only as a nominal cause (since it is emptiness, which lacks efficacy) and holding the *samudānītagotra* to be an actual cause.[217] Blo-gros-mtshungs-med reverses this stance:[218] The *samudānītagotra* is a nominal cause, since it takes effect at a certain poing in time, which contradicts the *Abhidharma-sūtra*'s teaching that the *dhātu* (i.e. the spiritual disposition) exists primordially.[219] By contrast, the *prakṛtisthagotra* is an actual cause, its primordiality putting it in accord with the *Abhidharmasūtra*. Continuing to discuss the *prakṛtisthagotra*, he says that under its emptiness aspect it cannot be viewed as an entity, whereas under its gnosis aspect, "there is no [logical] objection to its being an entity."[220]

> (Objection:) If the *prakṛtisthagotra* were an actual cause, it would be an entity.[221]
>
> (Reply:) In this [view], the *prakṛtisthagotra* is the stained primordial true reality (*dharmatā*), the emptiness that abides inseparable from immeasurable

[214] rNgog takes Buddha-nature only in the sense of emptiness. See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 3b3; B 5b3: *'di ltar stong pa nyid kyi rang bzhin du gyur pa'i sems kyi rgyud ni khams yin no* and A 27b5–6; B 44a6–b1

[215] To be sure, the positions of Blo-gros-mtshungs-med and Dol-po-pa are not identical, Blo-gros-mtshungs-med approaching accepts the emptiness aspect in a different way than Dol-po-pa does.

[216] In another passage, however, he does not take the emptiness of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* to be literal.

[217] *Ibid*. 201.6–202.4.

[218] *Ibid.* 202.5–205.5.

[219] He defines the beginning point of *samudānītagotra*: "As for setting the *samudānītagotra* [into motion], it is planted by means of the merest wholesome deed, such as a faithful act of worship of the Tathāgata." (*ibid.*, 189.2–3: *rgyas 'gyur gyi rigs 'jog pa ni de bzhin bshegs pa la dad pas mchod pa la sogs pa dge ba cung zad tsam gyis khyang nub te*).

[220] *Ibid.* 205.1–2: *dngos po yin pa la gnod pa med do*. Cf. *ibid.* 183.6–186.3.

[221] The opponent presupposes that if the result is an entity, its cause should also be an entity.

> qualities. Although the emptiness aspect (*stong pa nyid kyi cha*) of true reality (*dharmatā*) is the cause transforming [it] into the *dharmakāya* free from impurities, it (i.e. Buddha-nature) is not an engendering cause [of this], and hence there is not [the undesired consequence] of its being an entity. As for the gnosis aspect [of true reality], it is an engendering cause of later [moments of] a similar type (*rigs 'dra*), such as [the acquiring of] the [Ten] Powers of a buddha, and hence there is no [logical] objection to its being an entity. [222]

Although under its gnosis aspect Blo-gros-mtshungs-med does not completely exclude the possibility that *prakṛtisthagotra* is an entity, he concludes that it is not an entity in general. He says that even though the *prakṛtisthagotra* causes the resultant buddhahood to arise, it cannot claim the status of an entity, any more than space can in virtue of being a support for air.[223] In this way he avoids any ontological causality between the causal Buddha-nature (i.e. *prakṛtisthagotra*) and the resultant buddhahood. This theory is repeatedly applied by Blo-gros-mtshungs-med.

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med on the Nine Similes of Buddha-nature

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med taps into a discussion in rNgog's RGV commentary concerned with the familiar nine similes. He agrees with his predecessor that the relation between similes and illustrated topics need not necessarily be identical in all respects.[224] Unlike in other cases, on this point the two scholars agree.

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med's Contributions

It is remarkable that though Blo-gros-mtshungs-med belonged to the scholastic tradition of gSang-phu, which was started by rNgog Legs-pa'i-shes-rab and placed on a firm footing by rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab, he strikingly criticizes the second one's position. This indicates that while the gSang-phu scholars shared a dialectic

[222] Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, *rGyud bla sgron me*, 204.2–205.1: *gal te rang bzhin du gnas pa'i rigs rgyu mtshan nyid pa yin na dngos por 'gyur ro zhe na | de la rang bzhin du gnas pa'i rigs ni thog ma med pa'i dus can gyi dri ma dang bcas pa'i chos nyid stong pa nyid yon tan tshad med pa dbyer med du gnas pa yin cing | de la chos nyid stong pa nyid kyi cha ni dri ma med pa'i chos kyi sku'i gnas gyur pa'i rgyu yin yang skyed byed kyi rgyu ma yin pas dngos por mi 'gyur ro | ye shes kyi cha ni rigs 'dra phyi ma sangs rgyas kyi stobs sogs skyed par byed pa'i rgyu yin pas dngos po yin pa la gnod pa med do ||*.

[223] *Ibid*. 205.1–4: *gnyis ka'i tshogs pa ni de dag yod na dri ma glo bur bas dag pa'i spangs rtogs 'byung du rung la | med na 'byung du mi rung bas phyis 'byung gi rjes su 'gro ldog byas pa'i rgyu yin yang dngos por nges pa med de | ji ltar nam mkha' rlung la sogs pa'i rten byed kyang dngos por med pa bzhin no ||*.

[224] Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, *rGyud bla sgron me*, 344.1–345.4 and rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 25a4–7; B 39b5–40a4.

method that was held in great regard, they did not necessarily share doctrinal positions. One of the central doctrinal points of Blo-gros-mtshungs-med's position is the two modes of Buddha-nature: the gnosis aspect and sphere aspect. Under the former, Buddha-nature is existent in terms of its qualities, while under the latter it is empty in terms of its mode of existence. rNgog seems to have critically restricted Buddha-nature to the sphere aspect alone.

Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290–1364)

Discussing Buddha-nature in his *mDzes rgyan*, Bu-ston accepts it in the sense of a result and judges it to be a provisional (*neyārtha*) teaching. The biography of Bu-ston states it was a discussion with Blo-gros-mtshungs-med about Buddha-nature that motivated him to compose his *mDzes rgyan*.[225]

> There still remained [unresolved issues on Buddha-nature] which were brought up during numerous discussions [Bu-ston] had [with] the teacher Blo-gros-mtshungs-med of gSang-phu sNe-thog when [Bu-ston] was a monk [there]. [Afterwards] he composed a treatise called *bDe gshegs snying po'i mdzes rgyan* in order to justify the position agreeable [to him, which asserts] that the sūtras which teach that the actual Buddha-nature[226] that exists in sentient beings has [only] provisional meaning and is implicative, whereas the actual Buddha-nature does not exist in sentient beings in any definitive sense.[227]

Since Bu-ston's position, which takes Buddha-nature to be of provisional meaning, is clearly incompatible with that of Blo-gros-mtshungs-med (who holds that it has definitive meaning), one of Bu-ston's motivations for composing his *mDzes rgyan* may have been to produce a formal refutation of Blo-gros-mtshungs-med's

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[225] The *mDzes rgyan* was composed in 1359 (see Seyfort Ruegg 1973: 1).

[226] *bde gshegs snying po mtshan nyid pa*. This means Buddha-nature fully endowed with the Buddha-qualities.

[227] sGra-tshad-pa, *Bu ston rnam thar*, 34b3–5: *sngar gra pa mdzad dus na slob dpon blo gros mtshungs med gsang phu sne thog pa dang gsung gleng mang po mdzad 'phro yod pa la | bde gshegs snying po mtshan nyid pa sems can la yod par ston pa'i mdo rnams drang don dgongs pa can yin cing | nges don la bde gshegs snying po mtshan nyid pa sems can la med pa 'thad pa'i gzhung bsrang ba'i phyir | bde gshegs snying po'i mdzes rgyan zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos mdzad |*. Cf. Seyfort Ruegg 1966: 152 and 1973: 27 n.1.

position. Another motivation was clearly to refute the *gzhan stong* position, as taught in Dol-po-pa's *Ri chos nges don rgya mtsho*.[228]

As pointed out by Seyfort Ruegg (1973: 32), Bu-ston's position is largely based on that of Sa-paṇ. The two do not accept the teaching of Buddha-nature as of definitive meaning and use established hermeneutic concepts, such as the intentional ground (*dgongs gzhi*), purpose (*dgos pa*), and disproof of the literal sense of a provisional statement[229] (*dngos la gnod byed*), to establish it as a provisional teaching. As shown below, each rubric item, however, varies somewhat between the two masters:

[Table: Sa-paṇ's and Bu-ston's interpretations of Buddha-nature]

	dgongs gzhi	*dgos pa*	*dngos la gnod byed*
Sa-paṇ	*stong pa nyid*	*skyon lnga spang*	*mu stegs bdag dang mtshungs pa bden pa'i dngos por 'gyur*
Bu-ston	*chos sku de bzhin nyid rigs* (18b7)	*skyon lnga spang* (19a3–b4)	*ye shes med pa yon tan thams cad kyang med* (19a3)

In his *mDzes rgyan*, Bu-ston refers only to rNgog in regard to the latter's rendering of the RGV, but never addresses his philosophical position. Bu-ston's position differs from rNgog's in that he does not equate Buddha-nature with emptiness (which rNgog did).

In a brief summary of the positions of Dol-po-pa and Bu-ston, Shākya-mchog-ldan summarizes Bu-ston's position as follows:[230] Bu-ston's view of Buddha-na-

[228] It is clear that Bu-ston's criticism was directed at the *Ri chos nges don rgya mtsho* (though he does not mention Dol-po-pa by name). For instance, in order to refute the *gzhan stong* position Bu-ston quotes exactly the same sūtra passage from the *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* quoted by Dol-po-pa to establish it. See *mDzes rgyan*, 26a7–b3, *Ri chos*, 140.14–141.4 (*Aṅgulimālīyasūtra*, P. 879, 167b3–6. For other quotations from the *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* in *Ri chos* and *mDzes rgyan*, see Kano 2000: 79 n. 9.
In his *mDzes rgyan*, Bu-ston for the most part accepts Buddha-nature in the sense of a result (see *mDzes rgyan*, 31b7, Seyfort Ruegg 1973: 55 n. 3), quoting in his own defense other sūtras utilized by Dol-po-pa, such as the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (the retranslated version from Dharmakṣema's Chinese translation) and *Mahābherīsūtra*, which teach the resultant aspect of Buddha-nature (i.e. the *dharmakāya*). This has been correctly pointed out by Shimoda (1986), who does not, however, spell out why Bu-ston makes use of sūtras utilized by Dol-po-pa. In my opinion, it was in order to demonstrate that these sūtras do not support the gzhan stong doctrine. Cf. Tserin 2011.

[229] I.e. by pointing out a contradiction which results from taking the provisional statement literally.

[230] Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Untitled* (1). This text is dealed with by Stearns (1999: 63).

ture is similar to Sa-paṇ's, and Bu-ston takes Buddha-nature as being of implicative meaning and judges a statement in the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (which teaches that the resultant Buddha-nature actually abides in all sentient beings) to be not literal, for the RGV does not equate the causal stained *tathatā* with the resultant *bodhi* itself.[231] Furthermore, Shākya-mchog-ldan says that Bu-ston explained the definitive meaning of tantric works in accordance with *gzhan stong*.[232]

sGra-tshad-pa Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal (1318–1388)

In contrast to Bu-ston, who in his *mDzes rgyan* hardly ever refers to Tibetan scholars by name, his disciple sGra-tshad-pa often mentions such names (and also the titles of some works) in his commentary on the *mDzes rgyan*, called *bDe snying yang rgyan*.[233] There sGra-tshad-pa quotes rNgog's position twice.

The first occurrence is in a context where sGra-tshad-pa extensively discusses *upacāra* (*rnam par btags*) "designation/metaphorical transfer" (RGV I. 27).[234] There, in order to avoid the *satkāryavāda* position (for him the wrong view that accepts that a result already abides in its cause), he asserts that the cause and its result cannot co-exist at the same moment; the result will arise only later.[235] Then he quotes from rNgog's exposition of the three aspects of Buddha-nature and notes

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[231] Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Untitled* (1), Vol. 23, 91.6–92.2: *bde bar gshegs pa'i snying po yi || rnam gzhag sa skya paṇ chen ltar || lung dang rigs pa du ma yis || dgongs pa can du bkral nas 'chad || bde gshegs snying po sgra ji bzhin || myang 'das chen mor bshad rlom mod || de na* [= *ni*] *ji bzhin min pa'i sgrar || bshad pa shin tu gsal zhes gsung || gzhung chen lung nas ma gsungs pa'i || rdzogs ldan rtsod ldan rnam gzhag dang || 'khor lo bar pa rtsod ldan gyi || lung du 'chad pa 'di mi rigs || theg chen rgyud bla'i bstan bcos su || dri mar bcas pa'i de bzhin nyid || byang chub dngos su bshad pa med || ces sogs rgyas par gsungs pa yin ||*.

[232] *Ibid*. Vol. 23, 92.4–5: *rang gzhan stong pa'i 'chad tshul tsam || jo zhal rtsod pa'i gzhi min te || sngags kyi nges don bu lugs pa'ang || gzhan stong nyid du bshad phyir ro ||*. In another work, Shākya-mchog-ldan says that Red-mda'-ba was in accord with Bu-ston's *mDzes rgyan*. See Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Mus rab byams pa'i dris lan*, Vol. 23, 407.1–2: *bu ston rin po ches snying po'i mdzes rgyan zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos mdzad nas | 'khor lo gsum par snying po bstan pa'i mdo rnams mdo gzhan gyis dgongs pa can du ji ltar bkral ba'i tshul rnams rgyas par bshad la | rje btsun red mda' ba yang de dang mthun no ||*.

[233] See Seyfort Ruegg 1973, Fushimi 1993, and Shimoda 1986.

[234] Fushimi (1993) points out that sGra-tshad-pa's own contribution was the use of the term *btags pa* "designation" instead of *dgongs pa* "intention."

[235] See his *Yang rgyan*, 21a1–2: *rgyu yod pa la 'bras bu yod pa dus gzhan la dgongs pa yin te |*. On *dus gzhan la dgongs pa* (*kālāntarābhiprāya*), see Sobisch 2002: 350 n. 742 and sources quoted there.

his own agreement with it (*de kho na ltar kho bo cag kyang 'dod do*).[236]

In another context, in order to clarify the meaning of RGV I.160, he quotes rNgog's explanation on the five faults (*pañcadoṣa*, *nyes pa lnga*).[237] As far as these two quotations are concerned, he does not seem to have an opinion that runs counter to rNgog's.[238]

As for the teaching of Buddha-nature, however, rNgog's position does indeed differ from that of sGra-tshad-pa and Bu-ston, both of whom assert that Buddha-nature should be understood only in a resultant sense, namely only as the *dharmakāya* of a buddha.[239] rNgog, of course, equates Buddha-nature with emptiness, which pervades throughout, in both the causal and resultant stages, that is, as respectively the spiritual disposition of sentient beings and the *dharmakāya* of a buddha. For him this is one and the same thing as saying that the RGV is a definitive teaching, whereas Bu-ston and sGra-tshad-pa feel justified in taking the RGV to be provisional, interpreting its teaching on Buddha-nature as they do as literal.

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[236] See sGra-tshad-pa, *Yang rgyan*, 21a4–b1: *don 'di rnams bstan pa'i phyir rngog lo tsā bas rgyud bla'i ṭikar* | (a) *de la rnam par dag pa'i de bzhin nyid ni* (21a5) *rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas kyi chos kyi sku yin la* | *de 'phro ba ni* | *des khyab pa ste* | *sems can thams cad kyi thob tu rung bas khyab pa yin no* || *phyogs 'di la ni* | *de bzhin gshegs pa ni* | *dngos yin la* | *sems can de'i snying po can du ni* | *btags* (21a6) *pa yin te* | *de thob pa'i skal ba yod pa la des khyab par btags pa'i phyir ro* || *zhes sogs dang* | (b) *'bras bu chos skus khyab pas na* | *sems can thams cad 'bras bu'i snying po can du brjod pa ni* | *de ltar sangs rgyas kyi gzugs dang sbrang rtsi dang* (21a7) *'bras bu'i snying po'i dpe gsum gyis* || *zhes dang* | (c) *de bzhin* [= *de bzhin nyid*] *dbyer med pa'i don gyis na* | *sems can thams cad rang bzhin gyi snying po can du brjod pa ni* | *des na 'dir gser gyi dpe gcig gis ni zhes bya ba'o* || *zhes dang* | (d) *rgyu rigs* (22b1) *yod pas na* | *sangs rgyas kyi snying po can du brjod pa ni* | *de'i phyir de ltar gser dang ljon shing dang zhes bya ba'o* || *zhes sogs gsungs pas de kho na ltar kho bo cag kyang 'dod do* ||. These four passages (a)–(d) are quotations from rNgog's *rGyud bla don bsdus* (A 18b5–6, 26a2, 26a3, 26a5; B 29a4–5, 41a5, 41b2, 41b5–6).

[237] See sGra-tshad-pa, *Yang rgyan*, 22b2–3: *rngog gi rgyud bla'i ṭīkar* | *bdag la brnyas pa dang* | *gzhan khyad du gsod pa dang* | *med pa'i don la sgro 'dogs pa dang* | *yod pa'i don la skur pa 'debs pa dang* | *byams pa chen po dang mi ldan pa ste* |. He is quoting here rNgog's *rGyud bla don bsdus* (A 28b2–3; B 45b6).

[238] Unlike rNgog, sGra-tshad-pa may have held that the teaching of the RGV is not definitive (i.e. should not be taken, literally), since he notes that Maitreya taught it having another (non-literal) purpose (cf. RGV I.160). See *Yang rgyan*, 22b3: *skyon lnga po de dag spang ba'i phyir don gzhan la dgongs te gsungs par 'chad pas de'i rjes su 'brangs nas bshad par bya ste* |.

[239] See also sGra-tshad-pa, *Yang rgyan*, 23b2–3: *bde gshegs snying po mtshan nyid pa de* | *rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas kyi chos sku yin la* | *de sems can gyi phung po chen po rnams la nam yang med do* ||. "Buddha-nature in its definitive meaning is the *dharmakāya* of the Perfectly Awakened One, which does not exist in the throng of sentient beings at all." See also Fushimi 1993: 256.

A Summary and Further Considerations

I shall summarize first the positions of three followers of the gSang phu tradition, namely Gro-lung-pa, Phywa-pa, and Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, and then the positions of bCom-ldan-ral-gri, Sa-paṇ, Bu-ston, and sGra-tshad pa.

Gro-lung-pa

We do not know much about the views of two of rNgog's "four main [spiritual] sons" (*sras kyi thu bo bzhi*), Zhang-tshes-spong-ba Chos-kyi-bla-ma and Gro-lung-pa, who both authored lost commentaries on the RGV. A glimpse of Gro-lung-pa's position on Buddha-nature is to be had from some discussions occurring in his voluminous *bsTan rim* where, in addition to an extensive general discussion on the *gotra* in the second chapter,[240] a small section of the eighth chapter is devoted to Buddha-nature.[241] In this context, Gro-lung-pa follows faithfully rNgog's interpretation as found in the latter's gloss on RGV I.27–28—the two verses that teach the *dharmakāya*, *tathatā* and the *gotra* as being three reasons why all sentient beings possess Buddha-nature. Gro-lung-pa appears elsewhere in the same text to endorse rNgog's idea of *tathatā* as emptiness,[242] and follows rNgog's position with regard to the ineffability of the ultimate. Although Gro-lung-pa would thus appear to stand as a faithful heir of his teacher, a conclusive determination will have to await further studies and the hopeful surfacing of his RGV commentary.

Phywa-pa

Phywa-pa received the teaching of the RGV from Zhang-tshes-spong-ba Chos-kyi-bla-ma, and his *rGyud bla don gsal* is the earliest extant RGV commentary in the gSang phu tradition after rNgog's *rGyud bla don bsdus*. It is a valuable text both for understanding rNgog's doctrinal position and for editing rNgog's text, for it

[240] This chapter is entitled "How to cultivate an awareness of the value of a human life that is free from the conditions that obscure the practice of religion" (37a–47a).

[241] This section is entitled: "The teaching of the [nature of the mind] as being Buddha-nature" (*de nyid de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying por bstan pa*) (Gro-lung-pa, *bsTan rim*, 345a–447a). It is contained in the eighth chapter, "How to cultivate meditatively a realization of ultimate reality." (Gro-lung-pa, *bsTan rim*, 345a–447a).

[242] Gro-lung-pa, *bsTan rim*, 68b3: *chos thams cad kyi de bzhin nyid ni rang bzhin med pas ci'ang mi dmigs pa'o* ||.

frequently paraphrases the wording of it.

In his *rGyud bla don gsal*, Phywa-pa largely adopts rNgog's interpretation of the major issues. In the following points, on the other hand, he develops the interpretations further:

(1) While rNgog simply identified the *dhātu* taught in the *Abhidharmasūtra* with the *ālayavijñāna* (see Chap. 9, §[h3]), Phywa-pa claims that the *dhātu* comprises both emptiness and wholesome seeds, which respectively correspond to the *prakṛtisthagotra* and *samudānītagotra*.

(2) While rNgog merely offers a summary of what are two mistaken views on emptiness (described in RGVV 75.14–17), Phywa-pa—from his own standpoint—precisely identifies the two views with two concrete schools: the one that of Mind-only adherents; and the other, the position of those who equate emptiness with self-awareness (*rang rig*) and who thus approach emptiness in terms of an affirming negation.

(3) In his interpretation of RGV I.23, Phywa-pa redefines the fourth and fifth *vajrapada*s (i.e. Buddha-nature and Awakening) as stained emptiness and stainless emptiness, respectively. Phywa-pa's unique interpretation is also seen in his commentary on the words of the RGVV "the Buddha's insight enters into the mindstream of all sentient beings": he understands this insight's pervasion as the omnipresence of the substantive cause (*nye bar len pa*)—or the possibility (*rung ba*)—within every being of attaining the threefold body of a buddha.

(4) While rNgog equates the *prakṛtisthagotra* with emptiness, Phywa-pa further interprets it as an indirect/nominal cause of one's becoming a buddha, insofar as one takes emptiness as a meditative object and attains a buddha's wisdom. On the other hand, Phywa-pa takes the *samudānītagotra* as the direct/actual cause of one's becoming a buddha.

(5) Phywa-pa claims that one can reach the ultimate truth by way of verbal and conceptual ascertainment (*sgra rtog gi zhen pa*), something rNgog strongly denies.

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med

Blo-gros-mtshungs-med of the gSang phu tradition is one of most critical respondents to rNgog's position on Buddha-nature. One of the central doctrinal points of Blo-gros-mtshungs-med's position is the two modes of Buddha-nature: the gnosis aspect (*ye shes*) and sphere aspect (*dbyings*)—respectively mental and spatial aspects of it. Considered under the former aspect, Buddha-nature is existent, in view of its qualities (which, in rNgog's view, do not actually abide in all sentient

beings), while considered under the latter it is empty, in view of the mode that existence takes. rNgog seems to have been critically committed to the sphere aspect. Blo-gros-mtshungs-med claims that this emptiness/Buddha-nature is not an engendering cause (*jananahetu*) but merely an indispensable cause (*avinābhāvahetu*) of the resultant buddhahood, thereby avoiding ontological causality between Buddha-nature and its result, namely awakening.

rNgog and Phywa-pa equate this emptiness with the *prakṛtisthagotra*, with Phywa-pa further claiming that this emptiness/*prakṛtisthagotra* is just a nominal cause of the resultant buddhahood (since, being emptiness, it lacks efficacy) and that well-grounded attentiveness (*yoniśomanasikāra*/*samudānītagotra*) is the actual cause. Blo-gros-mtshungs-med modifies this: emptiness is an indispensable cause (which is, for him, an actual cause) of the resultant buddhahood (he does not, however, take emptiness as an engendering cause). His criticisms of rNgog's position betray an intensive study of the latter's works.

bCom-ldan-ral-gri

bCom-ldan-ral-gri of sNar-thang monastery is, according to Tāranātha, a forerunner of the *gzhan stong* tradition established by Dol-po-pa. bCom-ldan-ral-gri, in his RGV commentary, does not systematically teach the *gzhan stong* doctrine (and is not, of course, aware that he would later be considered a *gzhan stong* forerunner), but he does expound some fragmentary elements that possibly link him to the *gzhan stong* position of Dol-po-pa. In his commentary on RGV I.3, bCom-ldan-ral-gri defines Buddha-nature as "the natural luminous mind that is inseparable from *dharmatā*," and, glossing RGV I.153, states: "the ultimate truth, which is unconditioned and primordially existent by itself, is the element (i.e. Buddha-nature)." His understanding of Buddha-nature is compatible with that of the tradition of bTsan Kha-bo-che, which defines Buddha-nature as the "natural luminous mind," and also in accordance with Dol-po-pa's stance, which sees the Buddha-nature teaching being echoed in tantric literature.

As for the five treatises of Maitreya, bCom-ldan-ral-gri develops rNgog's thoughts on them. In his *Byams pa dang 'brel ba'i chos kyi byung tshul*, bCom-ldan-ral-gri asserts that the teaching of the RGV contradicts neither the Two Truths doctrine of Madhyamaka nor the Yogācāra doctrine of the Threefold Intrinsic Nature, while the other four treatises of Maitreya teach either one or the other of these two doctrines (but not both at the same time).

Sa-skya Paṇḍita

Sa-skya Paṇḍita's doctrinal position on Buddha-nature is partially compatible with rNgog's. An opinion shared by rNgog and Sa-paṇ is that Buddha-nature should be understood in the sense of emptiness. The difference is that rNgog equates Buddha-nature *per se* with emptiness, whereas Sa-paṇ restricts the equation to the intentional ground (*dgongs gzhi*) of Buddha-nature; that is, Sa-paṇ does not take the Buddha-nature doctrine as definitive.

Bu-ston and sGra-tshad-pa

Bu-ston's position is largely based on that of Sa-paṇ. The two do not accept the teaching of Buddha-nature as being of definitive meaning. Bu-ston's position differs from rNgog's in that he does not equate Buddha-nature with emptiness. Bu-ston and his disciple sGra-tshad-pa assert that Buddha-nature should be understood only in its resultant aspect, namely as only the *dharmakāya* of a buddha. rNgog, of course, equates Buddha-nature with emptiness, which has both causal and resultant aspects, namely respectively the spiritual disposition of sentient beings and the *dharmakāya* of a buddha. In other words, in interpreting Buddha-nature in the sense of emptiness, rNgog cannot help but take the RGV to be a definitive teaching, whereas Bu-ston and sGra-tshad-pa make of the RGV a provisional teaching, understanding Buddha-nature as what is literally stated in the RGV.

Chapter 11

rNgog's Impact on Doctrinal Developments from the Late 14th to the 16th Century

rNgog's philosophical impact upon later doctrinal exegesis of the RGV in Tibet, between the 12th and 14th centuries, was considerable. His RGV commentary was extensively studied by later scholars of all traditions (beginning with his direct disciple Gro-lung-pa). In the present chapter, I document his impact during the high scholastic period, from the late 14th century onward, during which Rong-ston Shākya-rgyal-mtshan, rGyal-tshab Dar-ma-rin-chen, 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba gZhon-nu-dpal, gSer-mdog Paṇ-chen Shākya-mchog-ldan, and Paṇ-chen bSod-nams-grags-pa formulated their philosophical positions. I limit the materials I use here to the commentarial literature on the RGV and sources that directly refer to rNgog's opinions.

Rong-ston Shākya-rgyal-mtshan (1367–1449)

Rong-ston Shākya-rgyal-mtshan, the founder of Nālendra monastery,[1] composed two works concerned with the RGV, namely the *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos legs par bshad pa* (an extensive commentary on the RGV),[2] and the *rGyud bla ma'i sgom rim mi pham dgongs don* (a one-folio summary of the stages of the various soteriological paths, based on the RGV).[3] rNgog's impact is traced in the former

1 On Rong-ston's life and the history of 'Phan-po Nālendra, see Jackson 1988 and 1989.

2 Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 58, 142, 204. Hookham takes extended note of this commentary ; see Hookham 1991: 40, 42–43, 45, 74, 88, 93, 129, 173. Concerning Rong-ston's position she writes (1991: 175) : "Rongton follows a Rangtong tradition that is different from the Rangtong position of the Gelugpas, yet both claim to be following Ngog and both differ from Buton's DZG (also Rangtong)." This commentary has a number of passages parallel to those of Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal's (1375–1451) RGV commentary, the *Theg pa chen po'i rgyud bla ma'i 'grel pa*. Bernert (2009) devotes a lengthy study to Rong-ston's commentary.

3 The colophon states that this summary was composed in 1447 at Nālendra (see *rGyud bla sgom rim*, 529.3–4). The text itself presents a soteriological scheme based on RGV I.32–35.

work, which was composed in gSang-phu monastery, probably sometime in the mid 1380s when Rong-ston, then a teenager, was studying the tradition descending from rNgog.[4]

According to the *gsan yig*s ("records of teaching transmissions") of the 5th Dalai Lama (27b2–28a3) and Zhu-chen Tshul-khrim-rin-chen (Kha, 172a3–6), Rong-ston figures within the lineage of rNgog's RGV tradition and received the reading transmission of the RGV from g.Yag-ston Sangs-rgyas-dpal (1348–1414), one of Rong-ston's main teachers.

In his RGV commentary, Rong-ston is seen to follow rNgog's position in the following points:[5] With regard to emptiness, Rong-ston quotes a passage from the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* (which teaches emptiness in the sense of a potential) and equates emptiness with Buddha-nature, just as rNgog does.[6] As for the eight qualities of the Jewel of the Saṅgha, Rong-ston wholly adopts rNgog's thesis.[7] Regarding the interpretation of RGV I.27 and 28, Rong-ston concisely outlines rNgog's position (i.e. his classification of the *tathāgatagarbha* and **sattvagarbha*).[8]

On some other points, however, Rong-ston does not follow rNgog. In his gloss on RGV I.154, for instance, he asserts that the phrase "there is nothing to be removed" (I.154a) means that the *dhātu* does not have a twofold self (corresponding

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Rong-ston summarizes it as follows: "In sum, one first takes refuge in the Three Jewels, and then generates the resolve to attain awakening. In meditative absorption, one engages in *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā*, and then, in the post-meditative state, benefits sentient beings through compassion. This is the meaning. By [taking] these [steps], one purifies the *dhātu* in one's own continuum and then attains immaculate awakening, [and] so benefits sentient beings." (*rGyud bla sgom rim*, 529.1–2: *don nye bar bsdu ba ni | thog mar dkon mchog gsum la skyabs su song nas byang chub mchog du sems bskyed de | mnyam bzhag du zhi gnas lhag mthong gnyis bsgom nas | rjes thob du snying rjes sems can gyi don byed ces pa'i don no | 'di dag gis rang rgyud kyi khams kyi dri ma sbyangs nas | dri ma med pa'i byang chub thob te sems can gyi don byed ces pa'i don no ||*)
It is noteworthy that Rong-ston composed this work in line with Nāropa's instruction. "As for how to engage in the practice [set forth] in the *Mahāyānottaratantra*, I have explained it by summarizing the meaning of Nāropa's instruction. Through this wholesome activity, may all beings quickly attain supreme awakening!" (*rGyud bla sgom rim*, 529.2–3: *theg chen rgyud bla ma nyams su len pa'i tshul || nā ro pa'i man ngag bshad pa'i don || legs par bsdus nas bshad pa'i dge ba des || 'gro kun bla med byang chub myur thob shog ||*)

4 See Jackson 1988: II and Shākya-mchog-ldan, vol. 16, 307.6.

5 Rong-ston gives a rough sketch of the two "Cycles" of rNgog's scheme, but he does not use rNgog's term *'khor lo*. See Rong-ston, *rGyud bla legs bshad*, 58.3–12 and rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 1b5–3b6; B 2b1–6a1.

6 Rong-ston, *rGyud bla legs bshad*, 79.13–20, and rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 2b2–3; B 4a1–2. A potential or faculty is something which has efficacy.

7 Rong-ston, *rGyud bla legs bshad*, 67.1–4, and rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 14a4; B 22a6-b1.

8 Rong-ston, *rGyud bla legs bshad*, 81.1–8, and rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 18b5–19a1; B 29a4-b2.

to the person and phenomena), while "there is nothing to be added" (I.154b) means that the *dhātu* is inherently endowed with a twofold selflessness.[9] Rong-ston here probably adopts Ratnākaraśānti's explanation of *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* V.21 (a verse almost parallel to RGV I.154).[10] Very likely he settled upon this explanation, thus abandoning that of the RGVV, in order to avoid any hint of the *gzhan stong* viewpoint. Glossing the same verse, rNgog explains that the "objective supports" (*dmigs pa*) of defilements do not exist in the *dhātu* on the ultimate level, whereas those of purification, such as the Ten Powers, already exist in it on the conventional level.[11]

In his gloss on RGV I.156 and 157, Rong-ston regards both the *dhātu* and emptiness as an indispensable cause (*avināBhāvahetu*) but not as an engendering cause (*jananahetu*).[12] This position of Rong-ston's probably presupposes Phywa-pa's and Blo-gros-mtshungs-med's position.

> The [terms] *dhātu* and emptiness do not have an identical reference. In the explanation of them as a cause, it is not maintained that they are an engendering cause (*jananahetu*); still, it is a fact that if the mind were not by nature empty, the [Buddha-]qualities would not arise, for [in such a case the mind] would not be modifiable by conditions.[13]

Although Rong-ston, then, basically follows rNgog's position, Paṇ-chen bSod-nams-grags-pa regards their positions as different, with rNgog supposedly accepting the RGV as a Svātantrika Madhyamaka text, and Rong-ston regarding it as a Yogācāra one.[14]

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[9] Rong-ston, *rGyud bla legs bshad*, 144.3–8. Cf. Hookham 1991: 40. The same discussion is found in Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal's *rGyud bla 'grel pa*, 147.1–148.5. See also Rong-ston, *op. cit*. 145.12–15: *bla na med pa'i chos kyis mi stong pa'i don yang | bla na med pa'i chos bdag med gnyis kyis mi stong pa la bshad par bya ba yin gyi | stobs sogs kyi yon tan gyis mi stong pa la 'dod pa ni mi 'thad do || zhes 'chad do ||*.

[10] *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* V.21: *nāpaneyam ataḥ kiṃcit prakṣeptavyaṃ na kiṃcana | draṣṭavyaṃ bhūtato bhūtaṃ bhūtadarśī vimucyate ||*. Ratākaraśānti, *Sāratamā*, 131.15–25: *ataḥ kāraṇāt nāpaneyaṃ kiñcit pudgalasya dharmāṇāṃ ca svayam abhāvāt | prakṣeptavyaṃ na kiñcana pudgaladharmanairātmyayor anādinidhanatvāt |*. By contrast, Haribhadra does not clearly embrace the twofold selflessness either in his *Abhisamayālaṃkārālokā* (835.11–18) or in his *Abhisamayālaṃkāravivṛti* (91).

[11] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 26b4–7; B 42b2–6.

[12] He understands here emptiness in the sense of a potential which has genuine efficacy.

[13] Rong-ston, *rGyud bla legs bshad*, 149.7–10: *khams dang stong nyid don gcig pa ma yin la | rgyur bshad pa ni skyed byed kyi rgyu la 'dod pa ma yin gyi | sems ngo bo nyid kyis mi stong na rkyen gyis khyad par du byar med pas yon tan mi 'byung ba'i don no ||*.

[14] bSod-nams-grags-pa, *rGyud bla dka' 'grel*, 389.5–7: "Based on this gloss (*'grel tshig*) [of the RGVV], the Translator (i.e. rNgog) and his disciples elucidated this highest treatise (i.e. the

On the other hand, Shākya-mchog-ldan says that g.Yag-ston Sangs-rgyas-dpal (1348–1414), Lo-tsā-ba sKyabs-mchog-dpal-bzang (b. 1350),[15] and Rong-ston follow Sa-paṇ with regard to Buddha-nature, and notes his Sa-skya-pa leanings as distinct from the dGe-lugs-pas, who for their part follow rNgog.[16] Shākya-mchog-ldan goes on to point out Rong-ston's and rNgog's different views of emptiness:

> Lords g.Yag-ston and Rong-ston hold that all knowable objects are of the same taste (*ro gcig*) in [having] emptiness [as their nature] and that everything, in being pervaded by Buddha-nature, amounts to one single thing. This accords with the actual teaching of the Second Wheel of the Dharma. rNgog, the Great Translator, explains the identity of inherent Buddha-nature in terms of the absence of conceptual proliferation, that is, in terms of non-affirming negation. Although this may fit in with the tradition of the Second

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RGV) as a Svātantrika Madhyamaka text, whereas Rong-ston's commentary elucidates it as a Yogācāra one. Both will be avoided [here]. This is because the selflessness of the person is taught [in the RGV] as the ultimate limit (*bhūtakoṭi*), that is, the [reality] to be known as it is, which cannot be [taught] in the traditions of the two lower doctrinal systems (i.e. Svātantrika and Yogācāra). This argument holds, inasmuch as for these two traditions the hypostatic existence (*bden par grub pa*) of the person need not be negated in order to realize the selflessness of the person." (*'grel tshig 'di la brten nas bstan bcos bla ma nyid lo tstsha dpon slob kyis dbu ma rang rgyud kyi gzhung du 'grel ba dang | rong ṭik gyis sems tsam gyi gzhung du 'grel ba gnyis ka khegs par 'gyur te | gang zag gi bdag med nyid shes bya ji lta ba yang dag pa'i mthar gsungs pa gang zhig | grub mtha' 'og ma gnyis kyi lugs la de mi rung ba'i phyir | phyi ma 'di grub ste | de gnyis kyi lugs la gang zag gi bdag med rtogs pa la gang zag bden par grub pa khegs mi dgos pa'i phyir ||*).

"This gloss" refers to RGVV 14.13–14 (*tatra yathāvadbhāvikatā kṛtsnasya pudgaladharmākhyasya jagato yathāvan nairātmyakoṭer avagamād veditavyā*). bSod-nams-grags-pa explains that bodhisattvas directly perceive the *bhūtakoṭi* (ultimate limit) of the twofold selflessness in meditative absorption (see his *rGyud bla dka' 'grel*, 389.4–5).

In the above passage, bSod-nams-grags-pa states that Svātantrika and Yogācāra do not admit that the selflessness of the person relates to the *bhūtakoṭi*, and that while the person (*pudgala*) indeed enjoys a hypostatic existence the implications of this are still ambiguous.

Rong-ston's RGV commentary, however, does not seem to interpret this passage (RGVV 14.13–14) from a Yogācāra viewpoint (see Rong-ston, *rGyud bla legs bshad*, 67.6–9). Rong-ston is said to have shifted his position from Madhyamaka Svātantrika to Prāsaṅgika (cf. Jackson 1988: II and Shākya-mchog-ldan, vol. 16, 327); I myself have not been able to find any trace of such a viewpoint in his writing.

[15] Lo-tsā-ba sKyabs-mchog-dpal-bzang is a teacher of Red-mda'-ba. His RGV commentary is listed in A-khu Ching Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho (MHTL no. 11367) but has yet to resurface.

[16] See Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Mus rab 'byams pas snying po las brtsams pa'i dris lan*, vol. 23, 407.2: *rje rin po che g.yag pa dang lo tsa ba skyabs mchog dang rgyal rong pa chen po rnams ni sa skya pa'i bzhed pa snga ma ltar yin kyang | klog pa pa rnams la rngog lo'i bzhed pa 'di shin tu mdzes pa yin gsung |*.

Wheel of the Dharma, it is not in accord with the RGV or its commentary.[17]

In sum, the difference between Rong-ston's and rNgog's interpretations is, Śākya-mchog-ldan points out, that Rong-ston equates the omnipresence of emptiness with that of Buddha-nature, while rNgog identifies Buddha-nature with the absence of conceptual proliferation, that is, with non-affirming negation (*spros bral med dgag*).

With regard to a further difference between the two, Bernert (2009: 42) claims: "Unlike rNgog (and his heirs in the dGe-lugs-pa tradition), however, Rong-ston accepts Buddha-nature to comprise in the causal aspect—more precisely, as the naturally abiding *gotra*—not only the unconditioned *dharmatā* equivalent to emptiness, but the cognitive aspect of mind as well."

rGYAL-TSHAB DAR-MA-RIN-CHEN (1364–1432)

rGyal-tshab's RGV commentary is extensive and has been studied by modern scholars[18] in relatively greater detail than other Tibetan RGV commentaries. His position is that Buddha-nature is not identical with the *dharmakāya* and should be taken only in the sense of a cause.[19] Here I shall focus only on selected points that relate to rNgog's position.[20]

rGyal-tshab on RGV I.27

Following rNgog, rGyal-tshab interprets Buddha-nature as emptiness, but in a

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[17] Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Mus rab 'byams pas snying po las brtsams pa'i dris lan*, vol. 23, 408.7–409.l: *rje g.yag rong gnyis shes bya thams cad stong pa nyid du ro gcig pa dang | kun la snying pos khyab pa don gcig tu bzhed | de ni bka' 'khor lo bar pa'i dngos bstan dang mthun | rngog lo chen po | rang bzhin bde gshegs snying po'i ngos 'dzin spros bral med dgag gi cha la 'chad pa de ni 'khor lo bar pa'i lugs su song yang | rgyud bla rtsa 'grel dang ma mthun |*.

[18] See Obermiller 1931, Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 291–296, Ogawa 1969, and Hookham 1991.

[19] This is pointed out by Obermiller (1931: 107): "In Gyal-tshab's Commentary we find a discussion on the subject that the element of buddhahood in a living being and the Cosmic Body of the Buddha cannot be regarded as completely identical." See rGyal-tshab, *rGyud bla ṭīka*, 12b2ff.

[20] It is very likely that rGyal-tshab often makes use of rNgog's commentary. In his *rGyud bla ṭīka* (19a6), he quotes verses from the *Dhāraṇīśvararājasūtra*, for instance, according not to the canonical version but to rNgog's *rGyud bla don bsdus* (A 9b2; B 15a5). In the case, too, of one verse from the *Dhāraṇīśvararājasūtra* (P 814, 118b7–8: *bdag lus rab sim sems ni rnam par dag || bdag gi blo gros dga' mgu mnyam par gyur || gzhan yang sangs rgyas mkhyen pa mtha' yas dang || spobs pa bdag gi lus la rab tu zhugs* ||) both rNgog's and rGyal-tshab's quotes omit the first two lines.

stricter sense. He only accepts the causal aspect of Buddha-nature, and goes so far as to criticize rNgog's gloss on verse I.27 for admitting not only the causal aspect of Buddha-nature but those aspects relating to the result and nature as well.

> As for Buddha-nature, [rNgog][21] explains (1) [its] resultant [aspect] in terms of the resultant character of a *tathāgata*, (2) [its natural aspect] in terms of the nature of a *tathāgata*, (3) and [its causal aspect] in terms of the causal [character] of a *tathāgata*. Although he thus expounds [Buddha-nature] according to a tripartite scheme, (1) mere *tathatā* and (2) the *dharmakāya* of a perfect *buddha* [should] not be considered to be actual "instances" (or examples) (*mtshan gzhi*) of Buddha-nature, for in this treatise (i.e. the RGV)—both the basic text and the commentary on it—[Maitreya/Asaṅga] refers only to (3) the state of sentient beings and the causal state [of Buddha-nature]..... For anyone[22] to maintain that the ultimate *dharmakāya* itself is explained as Buddha-nature in the [RGV] without understanding these points, and so having broken down Buddha-nature into three [aspects]: (1) resultant, (2) natural, (3) and causal Buddha-nature, is a doctrinal presentation which can impress the unintelligent, but this is not the [actual] content of this treatise or the commentary. Open your eyes wide and look![23]

In another context, rGyal-tshab admits Buddha-nature as a potential which assists in the arising of the Buddha-qualities.[24] He also asserts that while Buddha-nature

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[21] This position is clearly identified in rNgog's *rGyud bla don bsdus* (A 18b5; B 29a3–4): *rdzogs sangs sku ni 'phro phyir dang | zhes bya ba la sogs pa la | 'bras bu dang | rang bzhin dang | rgyu'i snying po can yin pa'i phyir | de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can du dgongs pa'o* ||.

[22] Dol-po-pa and Bu-ston, for instance, accept Buddha-nature in the sense of the resultant *dharmakāya.* But whereas Dol-po-pa takes it (i.e. Buddha-nature's presence in all ordinary beings) to be of definitive meaning, Bu-ston does not.

[23] rGyal-tshab, *rGyud bla ṭīka*, 74a5–75a6: *de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po ni | 'bras bu de bzhin gshegs pa'i 'bras bu nyid kyi sgo nas bshad pa dang | de bzhin gshegs pa'i rang bzhin gyi sgo nas bshad pa dang | de bzhin gshegs pa'i rgyu'i sgo nas bshad pa'o || 'chad byed gsum gyi sgo nas de ltar bshad pa yin gyi | de bzhin nyid tsam dang yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas kyi chos sku de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i mtshan gzhir byed pa ni ma yin te | bstan bcos 'di rtsa 'grel du sems can gyi gnas skabs dang rgyu'i gnas skabs 'ba' zhig la bshad pa'i phyir ro* || [...] *'di dag gi don ma rtogs par de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po la 'bras bu'i de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po dang | rang bzhin gyi dang | rgyu'i de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po gsum du phye nas mthar thug gi chos sku yang 'dir bshad pa'i de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying por 'dod pa rmongs pa ngo mtshar bskyed pa'i rnam gzhag yin gyi | bstan bcos 'di rtsa 'grel gyi don min pa ni | mig legs par phye la ltos shig* ||. Cf. Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 291–292 n. 2.

[24] rGyal-tshab, *rGyud bla ṭīka*, 8a5–6: *dri ma dang bcas pa'i de bzhin nyid dang | sems can gyi sems kyi steng na yod pa'i 'jig rten las 'das pa'i yon tan skye rung gi nus pas bsdus pa'i khams de bzhin*

can be termed a cause of awakening, the actual cause (i.e. the engendering cause) is the *samudānītagotra* (evolved potential).[25] This probably goes back to Phywa-pa.[26] Further, Shākya-mchog-ldan says that rGyal-tshab's understanding of the *prakṛtisthagotra* (the inherent potential) as being identical with Buddha-nature does not accord with rNgog's.[27]

rGyal-tshab on the Seven Vajrapadas

Of the "two cycles" proposed by rNgog (see Chap. 9, §[f2] and §[f3]), rGyal-tshab adopts only the Cycle of the Three Jewels. This position is later taken up by bSod-nams-grags-pa.[28]

> In this regard (i.e. that of the seven *vajrapada*s), the lama [and] Great Translator [Blo-ldan-shes-rab] proposed two ways of explaining [the *vajrapada*s], namely either in terms of the Cycle of *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa* or that of the [Three] Jewels. As to the former, he may have explained it based on the content of a later verse (I.3) which teaches the order of [the *vajrapada*s]. But I think it appropriate to take the main thrust of the treatise to be in accord with

gshegs pa'i snying po dang ... ("The *dhātu*, that is, Buddha-nature, which is included in (*bsdus pa*) the stained *tathatā* and represents the potential by which the supramundane qualities [of the Buddha]—latent in minds of sentient beings—can arise ...").

[25] rGyal-tshab, *rGyud bla ṭīka*, 6b6–7a1: "As for the first (i.e. the substantive cause), it is the *dhātu*. With regard to it, as to the stained *tathatā*, if the *dhātu* were not naturally pure, [its] purification from adventitious stains would not be possible. Therefore [the *dhātu*] is only [nominally] termed a substantive cause (*upādāna*) in the sense of an indispensable (*avinābhāva*) cause of awakening. But it is neither something generated nor something that gives rise. It is evolved potential (*samudānītagotra*) that is the engendering cause." (*dang po ni | khams te de la dri ma dang bcas pa'i de bzhin nyid ni | khams rang bzhin gyis rnam par dag par ma gyur na | glo bur gyi dri mas rnam par dag pa mi 'thad pas byang chub kyi med na mi 'byung ba'i rgyu mtshan la nyer len du btags par zad kyi | bskyed bya skyed byed ni ma yin no || bsgrub pa las gyur pa'i rigs ni | bskyed pa'i rgyu yang yin no ||*). Cf. Obermiller 1933: 113 n. 2; Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 295–296. From this passage, however, it is not clear whether he considers the *samudānītagotra* to be Buddha-nature.

[26] See Chapter 10, section "Phywa-pa" §(4) "Definition of the two kinds of *gotra*." Cf. also Blo-gros-mtshungs-med, *rGyud bla sgron me*, 202.5–205.5.

[27] See Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Mus rab 'byams pa'i dris lan*, vol. 23, 408.5: *'dir bla ma dar mas ni snying po dang rang bzhin gnas rigs khyab mnyam du byas nas sangs rgyas la snying po med par 'dod | dri ma dang bcas pa'i sems bden stong la rang bzhin gnas rigs su 'dod mod | gzhung dang rngog gi dgongs par ma song |*. According to Shākya-mchog-ldan, rNgog does not equate them. See also *Mus rabs byams pa'i dris lan*, 408.3–4.

[28] bSod-nams-grags-pa, *rGyud bla dka' 'grel*, 377.1–4.

the latter way of explaining [them] (i.e. with the Cycle of the Three Jewels).[29]

rGyal-tshab on Verse V.19

Concerning the additional verse inserted after verse V.19, rGyal-tshab merely follows rNgog (without referring to him by name).[30]

rGyal-tshab on the Ālayavijñāna

Contrary to rNgog, who equates Buddha-nature with the *ālayavijñāna*,[31] rGyal-tshab says that it is only provisionally that Buddha-nature can be taken as a synonym of *ālayavijñāna*, given such scriptures as the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* or the *Ghaṇavyūha*, whereas the definitive meaning of Buddha-nature is set forth in the RGV. In this regard, the positions of rNgog and rGyal-tshab differ.[32]

'Gos Lo-tsā-ba gZhon-nu-dpal (1392–1481)

gZhon-nu-dpal's RGV commentary, entitled *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi 'grel bshad de kho na nyid rab tu gsal ba'i me long* (composed in 1473), is one of the most extensive of its kind.[33] In it he sometimes revised rNgog's translation of the

[29] rGyal-tshab, *rGyud bla ṭīka*, 6b3–4: *'dir bla ma lo tstsha ba chen pos | mi gnas pa'i mya ngan las 'das pa'i 'khor lo'i dbang du byas pa dang | dkon mchog gi 'khor lo'i dbang du byas pa'i bshad pa'i tshul rnam pa gnyis mdzad pa'i snga ma ni | 'og nas go rim ston pa'i tshig gi sgras zin la brten nas bshad pa mdzad pa yin yang bstan bcos kyi don gyi gtso bo ni | 'chad tshul phyi ma ltar 'thad par sems so* ||. After this passage, rGyal-tshab goes on to explain the Cycle of the Three Jewels, basing himself explicitly on rNgog's earlier explanation. See rGyal-tshab, *rGyud bla ṭīka*, 6b5–8a4.

[30] rGyal-tshab, *rGyud bla ṭīka,* 225b3–5: *gzhung kha cig tu tshigs bcad 'di'i rjes su* [||] *ma rig ldongs rnams kyis kyang srin bu'i yig 'drar mu stegs bstan bcos su'ang | don ldan chos ldan pa* [=sa] *gsum nyon mongs zad byed brjod gyur gang yin dang || 'jig rten so so legs bshad de yang blo ldan drang srong bzhin 'dzin na || gsung gang zag med blo mnga' rnams kyi zhal nas 'byung ba smos ci dgos | zhes pa dkyus su dris pa ni ma dag par gsal te | 'og bsdus don gyi skabs nas 'byung ba dang mi 'grig pa'i phyir dang | rtsa ba'i tshigs bcad dang rigs kyang rnam pa kun tu mi 'dra ba'i phyir ro* ||.

[31] See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 26b2–3; B 42a6: *de 'dra ba nus pa sna tshogs pa can de la ni kun gzhi'i* (A: *bzhi'i*) *rnam par shes pa zhes kyang brjod do* ||.

[32] See rGyal-tshab, *rGyud bla ṭīka*, 76a4ff.

[33] For the details of this work, see Mathes 2008. A number of his works are currently preserved at gNas-bcu-lha-khang in 'Bras-spungs monastery and are listed in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag*, pp. 3, 36, 39, 52 (2 works), 60, 73, 105, 122, 123 (2 works), 281, 345 (2 works), 378, 406, 558, 641, 677 (2 works), 738, 876, 884, 926 (2 works), 1009, 1404, 1407, 1479, 1515, 1540, 1573, 1664, 1675, 1676 (5 works), 1698, 1862, and 1878. Among these, those listed on pp. 1404 and 1407 are manuscripts

RGV on the basis of a Sanskrit manuscript and different Tibetan versions of the RGV translated by Nag-tsho Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba and Pa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags.[34]

As for his own philosophical position, gZhon-nu-dpal consulted expositions by followers of rNgog, but he mainly follows sGam-po-pa, who asserts that the RGV is in accord with Mahāmudrā, referring thereby to a note on the RGV written by sGam-po-pa's follower 'Bri-gung-pa 'Jig-rten-gsum-mgon (1143–1217). gZhon-nu-dpal also based his view on bTsan Kha-bo-che's position, which according to gZhon-nu-dpal agrees with Mahāmudrā.[35]

As for Buddha-nature, he asserts that ordinary beings are endowed only with a subtle form of Buddha-qualities[36] (for a detailed study of his position, see Mathes 2008).

In his introduction, gZhon-nu-dpal summarizes rNgog's general position: the non-affirming negation (*med par dgag pa*) as expressive of both emptiness and Buddha-nature (this in line with the Madhyamaka position); that when one apprehends emptiness, all qualities gather as if summoned; the claim that the objective supports of both gnosis and defilements inhere in sentient beings but that the objective support of defilements (i.e. attachment to the twofold self) has never been established (cf. RGV I.154); and the *dharmakāya*'s universal pervasion ensures sentient beings' ability to attain it (cf. RGV I.28).

> The Great Translator (i.e. rNgog) and his followers affirm that emptiness, that is, the ultimate [truth]—possessing as it does the defining characteristics of a non-affirming negation, as explained in [Nāgārjuna's] "corpus of reasoning"[37]—is Buddha-nature and call it "naturally endowed," because when one

of his commentary on the RGV. The work listed on p. 1698 (no. 019370) is a manuscript of a summary of the RGV (*'gos lo gzhon nu dpal gyis mdzad pa'i rgyud bla'i 'grel pa nas btus pa'i zin bris brjod byang med pa*, 8 fols.).

[34] See Chapter 6 and Kano 2014c.

[35] See gZhon-nu-dpal, *rGyud bla me long*, 574.8–13: *bdag gis ni lo tsā ba chen po'i rjes su 'brang ba'i bshad pa yang mang po mthong la | rje sgam po pas nged rang gi phyag rgya chen po'i gdams pa 'di'i gzhung ni bcom ldan 'das byams pas mdzad pa'i theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos 'di yin no zhes gsungs pa'i don chos rje 'bri gung pas de la thugs ches te rgyud bla ma'i bshad pa'i zur dang | 'khor lo gsum gyi rnam par bzhag pa mdzad pa'i don rnams dang | sadzdza na'i dngos kyi slob ma btsan kha bo che las byung ba'i bshad pa rnams kyang phyag rgya chen po nyid dang mthun par snang bas de dag la brten nas bdag nyid kyi blo'i nus pa gzhan la snang bar byas pa yin no ||*.

[36] See gZhon-nu-dpal, *rGyud bla me long*, 120.4, 121.5, and 237.24, concerning which see Mathes 2002. This interpretation depends crucially on the sense of the term *saukṣmya* ("fineness, subtlety") in RGV I.52, II.60, and 72 (see *rGyud bla me long*, 342.14–22).

[37] I.e., the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, *Vigrahavyāvartanī*, *Śūnyatāsaptati*, *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*, *Vaidalyaprakaraṇa*, and *Ratnāvalī*. The first use of the term *rigs tshogs* is unknown, but it was already being used in the 11th or 12th century, since Gro-lung-pa refers to it in his *bsTan rim*, 347b2–4:

apprehends what is naturally endowed with qualities, namely emptiness, all qualities gather as if summoned.[38]

They take the purifying factor as the objective support of the gnosis[39] [that conduces to] purification and explain that there is nothing new that needs to be added [to it].[40] And they take the defiling factor to be the self of the person and of phenomena, which [self] is superimposed by the defilements, and explain that nothing which existed before needs to be removed, since these objective supports of the defilements are not established as anything at all.[41]

As to "being pervaded by the *dharmakāya*," they explain it in the sense that all sentient beings are able to attain the *dharmakāya*.[42]

gZhon-nu-dpal on the Two Cycles

Summarizing rNgog's scheme of the two "Cycles" (i.e. the two kinds of causality governing the seven *vajrapada*s), gZhon-nu-dpal says[43]: "I do not see any fault in

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rgyal sras klu sgrub ces bya ba lho phyogs kyi rgyud du byon te | bstan pa 'di rgyas par byed pa la ston par gyur pas rgyal ba'i mdzad pa la de nyid gnyis par grags pa'o || des dbu ma'i rtsa ba shes rab thog mar byas pa rigs pa'i tshogs rin po che drug la sogs pa'i rigs pa dam pa'i tshul nye bar bkod pa'i sgo nas don 'di rab tu gsal bar mdzad de | 'jig rten gyi dmigs bur gyur nas gsung rab rab 'byams la blo'i snang ba 'jug pa'i lam gsal bar gyur to ||. See also rNgog's *sPrings yig bdud rtsi'i thig le*, verse 10b: *yang dag rigs tshogs klu sgrub zhal nas gsungs pa de* (on this verse, see Chapter 8, pp. 229–230).

[38] Cf. rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 21b1; B 33b3: *chos kyi dbyings rtogs na sangs rgyas kyi yon tan thams cad bos pa bzhin du 'du ba'i phyir ro ||*.

[39] The objective support of gnosis (*ye shes kyi dmigs pa*) refers to emptiness.

[40] Cf. rNgog, *ibid.*, A 26b6–7; B 42b5–6: *de kho na nyid 'dir gzhag par bya ba rnam par byang ba'i mtshan ma stobs dang mngon par shes pa la sogs pa'ang cung zad med do || stobs la sogs pa rnam par byang ba'i dmigs pa kun rdzob tu yod pa ni | thog ma med pa nas gnas pa'i phyir ro ||*.

[41] Cf. rNgog, *ibid.*, A 26b6; B 42b4–5: *de kho na nyid 'di la bsal bar bya ba kun nas nyon mongs pa'i dmigs pa ni ci yang med de | gdod ma nas ma grub pa'i phyir ro ||*.

[42] gZhon-nu-dpal, *rGyud bla me long*, 5.4–10: *lo tsā ba chen po rjes su 'brang ba dang bcas pas ni rigs pa'i tshogs las bshad pa'i med par dgag pa'i mtshan nyid can gyi stong pa nyid dam don dam pa de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying por khas blangs nas yon tan rang bzhin gyis ldan pa'i don stong pa nyid de la dmigs na yon tan thams cad bos pa bzhin du 'du bas rang bzhin gyis ldan zhes brjod cing | rnam par byang ba'i rgyu mtshan rnam par byang ba'i ye shes kyi dmigs pa la byas nas de gsar du gzhag tu med pa dang | kun nas nyon mongs pa'i rgyu mtshan yang kun nas nyon mongs pas sgro btags pa'i gang zag dang chos kyi bdag la byas nas nyon mongs kyi dmigs pa de gtan ma grub pas sngar yod bsal du med pa la 'chad cing | chos kyi skus khyab pa'i don yang sems can gyis chos kyi sku de thob tu rung ba'i don du 'chad do ||*. Cf. rNgog, *ibid.*, A 18b5–6; B 29a4: *de la rnam par dag pa'i de bzhin nyid rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas kyi* (A adds *chos kyi*) *sku yin la | de 'phro ba ni des khyab pa ste | sems can thams cad kyis thob tu rung ba'i phyir khyab pa yin no ||*.

[43] gZhon-nu-dpal, *rGyud bla me long*, 79.25–80.11.

such an assertion [on the part of rNgog]."[44]

gZhon-nu-dpal on the Eight Qualities of the Jewel of the Saṅgha

gZhon-nu-dpal has the same opinion with regard to rNgog's scheme of the eight qualities of the Jewel of the Saṅgha[45]: "I think that [rNgog's] demonstration is a fine explanation."[46] Indeed, he expands on his forerunner, assigning these same qualities to each of the Three Jewels—as aspects of the ultimate truth, cessation, and the path—as follows:[47]

[Table: gZhon-nu-dpal's expansion on the eight qualities of the Saṅgha]

	Buddha	Dharma	Saṅgha
the ultimate truth	no. 3: *gzhan gyi rkyen gyis rtogs pa ma yin pa*	no. 3: *rtog pa med pa*	no. 3: *nang gi ye shes*
cessation	nos. 1, 2: *'dus ma byas shing lhun gyis grub pa*	nos. 1, 2: *bsam pa med cing gnyis med pa*	nos. 4, 5: *chags pa med cing thogs pa med pa*
path	nos. 4–6: *mkhyen pa dang brtse ba dang nus pa*	nos. 4–6: *dag pa dang gsal ba dang gnyen po'i phyogs*	nos. 1, 2: *ji lta ba dang ji snyed pa gzigs pa*

gZhon-nu-dpal on RGV I.27 and 28

Turning to the three aspects of Buddha-nature, gZhon-nu-dpal says: "The great rNgog taught a causal essence (*snying po*), inherent essence, and resultant essence with regard to the three [aspects] of [Buddha-]nature (*snying po*) (i.e. respectively the *gotra*, *tathatā*, and the *dharmakāya*). This is excellent."[48] He further contends that each of the three is separately operative on the ultimate and conventional levels (for a total of six categories), the *dharmakāya* forking respectively into *visaṃyoga*

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[44] gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.*, 80.8: ... *'dod pa la yang nyes pa ma mthong ngo* ||. See also rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 3b6–7; B 6a1–3.

[45] Cf. Chapter 9, §(g), pp. 260–261, above.

[46] gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.*, 185.27–28: ... *mdzad pa yang legs par bshad pa yin par sems so* ||.

[47] gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.*, 185.28–186.9. gZhon-nu-dpal does not mention here the 7th or 8th quality of the Buddha and Dharma or the 6th to 8th ones of the Saṅgha.

[48] gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.*, 268.2–3: *snying po gsum po la rgyu'i snying po dang rang bzhin gyi snying po dang 'bras bu'i snying po zhes rngog chen po gsung ste shin tu legs so* ||. See also rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 18b5–19a1; B 29a4-b2.

("dissociation") and *vipāka* ("maturation");[49] the *gotra* into the *prakṛtisthagotra* ("inherent potential") and *samudānītagotra* ("evolved potential");[50] and *tathatā* into reality on the ultimate level and that on the conventional level.[51] And then he says that although Buddha-nature is of a tripartite nature (i.e. as reflected in the *dharmakāya* etc.), all three aspects can be subsumed under the single *tathatā*.[52]

gZhon-nu-dpal criticizes the understanding of the compound *tathāgata-garbha* as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* (*drug pa'i rnam par dbye ba*, *ṣaṣṭīvibhakti*), rendered as *de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po*, and interprets it instead as a *karmadhāraya* compound ("*tathāgata* as an essence") and so revises the Tibetan rendering into *de bzhin gshegs pa snying po*.[53] The RGV itself allows for two alternative readings of *tathāgata-garbha*, either as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* or as a *bahuvrīhi*. The former would apply to the *dharmakāya*,[54] and the latter to *tathatā*[55] and the *gotra*.[56] gZhon-nu-dpal's proposed *karmadhāraya* is thus not supported by the RGV itself.

gZhon-nu-dpal, further, summarizes rNgog's interpretation of the term *tathāgata-garbha*. rNgog says that in terms of the *dharmakāya*, the status of the *tathāgata* is real, whereas that of the *garbha* is only nominal; in terms of *tathatā*, both the *tathāgata* and the *garbha* are real; and in terms of the *gotra*, the *tathāgata* is nominal and the *garbha* is real.[57]

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[49] Cf. RGV III.1.

[50] Cf. RGV I.149.

[51] gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.*, 268.3–6: *gsung po 'di dag la yang kun rdzob pa dang | don dam pa'i dbye bas rnam pa gnyis gnyis su gnas pas drug tu yang 'gyur ro || de la chos kyi sku ni bral ba dang rnam par smin pa'i dbye bas gnyis so || rigs la rang bzhin dang yang dag par blangs pa'i dbye bas rnam pa gnyis so || de bzhin nyid la 'di nyid du dbye ba ma gsungs mod | gsung rab spyi las don dam pa'i de kho na nyid dang kun rdzob kyi de kho na nyid gnyis su gsungs pas rnam pa gnyis su 'gyur ro ||.*

[52] He notes that this is taught under the topic of "Invariance" (RGV I.51–83, the 9th of the ten Buddha-nature topics). gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.*, 268.6–8.

[53] *Ibid.*, 262.19–22: *des na lo tsā ba chen po dag gis de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po zhes drug pa'i rnam par dbye ba mdzad kyang saṃ skri ta la | sarba ta thā ga ta garbha zhes gzhi mthun gyi bsdu ba mdzad de | de bzhin gshegs pa yang yin la | snying po yang yin pa* (two manuscripts read *pa*; Mathes reads *pas*) *ni de bzhin gshegs pa* (two manuscripts read *pa*; Mathes reads *pa'i*) *snying po zhes brjod do ||.*

A strikingly similar discussion is found in another passage (*ibid.* 270.5), where gZhon-nu-dpal revises the rendering *ngo **bo'i** don* into *ngo **bo** don*, the genitive *tatpuruṣa* thus being transformed into a *karmadhāraya* (*ngo bo yang yin don yang yin pas ngo bo don zhes bya ste*). Therefore *de bzhin gshegs pa snying po* (*ibid.* 262.21), documented in two manuscripts, may not need emending.

[54] RGVV 70.17: *tathāgatasyeme garbhāḥ sarvasattvāḥ*.

[55] RGVV 71.10: *tathāgatas tathataiṣāṃ garbhaḥ sarvasattvānām*.

[56] RGVV 72.8: *tathāgatadhātur eṣāṃ garbhaḥ sarvasattvānām*.

[57] gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.*, 262.22–24: *de las dang po ni de bzhin gshegs pa dngos yin zhing snying po btags pa ba dang | gsum pa ni snying po dngos yin zhing de bzhin gshegs pa btags pa ba dang | de*

gZhon-nu-dpal largely adopts this interpretation of rNgog's,[58] but he explains *tathatā* in a different way. He says that "*tathatā* insofar as it abides in a buddha is a real buddha, but insofar as it abides in sentient beings is a nominal buddha."[59] This does not mesh with rNgog's interpretation, according to which the status of *tathatā* is real both for the Buddha and sentient beings. In another passage, gZhon-nu-dpal again splits *tathatā* into ultimate and conventional levels of reality.[60]

gZhon-nu-dpal presents four Sanskrit equivalents of the term *snying po*, the last member of the compound *de bzhin gshegs pa/pa'i snying po*: *sāra* ("pith"), *hṛdaya* ("heart"), *garbha* ("womb"), and *maṇḍa* ("essence"), defining them as follows: *sāra* means a basic source which brings forth many qualities (this corresponds to the *dharmakāya*); *hṛdaya* means something of utmost value, such as the heart of a person (*mi'i snying*), since those who wish liberation will necessarily hold it in the highest esteem (this corresponds to *tathatā*); *garbha* means a seed or womb, since it is like something fertile covered in a sheath (this corresponds to the *gotra*); *maṇḍa* means something solid and essential.[61]

gZhon-nu-dpal on the Ten Buddha-nature Topics

rNgog relates first six of the ten topics (i.e. from "nature" up to "manifestation")[62] to each of the three aspects of Buddha-nature (i.e. the *dharmakāya*, *tathatā*, and the *gotra*).[63] gZhon-nu-dpal discusses these same points, but his classification is different from rNgog's, especially with regard to topics 2, 3, 4, and 5:[64]

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bzhin nyid ni gnyi ga'i cha 'dzin pa'i phyir de bzhin gshegs pa yang dngos la snying po yang dngos so zhes bya'o ||. See also rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 18b5–19a1; B 29a4-b2.

58 gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.*, 262.6–8.

59 gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.*, 262.16: *sangs rgyas la yod pa'i de bzhin nyid ni sangs rgyas dngos so* || *sems can gyi de bzhin nyid ni sangs rgyas btags pa ba'o* ||.

60 gZhon-nu-dpa, *ibid.*, 268.5–6.

61 gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.*, 262.24–263.4: *snying po 'di la ni saṃskri ta la sā ra zhes bya ba dang | hri da ya zhes bya ba dang | garbha zhes bya ba dang | maṇḍa zhes bya ba dag go || 'di dag chos can gcig la yang smra ba po'i 'dod pas thams cad sbyar du rung mod kyi | 'on kyang nges pa'i tshig las sā ra zhes bya ba chos du ma spro ba'i gzhir gyur pas snying po zhes bya ba yin te | chos kyi sku la bya'o || hri da ya zhes bya ba gces pas snying po zhes bya ste mi'i snying bzhin no || de ni de bzhin nyid la bya ste | thar pa 'dod pas 'di nyid la gces spras bya ba'i phyir ro || garbha zhes bya ba ni sa bon dang mngal la 'jug ste | shun pa'i sbubs na gnas pa zhig la bya ba yin pas rigs la bya'o || maṇḍa ni gcig tu mkhregs pa'i phyir dang bcud kyi snying por gyur pa la 'jug ste | rdo rje'i gdan la snying po byang chub ces bya ba dang mar gyi snying khu zhes brjod pa bzhin no* ||.

62 Since the 7th to 10th topics are included in the 6th topic—"manifestation" (see RGVV 40.5–6)—they are excluded here.

63 rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 19a2-b1; B 29b2–30b1.

64 gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.*, 329.22–330.3.

[Table: gZhon-nu-dpal on the ten topics and the threefold nature]

topics	rNgog	gZhon-nu-dpal
1. *ngo bo*	all three	all three
2/3. *rgyu* and *'bras bu*	all three	*chos kyi sku*
4. *las*	*rigs* and *de bzhin nyid*	*rigs*
5. *ldan pa*	all three	*chos kyi sku*
6. *'jug pa*	*de bzhin nyid*	*de bzhin nyid*

gZhon-nu-dpal relates the second and the third topics ("cause and result") to the *dharmakāya*. This is because "cause" for him here means the four causes of attaining the *dharmakāya*, namely the practices of confidence, the perfection of gnosis, meditative absorption, and compassion (RGV I.32–33), while "result" means the attainment of the four qualities of the *dharmakāya*, namely the perfection of purity, self, bliss, and eternity (RGV I.35ab).

gZhon-nu-dpal relates the fourth topic ("function") solely to the *gotra*, on the basis of RGV I.40–41, which verses explain the function of Buddha-nature as tied to the *gotra* being able to motivate one to strive for *nirvāṇa*.

As for the fifth topic, "connection" (*ldan pa*), gZhon-nu-dpal takes it as applying solely to the *dharmakāya*, since the connection is between the cause and result (RGV I.43–44), which relates to the *dharmakāya*. In this case, given the context of the RGV, gZhon-nu-dpal's interpretation is preferable to rNgog's.

gZhon-nu-dpal on RGV I.130

The fourth of the nine defilements illustrated by way of the nine similes (RGV I.130–131) is called an "intense outburst of the three defilements."[65] The RGV counts it as one simile, even though it involves three different defilements. gZhon-nu-dpal summarizes rNgog's explanation that this is justified because in the *kāma-dhātu* all three are similar in their engendering of bad behaviour.[66]

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[65] RGVV 67.10–11: *tīvrarāgadveṣamohaparyavasthānalakṣaṇakleśa*.

[66] gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.*, 413.8–10: *nyon mongs pa drag pos ni lung du ma bstan pa'i las kyang skyed par mi byed la | tha mal pas ni las de yang byed do || khams gong ma'i nyon mongs pa rnams gsum du bgrangs nas 'dod pa'i nyon mongs pa drag po rnams gcig tu brtsis pa ni thams cad kyis kyang nyes spyod rtsom pa la mi 'dra ba med pa'i phyir gcig tu byas pa yin no zhes lo tsā ba chen po gsung ngo ||*. See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 24b5–6; B 39a3–4.

gZhon-nu-dpal on the Postscript to the First Chapter of the RGV

As mentioned in Chapter 8 (p. 235 n. 94), rNgog wrongly renders the postscript at the end of the first chapter of the RGV: "the chapter (*adhikāra*) on Buddha-nature, [containing] a summary explanation of the meaning of the first verse(s), is ended,"[67] and in his own RGV commentary rNgog explains that "first verse(s)" here refers to RGV I.27/28.[68] gZhon-nu-dpal accepts rNgog's wrong rendering and explanation, and even compounds the mistake by stating that the term "summary" (*bsdus pa*) refers to RGV I.29 (an *uddāna* verse), and the term "explanation" (*bshad pa*) to the ten topics (RGV I.30–94), while the portion of text from "the nine similes" onward (RGV I.95–167) constitutes the remaining part of this chapter.[69]

From this it is clear that both rNgog and gZhon-nu-dpal regard the "chapter on Buddha-nature" as beginning with RGV I.27/28. It is true that the discussion of Buddha-nature begins with RGV I.27/28, but the first chapter of the original Sanskrit text commences with verses I.1–26

gZhon-nu-dpal on RGV V.19

gZhon-nu-dpal notes rNgog's opinion that a verse inserted after RGV V.19 in one Sanskrit manuscript is a secondary addition.[70]

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[67] RGV (tib) 135.2–3: *de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i skabs te tshigs su bcad pa dang po'i don gyi bsdus pa'i bshad pa rdzogs so*.

[68] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 28b5–6; B 46a4–5. See also Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, 68a6–7.

[69] gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.*, 451.23–452.3: *skabs de yang tshigs su bcad pa dang po || rdzogs sangs sku ni 'phro phyir dang || de bzhin nyid dbyer med phyir dang || rigs yod phyir na sems can kun || rtag tu sangs rgyas snying po can || zhes bya ba de'i don 'ba' zhig 'chad pa yin la | de'i yang bsdus pa'i don ni | ngo bo rgyu 'bras las ldan 'jug pa dang || gnas skabs de bzhin kun tu 'gro ba'i don || rtag tu mi 'gyur yon tan dbyer med ni || don dam dbyings kyi dgongs don yin shes bya || zhes bya ba de yin la | de'i dngos kyi bshad pa ni | de ltar rgyal ba'i snying po ni || rnam bzhag rnam pa bcu zhes brjod || ces bya bas rdzogs par gyur kyang de las | nyon mongs sbubs nang gnas pa de || dpe dag gis ni shes par bya || zhes bya ba la sogs pa 'phros pa yin te | de thams cad rdzogs so ||*.

[70] gZhon-nu-dpal, *ibid.*, 568.24–569.3: *'di'i rjes la | ma rig ldongs rnams kyis kyang srin bu'i yig 'drar mu stegs bstan bcos su'ang || don ldan chos ldan sa gsum nyon mongs zad byed brjod gyur gang yin dang | 'jig rten so so'i legs bshad gang de'ang blo ldan drang srong bzhin gzung na | gsung gang zag med blo mnga' rnams kyi zhal nas byung ba smos ci dgos || zhes tshigs su bcad pa gcig gzung 'ga' zhig tu 'byung mod kyi | de ni 'og nas tshigs su bcad pa'i grangs kyi nges pa gsungs pa dang 'gal bas rtsa ba'i tshig ma yin no zhes lo tsā ba chen po blo ldan shes rab gsung ngo ||*. See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 39b1–3; B 64b3–6.

gSer-mdog Paṇ-chen Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428–1507)

The philosophical tradition of Shākya-mchog-ldan enjoys no official support today, and his anti-dGe-lugs-pa opinions were repeatedly criticized by later dGe-lugs-pa scholars. Nevertheless, his doctrinal writings are without doubt worth looking into more closely. A few scholars have briefly investigated his relevant writings and doctrines. Van der Kuijp (1983: 43) has translated Shākya-mchog-ldan's account of rNgog's position regarding Buddha-nature.[71]

Dreyfus (1997: 29) and Mathes (2004: 292) both note that Shākya-mchog-ldan shifted his philosophical position to the *gzhan stong* view after 1484, when he first met the seventh Karmapa, Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho (1454–1506).[72] In the *Khrid brgya'i skor*, Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, a disciple of Shākya-mchog-ldan's main disciples (see Caumanns 2015: 28), lists his teacher in the transmission line of *gzhan stong*.[73] As to his *gzhan stong* view, Tāranātha clearly distinguishes Shākya-mchog-ldan from Dol-po-pa in the *Zab don nyer gcig pa*,[74] though he lists the two masters in the same *gzhan stong* line of transmission in the *Zab mo gzhan stong dbu ma'i brgyud 'debs*, a record of the *gzhan stong* teaching lineage.[75] Thu'u-bkwan does not differentiate between the positions of Shākya-mchog-ldan and Dol-po-pa.[76]

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[71] See Shākya-mchog-ldan, *dBu ma'i byung tshul*, vol. 4, 239.7–240.3.

[72] Kun-dga'-grol-mchog refers to their meetings in his *Shākya mchog ldan gyi rnam thar*. Concerning the first meeting, in 1484, see *Shākya mchog ldan gyi rnam thar*, vol. 16, 149.1ff.; concerning their second meeting, in 1502, see *ibid.*, 206.2ff. See also Stearns 1999: 61–63. Caumanns (2015: 16–19) discusses the shifting of Shākya-mchog-ldan's philosophical position further, referring to other possible interpretations by Komarovski (2011).

[73] Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, *Khrid brgya'i skor*, 13.2–4: *gzhan stong ni | thub byams mai tri pa dang paṇḍi ta dga' ba grags | paṇḍi ta sanydza* [= *sadzdza*] *na dang rngog lo btsan kho* [= *kha*] *bo che rgya mar ba | gro lung cha pa 'dul dkar 'bre bsgyur ba | gdongs khrod dar 'od grub seng bag ston pa | tshul rgyal spangs ston g.yag rong a mo gha | paṇ chen mkhas pa'i rje la gsol ba 'debs | gzung 'dzin gnyis snang dri ma dpe stong zhing | chos nyid rang bzhin nam yang mi stong bas | so sor rang gi rig yes shes spyod yul ba | gzhan stong gzhas lugs rtogs par byin bslabs* ||. These words of Kun-dga'-grol-mchog probably found an echo in Tāranātha's *Zab mo gzhan stong dbu ma'i brgyud 'debs*.

[74] See Tillemans & Tomabechi 1995; Mathes 2005.

[75] On Tāranātha's *Zab mo gzhan stong dbu ma'i brgyud 'debs,* see Chapter 10, p. 311f. and van der Kuijp 1983: 41. Note that Kun-dga'-grol-mchog includes rNgog in the *gzhan stong* lineage, while Tāranātha does not. See also in this regard above, p. 360 n. 73 and Kano 2010a: 14, 32–33 n. 6.

[76] Thu'u-bkwan Blo-bzang-chos-kyi-nyi-ma, *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long*, 220.2: "Shākya-mchog-ldan first adhered to the Madhyamaka view, in between to Yogācāra, and lastly to the Jo-nang-pas" (*shākya mchog pa ni dang po dbu ma | bar du sems tsam | mthar jo nang pa'i lta bar zhen* |). See Tillemans & Tomabechi 1995: 892 n. 3.

Since a detailed study of Shākya-mchog-ldan's position regarding Buddha-nature lies beyond the scope of this study,[77] I shall here only give a brief sketch, pointing out thereby differences between his and rNgog's positions.

Shākya-mchog-ldan's Classification of Various Positions

In his *Blo mchog pa'i dri lan*, Shākya-mchog-ldan concisely sketches various interpretations of Buddha-nature within Tibet.[78] Here we see in particular how he classifies rNgog's position.

> There are two traditions of the Mahāyāna [regarding the Buddha-nature teaching] in the Snow Land: a tradition which asserts that (I) all sentient beings have Buddha-nature and (II) one which asserts that that is not the case (i.e. none has it). The first consists of two [strands]: (I.a) [a tradition] that accepts Buddha-nature in terms of a non-affirming negation, meaning that [Buddha-nature] [can]not be specified on the basis of [a buddha's] qualities, such as the [Ten] Powers, and (I.b) [a tradition] that accepts [Buddha-nature] from the viewpoint of an affirming negation, meaning that [Buddha-nature] [can] be specified on the basis of [a buddha's] qualities. (I.a) The first is [the tradition of] rNgog the Great Translator and his followers. (I.b) The second is [the tradition of] the omniscient Dol-po-pa and the transmission before and after him. (II) The second tradition, which asserts that sentient beings do not have Buddha-nature, is [that of] the venerable Sa-skya Paṇḍita and the second omniscient one, Bu-ston, among others.
>
> Furthermore, regarding the identification of Buddha-nature, [there are two positions]: (I.c) those who assert that its only feature is natural purity, and (I.d) those who assert a totality [comprising both] it (i.e. natural purity) and, inseparably from it, [a buddha's] qualities. Regarding the second [position], [there are two further subdivisions]: (I.d.1) those who maintain that those qualities fulfil the criteria of being the qualities of the *dharmakāya* as characterized by realization—[so to speak, the "gnoseological *dharmakāya*"]—and (I.d.2) those who maintain that they are the qualities of the natural *dharmakāya*, [the "ontological *dharmakāya*," so to speak].

[77] Recent studies on his doctrinal positions include Komarovsky 2010, 2011 and Turenne 2010; on his RGV commenatary, Burchardi 2008; and on his life and works, Caumanns 2015.

[78] The colophon of the work reads (vol. 17, 574.3–4): ... *ces g.yas ru gtsang gi cha || gser mdog can gyi chos grwa nas || mang thos blo can mchog gyur pas || dris pa'i lan du springs pa'o ||*. The person referred to as "*mang thos blo can mchog gyur pa*" is yet to be identified.

(I.c) [Those who maintain] the first position are for the most part reciters (*klog pa pa*)[79] of later times in Tibet. (I.d.1) [Those who maintain] the second [position] are many of the upholders belonging to the teaching transmission of the venerable Dags-po [lha-rje]'s teaching (i.e. the Dags-po bKa'-brgyud school), such as the venerable Phag-mo-gru-pa. (I.d.2) [Those who maintain] the third [position] are a few [scholars] such as Paṇ-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal.[80]

This presentation of Shākya-mchog-ldan's can thus be summarized in the following table:

[Table: Shākya-mchog-ldan's classification of positions of Tibetan scholars]

I: All sentient beings have Buddha-nature

- a: subject to the constraints of non-affirming negation (rNgog)
- b: subject to the constraints of affirming negation (Dol-po-pa)
- c: which is characterized by natural purity (*dGe-lugs-pa)
- d: which is characterized by natural purity and the Buddha-qualities
  - 1: gnoseological *dharmakāya* (Phag-mo-gru-pa)
  - 2: ontological *dharmakāya* (Paṇ-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal)[81]

II: Sentient beings do not have Buddha-nature (Sa-paṇ, Bu-ston)[82]

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[79] *Klog pa pa* means literally "reciter [of scriptural texts]," sometimes in the sense of an expert at interpreting texts—that is, a great scholar. *dPe cha pa* has a similar meaning in modern Tibetan. But in the present context, Śākya-mchog-ldan uses it with a negative connotation, a "reciter" being one who repeats only what is taught without deeply thinking about it.

[80] Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Blo mchog pa'i dri lan*, vol. 17, 568.5–569.4: *gang can gyi shing rta chen po dag la lugs gnyis te | sems can thams cad sangs rgyas kyi snying po can yin par bzhed pa'i lugs dang | ma yin par bzhed pa'i lugs so || dang po la gnyis te | snying po'i ngos 'dzin stobs sogs yon tan gyis khyad par du ma byas pa'i med dgag gi cha la bzhed pa dang des khyad par du byas pa'i ma yin dgag gi cha la bzhed pa'o || dang po ni | rngog lo tsa ba chen po rjes 'brang dang bcas pa'o || gnyis pa ni | kun mkhyen dol po pa gong 'og gi brgyud pa dang bcas pa'o || lugs gnyis pa sems can la sangs rgyas kyi snying po med pa bzhed pa ni | rje btsun sa skya paṇḍi ta dang | kun mkhyen gnyis pa bu ston la sogs pa'o || yang 'di ltar | snying po'i ngos 'dzin rang bzhin rnam dag rkyang pa'i cha la bzhed pa dang | de dang yon tan dbyer med kyi tshogs don la bzhed pa'o || gnyis pa la'ang | yon tan de dag rtogs pa chos sku'i yon tan go chod por 'dod pa dang | rang bzhin chos sku'i yon tan du 'dod pa'o || lugs dang po ni | gangs can du phyis grags pa'i klog pa pa phal che ba dag go || gnyis pa ni rje phag mo gru pa sogs rje dags po'i bka' brgyud 'dzin pa mang po dag go || lugs gsum pa ni | paṇ chen phyogs las rnam rgyal la sogs pa kha cig go ||*. See Kano 2006a: 236–238.

[81] I have not yet been able to identify these positions in Phag-mo-gru-pa's and Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal's works.

[82] Karl Brunnhölzl in his book *When the Cloud Parts* (p. 79, p. 1003 n. 281) silently copied this chart from an unpublished draft of my dissertation thesis (Kano 2006a). Cf. also his book pp. 78–79 and arguments in the present chapter. For further problems of his book, see above, Chapter 1, p. 19 n. 5.

A Sketch of Shākya-mchog-ldan's Position

Shākya-mchog-ldan does not present his own position in the above-quoted passage, but Tāranātha summarizes it as follows:[83] "There is no Buddha-nature in the continuum of sentient beings. Natural luminosity of mind in sentient beings is merely the cause and "basic element" (*khams*) of Buddha-nature (i.e. not Buddha-nature itself)," while "[passages which] state that Buddha-nature is endowed with intrinsically inseparable qualities refer only to the result [of the path]."[84]

In Shākya-mchog-ldan's works, similarly, he himself states that "real Buddha-nature" (*snying po dngos*)[85] exists not on the level of ordinary beings but on the resultant stage alone.[86]

From these statements it is clear that he calls the result of the path "Buddha-

[83] Tāranātha in his *Zab don khyad par nyer gcig pa* presents twenty-one differences between the positions of Shākya-mchog-ldan and Dol-po-pa. See Tillemans & Tomabechi 1995 and Mathes 2004.

[84] Tāranātha, *Zab don khyad par nyer gcig pa*, 790.3–4: *sems can gyi rgyud la bde gshegs snying po med sems can gyi sems rang bzhin 'od gsal de | bde gshegs snying po'i rgyu dang khams tsam yin pas | ...*; *ibid*, 790.7–791.1: *snying po la yon tan ngo bo dbyer med rang bzhin nyid ldan du gsungs pa 'bras bu kho na'i skabs yin la |*. See Mathes 2004: 307–308.
The passage *rgyu'i skabs su yon tan 'byung rung gi nus pa sa bon tsam yod par bzhed* (Tāranātha, *ibid*, 791.1), is rendered by Mathes (2004: 308): "On the level of the cause, the qualities still have to be developed. Having this capability, Buddha-nature exists only as seeds [in ordinary sentient beings]." Another possible rendering: "[Shākya-mchog-ldan] asserts that on the level of the cause there abides only a seed, from which the [Buddha-]qualities can arise." Shākya-mchog-ldan regards Buddha-nature as a result of the path, and as such as not actually abiding in ordinary beings (see Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Blo mchog pa'i 'dri lan*, vol. 17, 566.3: *sems can rnams chos can | snying po dngos dang ldan pa ma yin te | dri ma dang bcas pa'i phyir*; cf. Tāranātha, *Zab don khyad par nyer gcig pa*, 790.3–4: *sems can gyi rgyud la bde gshegs snying po med*).

[85] His expression "real Buddha-nature" (*snying po dngos*), referring to what abides in the resultant state (i.e. the Buddha), seems to presuppose rNgog's gloss on RGV I.27/28. In terms of the *dharmakāya*, rNgog takes the existence of Buddha-nature as respectively "real" (*dngos*) in the Buddha and as "nominal" (*brtags pa*) in sentient beings. See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 18b5–6; B 29a4–5.

[86] Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Blo mchog pa'i 'dri lan*, vol. 17, 566.3–4: "(Syllogism:) Sentient beings do not possess real Buddha-nature, since [they] are [still] possessed of stains. [This logical] pervasion [is established], for real Buddha-nature does not co-exist with stains. It does not exist among them, for if [Buddha-nature]—which is inseparable from [Buddha-]qualities, such as the [Ten] Powers—were to co-exist with stains, there would be the undesired consequence that those [qualities that co-exist with impurities] would not have the definitive (i.e. real) qualities of the [Ten] Powers and the like." (*sems can rnams chos can | snying po dngos dang ldan pa ma yin te | dri ma dang bcas pa'i phyir | khyab pa yod de | snying po dngos ni dri ma dang lhan cig tu mi gnas pa'i phyir | der mi gnas te | stobs sogs yon tan dang dbyer med pa ni de dang lhan cig tu gnas na | de dag stobs sogs kyi yon tan mtshan nyid pa ma yin par thal ba'i phyir ro ||*). See also Shākya-mchog-ldan, *rGyud bla rnam bshad*, vol. 13, 122.7–123.1.

nature" (or rather "Buddha-essence"—*snying po* in the sense of a resultant essence only present in a buddha). In this regard, his position is close to Bu-ston's, though Bu-ston explicitly takes the Buddha-nature doctrine to be provisional (*neyārtha*).[87] On the other hand, Shākya-mchog-ldan does not agree with rNgog, who takes Buddha-nature in the sense of a non-affirming negation and emptiness.[88]

Shākya-mchog-ldan on the Seven Vajrapadas

Shākya-mchog-ldan discusses the scheme of the seven *vajrapada*s extensively in his *Byams chos rab gsal*.[89] Among the seven *vajapada*s, he says, the *dhātu* is taught as being a "substantive cause" (*upādāna*), whereas the other six, consisting of two sets of three items (i.e. the Three Jewels and Awakening, the Buddha-qualities, and the Buddha-activities), are taught as being either "attendant conditions" (*sahakārin*) or results. The six as expounded in RGV I.20 and 21 are spread out over both the conventional and ultimate levels, and over the causal and resultant stages (see the first table below). By contrast, RGVV (on I.1) asserts that the *vajrapada*s are confined to the ultimate level, so that the teaching of the six *vajapada*s on the conventional level in RGV I.20 has only "provisional meaning" (*neyārtha*). These verses dwell upon *neyārtha* with the purpose of presenting the stages of purification of the *dhātu*. Shākya-mchog-ldan divides the six *vajapada*s on the conventional level into two modes, namely, conditions (based on verses I.3 and 19) and results (based on verses I.5 and 23). He further subdivides the results into two types, namely "provisional/temporal" (*gnas skabs*) results and "ultimate" (*mthar thug*) results (see the

[87] See Chapter 10, pp. 336–338, above. Shākya-mchog-ldan refers in passing to those who claim that the RGV is *neyārtha*. See Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Sangs rgyas kyi snying po'i rnam par bshad pa mdo rgyud kyi snying po*, vol. 13, 128.7: *la la theg chen rgyud bla ma || drang ba'i don du 'grel ces zer || rgyud bla'i bstan bcos drang don du || 'chad pa'i 'grel byed sngon ma byung ||*.

[88] Shākya-mchog-ldan, *rGyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi nges don la sgro skur sel ba'i le'u*, vol. 13, 210.4–5: "As for this text (i.e. the RGV), declaring [that it says that] Buddha-nature is emptiness in the sense of a non-affirming negation is not at all compatible with the approach taken by Asaṅga's commentary. [Rather than] propounding Buddha-nature as if it were in some manner emptiness, this text (i.e. the RGV) explains it as a [form of] gnosis not devoid of the supreme qualities" (*gzhung 'dir ni || med par dgag pa'i stong nyid la || snying por 'chad dang thogs med kyis || 'grel tshul cha shas tsam yang med || stong pa nyid kyi tshul du ni || brjod pa'i sangs rgyas snying po ni || bla med chos kyis mi stong pa'i || ye shes de la gzhung 'dis bshad ||*). Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Byams chos rab gsal*, vol. 24, 25.1: "… since the basic texts of Maitreya are hardly identifiable as texts that expound [the doctrine of] intrinsic emptiness" (*byams chos kyi rtsa ba ni rang stong 'chad byed kyi gzhung* [= gzhung du] *rnyed dka' ba'i phyir*). Concerning *Byams chos rab gsal*, see Turenne 2010.

[89] Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Byams chos rab gsal*, vol. 11, 25.1–27.2.

second table below).

[Table: Shākya-mchog-ldan on the six *vajrapada*s (*dhātu* being excluded)]

conventional level	RGV I.20	confined to the causal stages	*neyārtha*
ultimate level	RGV I.21	confined to the resultant stage	*nītārtha*

[Table: Shākya-mchog-ldan on the six *vajapada*s on the conventional level]

the Three Jewels as conditions	RGV I.3, 19	–
the Three Jewels as results	RGV I.5, 23	provisional/ultimate

When presenting his own scheme, Shākya-mchog-ldan refers to rNgog's position, which corresponds with Shākya-mchog-ldan's scheme as it relates to the conventional level:

> According to the teaching of the Great Translator (i.e. rNgog) with regard to this [scheme of the six *vajapada*s (i.e. the Three Jewels, Awakening, the Buddha-qualities, and the Buddha-activities) on the conventional level], the stages of the path that feature the Three Jewels as results are called the Cycle of *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*, while the stages of the path that feature the Three Jewels as causes are called the Cycle of the Three Jewels.[90]

rNgog's actual wording differs from this presentation of it, for in his RGV commentary he states that the Three Jewels are causes in the scheme of the Cycle of *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*, while they are results in the scheme of the Cycle of the Three Jewels.[91]

Shākya-mchog-ldan on RGV I.27 and 28

Shākya-mchog-ldan does not accept rNgog's view that Buddha-nature is mind's emptiness of impurity.

> It is unfortunate that the Great Translator (i.e. rNgog) considered Buddha-

[90] Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Byams chos rab gsal*, vol. 11, 28.1–2: *'dir lo tsa ba chen po'i gsungs gis | dkon mchog gsum 'bras bur bzhag pa'i lam rim 'di la mi gnas pa'i mya ngan las 'das pa'i 'khor lo zhes bya la | dkon mchog gsum po rgyu* [= *rgyur*] *bzhag pa'i lam rim 'di la ni rgyu dkon mchog gi 'khor lo zhes bya'o || zhes gsung ngo ||*. On the *vajrapada*s, see also *ibid*. 25.1–28.1

[91] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 2a1 and 2a5–6; B 3a1 and 3b1.

> nature to be mind's emptiness of stains.[92] This is because one needs to explain the identity of Buddha-nature in terms of its qualities, its identity as emptiness alone being impossible.[93]

It is true, as pointed out by Shākya-mchog-ldan, that rNgog takes Buddha-nature in the sense of emptiness.[94] However, rNgog also asserts that the *dharmakāya* (as one aspect of Buddha-nature) partakes of both the ultimate and conventional, which respectively correspond to emptiness and "qualities" (*yon tan*).[95] Here we see, then, rNgog actually admitting the qualities in Buddha-nature on the conventional level. Shākya-mchog-ldan, having rejected rNgog's position, continues on by criticizing other traditions and concludes as follows:

> The later Tibetan [tradition],[96] which defines Buddha-nature in terms of the inherent disposition (*prakṛtisthagotra*), is not acceptable either. This is because one must define the *gotra* as something possessed of stains, whereas Buddha-nature must be defined as something from which no stains need to be removed. Therefore *tathatā*, which by nature is pure—[untainted] by faults—and in which all [Buddha-]qualities, such as the [Ten] Powers, spontaneously abide, is "real Buddha-nature" (*snying po dngos*), as defined in the teachings of this treatise (i.e. RGV). The teaching [of RGV I.27]: "... given that *tathatā* is not differentiated, all [sentient beings] possess Buddha-nature," and of the

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92 Lit. emptiness regarding the stained mind (*dri ma dang bcas pa'i sems kyi stong pa nyid*).

93 Shākya-mchog-ldan, *rGyud bla rnam bshad*, vol. 13, 122.5–122.6: *lo tstsha ba chen po dri ma dang bcas pa'i sems kyi stong pa nyid snying por byas pa ni legs pa ma yin te | snying po'i ngos 'dzin ni yon tan gyi cha nas 'chad dgos kyi | stong pa nyid rkyang pa la ngos 'dzin de mi rung ba'i phyir |*.

94 rNgog discusses Buddha-nature in a soteriological context (that of the Cycle of the Three Jewels), stating that the *dhātu*, namely Buddha-nature, whose nature is emptiness, equates to a well-trained mind, one at some stage between the *saṃbhāramārga* and the 7th stage. He also states that all *vajrapada*s have causal and resultant aspects and are aspects of Buddha-nature. See rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 2b5–6; B 4a5–6: *yang dag pa'i lta ba sngon* (A: *mngon*) *du btang nas thar pa'i don du* (B: *phyir* for *don du*) *brtson pa tshogs kyi lam nas brtsams nas* (A: *te*) *byang chub sems dpa'i sa bdun pa'i bar du thob pa'i rang bzhin gyi* (A: *gi*, B: om.) *dge ba'i tshogs kyis legs par bsgrubs pa'i sems kyi rgyud stong pa nyid kyi rang bzhin ni | nye bar len pa yin te | khams so ||*; *ibid*. A 3b2–3; B 5b3: *des na 'bras bu dkon mchog gsum dang | nye ba'i rgyu rkyen bzhi dang | ring ba'i rgyu rkyen bzhi po ni mtha' dag kyang khams nyid do || 'di ltar stong pa nyid kyi rang bzhin du gyur pa'i sems kyi rgyud ni khams yin no ||*; *ibid*. A 26a3; B 41b1: *chos sku de ni stong pa nyid yin la | stong pa nyid kyang sems can thams cad* (B om. *thams cad*) *la yod pa'i phyir ro ||*.

95 rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 27b4; B 44a6–b1: *yang na bden pa gnyis kyi rang bzhin don dam par stong pa nyid dang | kun rdzob tu yon tan rang bzhin gyis gnas par grub pa ni chos kyi sku'o ||*

96 See, for instance, rGyal-tshab's position in this chapter, above.

> commentary and [related] sūtras, has to be taken "literally" (*yathāruta*). [RGV I.28,] on the other hand: "Given that the body of the Perfect Buddha pervades [everything], every [sentient being] has Buddha-nature," is not to be taken literally; [RGV I.28:] "… because the *gotra* exists," teaches the intentional ground; [RGV I.157:] "The depressed mind, contempt for those who are inferior.…," teaches the purpose;[97] [RGV I.84:] "There is no *nirvāṇa* apart from buddhahood," teaches the "disproof of the literal sense [of a provisional statement]" (*mukhyārthabādha*).[98]

Shākya-mchog-ldan explicitly distinguishes Buddha-nature (i.e. the result, the *dharmakāya*) from the *gotra* (i.e. the cause) and equates Buddha-nature with the resultant *tathatā*, which is endowed with the full range of qualities. This account is strikingly in accord with Tāranātha's summary[99] but is substantially at odds with Dol-po-pa's *gzhan stong*, which takes Buddha-nature as abiding in the causal state.

Shākya-mchog-ldan also sets forth the criteria pertaining to provisional meaning (*neyārtha*), thereby intimating, following Sa-paṇ, that the RGV is a work of provisional meaning.[100] He does not, to be sure, state this explicitly. Similar points are discussed in his *Sangs rgyas kyi snying po'i rnam par bshad pa mdo rgyud kyi snying po*[101] and *Blo mchog pa'i 'dri lan*.[102]

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[97] I have emended the reading *dgongs pa* "intention" to *dgos pa* "purpose" based on the context (the purpose—to remove the five faults—is presented in verse 157). As to the sense of "intention" and so forth, Sa-paṇ and Bu-ston interpret them each in his own way (see Chapter 10, pp. 309f., 336–338).

[98] Shākya-mchog-ldan, *rGyud bla rnam bshad*, vol. 13, 122.6–123.4: *bod phyi ma snying po'i ngos 'dzin rang bzhin gnas rigs la byed pa yang mi 'thad de | rigs ni dri ma dang bcas pa'i cha nas ngos 'dzin la | snying po ni dri ma sel rgyu med pa'i cha nas ngos 'dzin dgos pa'i phyir | de bas na skyon thams cad rang bzhin gyis rnam par dag cing | stobs sogs yon tan ji snyed pa rang bzhin lhun grub tu gnas pa'i de bzhin nyid ni | gzhung 'di'i bstan bya nyid du ngos 'dzin pa'i snying po dngos te | ji skad du | de bzhin nyid dbyer med pa'i phyir || thams cad sangs rgyas snying po can || zhes pa'i gzhung 'grel mdo dang bcas pa ni sgra ji bzhin pa nyid do || yang ji skad du | rdzogs sangs sku ni 'phro ba'i phyir || kun kyang sangs rgyas snying po can || zhes pa ni sgra ji bzhin pa ma yin pa nyid de | rigs yod phyir na zhes pas dgongs gzhi dang | sems zhum sems can dman la brnyas pa dang || zhes pa* [= pas] *dgongs* [= dgos] *pa dang | sangs rgyas nyid las ma gtogs mya ngan 'das pa med ces pas dngos la gnod byed ston no* ||. Cf. Jackson 1987: 393 n. 83; Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 75 n. 171.

[99] See Tāranātha, *Zab don khyad par nyer gcig pa*, 790.7–791.1: *snying po la yon tan ngo bo dbyer med rang bzhin nyid ldan du gsungs pa 'bras bu kho na'i skabs yin la | rgyu'i skabs su yon tan 'byung rung gi nus pa sa bon tsam yod par bzhed.*

[100] Cf. Sa-paṇ, *sDom gsum rab dbye*, I.138–139.

[101] Shākya-mchog-ldan, vol. 13, 131.6–7: *rgyal sras blo ldan shes rab kyis || rigs dang de bzhin nyid dang ni || chos sku gsum la rims bzhin du || rgyu dang rang bzhin 'bras bu yis || snying po zhes bya'i brdar btags nas || sems can thams cad sangs rgyas kyi || snying po can du bzhed pa yin ||.*

[102] Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Blo mchog pa'i 'dri lan*, vol. 17, 563.6–564.3: *gangs can gyi shing rta chen po*

Shākya-mchog-ldan on Non-affirming Negation

In his *Byams chos rab gsal*, Shākya-mchog-ldan criticizes rNgog's understanding of Buddha-nature in terms of a "non-affirming negation":

> rNgog the Great Translator and his followers accept Buddha-nature in terms of a non-affirming negation, that is, one which excludes all extremes of conceptual proliferation (*prapañca*). This is not agreeable for [the following four reasons:] (1) there is no scriptural support in Maitreya's basic text; (2) it contradicts the instruction [resulting] from the "objection and response" [argumentation taught in RGV I.156–157:] "clouds and dreams and the like";[103] (3) to exclude all conceptual proliferation and go on to explain [Buddha-nature] as being [merely what is] inseparable from the [Buddha-]qualities, such as the [Ten] Powers, is contrary to logic; (4) it is difficult to take Maitreya's basic texts as works expounding intrinsic emptiness (*rang stong*).[104]

In the last reason (no. 4), Shākya-mchog-ldan asserts that none of Maitreya's texts, including the RGV, teaches *rang stong*, the axiomatic nature of a non-affirming negation, or Madhyamaka emptiness. In another context of the same work, the *Byams chos rab gsal*, he again criticizes rNgog for taking the RGV to be a Madhyamaka work that admits the non-affirming negation into its reasoning.[105] In the

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rngog lo tsā ba'i gsung gis | sangs rgyas dang de'i snying po don gcig pa ma yin te | sangs rgyas ni stobs sogs yon tan rdzogs shing | dri ma mtha' dag spangs pa'i chos kyi sku nyid yin la | sangs rgyas kyi snying po ni de lta bu'i spangs rtogs kyis khyad par du byed dgos pa ma yin pa | gzhi lam 'bras bu'i gnas skabs thams cad du khyab pa'i dbyings rang bzhin gyis rnam par dag pa med dgag gi cha de'o || zhes gsung || ... sangs rgyas kyi snying po'i ngos 'dzin chos nyid med dgag gi cha la 'chad pa de ni rigs pa ma yin te |.

[103] RGV I.156 presents an objection concerning the incompatibility between the existence of Buddha-nature in all sentient beings, as taught in the RGV, and the emptiness of all phenomena, as taught in the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*, while RGV 1.157 responds to it. Shākya-mchog-ldan's criticism of rNgog at this point is that he simply ignores this incompatibility.

[104] Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Byams chos rab gsal*, vol. 11, 24.6–25.1: *rngog lo chen po rjes 'brangs dang bcas pas snying po'i ngos 'dzin spros pa'i mtha' thams cad bkag pa'i med dgag gi cha la 'chad pa ni legs pa ma yin te | byams chos rtsa ba'i lung med pa dang | sprin dang rmi lam zhes sogs dris lan gyi lung dang 'gal ba dang | spros pa mtha' dag bkag nas stobs sogs yon tan dang dbyer med du 'chad pa rigs pa dang mi mthun pa'i phyir dang | byams chos kyi rtsa ba ni rang stong 'chad byed kyi gzhung* [= gzhung du] *rnyed dka' ba'i phyir |*. I emend the text by adding *du* after *gzhung* on the basis of the context. Shākya-mchog-ldan considers that rNgog views the RGV as a *rang stong* text.

[105] Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Byams chos rab gsal*, vol. 11, 9.2–4: "The first argument (*gtan tshigs dang po*) proposed by you as a reason [for accepting] that the RGV is a treatise of those who assert

dBu ma 'byung tshul, too, Shākya-mchog-ldan discusses a similar point.[106]

Shākya-mchog-ldan on the Two Truths

Shākya-mchog-ldan encapsulates rNgog's position regarding the twofold truth as follows:[107]

> Furthermore, rNgog the Great Translator asserts that the defining characteristic of the twofold [truth] lies in [conventional truth] being something

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niḥsvabhāva (i.e. Mādhyamikas) cannot be validated, for [the following three reasons]: (1) Even though rNgog the Great Translator and his followers [wrongly] support the identification of Buddha-nature in terms of a non-affirming negation, the identification [of Buddha-nature] in terms of an affirming negation is clearly stated in the RGV and in [Asaṅga's] commentary [on it]. (2) In general, it is clearly stated in all 'scriptural traditions' (*gzhung lugs*) including the treatises of Maitreya and related [works] that one should expound the identity of *tathatā* as 'non-dual gnosis' (*gnyis med kyi ye shes*). (3) Again, in the scriptural texts belonging to the highest vehicle, it is stated that one [should] expound the identity of Buddha-nature as the gnosis of the *dharmadhātu*." (*khyad kyi rgyud bla ngo bo nyid med par smra ba'i bstan bcos yin pa'i shes byed du bkod pa'i gtan tshigs dang po ma grub ste | de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po med dgag gi cha nas ngos 'dzin pa rngog lo chen po rjes 'brang dang bcas pa'i bzhed pa yin kyang | ma yin dgag pa'i cha nas ngos 'dzin pa gzhung de nyid kyi rtsa 'grel na gsal ba'i phyir dang | spyir yang de bzhin nyid kyi ngos 'dzin gnyis med kyi ye shes la 'chad dgos pa ni byams chos rjes 'brang dang bcas pa'i gzhung lugs mtha' dag na gsal ba'i phyir dang | theg pa bla na med pa'i gzhung las kyang snying po'i ngos 'dzin chos dbyings ye shes la 'chad par gsal ba'i phyir ro ||*)
"The first argument" is set forth in the passage: "… because the RGV primarily teaches what is called 'Buddha-nature' as a non-affirming negation that negates all extremes of conceptual proliferation (*prapañca*)." (*Byams chos rab gsal*, 3.4: *rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i ming can spros pa'i mtha' thams cad bkag pa'i med par dgag pa de nyid brjod bya'i gtso bor ston pa'i phyir*).

[106] See Shākya-mchog-ldan, *dBu ma 'byung tshul*, vol. 4, 239.7–240.2: "The Great Translator (i.e. rNgog) [takes] the contents of the four [lesser] works of Maitreya (i.e. all except for the RGV) to be of 'provisional meaning' (*neyārtha*) but the RGV to be of 'definitive meaning' (*nītārtha*; see rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 1b1–3; B 1b2–2a1), and this [latter] is what is called Buddha-nature. According to [rNgog's] definition of it, [Buddha-nature] is that aspect of all phenomena which is their natural purity, completely pervading all knowable objects. Furthermore, [rNgog understood it in the sense of] a non-affirming negation, on [the analogy of] space, and asserts that it was taught in [verse I.154]: 'In this [*dhātu*], there is nothing to be removed' and so forth" (*de yang lo chen ni | byams pa'i chos bzhi po'i bstan bya'i don drang don dang | rgyud bla'i bstan bya'i don ni nges pa'i don te | bde bar gshegs pa'i snying po'i ming can de'o | de'i ngos 'dzin yang | chos thams cad kyi rang bzhin rnam dag gi cha | shes bya thams cad la khyab byed du 'jug pa de nyid yin la | de yang med par dgag pa nam mkha' lta bu zhig ste | ji skad du | 'di la bsal bya ci yang med || ces sogs gyis bstan pa de'o zhes bzhed |*).

[107] See rNgog, *ibid.*, A 4a2–3; B 6a6–b2. See also rNgog's *sPrings yig bdud rtsi'i thig le*, verses 12–13 (Kano 2007 and 2009).

perceivable mentally, and [ultimate truth] not.[108]

Shākya-mchog-ldan's Mus rabs 'byams pa'i dris lan

In his *Mus rabs 'byams pa'i dris lan*, Shākya-mchog-ldan discusses the distinction between rNgog's and the Sa-skya-pas' positions (Shākya-mchog-ldan follows the latter). This work seems to be a reply to objections to Shākya-mchog-ldan's presentation of Buddha-nature in his *gSer gyi thur ma*, a commentary on Sa-paṇ's *sDom gsum rab dbye*.[109] Mus-rabs-'byams-pa might be Mus-ram-pa dKon-mchog-grags-pa, a disciple of Shākya-mchog-ldan mentioned in Kun-dga'-grol-mchog's biography of Shākya-mchog-ldan.[110] A remarkable feature of this work is its richness of reference to various Tibetan scholars' positions regarding Buddha-nature.[111]

An outline of the *Mus rabs 'byams pa'i dris lan* may be given as follows: Section [I], an introduction, surveys various positions regarding Buddha-nature (vol. 23, 406.6–407.6). In section [II], subsection [a1] summarizes rNgog's position and refutes it (*ibid*. 407.7–409.5), while subsection [a2] presents replies to thirteen objections put forward by Mus-rabs-'byams-pa (*ibid*. 409.5–416.6). Subsection [b] presents the Sa-skya-pas' definitive position (*ibid*. 416.6–417.4).

[Table: A topical outline of the *Mus rabs 'byams pa'i dris lan*:]

I. Summarized statement of claims of the reciters (*klog pa pa dag gi 'dod pa mdor bsdus te brjod pa*) (406.5–)

II. Sa-paṇ's and rNgog's positions having been distinguished, it is shown that nobody at all has upheld their [two] traditions in the later period (*sa rngog gi bzhed pa so sor phye nas phyi dus 'dir sus kyang lugs de dag gang yang ma bzung bar bstan pa*) (407.6–)

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[108] Shākya-mchog-ldan, *dBu ma rnam par nges pa*, vol. 15, 56.5–6: *yang rngog lo chen pos | blo'i yul du bya rung mi rung la | gnyis po'i mtshan nyid du bzhed pa yang*.

[109] Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Mus rabs 'byams pa'i dris lan*: 406.5–6: *yang gser gyi thur ma zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos su sangs rgyas kyi snying po'i rnam par gzhag pa mdo tsam bshad pa la | rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos rtsa 'grel dang 'gal ba kho nar song ba bcu gsum tsam zhig brjod pa 'di ni zlog par mi nus so || zhes gsung pa lta bu zhig snang ngo ||*. The *gSer gyi thur ma* (composed in 1481; see Caumanns 2015: 402 [Anhang E. 1 "Datierte Schreiberkolophone"], 409–410 [Anhang E. 2 "Datierte Druckkolophone"]) is contained in the Collected Works, vol. 6, pp. 437–647, and vol. 7, pp. 1–229.

[110] Caumanns 2015: 338, no. 35. I owe this supposition to Caumanns (in a personal communication).

[111] In this work, Shākya-mchog-ldan refers to the following scholars (the numbers in parentheses indicate the relevant locations in it): rNgog (407.3, 407.6, 408.6, 408.7, 409.4, 410.3–4, 412.4, 413.1); rGyal-tshab (408.5); Jo-nang-pa (413.1, 414.6); Bu-ston (407.1, 417.6); Tsong-kha-pa (417.7); g.Yag-ston (407.2, 408.7); Red-mda'-ba (407.2); Rong-ston (407.2, 408.7); Lo-tsā-ba Skyabs-mchog (407.2); Sa-paṇ (406.6, 409.4).

a. The tradition of the great translator rNgog, [while] having been explained, has not been conclusively established these days (*rngog lo chen po'i lugs bshad nas deng sang lugs de dpyis ma phyin pa*).

1. A substantive explanation [of rNgog's position] (*de ltar bshad pa dngos*) (407.7–)

2. Thirteen scriptural contradictions have not entered our tradition (*kho bo cag la lung 'gal bcu gsum mi 'jug pa*) (409.5–)

i. The establishment of ture matters (*don gyi* [= *gyis*] *khog phub pa*) (409.6–)

ii. The presentation of each substantial reply (*dngos lan so sor btab pa*) (411.3–)

b. Sa-paṇ's tradition having been explained, [it is shown that] later followers do not uphold it (*sa lugs bshad nas rjes 'jug gis de ma bzung ba*) (416.6–)

Concluding verse (417.4–418.1)

It is subsection [a1] (*ibid*. 407.7–409.5) that is relevant to our present purpose. The first half of the section summarizes rNgog's position: Buddha-nature is identified as the *dharmakāya* (*ibid*. 407.7–408.1). Sentient beings possess a portion of such Buddha-nature and possess the cause of it (*ibid*. 408.1–2). The existence of the causal Buddha-nature (i.e. the *gotra*) abiding in sentient beings is not real, whereas that of the resultant Buddha-nature (i.e. the *dharmakāya*) is, but it does not abide in them. The inherent Buddha-nature (i.e. *tathatā*) for its part truly exists in both causal and resultant states (*ibid*. 408.2–3). The intrinsic characteristic of Buddha-nature (i.e. the *dharmakāya*) is different from the *gotra* (i.e. the causal state), since only the former is completely pure, being free from all stains (*ibid*. 408.3–4).

In the second half of the section, Shākya-mchog-ldan refutes rNgog's position: rNgog's elevation of non-affirming negation is incompatible with the teaching of the RGV (*ibid*. 408.7–409.1).[112] Of the two traditions relating to Maitreya's works—the analytical tradition, which defines emptiness in terms of a non-affirming negation (i.e. rNgog's position), and the meditative tradition, which defines it in terms of an affirming negation (i.e. the position of bTsan Kha-bo-che and the *gzhan stong pa*s)—it is the latter that accords with the actual teaching of the RGV (*ibid*. 409.1–2).[113] rNgog accepts Buddha-nature as ultimately real, whereas Sa-paṇ accepts it as only nominally so (*ibid*. 409.4). rNgog's position, that the RGV is a text of the Second Wheel of the Dharma (i.e. Madhyamaka), is not acceptable to Shākya-mchog-ldan (*ibid*. 409.5).

[112] Similar critiques are found in *ibid*. 409.4–5, 410.3–4, 412.4–5.

[113] Shākya-mchog-ldan mentions two other conflicting ways of viewing Buddha-nature: the sūtras belonging to the Last Wheel of the Dharma (such as the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*), which teach that Buddha-nature is the Buddha himself, and the RGV, which teaches that it is the Buddha-qualities (*ibid*. 409.3–4).

PAṆ-CHEN BSOD-NAMS-GRAGS-PA (1478–1554)

Paṇ-chen bSod-nams-grags-pa, the 15th "abbot of dGa'-ldan monastery" (*dga' ldan khri pa*, tenure 1529–1535),[114] is famous for his signifcant contributions to consolidating the dGe-lugs-pa philosophical system established by Tsong-kha-pa and his two main disciples, rGyal-tshab and mKhas-grub (*rje yab sras gsum*).

In 1540 bSod-nams-grags-pa composed a commentary on the RGV, *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos 'grel pa dang bcas pa'i dka' 'grel gnad kyi zla 'od*. Its colophon states that he composed the commentary in accordance with rGyal-tshab's wish, having first studied the extensive commentary by Yong-'dzin-dam-pa Don-yod-dpal-ldan (1445–1524) and having analyzed several other Tibetan commentaries.[115] As he himself states, his philosophical position is in line with rGyal-tshab's position, who accepts Buddha-nature only in the sense of a cause.[116]

One of the special features of bSod-nams-grags-pa's commentary is a number of explicit references to several different positions taken with regard to Buddha-nature, including those of rNgog, Sa-skya Paṇḍita, Dol-po-pa, and Rong-ston. In the following, I present his discussion of rNgog's position.[117]

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[114] He was also the abbot of both Se ra and 'Bras spungs monasteries and served as *mkhan po* in the ordination ceremony of the 3rd Dalai Lama. He is the author of *yig cha*s important for later branches of the dGe-lugs-pa.

[115] bSod-nams-grags-pa, *rGyud bla dka' 'grel*, 467.2–4: *ces theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos 'grel pa dang bcas pa'i dka' 'grel gnad kyi zla 'od ces bya ba 'di ni yongs 'dzin dam pa don yod dpal ldan pa'i zhal snga nas las ṭik chen gyi steng nas bshad pa lan gcig thos shing || phyis gzhung 'grel pa bod ṭik kha yar dang bcas pa la zhib tu bltas nas rgyal tshab rin po che'i rnam bshad kyi dgongs pa bzhin shākya'i dge slong spong ba pa bsod nams grags pa'i dpal rnam dpyod mchog gi sdes thub pa'i bstan pa lo nyis stong sum brgya bdun cu rtsa la nye ba | le'u bcu'i nang nas ting nge 'dzin gyi le'u'i dus kun ldan zhes pa lcags pho byi ba'i lo la dge ldan zur khang du sbyar ba'i yi ge pa ni dka' bcu 'dzin pa nyi ma bzang po'o ||*.

[116] bSod-nams-grags-pa asserts that the RGV teaches Madhyamaka doctrine (374.3–5), with the *samudānītagotra* featuring as the prime cause of awakening (395.7–396.1); Buddha-nature being causal (396.1–6); and the *samudānītagotra* developing the faculties inherent in the *dharmakāya* (430.2–5).

[117] Seyfort Ruegg particularizes bSod-nams-grags-pa's position with regard to the *gotra* and Buddha-nature based on his commentaries on the RGV and the AA. See Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 66, 293 n. 2, 296, 305.

bSod-nams-grags-pa on the Seven Vajrapadas

bSod-nams-grags-pa refers to rNgog's thesis relating to the two "Cycles" and accepts only the Cycle of *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*, thereby clearly following rGyal-tshab.[118]

bSod-nams-grags-pa on the Jewel of the Saṅgha

Regarding the eightfold quality of the Jewel of the Saṅgha, bSod-nams-grags-pa adopts rNgog's position rather than that of Tsong-kha-pa (who in his *gSer phreng* rejects rNgog's view).

> Although [Tsong-kha-pa] did not enumerate the eight qualities [of the Jewel of the Saṅgha] in his *gSer phreng*, it seems that the [true] purport of this *Vyākhyā* (i.e. RGVV) is to take the qualities to be eight [in number], the Great Translator also expounding eight.[119]

Indeed, Tsong-kha-pa does not agree with rNgog's view:

> Some (i.e. rNgog in particular) take three topics: primal knowledge of reality (1) as it is, (2) as to its extent, (3) [in the form of] individual self-cognition, and three [other] topics: release from obscurations in the form of (4) attachment, (5) hindrances, (6) the lower [state, that of the Śrāvaka,] to be perfect qualities, yielding (7) primal knowledge [as such] relating to the first three, and (8) release [as such] relating to the latter three. And then he explains that [the Jewel of] the Saṅgha has eight qualities. Though this may be tolerably acceptable, I reject it, since it is not explained in the *Vyākhyā* (i.e. RGVV) and

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[118] See rGyal-tshab, *rGyud bla ṭīka*, 6b3–4 and bSod-nams-grags-pa, *rGyud bla dka' 'grel*, 377.1–4: *gnas bdun po der 'du zhing grangs nges pa yang yin te | rang gi thob bya'i 'bras bu mthar thug pa dkon mchog gsum | sgrub par byed pa'i rgyu la nyer len dang lhan cig byed rkyen gnyis su nges pa las | dang po khams bde bar gshegs pa'i snying pos 'grub | gnyis pa ni gzhan rgyud la grub zin pa'i byang chub | yon tan | 'phrin las gsum gyis 'grub pa'i phyir te | khams bde bar gshegs pa'i snying po | sbyong byed kyi chos kyis sbyangs pa la mthar thug 'bras bu dkon mchog gsum 'grub cing | gang zag gzhan mngon par rdzogs sangs rgyas nas chos kyi 'khor la bskor ba las rang rgyud kyi sgrib pa sbyong bar nus pa'i phyir || 'di la lo tstsha ba chen pos | bstan bcos kyi lus bsdu ba na | mi gnas pa'i myang 'das 'khor lo'i dbang du byas pa dang | dkon mchog 'khor lo'i dbang du byas pa'i bshad pa gnyis 'byung ba'i phyi ma gong du ji skad bshad pa dang khog gcig par snang ngo ||.*

[119] bSod-nams-grags-pa, *rGyud bla dka' 'grel*, 388.6: *gser 'phreng du yon tan brgyad kyi grangs 'dren pa ma mdzad kyang | brgyad du byed pa rnam bshad 'di'i dgongs par snang la | lo tstsha ba chen pos kyang brgyad du bshad do ||.*

is not clarified in this way in the basic text (i.e. RGV).[120]

bSod-nams-grags-pa on RGV I.27

bSod-nams-grags-pa agrees with rGyal-tshab in accepting Buddha-nature only in the sense of a cause, and so rejects rNgog's and Rong-ston's position, both of whom posit three aspects of Buddha-nature, namely causal, inherent, and resultant.[121] In order to refute this latter position, bSod-nams-grags-pa seizes upon three passages from the RGVV.[122] However, his argumentation is one-sided, since he ignores other passages (e.g. RGV I.28 or 144–148) that support his opponents' (i.e. rNgog's and Rong-ston's) positions.[123]

> In this context, the Great Translator (i.e. rNgog) broke down Buddha-nature into three [aspects, namely] resultant Buddha-nature, inherent (or natural) Buddha-nature, and causal Buddha-nature. And then he explained that these [aspects] were taught in the three successive *pāda*s (*rkang pa*) [of RGV I.27]. This same [explanation] is "adopted" (*sor bzhag*) in Rong-ston's commentary.[124] [However, such an explanation] is not acceptable, being disproved by [the following three passages:] (1) As shown in the commentary (i.e. RGVV): "Here reality mingled with stains is a term for the *dhātu*, which is unreleased from the sheath of defilements—namely [for] Buddha-nature,"[125] [and the RGV] taught that Buddha-nature is not necessarily free from stains. (2) Again, as shown in the [same] commentary: "buddhahood is generated by the three bodies of the Buddha. Hence it is taught that Buddha-nature is the

[120] Tsong-kha-pa, *gSer phreng*, 128b5–129a1: *kha cig ji lta ji snyed nang rig pa ste gsum | chags sgrib thogs sgrib dman sgrib las grol ba gsum dang po gsum ni rig pa dang phyi ma gsum ni grol ba phun tshogs kyi yon tan du byas nas dge 'dun yon tan brgyad ldan du 'chad pa ni 'ol spyi tsam sbyar du rung yang 'grel pas ma bshad cing rtsa ba la yang snga ma lta bur mi gsal bas bdag gis dor ro ||*.

[121] rNgog, *rGyud bla don bsdus*, A 18b5; B 29a3–4 and Rong-ston, *rGyud bla legs bshad*, 80.17–81.1.

[122] RGVV 21.9 and 72.9–10, and RGV I.3.

[123] Seyfort Ruegg (1969: 293 n. 2) is perhaps the first to have drawn attention to this passage of bSod-nams-grags-pa's, which goes on to consider others who took a stand on the issue, including Shākya-mchog-ldan (*rGyud bla dka' 'grel*, 396.6–397.3; see also Shākya-mchog-ldan, *rGyud bla rnam bshad*, vol. 13, 122.7–123.1), an anonymous scholar who equates the *ālayavijñāna* with Buddha-nature (*rGyud bla dka' 'grel*, 397.3–398.5), Dol-po-pa Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan (*ibid.* 397.6–399.2), Sa-skya Paṇḍita, and rTa-nag-pa (*ibid.* 399.2–406.7). This rTa-nag-pa is presumably rTa-nag Nor-bzang-rgya-mtsho (1423–1489), though he could be Go-ram-pa, whose main seat was at rTa-nag-thub-bstan-rnam-rgyal, north of gZhis-ka-rtse.

[124] Rong-ston, *rGyud bla legs bshad*, 80.17–81.1.

[125] RGVV 21.9: *tatra samalā tathatā yo dhātur avinirmuktakleśakośas tathāgatagarbha ity ucyate*.

cause of one's attaining it. In this case, then, the *dhātu* has the connotation of a cause,"[126] [the RGV] taught that Buddha-nature or *dhātu* means only a cause. (3) [The passage] up to "From the Saṅgha arises Buddha-nature, which is [both] a constituent of gnosis and conduces to its attainment" (RGV I.3), teaches that until one attains the stainless Buddha-gnosis, one calls [the *dhātu*] "Buddha-nature," but after attaining a buddha's gnosis, one no longer calls it "Buddha-nature."[127]

A SUMMARY AND FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

Rong-ston

Rong-ston composed two works on the RGV: a one-folio summary of the stages of the various soteriological paths described in the RGV and an extensive commentary on the RGV. The first is, according to him, a summary of teachings given by Nāropa, while the latter in large part is in line with rNgog's interpretation of Buddha-nature. The difference between Rong-ston's and rNgog's interpretations, according to Śākya-mchog-ldan, is that Rong-ston equates the omnipresence of emptiness with that of Buddha-nature, while rNgog identifies Buddha-nature

[126] RGVV 72.9–10: *trividhabuddhakāyaprabhāvitatvaṃ hi tathāgatatvam | atas tatprāptaye hetus tathāgatadhātur iti | hetvartho 'tra dhātur arthaḥ |*.

[127] bSod-nams-grags-pa, *rGyud bla dka' 'grel*, 396.1–6: *de la lo tstsha ba chen po ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po la | 'bras bu'i de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po dang rang bzhin gyi de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po dang | rgyu'i de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po gsum du phye nas rim pa bzhin gzhung rkang pa gsum gyis bstan par 'chad cing | rong ṭika du yang de nyid sor bzhag tu mdzad | mi 'thad de | 'grel par | de la dri ma dang bcas pa'i de bzhin nyid ni nyon mongs pa'i sbubs las ma grol ba'i khams la de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po zhes brjod pa gang yin pa'o || zhes de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po la dri ma ma spangs pas khyab par gsungs pa dang | yang 'grel par de bzhin gshegs pa nyid ni sangs rgyas kyi sku rnam pa gsum gyis rab tu phye ba yin te | des na de bzhin gshegs pa'i khams ni de thob pa'i rgyu yin pas khams kyi don ni 'dir ni rgyu'i don yin no || zhes snying po'am khams rgyu'i don can kho nar gsungs pa dang | tshogs las snying po ye shes khams thob mthar || zhes dri ma zad pa'i sangs rgyas kyi ye shes ma thob pa tshun chad de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po zhes brjod la | sangs rgyas kyi ye shes thob nas de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po zhes mi brjod par gsungs pa sogs kyis gnod pa'i phyir ||*. A similar position was already referred to by Blo-gros-mtshungs-med (gloss on RGV I.3). See *rGyud bla sgron me*, 70.4–5: *dus ji srid du khams su bsgrang zhe na ye shes khams thob mthar te de ji lta bar mngon du ma gyur gyi bar du'o || de mngon sum du gyur pas na byang chub yin pas na ye shes de thob byang chub mchog ces pa'o ||*.

with the absence of conceptual proliferation, that is, with non-affirming negation (*spros bral med dgag*). As a further difference between rNgog and Rong-ston, Bernert (2009: 42) points out that unlike rNgog, Rong-ston accepts that the causal aspect of Buddha-nature (i.e. *prakṛtisthagotra*) pertains not only to emptiness but to the inherent luminous mind as well.

rGyal-tshab

rGyal-tshab interprets Buddha-nature as emptiness, and only accepts the causal aspect of Buddha-nature, unlike rNgog and his followers, who accept all (i.e. causal, intrinsic, and resultant) aspects of Buddha-nature. rGyal-tshab clearly avoids the position that admits the presence of the result in the causal state. In this regard, rGyal-tshab's position is the precise opposite of Bu-ston's, which sees in Buddha-nature only the resultant *dharmakāya*. rGyal-tshab takes Buddha-nature as a potential which assists in the arising of the Buddha-qualities, and takes Buddha-nature (when it means the *samudānītagotra*) as the actual cause of awakening. Of the two "Cycles" proposed by rNgog, rGyal-tshab adopts only the Cycle of the Three Jewels.

gZhon-nu-dpal

gZhon-nu-dpal mainly follows sGam-po-pa, who asserts that the RGV is in accord with Mahāmudrā. As for Buddha-nature, gZhon-nu-dpal asserts that ordinary beings are endowed only with a subtle form of Buddha-qualities. He often recurs to rNgog's position and in significant cases supports it (for instance, the two Cycles, the eight qualities of the Jewel of the Saṅgha, the interpretation of RGV I.130). The difference between rNgog's and gZhon-nu-dpal's understandings is seen, for instance, in their classifications of the ten Buddha-nature topics.

Shākya-mchog-ldan

According to Shākya-mchog-ldan, the "real Buddha-nature" (*snying po dngos*) exists not on the level of ordinary beings but at the resultant stage (i.e. the stage of a buddha) alone. He identifies Buddha-nature as the resultant Buddha-qualities and distances himself from rNgog's identification of Buddha-nature with emptiness (in the sense of a non-affirming negation). In other words, Shākya-mchog-ldan explicitly distinguishes Buddha-nature (i.e. the result, the *dharmakāya*) from the *gotra* (i.e. the cause) and equates Buddha-nature with the resultant *tathatā*, which

is endowed with the full range of qualities. Shākya-mchog-ldan's classification of the seven *vajrapada*s is again not fully compatible with rNgog's.

Paṇ-chen bSod-nams-grags-pa

Paṇ-chen bSod-nams-grags-pa consolidated the dGe-lugs-pa philosophical system established by the *rje yab sras gsum*. As he himself states, his doctrinal position vis-à-vis Buddha-nature is in line with that of rGyal-tshab's, who accepts Buddha-nature only in the sense of cause. bSod-nams-grags-pa therefore does not accept rNgog's and Rong-ston's positions, both of whom posit three aspects to Buddha-nature, namely causal, intrinsic, and resultant ones.

Conclusion to Chapters 10 and 11

The doctrinal system centered on Buddha-nature that rNgog established has had a significant and centuries-long impact on the later Tibetan tradition. Above, in order to indicate the nature and extent of this impact, I culled passages which refer or are relevant to rNgog's position from Tibetan RGV commentaries and works related to the Buddha-nature doctrine.[1]

In conclusion, I shall focus on two concerns: (1) an overview of later scholars' positions dealt with in Chapters 10 and 11 in comparison with rNgog's and (2) a summary of later scholars' reactions to rNgog's interpretation.

It is obvious that scholars of gSang phu monastery intensively studied rNgog's RGV commentaries, although their reactions are various: Gro-lung-pa faithfully follows rNgog's position, Phywa-pa follows it and sometimes develops it, and Blo-gros-mtshungs-med in most cases criticizes it. For all the manifoldness of their reactions, these gSang phu scholars are united in having felt constrained to make known their own stances vis-à-vis rNgog's position, the founder of the scholastic tradition surrounding the RGV in gSang phu.

Further, those who were active outside gSang phu monastery[2] also admit the importance of rNgog's interpretation of Buddha-nature, but they do not seem to be as deeply indebted to rNgog's position as the gSang phu scholars were. The stances of bCom-ldan-ral-gri, Sa-paṇ, Bu-ston, and sGra-tshad-pa regarding the Buddha-nature doctrine are, in fundamental points, different from rNgog's. Although bCom-ldan-ral-gri, like rNgog, takes Buddha-nature as a definitive doctrine, he identifies it with the inherent luminosity of the mind, and so is in part compatible with Dol-po-pa's position. By contrast, Sa-paṇ, Bu-ston, and sGra-tshad-pa regard Buddha-nature as a provisional doctrine and identify it with the resultant *dharmakāya*, which is present only at the stage of a buddha.

After the late 14th century, we can trace rNgog's impact on works by, for instance, Rong-ston, rGyal-tshab, bSod-nams-grags-pa, gZhon-nu-dpal, and Shākya-mchog-ldan. Rong-ston's position on Buddha-nature is quite similar to rNgog's,[3]

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1 There remain relevant works that have yet to be studied with regard to rNgog's impact.

2 Of course, they are more or less under the influence of the scholastic tradition of gSang phu monastery.

3 Some differences between rNgog's and Rong-ston's positions were pointed out by Shākya-

whereas rGyal-tshab and bSod-nams-grags-pa accept only a causal aspect to Buddha-nature (i.e. the *gotra*) and criticize rNgog's admitting a total of three aspects (causal, intrinsic, and resultant). gZhon-nu-dpal likely held that his own interpretation (that ordinary beings are endowed only with a subtle form of Buddha-qualities) did not deviate from rNgog's. Shākya-mchog-ldan identifies Buddha-nature with the resultant Buddha-qualities, which are in reality not present in ordinary beings, and criticizes rNgog's tying Buddha-nature to non-affirmative negation.

The manifoldness of these positions stems from basic differences in the foundations upon which these scholars established each a doctrinal hierarchy of his own to span the entire Buddhist teaching (including the Buddha-nature doctrine).[4]

To summarize their positions, we may reconsider Shākya-mchog-ldan's presentation of various positions on Buddha-nature in his *Blo mchog pa'i dri lan* (see Chapter 11).

[Table: Shākya-mchog-ldan's classification of positions of Tibetan scholars]

I: All sentient beings have Buddha-nature

- a: subject to the constraints of non-affirmative negation (rNgog)
- b: subject to the constraints of affirmative negation (Dol-po-pa)
- c: which is characterized by natural purity (probably dGe-lugs-pa)
- d: which is characterized by natural purity and the Buddha-qualities
  - 1: a gnoseological aspect to the *dharmakāya* (Phag-mo-gru-pa)
  - 2: an ontological aspect to the *dharmakāya* (Paṇ-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal)

II: Sentient beings do not have Buddha-nature (Sa-paṇ, Bu-ston)

If we set about integrating the positions of Buddha-nature discussed in Chapters 10 and 11 into this table,[5] Phywa-pa and Gro-lung-pa may be classified as I-a (i.e. rNgog); Blo-gros-mtshungs-med possibly as Id-1 and 2; Sa-paṇ, Bu-ston, sGra-tshad-pa, and Shākya-mchog-ldan as II; and rGyal-tshab and bSod-nams-grags-pa as Ic (as stated by Shākya-mchog-ldan). bCom-ldan-ral-gri's position is close to Ib (i.e. Dol-po-pa), Rong-ston's is similar to Ia (i.e. rNgog), and gZhon-nu-dpal's is possibly Id.

Lastly, to clarify the rNgog's impact on later doctrinal development, I now present

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mchog-ldan. See Chapter 11, the section on "Rong-ston."

4 A more detailed investigation of this is beyond the scope of the present study.

5 This table is, of course, biased towards Shākya-mchog-ldan's own position, and thus, for a more precise understanding of each position, further studies on works by each author will be needed.

a provisional table of rNgog's positions and later reactions to them. I use the following marks: "accords" (= reactions that accord with rNgog's position), "develops" (= reactions that develop rNgog's idea), "counters" (= reactions that run counter to rNgog's position), "differs" (= reactions that differ from rNgog's position, but without any special objection attached to them), "–" (= no corresponding statements), and "?" (= topics yet to be studied).

Thesis I: Of the Five Treatises of Maitreya, only the RGV teaches definitive meaning.
Thesis II: The seven *vajrapada*s consist of two Cycles.
Thesis III: The ultimate truth cannot be attained through any verbal or conceptual ascertainment.
Thesis IV: The Jewel of the Saṅgha has eight qualities.
Thesis V: Each of the three aspects of Buddha-nature has two modes of existence—nominal and real—with regard to the Buddha and sentient beings.
Thesis VI: The inherent and evolved spiritual potentials refer, respectively, to emptiness and wholesome seeds.
Thesis VII: The nine defilements.
Thesis VIII: The five faults.
Thesis IX: The postscript of RGV I is accepted, according to which the first chapter of the RGV begins with RGV I.28.
Thesis X: A manuscript of the RGV has a superfluous verse interpolated after RGV V.19.

[Table: Ten theses of rNgog and the reactions of eleven later scholars]

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
Gro-lung	–	–	accords	–	accords	develops	–	–	–	–
Phywa-pa	accords	accords	differs	accords	accords	develops	?	?	?	accords
Sa-paṇ	differs	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Rig-ral	–	–	–	differs	–	–	–	–	–	accords
Blo-mtshungs	counters	counters	–	accords	counters	counters Phywa	–	–	–	–
sGra-tshad-pa	differs	–	–	–	accords	–	–	accords	–	–
Rong-ston	–	accords	–	accords	accords	–	–	–	–	–
rGyal-tshab	differs	counters	?	accords	develops	accords to Phywa	–	–	accords	accords
gZhon-nu-dpal	–	accords	differs	accords	differs	?	accords	–	develops	accords
Shāk-mchog	counters	develops	?	–	–	differs	–	–	–	–
bSod-grags	–	counters	?	accords	differs?	?	–	–	–	–

Final Considerations

Final Considerations

Resituating rNgog's Position within a Wider Context

One of the main accomplishments of rNgog's RGV commentary was to have systematized the Buddha-nature doctrine from the Madhyamaka viewpoint. One thing that stands out in particular, the equation of Buddha-nature with emptiness, had a considerable impact on later Tibetan doctrinal developments, as seen in Chapters 10 and 11. Comparing his position with Indian Mādhyamika masters, I concluded in PART II that his position is close to that of Kamalaśīla (who identified Buddha-nature with selflessness) and also in part to that of Jayānanda (who identified Buddha-nature with emptiness, but took Buddha-nature as provisional truth). Both of these latter scholars were remaining true to a passage in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (77.13–79.9) which identified Buddha-nature with selflessness. Now, to clarify the origin of such a Madhyamaka understanding of Buddha-nature, I shall here trace the passage of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* back further, to other preceding Mahāyāna sūtras and the RGV, focusing on their adoption of and counter-action to *ātman*.[1]

The *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*, an early sūtra which teaches Buddha-nature, makes no reference to *ātman*.[2] The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* in its older layer[3] calls the

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1 For an outline of how the notion of *ātman* underwent development in the Buddha-nature doctrine, see Schmithausen 1973: 134–136.

2 According to Zimmermann (2002: 76), the main purpose of this sūtra is to motivate sentient beings to enter upon the Buddhist path.

3 According to Shimoda's hypothesis (1991 and 1997), the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* consists of at least two different layers. The theme of the older layer is the eternity of the *dharmakāya*, and that of younger layer is Buddha-nature. The older layer teaches four qualities (or unmistaken views, *aviparyasta/aviparīta*) of the *dharmakāya* (*anitya*, *duḥkha*, *anātman*, and *aśubha*), and these are adopted in the younger layer as attributes of Buddha-nature. The *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra*, too, applies these same four qualities to the *dharmakāya*, calling them *pāramitā*s. See also Takasaki 1974: 182.
An evaluation of Shimoda's hypothesis is beyond the scope of the present study; I will go so far as to admit that the Buddha-nature doctrine presupposes the notion of the Buddha's body being *nitya*, as in the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*. Cf. also Habata 2014 and Radich 2015.

Buddha *ātman*[4] as well as *nitya*, *sukha*, and *śubha*, praising the eternity of the Buddha, that is, the *dharmakāya*. These four attributes, which the RGV calls the fourfold unmistaken [view] (*caturvidha-aviparyāsa*),[5] are obviously taught as the antithesis of the traditional Buddhist doctrine of four mistaken views (*viparīta*), which wrongly label things mundane as *nitya*, *sukha*, *ātman*, and *śubha*.[6] The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* in its younger layer ascribes the nature of *ātman*, together with three other qualities, to Buddha-nature (*bdag ces bya ba ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i don to*).[7] This sūtra is quick, however, to warn against confusing this sense of the word *ātman* with its ordinary sense, while also distinguishing it from the selflessness of the *śrāvaka* position.[8] Furthermore, the sūtra teaches selflessness merely as a means of refuting non-Buddhists (*mu stegs pa rnams tshar gcad pa'i phyir*). This contrasts with the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, which teaches Buddha-nature

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4 MPMS, Habata 2013: 79, §101.10; D 32a4; P 32b4–5: *de la bdag ces bya ba ni sangs rgyas zhes bya ba'i don to* ||; T 862a13; T 377b21. For the use of *ātman* in the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*, see Takasaki 1974: 136–182 and Habata 1990.

5 RGVV 30.14.

6 Such paradoxical exposition is frequently found in a certain group of Mahāyāna sūtras including the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra*, *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*, and *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* (see Introduction, p. 4 n. 11). Shimoda (1991) demonstrates that the above set of attributes was first used in the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* and later adopted by various other Mahāyāna sūtras and *śāstra*s as a fixed series. Shimoda (1991: 15 n. 1) also claims that while the set in the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* is closely related to the fourfold *smṛtyupasthāna*, it probably originated independently of the fixed threefold phrase (*anitya*, *duḥkha*, and *anātman/nairātmya*) with the addition of *aśubha*.

7 MPMS, Habata 2013: 273, §376.2; D 103a2; P 105b5; T 883b15–16; T 407b9–10. See also Habata 2013: 81–82, §§103–104; D 33a2–33b3; P 33b3–34a2; T 862b; T 377c–378a (quoted in RGVV 74.22–75.11) and Habata 2013: 272, §373; D 102b4–5; P 105a6–8 (*bdag med pa la bdag tu 'du shes pa ni phyin ci log yin no || bdag yod pa la bdag med par 'du shes pa ni phyin ci log yin no || de la 'jig rten pa rnams la bdag yod ces te | 'jig rten pa bzhin du sangs rgyas kyi gsung la yang bdag yod pa ma yin te | de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i ming yang med do zhes bdag med bsgom pa 'di ni phyin ci log gsum pa'o* ||), T 833a–b, 407a–b.

8 In the traditional *śrāvaka* position (when seen from a Mahāyāna perspective), the teaching of non-self thematizes a pedagogic strategy for leading to detachment from a dogmatically conceived ontological self. When, however, we go further back to the original usage of the term *anattā*, it is seen to have been analyzed as a *karmadhāraya* (or *tatpuruṣa*) compound ("*not*-self" in the sense of "not controllable") instead of a *bahuvrīhi* compound ("non-self" in the sense of "having no ontological self"). At this early stage, the teaching of *anattā* has nothing to do with ontological issues; rather, it emblemizes a practical issue, namely detachment from the ego. In sum, this early "not-self" teaching was directed to practitioners, Buddhist disciples who were learning Buddhist doctrines, while the "self" teaching of the Buddha-nature doctrine was meant to attract (or refute) non-Buddhists. See Schmithausen 2014: 633–635. I am grateful to Dr. Maithrimurthi for this information.

merely as a means of attracting non-Buddhists (*tīrthikarāṇām ākarṣaṇārthaṃ*) who are familiar with the notion of *ātman*.[9]

The position taken by the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* is followed by the *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* and *Mahābherīsūtra* (neither of which is quoted in the RGV).[10] The *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra* teaches the perfection of *ātman* (*ātmapāramitā*) as one of the four attributes (i.e. *śubha*, *ātman*, *sukha*, and *nitya*) of the *dharmakāya*, not of Buddha-nature.[11] It distinguishes this correct understanding of *ātman* from the conventional notion of it, the one synonymous with *sattva*, *jīva*, or *pudgala*, and mistakenly identified with the five aggregations by ordinary persons.[12] On the other hand, the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra* and *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta* prefer another set of four attributes (*nitya*, *dhruva*, *śiva*, and *śāśvata*), also taught in the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*. These are more frequently mentioned as qualities of Buddha-nature than the four *pāramitā*s (*nitya*, *sukha*, *ātman*, and *śubha*). In these sūtra passages, the purpose served by using the term *ātman* is obviously to contrast the absolute/supramundane (that is, Buddha-nature or the *dharmakāya*)

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[9] MPMS, Habata 2013: 86–87, §107; D 35b2–36a2; P 35b8–36a8, T 863a, T 378b–379a; LAS 79.2.

[10] AMS, D 150b3–158a5; P 157b5–165a5, T 525a9–526c4; MBhS, T vol. 9, 296b18–21; D 108a7; P 113a3–4 etc. See also Takasaki 1974: 196–198, 238; Kano 1999; Suzuki 2000.

[11] ŚMS, D 273b3–274a2; P 280a4–b3; T 222a; T 677b. This is quoted by RGVV 30.19–31.6: *viparyastā bhagavan sattvā upātteṣu pañcasūpādānaskandheṣu | te bhavanty anitye nityasaṃjñinaḥ | duḥkhe sukhasaṃjñinaḥ | anātmany ātmasaṃjñinaḥ | aśubhe śubhasaṃjñinaḥ | sarvaśrāvakapratyekabuddhā api bhagavan śūnyatājñānenādṛṣṭapūrve sarvajñajñānaviṣaye tathāgatadharmakāye viparyastāḥ | ye bhagavan sattvāḥ syur bhagavataḥ putrā aurasā nityasaṃjñina ātmasaṃjñinaḥ sukhasaṃjñinaḥ śubhasaṃjñinas te bhagavan sattvāḥ syur aviparyastāḥ | syus te bhagavan samyagdarśinaḥ | tat kasmād dhetoḥ | tathāgatadharmakāya eva bhagavan nityapāramitā sukhapāramitā ātmapāramitā śubhapāramitā | ye bhagavan sattvās tathāgatadharmakāyam evaṃ paśyanti te samyak paśyanti | ye samyak paśyanti te bhagavataḥ putrā aurasā iti vistaraḥ |*. Cf. also the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra* from the Schøyen collection 2378/1/15 verso 4: *viparyastā bhagavan satvā upādatteṣu ca paṃcasu s[ka](ndheṣu) ///* (see Matsuda 2000: 75).
The *Kāśyapaparivarta* teaches similar attributes (among which, however, *anātman* is featured). See also Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 130; Schmithausen 1973: 135; and Takasaki 1974: 474–475.
Shimoda (1991) argues that the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra*, in critically adopting the *ātman* doctrine from the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (the younger layer), restricts its application to the *dharmakāya*.

[12] ŚMS, D 275a1–2; P 281b4–5: *bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po yang bdag ma lags | sems can ma lags | srog ma lags | gang zag ma lags te |*; ŚMS, D 273a5–6; P 279b5–6: *bcom ldan 'das mtha' gnyis su lta ba zhes bgyi ba de ni nye bar len pa'i phung po dag la bdag tu mngon par zhen pa'i so so'i skye bo rtog pa dag gi tshig bla dags lags so ||*. See also ŚMS, D 272b1; P 278b7: *bcom ldan 'das nyan thos dang | rang sangs rgyas thams cad kyi stong pa nyid shes pa ni phyin ci log gi dmigs pa bzhi po dag la 'jug pa lags so ||*.

with the selflessness of worldly/mundane phenomena.[13] This notion of *ātman* (or adaptation of *ātman* to Buddha-nature) is, however, not accepted as it stands by the RGV, RGVV, or *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (and by this last sūtra at best critically).

The basic verse of the RGV (I.35) teaches the four *pāramitā*s (*śubha*, *ātman*, *sukha*, and *nitya*) of the *dharmakāya*, which is a resultant aspect of Buddha-nature. The prose commentary (RGVV) is here quoting passages from the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra*[14] and *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*.[15] However, a commentarial verse (RGV I.37)[16] and the RGVV now interpret *ātman* in the sense of the quiescence of conceptual proliferations of the notions Self and Non-self (*ātmanairātmyaprapañcavyupaśānti*)[17]—a sense in which the two sūtras had never taught *ātman*. For the shift in the interpretation of *ātman*, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* IX.23, which teaches *ātman* in the sense of selflessness,[18] obviously weighs in heavily, and is indeed quoted by the RGVV to explain the meaning of *ātmapāramitā*. This appears

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[13] Schmithausen (1973: 138) distinguishes the notion of the Advaita-Vedānta's *ātman* from that of Buddha-nature by noting that the latter is relevant only to liberation. Moreover, to avoid a wrong evaluation of the Buddha-nature doctrine (or a confusion with non-Buddhist philosophies), Schmithausen (1973: 137–138) also defines the "ontological" or "substantial" aspects of the Buddha-nature doctrine: "Wenn aber 'ontologistisch' und 'substantialistisch' nur bedeuten soll, daß es sich irgendwie um eine positive Wesenheit handelt — und nicht um ein Nichts, und auch nicht um ein bloßes Gesetz wie den Pratītyasamutpādaḥ oder ein Abstraktionsallgemeines wie die Vergänglichkeit —, so ist die Auffassung der alten Tathāgatagarbha-Texte von Absoluten eben 'ontologistisch' und 'substantialistisch.' Das reicht kaum aus, sie als unbuddhistisch abzuqualifizieren (es sei denn, man wolle damit sagen, sie sei vom Buddha selbst nicht vertreten worden; aber das könnte man genau so gut vom dogmatischen Anātmavāda oder von Kṣaṇabhaṅgavāda behaupten)."

[14] ŚMS, D 273b3–274a2; P 280a4–b3; T 222a, and RGVV 30.19–31.6.

[15] MPMS, Habata 2013: 81–82, §§103–104 (see above).

[16] RGV I.37: *sa hi prakṛtiśuddhatvād vāsanāpagamac chuciḥ | paramātmātmanairātmyaprapañcavyupaśāntitaḥ*[a] || ([a] Schmithausen (1971: 143) correctes *kṣaya°* to *vyupa°*.)
This is explained in RGVV 34.14–15: *tīrthikāntavivarjanatayā cātmaprapañcavigamāc chrāvakāntavivarjanatayā ca nairātmyaprapañcavigamāt*.

[17] RGVV 31.13–16: *tathāgatas tu*[a] *punar yathābhūtajñānena sarvadharmanairātmyaparapāramiprāptaḥ*[b] *| tac cāsya nairātmyam anātmalakṣaṇena yathādarśanam avisaṃvāditatvāt*[c] *sarvakālam ātmābhipreto nairātmyam evātmeti*[d] *kṛtvā | yathoktaṃ sthito 'sthānayogeneti |*.
([a] Schmithausen (1971: 143) corrects *tathāgataḥ* to *tathāgatas tu*; [b] Johnston xvi; [c] Schmithausen (1971: 143) corrected *avisaṃvāditvāt* to *avisaṃvāditatvāt*; [d] Schmithausen (1971: 143) corrects *evātmani* to *evātmeti*).
RGVV 32.9–10: *prajñāpāramitābhāvanayākāśopamasattvabhājanalokanairātmyaniṣṭhāgamanād*.
See also RGVV 33.8–10: *tām eva cāvidyāvāsabhūmiṃ pratītya sūkṣmanimittaprapañcasamudācārayogād atyantam anabhisaṃskārām ātmapāramitāṃ nādhigacchanti*. Schmithausen (1971: 143–144 and 1973: 135) sees hints of the Madhyamaka doctrine in this sentence.

[18] See also MSABh 38.1–5. In the commentary on MSA IX.23, Sthiramati explains this *ātman*

only in the Chinese translation of the RGVV, but probably reflects the Sanskrit original rather than being an addition by the translator.[19] Furthermore, the notion in the RGV I.37 and RGVV that *ātmapāramitā* is the quiescence of conceptual proliferations coincides with a statement in the *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad* that *ātman* is *prapañcopaśama*. From this we may infer that the idea was widespread.[20]

The position taken by the RGV/RGVV is probably followed in *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 77.13–79.9, which clearly identifies Buddha-nature with selflessness, thereby shifting the emphasis from the former to the latter.[21] Moreover, this sūtra evaluates the emptiness theory of the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra*, *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*, *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra*, *Mahābherīsūtra*, and RGV (which the *Laṅkāvatāra* calls

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as "intrinsic nature" (*svabhāva*), thereby distinguishing it from non-Buddhist conceptions of *ātman*. See Sthiramati, *Sūtrālaṃkāravṛttibhāṣya*, D, Mi, 119b5–6: *de la bdag ces bya ba'i sgra 'di ni skabs kha cig tu mu stegs pas yongs su brtag pa'i bdag nyid la yang bya bar 'dren te | 'di ltar bdag dang sems can dang srog ces bya ba la sogs pa'o || bdag ces bya ba'i sgra 'di ni skabs kha cig tu chos kyi rang bzhin la yang bya bar 'dren te | me ni dro ba'i mtshan nyid ces bya ste | dro ba'i rang bzhin zhes bya ba'i don to | sa sra ba'i bdag nyid ces bya ba bshad na sra ba'i rang bzhin zhes bya ba'i don to || 'di'i skabs bdag ces bya ba'i sgra rang bzhin gyi don du drang ste | sangs rgyas rnams ni bdag med pa'i rang bzhin du gyur pas bdag gi mchog thob pa zhes bya'o ||*.
MSA XIV.37 also teaches *mahātmadṛṣṭi* in the sense of the correct view of *ātman*, resulting from the same regard between all sentient beings and oneself (*sarvasattveṣv ātmasamacittalābhātmadṛṣṭiḥ*, as opposed to *anarthamayātmadṛṣṭi yā kliṣṭā satkāyadṛṣṭiḥ*. See MSABh 95.23–25). MSA XIV.37: *saṃskāramātraṃ jagad etya buddhyā nirātmakaṃ duḥkhavirūḍhimātram | vihāya yānarthamayātmadṛṣṭir mahātmadṛṣṭiṃ śrayate mahārthām ||*.

[19] I follow Takasaki (1966: 212 n. 96), who attributes the quotation of MSA IX.23 to the author of the RGVV, given that the **Buddhadhātuśāstra* (佛性論) quotes the same verse.
RGVV, T 31, 829c23–830a4: 此以何義。以即無我名為有我。即無我者。無彼外道虛妄神我。名有我者。如來有彼得自在我。是故偈言。"如清淨真空 得第一無我 諸佛得淨體 是名得大身" (MSA IX.23) 此偈明何義。得大身者、謂如來得第一清淨真如法身。彼是諸佛如來實我。以得自在體、以得第一清淨身。偈言諸佛得淨體故。以是義故、諸佛名得清淨自在。偈言是名得大身故。以是義故、依於此義諸佛如來於無漏界中得為第一最自在我。又復即依如是義故。"如來法身 不名為有 以無我相 無法相故" (cf. MSA IX.24ab).... RGVV (T 31, 830a6–11) continues the explanation of MSA IX.24.
See MSA IX.23: *śūnyatāyāṃ viśuddhāyāṃ nairātmyātmāgralābhataḥ | buddhāḥ śuddhātmalābhitvād gatā ātmamahātmatām ||*; IX.24: *na bhāvo nāpi cābhāvo buddhatvaṃ tena kathyate | tasmād buddhatathāpraśne avyākṛtanayo mataḥ ||*. For MSA IX.23, see Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 371 and Schmithausen 1973: 125. A pronouncement similar to MSA IX.24 is found in the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (P 70a1–6, T 872c27–873a4, T 391c28–392a11).

[20] Hakamaya 1993: 42–43.

[21] There is, however, an exceptional occurrence, in the *saghātaka* chapter, of *ātman* implying Buddha-nature in a positive sense. See LAS 357.14–15 (X.746): *pratyātmagatigamyaś ca ātmā vai śuddhilakṣaṇaṃ | garbhas tathāgatasyāsau tārkikānām agocaraḥ ||*. T 16, 637b22–23: 内證智所行 清淨真我相 此即如來藏 非外道所知. See also Schmithausen 1973: 135 n. 10.

itaretaraśūnyatā)[22] as the lowest among various understandings of emptiness, the Madhyamaka type of emptiness being the best. The emptiness called *itaretaraśūnyatā* (lit. mutual emptiness, meaning that Buddha-nature is void of adventitious defilements but not void of qualities) is closely related to the *ātman* theory of Buddha-nature (i.e., mundane phenomena are selfless, but Buddha-nature is not selfless). Furthermore, the *Laṅkāvatāra* equates Buddha-nature with the *ālayavijñāna*. rNgog's own understanding can be partially traced to this set-up within the *Laṅkāvatāra*. The difference between the positions of the *Laṅkāvatāra* and rNgog is due both to thematic focus—selflessness (LAS) as opposed to emptiness (rNgog)—and to the evaluation of the Buddha-nature doctrine as being provisional (LAS) as opposed to definitive (rNgog).

[22] LAS 75.10–19. "One thing's voidness of another" (*itaretaraśūnyatā*) is taught as an inferior understanding and to be abandoned (*eṣā ca mahāmate itaretaraśūnyatā sarvajaghanyā sā ca tvayā parivarjayitavyā*). Suzuki (2000) demonstrates the doctrinal development that occurred from work to work in the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*, *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra*, and *Mahābherīsūtra* on the basis of relevant passages dealing with emptiness. In the *Madhyamakāloka*, Kamalaśīla uses the above passage in the LAS as justification for claiming that one thing's voidness of another (*itaretaraśūnyatā*) is emblematic of the conventional level, while the voidness of characteristics (*lakṣaṇaśūnyatā*) is emblematic of the ultimate level (see Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 343 and Keira 2004: 66, 110).

[A Schematic Summary of Doctrines]

Texts	reception of *ātman* and reaction to it
TGS	teaches no doctrine relevant to *ātman*
MPMS (older layer)	teaches four qualities of the *dharmakāya* (*nitya*, *sukha*, *ātman*, and *śubha*)
MPMS (younger layer)	assigns the four qualities to Buddha-nature, contrasting thereby *ātman* with ordinary selflessness and the *ātman* of non-Buddhists
ŚMS	assigns the same four qualities only to the *dharmakāya*; and distinguishes Buddha-nature from the ordinary *ātman*
AMS/MBhS	follows the MPMS
RGV basic verse	follows the ŚMS
RGV comm. verse and RGVV	teaches the *dharmakāya* as *ātman* but interprets *ātman* as being selflessness, thereby utilizing MSA IX.23
LAS	interprets Buddha-nature as being selflessness, thereby shifting the emphasis on selflessness
Kamalaśīla	follows the LAS
Jayānanda	equates Buddha-nature with emptiness
rNgog	equates Buddha-nature with emptiness

rNgog's Struggle to Do Away with the Ontological Aspect of the Buddha-nature Doctrine

The ontological aspect of Buddha-nature played a key role in the early phase of the Buddha-nature doctrine in India, for the inherent existence (*astitva*) of Buddha-nature reassures novice Buddhist practitioners that they can achieve their goal of reaching awakening. This pragmatic feature had been the focus of the doctrine in the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*, RGV, and so forth. Gradually, however, less attention was paid to it. Once the Buddha-nature doctrine was integrated into the Madhyamaka system, attention shifted to another point: how to weaken the ontological aspect of Buddha-nature so as to make it fit in with Madhyamaka doctrine.

rNgog's philosophy is located in the stream of this development. He identifies Buddha-nature with emptiness, while at the same time admitting its seeming causality in producing buddhahood; it does not, that is, actually function to produce anything (i.e. *jananahetu*, "an engendering cause"), for, being *asaṃskṛta*, it is beyond causality. rNgog's stance, at first glance, looks similar to that of Ratnākaraśānti and Abhayākaragupta's, who take Buddha-nature/emptiness as *pratiṣṭhāhetu* ("a supporting cause"), but once we consider Phywa-pa's commentary it is obviously seen to be different (see Chapter 9 §h2, pp. 266–268). rNgog takes "mere absence" as a cause. rNgog's concern is not to categorize emptiness either as conditioned or unconditioned. From another point of view, emptiness is a soteriological cause, inasmuch as one gradually attains awakening by meditating on emptiness:

Inasmuch as he admits that there is a causal aspect to emptiness (or Buddha-nature), he cannot completely avoid ontology, for emptiness in that case provides a foundation for causality. Thus rNgog's understanding of emptiness/Buddha-nature can be simplified to the doctrinal model of what Matsumoto (1989: 337) calls **dhātuvāda*.

rNgog's contribution to the debate should not, in conclusion, be downplayed. Insofar as he integrated the Buddha-nature doctrine into Madhyamaka, he could not have avoided this problem, unless he were to reassess the Buddha-nature doctrine as being *neyārtha*. He is one of the first scholars in India and Tibet who struggled to harmonize the Buddha-nature doctrine with Madhyamaka, and indeed contributed more than anyone else toward that end.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

A Topical Outline of the *rGyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa*

The basic framework of the following topical outline is rNgog's own. To clarify the details, I add topics to the basic outline. The topics with asterisks (*[3.2.3.2.4.2], *[3.2.3.3], *[3.2.3.4]. *[4.3.2]) are mentioned as topical subjects by rNgog, but are not actually explained in the text (for they are probably regarded to be easily understandable without any explanation). In the right side of the synopsis, I refer to locations of the manuscript (A) and the block print (B)[1] and relevant verses of the RGV (number enclosed by parentheses refers to page number of Johnston's edition of the RGVV).

Topical outline

Topics	A / B	RGV
Opening verse	1b1/1b1	
[0] The Five Treatises of Maitreya	1b1/1b1	
[1] A systematic presentation of the main body of the treatise	1b3/2a1	
[1.1] General remarks	1b3/2a2	
[1.1.1] An outline of the seven *vajrapada*s	1b3/2a2	
[1.1.2] Settling on the number of *vajrapada*s	1b5/2b1	
[1.1.2.1] The Cycle of the *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*	1b6/2b2	I.3
[1.1.2.1.1] Results	1b6/2b2	
[1.1.2.1.2] Causes	2a2/3a1	
[1.1.2.1.3] The connection between causes and results	2a3/3a3	
[1.1.2.2] The Cycle of the Three Jewels	2a4/3a5	
[1.1.2.2.1] Results	2a7/3a5	
[1.1.2.2.2] Causes	2b1/3b4	
[1.1.2.2.2.1] Substantive causes	2b1/3b4	
[1.1.2.2.2.2] Attendant conditions	2b4/4a3	
[1.1.2.2.3] Two modes of causes	2b5/4a4	
[1.1.2.2.3.1] Direct causes	2b5/4a5	(3.18–4.9)
[1.1.2.2.3.2] Indirect causes	3a1/4b3	I.26
[1.1.2.2.3.2.1] Causes of the *samyagdṛṣṭi*	3a2/4b4	
[1.1.2.2.3.2.2] Stages before the origination of the *samyagdṛṣṭi*	3a3/4b5	
[1.1.2.2.3.2.3] Stages after the origination of the *samyagdṛṣṭi*	3a5/5a3	

[1] For these text materials, see Chapter 9 §(b) *A Description of Materials of the rGyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa*.

[1.1.2.2.3.3] The connection between indirect and direct causes 3a7/5a5
[1.1.2.2.4] The three states of the *dhātu* 3b3/5b3
[1.1.2.2.5] Concluding remarks on the Cycle of the Three Jewels 3b5/5b6
[1.1.3] The order of the *vajrapada*s: sources of the two Cycles 3b6/6a1

(RGV I)

[1.2] An explanation of RGV I.1–3 4a1/6a5
[1.2.1] A presentation of the *vajrapada*s 4a1/6a5
[1.2.1.1] The etymological base of the term *vajrapada* 4a2/6a5 I.1 (1.1–12)
[1.2.1.1.1] The *vajra* as being ineffable and ultimate 4a2/6a6
[1.2.1.1.2] The ineffable object (*artha*) as being ultimate 4a3/6b1
[1.2.1.1.3] Syllables as being a foundation 4a4/6b2
[1.2.1.1.4] Discussion 1: The *vajrapada*s that indicate the path leading to the attainment of the object 4a6/6b5
[1.2.1.1.5] Discussion 2: All *vajrapada*s as being ineffable 4b4/7a5
[1.2.1.1.6] Discussion 3: The *dhātu* and verbal expressions for *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* 4b5/7b1
[1.2.1.1.7] A structural analysis of the basic text 4b7/7b4
[1.2.1.2] The literal referent of the term *vajrapada* 5a1/7b5 (1.12–16)
[1.2.1.3] The connection of the term *vajrapada* with scriptures 5a1/7b5 (1.16–20)

[1.2.2] Determination of the *vajrapada*s' number 5b4/9a2 I.2
[1.2.2.1] On *svalakṣaṇenānugatāni* 5b5/9a2
[1.2.2.2] Root phrases from the *Dhāraṇīśvararājasūtra* 6a1/9a6
[1.2.2.3] Detailed explanation of the *sūtra* 6a1/9b1
[1.2.2.4] The *sūtra* passages relating the Three Jewels 6a2/9b3
[1.2.2.5] The *sūtra* passages relating the remaining four *vajrapada*s 6b3/10a6
[1.2.2.6] The datails of the qualities of the Buddha 7a2/11a3
[1.2.2.7] The datails of the qualities of the Dharma 8a1/12b3
[1.2.2.8] The details of the qualities of the Saṃgha 8a7/13b1
[1.2.2.9] The ultimate qualities of the Buddha 9a4/14b3
[1.2.2.10] The ultimate qualities of the Dharma 9b4/15b2
[1.2.2.11] The ultimate qualities of the Saṃgha 9b6/15b4
[1.2.2.12] The remaining chapter of the *Dhāraṇīśvararājasūtra* 10a1/16a1
[1.2.2.13] *Dhātu*: The sixtyfold purifying procedure 10a2/16a2
[1.2.2.13.1] On the *viśuddhiguṇaparikarman* 10a2/16a2
[1.2.2.13.2] Proof by reasoning 10a4/16a4
[1.2.2.13.3] Proof by three scriptures 10a6/16b1
[1.2.2.13.4] Enumeration of the sixty qualities of the *dhātu* 10b7/17a5
[1.2.2.13.4.1] The four ornaments 10b7/17a5

[1.2.2.13.4.2] The eight luminosities	11a1/17a6	
[1.2.2.13.4.3] The sixteen great compassions of bodhisattva	11a1/17b1	
[1.2.2.13.4.4] The thirty-two activities	11a3/17b3	
[1.2.2.14] Awakening: The sixteen great qualities of awakenings	11b1/18a4	
[1.2.2.15] The Buddha-qualities	11b4/18b2	
[1.2.2.15.1] The ten powers	11b4/18b2	
[1.2.2.15.2] The four fearlessnesses	11b5/18b3	
[1.2.2.15.3] The eighteen exclusive Buddha-qualities	11b6/18b4	
[1.2.2.16] The Buddha-activities: The thirty-two supreme activities	11b7/18b5	
[1.2.3] The order of the seven *vajrapada*s	12a1/19a1	I.3
[2] Resultant Jewels	12a3/19a3	
[2.1] The Jewel of the Buddha	12a3/19a3	
[2.1.1] Enumeration of the eight aspects of the Buddha	12a4/19a5	I.4
[2.1.2] Explanation of the eight aspects	12a5/19a5	I.5
[2.1.3] Detailed explanation of the eight aspects	12a7/19b3	I.6–8
[2.2] The Jewel of the Dharma	12b1/19b4	
[2.2.1] Enumeration of the eight aspects of the Dharma	12b1/19b4	I.9
[2.2.2] Explanation of the eight aspects	12b2/19b5	I.10
[2.2.2.1] Inconceivability (*acintyatva*)	12b2/19b5	
[2.2.2.2] Non-dual and non-conceptualization	12b4/20a1	
[2.2.2.3] Purity	12b5/20a4	
[2.2.2.4] Clarity	12b6/20a5	
[2.2.2.5] Counteragent	12b6/20a5	
[2.2.2.6] Truth of cessation (*nirodhasatya*)	12b7/20a6	
[2.2.2.7] Truth of the path (*mārgasatya*)	13a4/20b6	
[2.2.2.7.1] *abhūtavastunimittārambaṇamanasikāra*	13a5/21a1	
[2.2.2.7.2] Objective support of images (*nimittārambaṇa*)	13a7/21a3	
[2.2.2.7.3] Attention (*manasikāra*)	13b2/21a6	
[2.2.2.7.4] The threefold defilements	13b3/21b1	
[2.2.2.7.5] Counteragent	13b5/21b3	
[2.2.2.7.6] Release from wrong denial and assertion	13b7/22a1	
[2.2.2.7.7] Proof by authoritative scripture	14a4/22a5	
[2.3] The Jewel of the Saṃgha	14a4/22a6	
[2.3.1] Enumeration of the eight aspects of the Saṃgha	14a4/22a6	I.13
[2.3.1.1] The knowledge of the reality	14a5/22b1	
[2.3.1.2] The knowledge in extension	14a7/22b4	
[2.3.1.3] The individual self-cognition	14b2/23a1	
[2.3.1.4] The thee obscurations	14b3/23a2	
[2.3.1.5] Knowledge and release	14b4/23a4	
[2.3.2] Explanation of the Saṃgha	14b5/23a5	I.14

[2.3.3] Detailed explanation	14b6/23b1	
[2.3.3.1] Natural purity and adventitious stains	14b6/23b1	I.15
[2.3.3.2] The knowledge in extension	15a2/23b5	I.16
[2.3.3.3] Individual self-cognition	15a4/24a1	I.17
[2.3.3.4] Release from lower state	15a4/24a2[2]	I.18
[2.4] The meaning of refuge	15b1/24a3	
[2.4.1] Causal and resultant refuges	15b1/24a4	
[2.4.1.1] Definition of the two modes of refuges	15b2/24a5	
[2.4.1.1.1] The causal refuge	15b2/24a5	
[2.4.1.1.2] Simultaneousness of the two modes of refuges	15b4/24b1	
[2.4.1.1.3] Presentation in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*	15b6/24b4	
[2.4.1.1.4] The resultant refuge	15b6/24b5	
[2.4.1.2] Presentation in the *Ugraparipṛcchāsūtra*	16a2/25a2	
[2.4.1.2.1] Passages relating to the resultant refuge	16a2/25a2	
[2.4.1.2.2] Passages relating to the causal refuge	16b2/25b6	
[2.4.1.3] Concluding remarks on the two modes of refuge	17a3/26b4	
[2.5] Refuge	17a5/27a2	I.19
[2.5.1] Refuge on the surface level	17a5/27a2	
[2.5.1.1] Purpose of refuge	17a5/27a2	
[2.5.1.2] Purpose of taking refuge	17a6/27a3	
[2.5.2] The refuge on the ultimate level	17b1/27a5	I.20–21
[2.5.2.1] Difference between *śrāvaka*'s and *Mahāyāna*'s systems	17b2/27b1	
[2.6] The meaning of Jewel	17b7/27b6	I.22
[3] The origin which generates the Three Jewels	**18a3/28a4**	
[3.1] General presentation	18a4/28a4	
[3.1.1] The presentation of the inconceivable meaning of the *gotra*	18a4/28a5	I.23–25
[3.1.1.1] Reasoning by scripture — A simile of a huge silk cloth	18a5/28a6	
[3.1.1.2] Explanation of the simile	18b1/28b4	
[3.1.2] The system of the causation of the *vajrapada*s	18b3/29a1	I.26
[3.2] Details of each of last four *vajrapada*s	18b5/29a3	I.28–IV.98
[3.2.1] Buddha-nature	**18b5/29a3**	**I.28–167**
[3.2.1.1] Three aspects of Buddha-nature	18b5/29a3	I.28
[3.2.1.1.1] *Dharmakāya*	18b5/29a4	
[3.2.1.1.2] *Tathatā*	18b6/29a5	
[3.2.1.1.3] *Gotra*	18b7/29a6	
[3.2.1.2] The ten Buddha-nature topics	19a2/29b2	

[2] A 15a5–b1: lacuna in B.

[3.2.1.2.1] Summary of the ten topics	19a2/29b2	I.29
[3.2.1.2.2] Explanation of the Ten Topics	19b2/30b1	I.32–94
[3.2.1.2.2.1] The second topic, cause	19b2/30b1	I.32
[3.2.1.2.2.2] The third topic, result	19b3/30b2	I.36
[3.2.1.2.2.2.1] The nature of opposition to the fourfold delusion	19b4/30b3	
[3.2.1.2.2.2.2] The connection with each of the four cause	19b4/30b3	
[3.2.1.2.2.2.3] Summary of the four results	19b6/30b6	
[3.2.1.2.2.2.4] Four obscurations	19b7/31a2	
[3.2.1.2.2.2.5] Definitive characteristic of each of the four results	20a1/31a3	I.37–38
[3.2.1.2.2.3] The fourth topic, function	20a5/31b3	I.40
[3.2.1.2.2.4] The fifth topic, connection	20b1/32a1	I.42
[3.2.1.2.2.4.1] Connection with causes	20b1/32a2	I.43
[3.2.1.2.2.4.2] Connection with results	20b3/32a3	I.44
[3.2.1.2.2.5] The sixth topic, manifestation	20b3/32a4	I.46
[3.2.1.2.2.6] The seventh topic, different States	20b5/32a6	I.47–48
[3.2.1.2.2.7] The ninth topic, unchangeability	21a4/33a3	
[3.2.1.2.2.7.1] General presentation	21a4/33a4	I.51
[3.2.1.2.2.7.2] Unchangeability at the impure state	21b1/33b3	
[3.2.1.2.2.7.2.1] Summary	21b2/33b4	I.52–53
[3.2.1.2.2.7.2.2] Detailed explanation	21b3/33b5	
[3.2.1.2.2.7.2.2.1] It is not tarnished by the character of cessation	21b4/33b6	I.54
[3.2.1.2.2.7.2.2.2] It is not tarnished by the character of origination	21b5/34a3	I.55–62
[3.2.1.2.2.7.2.2.2.1] Inaccurate attention is illustrated by wind	21b6/34a5	I.60
[3.2.1.2.2.7.2.2.2.2] Action and defilements are illustrated by water	21b7/34b1	I.61
[3.2.1.2.2.7.2.2.2.3] Innate mind is illustrated by space	22a1/34b3	I.62
[3.2.1.2.2.7.2.2.3] Conclusion of the similes and its meanings	22a2/34b3	I.63
[3.2.1.2.2.7.2.2.4] The quality of the innate pure mind	22a3/34b4	I.64
[3.2.1.2.2.7.2.2.4.1] Associating with scriptural sources	22a3/34b5	
[3.2.1.2.2.7.2.2.4.2] The remaining explanation	22a4/35a1	I.65
[3.2.1.2.2.7.3] The pure and yet partly impure state	22a5/35a2	
[3.2.1.2.2.7.3.1] The root-like verse I.66	22a5/35a2	I.66
[3.2.1.2.2.7.3.2] The pure nature of bodhisattvas	22b2/35b1	I.67
[3.2.1.2.2.7.3.3] The connection between pure and impure nature	22b2/35b2	I.68
[3.2.1.2.2.7.3.4] Commentary on verse I.68	22b3/35b3	
[3.2.1.2.2.7.3.5] Passages from the *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchāsūtra*	22b3/35b4	
[3.2.1.2.2.7.3.5.1] Purity and impurity of bodhisattvas	22b4/35b4	
[3.2.1.2.2.7.3.5.2] Perception of the reality	22b6/36a1	
[3.2.1.2.2.7.3.5.3] *āsravakṣayajñāna*	23a3/35a6	
[3.2.1.2.2.7.3.6] The alternative explanation on verse I.66	23a4/36b2	I.69–78
[3.2.1.2.2.7.4] Unchangeability at the very pure state	23a5/36b2	
[3.2.1.2.2.7.4.1] Root-like verse	23a6/36b3	I.79

[3.2.1.2.2.7.4.2] Explanation of verse I.79	23b3/37a4	
[3.2.1.2.2.7.4.2.1] Elimination of the rebirth	23b437a4	I.80
[3.2.1.2.2.7.4.2.2] The nature of the elimination is excellent	23b5/37a5	I.81–82
[3.2.1.2.2.7.4.3] Associating the root-verse with its meaning	23b6/37b1	I.83
[3.2.1.2.2.8] Undifferentiated nature	23b6/37b2	
[3.2.1.2.2.8.1] Root verse	23b7/37b3	I.84
[3.2.1.2.2.8.2] Explanation	23b7/37b3	
[3.2.1.2.2.8.2.1] The reasoning of the inseparability	23b7/37b4	I.85–86
[3.2.1.2.2.8.2.2] The sameness of the buddhahood and *nirvāṇa*	24a3/38a2	I.87
[3.2.1.2.2.8.2.3] Inseparable nature	24a3/38a2	
[3.2.1.2.2.8.2.4] Similes of the inseparability	24a4/38a3	I.93–94
[3.2.1.3] The nine similes of Buddha-nature	24a4/38a4	I.95–98
[3.2.1.3.1] A summary of the nine similes	24a6/38b	I.99–129
[3.2.1.3.1.1] Determinacy of the number of the similes to be eighteen	24a6/38a6	
[3.2.1.3.1.2] Similarity between similes and illustrated topics	24b2/38b5	
[3.2.1.3.1.3] The illustrated topics	25a3/39b4	
[3.2.1.3.1.3.1] The obscured and the obscuring factor	25a4/39b5	
[3.2.1.3.1.3.2] The mutual distinction	25a7/40a4	(I.133)
[3.2.1.3.2] A detailed explanation of the nine similes	25b6/41a2	
[3.2.1.3.2.1] The nine obscurations	25b6/41a2	I.130–143
[3.2.1.3.2.2] The ninefold pure nature	25b7/41a3	
[3.2.1.3.2.2.1] *Dharmakāya*	25b7/41a3	I.145–147
[3.2.1.3.2.2.2] *Tathatā*	26a3/41b2	I.148
[3.2.1.3.2.2.3] *Gotra*	26a5/41b5	I.149–152
[3.2.1.3.2.2.4] All three aspects are included in emptiness	26a7/42a2	
[3.2.1.3.2.2.5] The *Abhidharmasūtra*	26b1/42a3	
[3.2.1.4] Characteristics of Buddha-nature	26b3/42a6	I.153–155
[3.2.1.4.1] The three aspects of Buddha-nature	26b3/42a6	I.153
[3.2.1.4.2] Three kinds of wrong views	26b3/42b1	
[3.2.1.4.3] The correct meaning of emptiness	26b4/42b2	I.154ab
[3.2.1.4.4] Seeing the reality	26b7/42b6	I.154cd
[3.2.1.4.5] On the ultimate level the *dhātu* is empty of stains	27a2/43a2	I.155ab
[3.2.1.4.6] On the surface level the *dhātu* is not empty of qualities	27a3/43a3	I.155cd
[3.2.1.4.7] The conditioned (*saṃskṛta*) and the ultimate truth	27a5/43a6	
[3.2.1.4.8] On the surface level there remains illusion-like existence	27a8/43b5	
[3.2.1.4.9] Three kinds of essences (*snying po*)	27b4/44a5	
[3.2.1.4.10] The *dharmadhātu* in a single mode	27b6/44b1	
[3.2.1.4.11] Difficulty of seeing Buddha-nature	27b7/44b4	
[3.2.1.5] The purpose in teaching Buddha-nature	28a2/44b6	I.156–167

[3.2.1.5.1] Objection: What is use of teaching Buddha-nature?	28a2/44b6	
[3.2.1.5.2] Its inconsistency with the emptiness of the *Prajñāpāramitā*	28a3/45a1	I.156
[3.2.1.5.3] Reply: Emptiness functions as a cause	28a5/45a4	I.157
[3.2.1.5.4] Adventitious characteristics exist on the surface level	28a6/45b1	I.158
[3.2.1.5.5] Modes of phenomena on the ultimate and surface levels	28a7/45b2	I.159
[3.2.1.5.6] Five faults	28b1/45b4	I.160–166
[3.2.1.5.7] Discriminative insight and gnosis	28b3/45b6	
[3.2.1.5.8] Five counteragents	28b4/46a2	I.166d–167
[3.2.1.6] On the postscript to the Buddha-nature chapter of the RGV	28b5/46a4	

(RGV II)

[3.2.2] Awakening of the Buddha	28b6/46a5	
[3.2.2.1] Summary of the eight awakening topics	28b6/46a5	II.1–2
[3.2.2.2] Their details	29a6/47a3	
[3.2.2.2.1] Intrinsic nature	29a6/47a3	II.3abc, 4–6
[3.2.2.2.2] Cause	29b2/47b1	II.3d, 7
[3.2.2.2.3] Result	29b3/47b3	II.8–17
[3.2.2.2.4] Function	30a3/48b4	II.18–28
[3.2.2.2.5] Connection	30b4/49b3	II.29–37
[3.2.2.2.6] Manifestation	30b7/50a1	II.38–61
[3.2.2.2.7] Eternity	31b4/51a5	II.62–68
[3.2.2.2.8] Inconceivability	31b7/51b3	II.69–73

(RGV III)

[3.2.3] The Buddha-qualities	**32a7/52a6**	
[3.2.3.1] Presentation in view of supports	32a7/52b1	III.1–3
[3.2.3.2] Explanation in view of similes	32a7/52b1	
[3.2.3.2.1] Summary of the Buddha-qualities	32a7/52b1	III.4
[3.2.3.1.2] Their details	32b1/52b2	
[3.2.3.2.1] The ten powers	32b1/52b2	
[3.2.3.2.1.1] Their actual contents	32b1/52b2	III.5–6
[3.2.3.2.1.2] Their common feature shared by similes	32b6/53a4	III.7
[3.2.3.2.2] The four fearlessnesses	33a1/53b1	
[3.2.3.2.2.1] Their actual contents	33a1/53b4	III.8–9
[3.2.3.2.2.2] Their common feature shared by similes	33a3/53b4	III.10
[3.2.3.2.3] The eighteen extraordinary qualities	33a3/53b4	
[3.2.3.2.3.1] Their actual contents	33a3/53b4	III.11–15
[3.2.3.2.3.2] Their common feature shared by similes	33a7/54a4	III.16

[3.2.3.2.4] The thirty-two marks of the Great Man	33b2/54a6	
[3.2.3.2.4.1] Their actual contents	33b2/54a6	III.17–25
*[3.2.3.2.4.2] Their common feature shared by simile	—	III.26
*[3.2.3.3] Presentation of a scriptural source	—	III.27
*[3.2.3.4] Summary of similes	—	III. 28–39

(RGV IV)

[3.2.4] The Buddha-activities	**34a7/55b6**	
[3.2.4.1] Presentation of effortless and uninterrupted activities of the Buddha	34a7/56a1	
[3.2.4.1.1] Buddha's activities are effortless	34a7/56a1	IV.1
[3.2.4.1.2] Buddha's activities are not interrupted	34b1/56a3	IV.2
[3.2.4.1.2.1] Six similes	34b2/56a4	
[3.2.4.1.2.2] Six illustrated topics	34b2/56ta5	
[3.2.4.1.2.3] Common feature shared by the similes and topics	34b3/56a6	
[3.2.4.1.2.4] Three aspects which summarize the six topics	35a1/57a2	
[3.2.4.2] Explanation of effortless and uninterrupted activities of the Buddha	35a5/57b1	
[3.2.4.2.1] Explanation of Buddha's effortless activities	35a5/57b1	IV.3–4
[3.2.4.2.2] Explanation of Buddha's uninterrupted activities	35a5/57b1	IV.5–12
[3.2.4.3] Proof of effortless and uninterrupted activities of the Buddha	35b2/57b6	IV.13
[3.2.4.3.1] Summary of nine similes	35b7/58b1	IV.13
[3.2.4.3.2] Their details	36a3/58b5	
[3.2.4.3.2.1] The first simile, manifestation of Indra (Śakra)	36a3/58b6	IV.14–30
[3.2.4.3.2.2] The second simile, celestial drum	36b3/59b3	IV.31–41
[3.2.4.3.2.3] The third simile, clouds	37b1/61a3	IV.42–52
[3.2.4.3.2.4] The fifth simile, the sun	37b5/61b2	IV.58–62
[3.2.4.3.2.5] The seventh simile, the wish-filling jewel (*cintāmaṇi*)	38a1/62a2	IV.67–70
[3.2.4.3.3] Purpose of presenting similes	38a2/62a2	IV.77–78
[3.2.4.3.4] The nature of the illustrated topics	38a2/62a3	
[3.2.4.3.4.1] Presentation of the actual meaning of the nine similes	38a4/62a5	IV.79–81
[3.2.4.3.4.2] Meaning intended by the similes	38a5/62a6	IV.82–84
[3.2.4.3.4.3] Explanation of the actual meaning	38a7/62b4	IV.84–88
[3.2.4.3.4.4] Establishment of the similarities between the similes and meaning	38b1/62b5	IV.89–91
[3.2.4.3.5] Order of the similes	38b2/63a1	IV.92–98

(RGV V)

[3.3] Benefit of devotion for Buddha-nature	38b6/63b1	

[3.3.1] Presentation of the benefit	38b7/63b2	
[3.3.1.1] General presentation of the benefit	38b7/63b2	V.1–2
[3.3.1.2] Its presentation in particular	38b7/63b2	V.3–5
[3.3.1.3] Logical reasoning of the benefit	38b7/63b3	V.6
[3.3.2] Explanation of the benefit	38b7/63b3	
[3.3.2.1] Praise of the Buddha	39a1/63b4	V.7–8
[3.3.2.2] Resolve is a cause for not withdrawing from the perfection	39a1/63b4	V.9–10
[3.3.2.3] Striving is a cause for the perfection	39a1/63b4	
[3.3.2.3.1] Striving is a cause	39a2/64b5	V.11
[3.3.2.3.2] Striving is the nature of the perfection	39a2/64b5	V.12–13
[3.3.2.3.3] Striving is proved as a cause of perfction	39a4/65a3	V.14–15
[4] The activity concerning the successful completion of the composition of the treatise	39a5/64a3	
[4.1] The way how to explain the teaching	39a6/64a5	
[4.1.1] Basis of the explanation of the RGV	39a6/64a5	V.16ab
[4.1.2] Purpose of the explanation	39a6/64a6	V.16bcd
[4.1.3] Similes of the explanation	39a7/64a6	V.17
[4.1.4] The explaining activities	39b1/64b2	V.18
[4.1.5] Its corresponding meaning	39b1/64b3	V.19
[4.1.5.1] An interporated verse after V.19	39b1/64b3	
[4.2] The faults of abandoning the teaching	39b4/65a2	
[4.2.1] The reason why one should not abandon the teaching	39b5/65a2	V.20–21
[4.2.2] Cause for abandoning the teaching	39b5/65a3	V.22
[4.2.3] Consequence of the abandoning	39b5/65a3	V.23–24
[4.3] Dedication of the benefit brought forth by explaining the RGV	39b6/65a3	
[4.3.1] Dedication by Maitreya	39b7/65a4	V.25
*[4.3.2] Dedication by Asaṅga	—	V.26–28
Colophon by Blo-ldan-shes-rab	40a1/65a5	
Printing colophon by Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho	–/66a2–b4	

Appendix B

A List of Commentaries on the *Ratnagotravibhāga*

I list here the RGV commentaries known to me in chronological order. The list is based on Appendix G of Kano 2006a. Burchardi (2002 and 2006) also provides very valuable lists of Tibetan RGV commentaries with detailed re-marks on each work reflecting the state of knowledge up to 2006. In the list I mention the author's name, title of the work, and status of text: published, extant (but unpublished), or unavailable (but whose author or title etc. is known from such Tibetan sources as *A-khu*, *'Bras spungs*, and *'Gos*). In this table I use the following abbreviations (for full bibliographical information, see below, pp. 423–432).

A-khu	A-khu Ching Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho. *dPe rgyun dkon pa 'ga' zhig gi tho yig don gnyer yid kyi dunda bzhad pa'i zla 'od 'bu gyi snye ma*, *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature,* vol. 2, no. 73, New Delhi, 1963.
'Bras spungs	*'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag*. dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, 2 vols., Beijing, 2005.[1]
extant	A work not yet published, but reported to be extant
'Gos	'Gos Lo-tsā-ba gZhon-nu-dpal, *rGyud bla me long*.
Glo-bo	*sDom gsum dgongs rgyan* (see below, p. 425)
Kong-sprul	Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas, *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos snying po'i don mngon sum lam gyi bshad srol dang sbyar ba'i rnam par 'grel pa phyir mi ldog pa seng ge'i na ro*, Rumtek, 1972.
Mi rigs	*Mi rigs dpe mdzod khang gi dpe tho las gsung 'bum skor gyi dkar chag Shes bya'i gter mdzod*, 3 vols., Beijing, 1997.
mTshan byang	*Bod kyi bstan bcos khag cig gi mtshan byang*, Beijing, 1985. (Note that this is merely a title list, one not based on extant manuscripts.)
publ.	A work already published
Shes-rab-bzang-po *et al*. 2010	

[1] This is a list of works found in 'Bras spungs monastery. In particular, the list covers the works preserved in the private library of the Fifth Dalai Lama, gNas bcu lha khang (= *gnas brtan bcu drug pa'i lha khang*). A number of non-dGe-lungs-pa works were found there.

Bod khul gyi grags can chos sde khag gi dpe rnying dkar chag, Beijing.

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unavail. A work not available, but whose title is known.

Author	Title	State
Bram-ze Rin-chen-rdo-rje (10th–11th cent.)	*rGyud bla ma'i 'grel pa* (172 fols. *'Bras spungs*, p. 1403)	extant[2]
Sajjana (11th cent.)	*Mahayanottaratantraśāstropadeśa* (Skt. 1 fol. Göttingen Xc 14/1c)	publ.[3]
Anonymous	*Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya* (Skt. 11 fols. incomplete)	extant[4]
gZu dGa'-ba'i-rdo-rje (11th cent.)	*paṇḍita sadzjana'i gsung la lo tsā ba gzu dga' rdor gyis zin bris byas ba'i rGyud bla ma'i rnam bshad* (*'Gos* 4.17–18; *A-khu* 11338; BA p. 318)	unavail.[5]
bTsan Kha-bo-che (1021–?)	*btsan kha bo che'i zin tho*[6] / *Padma lcags kyu* (See Grol-mchog, *Zab khrid yi ge*, 205.2–206.4)	unavail.
rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab	*Theg chen rgyud bla'i don bsdus pa*[7]/*rGyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa*	publ.[8]

[2] See Kano 2006a: 53 n. 140. This author is probably the Kashmiri Ratnavajra, the grand-father of Sajjana (see Chapter 5). The authorship of this work, listed by the editor of the catalogue, titled *'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag*, is yet to be testified to.

[3] A tentative transcription was published by Takasaki (1975: 52–59), a critical edition including interlinear notes of the manuscript was included in Kano 2006a (Appendix B: Sajjana's *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa*), and an annotated translation along with a working Sanskrit edition was published in Kano 2015. For details, see Chapters 5 and 7 (section "Previous Studies of the *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa*").

[4] See Chapter 5 (section on Sajjana, pp. 137–139) and below, p. 414. See also Ye & Li & Kano 2013 and Kano 2014b.

[5] The Sanskrit manuscript of Sajjana's *Mahayanottaratantraśāstropadeśa* has a number of interlinear glosses, which might be memoranda (*zin bris*) left by gZu dGa'-ba'i-rdo-rje. See also *Deb ther sngon po*, Cha, 101a1–2.

[6] *'khor lo mtha' ma'i dgongs don dang mtha' phye chos dang chos nyid phye ba'i rjes su 'brang ba 'byed gnyis | rgyud bla rnams dpe tsam yang dka' bar byung tshul btsan kha bo che'i zin thor gsal ba bzhin rgya gar du'ang yod par grags pa'i gzhan stong gi brgyud pa ni...* (*Zhu chen thob yig*, Kha 72a3–4)

[7] *A-khu*, 11316 calls this text *rGyud bla ma'i ṭika chung*. According to the Biography of rNgog by Gro-lung-pa, rNgog composed two kinds of commentaries (*don bsdus* and *rnam bshad*) for each of the Five Treatises of Maitreya. Cf. Chapter 7, pp. 203, 207–208, Kramer 1997: 102 and Dram dul 2004: 47–48. Cf. also *'Bras spungs dkar chags*, p. 1401 (15 fols.).

[8] A facsimile version of a handwritten manuscript, a typeset print of it, and a block print have been published: (a) *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, pp. 289–367; (b) *rNgog lo tsā ba blo ldan shes rab kyi gsung chos skor*, *bKa' gdams dpe dkon gces btus*, vol. 3. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009, 545–625; (c) Jackson 1993a. For further materials, see Chapter 9, §(b), pp.

(1059–1109)	*rGyud bla ma'i bsdus don* (2 fols.)	publ.[9]
Vairocanarakṣita (11/12th cent.)	*Mahayanottaratantraṭippanī* (Skt. Göttingen Xc 14/34a)	partly publ.[10]
Zhang Tshe-spong-pa Chos-kyi-bla-ma (12th cent)	*rGyud bla ma'i ṭikka* (*'Gos* 4.23; 574.5; *A-khu* 11333)	unavail.[11]
Gro-lung-pa Blo-gros-'byung-gnas (early 12th)	*rGyud bla ma'i ṭikka* (*'Gos* 4.23; 574.5; *A-khu* 11339)	unavail.
author unknown (*mdzad byang mi gsal ba*)	*rGyud bla ma'i btsan lugs kyi ṭikka chen* (*A-khu* 11340)	unavail.
Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge (1109–1169)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi tshig dang don gyi cha rgya cher bsnyad pa phra ba'i don gsal ba*	publ.[12]
	Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bsdus pa'i don	
A disciple of Mar-pa	*rGyud bla'i bsdus don* (31 fols. *'Bras spungs*, p. 1411)	publ.[13]

243–247. A critical edition of the first chapter of this text and an annotated translation of it are included in Kano 2006a, which is under preparation for publication (Kano forthcoming b).

9 A manuscript of this work was discovered in Khara Khoto by A. Stein and is currently preserved in the British Library. For a facsimile image, critical edition, and translation of it, see Kano 2008a.

10 Nakamura (1980) transcribed some 70% (fols. 9b2–14b7) of the entire text and left the remaining folios untranscribed (fols. 15a1–17a5). A photo image of the Sanskrit manuscript is preserved in Göttingen (Xc 14/34, Taf. 2 (=3), Bl. 8.2 – Taf. 1, Bl. 16.5: fol. 9b2–17a5). I (Kano 2006a) edited the entire text including the folios unedited by Namkamura. Jagdishwar Pandey's transcription is also preserved in Göttingen under the shelf-mark Xc 14/90. For a description of the manuscript, the authorship, and the author's other works, see Kano 2008b, Chapter 4, pp. 103–105, and Kano forthcoming a.

11 The colophon of Phywa-pa's RGV commentary refers to [Zhang Tshes-spongs-pa?] Chos-kyi-bla-ma as his teacher and suggests that Phywa-pa received the teaching transmission of the RGV from him. See Phywa-pa, *rGyud bla don gsal*, 93a3: *theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi tshig dang don gyi cha rgya cher bsnyad pa phra ba'i don gsal ba zhes bya ba || sha kya'i dge slong chos kyi bla ma'i zhabs kyi rdul phyi bos nod pa dge slong chos kyi seng ges nye bar sbyar ba rdzogs s.hyō* ||. See also Kano 2010b: 255 n. 21.

12 The two works are included in *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 7, pp. 163–345 and pp. 145–156 (see also *'Bras spungs*, p. 1399), respectively. Phywa-pa's position on the RGV is referred to in Blo-gros-mtshungs-med's *rGyud bla sgron me*, 208.2–209.6, and Glo-bo mKhan-chen's *sDom gsum* commentary, 298.2–299.2. See Chapter 10, pp. 296–309; Kano 2002, 2006a, and 2010b. Phywa-pa's RGV commentary is called by various names, e.g., *rGyud bla ma'i tshig don rgya cher bshad pa* (*mTshan byang*) / *rGyud bla ma'i ṭikka* (*'Gos*, 4.24; 574.5; *A-khu*, 11320), *Phywa pa'i ṭīka* (*Glo-bo*, 298.2–299.2).

13 The *'Bras spungs dkar chag* states that this text seems to have been composed by Mar-pa, the Translator (*'di mar pa lo tsā ba'i yin nam brtag*). This is most likely Mar-pa Do-pa Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug who translated the RGV (not Mar-pa Chos-kyi-blo-gros. See Chapter 6, p.171). Although the titles are different, this text very likely corresponds to: *rGyud bla ma'i tshig don rnam par 'grel pa*. See above, Chapter 5, pp. 136–137 n. 7. The colophon runs: *tshu rol mthong*

gTsang-nag-pa brTson-'grus-seng-ge (12th cent.)	*rGyud bla ma'i ṭikka* (*'Gos* 4.24; 574.6; *A-khu* 11331)	unavail.
Nyang-brang-pa Chos-kyi-ye-shes (12th cent.)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi tshig dang don gyi cha rgya cher bsnyad pa phra ba'i don gsal ba* (93 fols. *'Bras spungs*, p. 1405)[14] / *rGyud bla ma'i ṭikka* (*'Gos* 4.23; 574.5; *A-khu* 11334);	extant
Dan-'bag sMra-ba'i-seng-ge (12th cent.)	*rGyud bla ma'i ṭikka* (*'Gos* 4.24; 574.5; *A-khu* 11335)	unavail.
sKyo-ston sMon-lam-tshul-khrims (1219–1299)	*Theg chen rgyud bla ma'i gdams pa*	publ.[15]
'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1235–1280)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi bsdus don*	publ.[16]
bCom-ldan-ral-gri (1227–1305)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma rgyan gyi me tog*	publ.[17]
gSang-phu-pa Blo-gros-mtshungs-med (early 14th cent.)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi nges don gsal bar byed pa'i rin po che'i sgron me* (See also *'Gos* 574.6; *A-khu* 11336)	publ.[18]
Rang-byung-rdo-rje (1284–1338)	A summary commentary but of unknown title (Kong sprul 9b5)[19]	unavail.

ba'i rmongs pa bdag gis rdo rje'i gnas bdun gtan la dbab par gyi [= *myi*] *nus dang* | ***bla ma pa ra te ta****'i gsung gi bdud rtsi'i rgyun 'thungs* ***mar pa lo tsā****s gsung sgros bkod* | *... bstan bcos 'di yi rnam bshad ni* || ***pa ra he ta****'i bzhed pa ltar* || *sbyar bas gzhan la phan par shog* || *rgyud bla ma'i bsdus don gyi tshul legs par sbyar ba rdzogs so* ||.

[14] According to gZhon-nu-dpal, he is a disciple of Zhang [Tshe-spong-pa Chos-kyi-bla-ma] (see *'Gos* 574.5). The *'Bras spungs dkar chag* suggests that the author of the present work was a disciple of Zhang Tshe-spong-pa Chos-kyi-bla-ma (*shākya'i dge slong chos kyi bla ma'i zhabs rdul spyi bos len pa dge slong*).

[15] *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 50, pp. 147–156. Cf. *'Bras spungs*, p. 1791. See Chapter 2, pp. 45–48, Kano 2010a: 33 n. 10, and Mathes 2012.

[16] *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi bsdus don,* In: *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum*, Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1968 (*The Complete Works of Chos rgyal 'phags pa*, 2), vol. 7, pp. 225.2.4–288.3.2. The *'Bras spungs* (p. 1684) lists a manuscript of this work (9 fols.).

[17] There are two different handwritten manuscripts: (a) *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 62, pp. 745–774; (b) *bCom ldan rig pa'i ral gri gsung thor bu* (TBRC Work no. W1CZ1041, no date), vol. 1, fols. 1–15b (= 195a–209b). Cf. *A-khu*, 13425. I provided a synoptic outline of the entire text and critically edited and translated this text (up to commentary on RGV I.22) on the basis of the two manuscripts (Kano 2010b and 2013). See Chapter 10, pp. 311–319.

[18] Two versions have been published: A modern handwritten copy: Tezu: Tibetan Nyingmapa Monastery, 1974; a typeset edition: *The Collection Works of the Ancient Sa-skya-pa Scholars*, vol. 3, Kathmandu: Sakya College, 1999. I critically edited and translated the first chapter of this text in Kano 2001.

[19] According to Mathes (2012: 213), Rang-byung-rdo-rje studied under gSang-phu 'Jam-dbyangs Shākya-gzhon-nu and composed a summary commentary (*bsdus don gyi 'grel pa*) of the RGV.

Dol-po-pa Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan (1292–1361)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos legs bshad nyi ma'i 'od zer* (See also *A-khu* 11362)	publ.[20]
Sa-bzang Mati-Paṇ-chen (1294–1376)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi rnam par bshad pa nges don rab gsal snang ba* (See also *'Bras spungs*, p. 1396, 173 fols.; p. 1414, 117 fols.; p. 1414, 151 fols.)	publ.[21]
rGyal-sras Thogs-med (1295–1369)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i 'grel pa nges don gsal bar byed pa'i 'od zer*	publ.[22]
dPal-chen Chos-kyi-don-grub / Chos-rje-Don-grub-rin-po-che (1309–1385)	*rGyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi snying po'i don rin po che'i snang ba* (*mTshan byang*)	unavail.
bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312–1375)	*rGyud bla ṭika sa bcad dang bcas pa*	extant[23]
Gha-rung-pa Lha'i-rgyal-mtshan (1319–1401)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i ṭikka de nyid snang ba*	publ.[24]
Red-mda'-ba gZhon-nu-blo-gros (1349–1412)	*rGyud bla'i don bsdus sam bde gshegs snying po'i don gsal*	publ.[25]
g.Yag-phrug Sangs-rgyas-dpal (1350–1414)	Title unknown (Pod chen drug, 13a3)	unavail.

[20] Several versions have been published, including: *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos legs bshad nyi ma'i 'od zer*, Kunsang Topgay, 1976; *The Collected Works of Jo-nang rje btsun Tāranātha*, vol. 17, Leh: Namgyal and Tsewang Taru, 1987 (in which the work is not identified as Dol-po-pa's writing); *The 'Dzam-thang Edition of the Collected Works (gSung-'bum) of Kun-Mkhyen Dol-po-pa Shes-Rab-Rgyal-Mtshan*, vol. VI, fols. 883–1160. New Delhi: Shedrup Books, 1992.

[21] *Theg pa chen po'i rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi rnam par bshad pa nges don rab gsal snang ba*, *The Collection Works of the Ancient Sa-skya-pa Scholars*, vol. 4, Rajpur: Sakya College, 1999.

[22] *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 56, pp. 333–462. Cf. NGMPP reel no. L 165/2. See also rGyal-sras Thogs-med, *mDo sde rgyan dang rgyud bla ma spyod 'jug rnams kyi 'grel ṭik gi dbu zhabs kyi tshigs bcad. bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 56, pp. 177–259.

[23] See van der Kuijp 1993: 116.

[24] A typeset version: *Jo nang dpe tshogs*, vol. 30: Gha-rung-pa Lha'i-rgyal-mtshan (1319–1401), *bsTan pa spyi 'grel gyi 'grel pa: bsTan pa spyi 'grel gyi 'grel bshad dang theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi rnam par bshad pa sogs*, Bejing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2010; a facsimile reproduction of the manuscript: *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 112, pp. 133–251 (60 fols.).

[25] *rJe btsun red mda' ba gzhon nu blo gros zhabs kyi gsung 'bum*, vol. 3, Sa skya'i dpe rnying bsdu sgrig khang, 2009. pp. 20–29. Cf. *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i mdor bsdus rin po che'i sgron me* (5 fols. *'Bras spungs*, p. 1419), *mDo sde rnam mang las gsungs pa'i bde gshegs snying po'i don rgyud bla'i dgongs gsal bar bshad pa* (*Mi rigs*), *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i 'grel ba dgongs zab snang ba* (*mTshan byang*), *rGyud bla'i 'grel ba dgongs zab snang pa* (*A-khu*, 11340, 11349).

rGyal-tshab Dar-ma-rin-chen (1364–1432)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i ṭika*[26]	publ.[27]
Phag-gru rGyal-mtshan-bzang-po (1383–1450)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i 'grel pa* (TBRC)[28] (Kong sprul, 9b)	unavail.
Karma dKon-mchog-gzhon-nu (late 14th cent.)	*rGyud bla ma'i 'grel pa rton pa bzhi ldan mkhas pa dga' byed* (87 fols. *'Bras spungs*, p. 1404) / *rGyud bla ma'i bsdus don rton pa bzhi ldan mkhas pa dga' byed* (7 fols. *'Bras spungs*, p. 1405) / *rGyud bla ma'i ṭikka* (*A-khu* 11337)	unavail.
Rong-ston Shākya-rgyal-mtshan (1367–1449)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos legs bshad nyi ma'i od zer*[29]	publ.[30]
	rGyud bla ma'i sgom rim mi pham dgongs don	publ.[31]
Bo-dong Paṇ-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (1375–1451)	*Theg pa chen po'i rgyud bla ma'i 'grel pa*	publ.[32]
'Gos Lo-tsā-ba gZhon-nu-dpal (1392–1481)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi 'grel bshad de kho na nyid rab tu gsal ba'i me long*	publ.[33]
	rGyud bla'i 'grel pa nas btus pa'i zin bris (8 fols. *'Bras spungs*, p. 1698)	extant
sTag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab-rin-chen (ca. 1418–1496)	*rGyud bla ma'i ṭī ka*	extant[34]
Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428–1507)	*rGyud bla'i rnam bshad sngon med nyi ma*	publ.[35]
Lo-tsā-ba sKyabs-mchog-	*rGyud bla'i rnam bshad* (*A-khu* tho yig 11357) / *rGyud bla ma'i rgya*	unavail.

[26] Cf. *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos 'grel ba dang bcas pa'i rnam par bshad pa* (*mTshan byang*)/ *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i ṭīkka* (*Mi rigs*)

[27] *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i ṭīka, gSung 'bum* (Zhol edition), Ga, 1a–230a3; *gSung 'bum* (bKra shis lhun po edition), Ga, 1a–218b3. Cf. Tohoku, no. 5434.

[28] *rGyal mtshan bzang po gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, Potala collection (TBRC). Cf. Burchardi 2002: 67.

[29] Cf. *rGyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi don legs par bshad pa* (*mTshan byang*).

[30] *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos legs par bshad pa (Reproduced from a rare manuscript from Jakhar Tshang)*, Gongtok, 1979; *rGyud bla ma rtsa 'grel*, Chengdu: 四川民族出版社, 1997.

[31] *Collected Works of Rong-stong Shak-kya rgyal-mtshan*, vol. B, Rajpur: Sakya College 1999, fols. 527.3-529.4.

[32] *Theg pa chen po'i rgyud bla ma'i 'grel pa.* In: *Encyclopedia Tibetica: The Collected Works of Bo-dong paṇ-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal*, vol. 22. New Delhi: Tibet House, 1971.

[33] For an edition, see Mathes 2003, reviewed in Kano 2005. Cf. also Shes-rab-bzang-po *et al.* 2010: 466 "*rgyal rtse dpal 'khor chos sde dgon, bka' rgyud lugs*, 5, 0288, *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i rnam bshad chen mo*, gZhon-nu-dpal, dbu can, 309 fols., 55 x 11."

[34] TBRC ref. no. W727.

[35] For an English translation, see Burchardi 2008. Cf. *Byams chos lnga'i lam gyi rim pa gsal bar byed pa'i bstan bcos rin chen sgrom gyi sgo 'byed.* In: *Complete Works (gSung 'bum) of gSer mdog Paṇ chen Shākya mchog ldan*, vol. 11, 138.3–149.4.

dpal-bzang (1450–?)	*cher bshad pa rgyal ba sras dang bcas pa'i dgongs pa nges par gsal bar byed pa* (*mTshan byang*)	
bKra-shis-'od-zer (1454–1506)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi 'grel ba gsal ba nyi ma'i snying po*	publ.[36]
Karma Phrin-las-pa (1456–1539)	Title unknown (Kong sprul 9b4)	unavail.
Paṇ-chan bSod-nams-grags-pa (1478–1554)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos 'grel pa dang bcas pa'i dka' 'grel gnad kyi zla 'od* (composed in 1540)	publ.[37]
Zur-mang lHa-lung-pa Karma-bstan-'phel (1569–1637)	*mChan ṭīka* (Burchardi 2002: 69)	unavail.
Ngag-dbang-chos-grags (1572–1641)	*rGyud bla ma'i ṭīka* (TBRC)	unavail.
Tāranātha (1575–?)	*rGyud bla ma'i 'grel ba* (*mTshan byang*) (identical with Dol po pa's commentary?)	unavail.
rNam-gling dKon-mchog-chos-grags (1646–1718)	*rGyud bla ma'i zin bris* (*A-khu* 11342)	unavail.
Co-ne Grags-pa-bshad-sgrub (1675–1748)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i don gyi snying po gsal byed kyi snang ba chen po*[38]	publ.[39]
Gu-shri dKa'-bcu-pa Blo-bzang-tshe-'phel (1760–?)	*Theg pa chen po'i rgyud bla ma'i bsdus don nyung ngu rnam gsal* (*Mi rigs* / *mTshan byang*)	publ.[40]
Brag-dkar-spul-sku bsTan-'dzin-snyan-grags (fl. 1777–1798)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi 'grel pa byams mgon dgyes pa'i mchod sprin*	extant
dPal-sprul 'Jigs-med-chos-kyi-dbang-po (1808–1887)	*Theg pa chen po'i bstan bcos rgyud bla ma'i sa bcad* (*Mi rigs*)	publ.?

[36] For the details of its contents, see Mathes 2012. This is included in: *Collected Works (gsung 'bum) of Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje*, vol. Ja, 126–262. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2000s (no date). For the original manuscript (90 fols.), see *'Bras spungs*, p. 1589.

[37] In: *The Collected Works of Pan-chen bSod-nams-grags-pa*, vol. 5, Mundgod: Drepung Loseling Library Society, 1986. Cf. Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 27.

[38] Cf. *rGyud bla'i rdo rje'i don bdun gyi rnam bzhag* (*mTshan byang*) / *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i don gyi snying po gsal byed kyi snang ba chen po* (*Mi rigs*).

[39] *Co ne Grags pa bshad gyi sgrub gsungs 'bum*. In: *dPyad gzhi'i yig cha phyogs bsgrigs*. Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe 天津古籍出版社, 1988, vol. 3, Kha, 1a–17a. Cf. Shes-rab-bzang-po *et al.* 2010: 191 "'Phan po Na lendra, pod 505, No. 4144, *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla'i snying po gsal byed kyi snang ba chen po zhes bya ba bzhugs so | bshad sgrub ming can gyis sbyar ba'o |* 15."

[40] See *dPyad gzhi'i yig cha phyogs bsgrigs*. Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1988.

'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas (1813–1899)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos snying po'i don mngon gsum lam gyi bshad srol dang sbyar ba'i rnam par 'grel pa phyir mi ldog pa seng ge'i nga ro*	publ.[41]
'Jam-mgon Ju Mi-pham-rgya-mtsho (1846–1912)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi mchan 'grel mi pham zhal lung*	publ.
gZhan-dga' gZhan-phan Chos-kyi-snang-ba (1871–1927)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos zhes bya ba'i mchan 'grel*	publ.[42]
Zhwa-dmar dGe-'dun bsTan-'dzin-rgya-mtsho (1852–1912)	*rGyud bla dar ṭīka dang kun btus dar tīka gnyis kyi zin bris* (*mTshan byang*)	extant
Blo-bzang bsTan-'dzin-rgya-mtsho (1869–1910/11)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i 'grel pa byams mgon dgyes pa'i mchod sprin* [43]	extant
Ye-shes-rgya-mtsho (1917–)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi bsdus don rin chen sgron me* (TBRC)[44]	extant
Blo-bzang-dpal-ldan bsTan-'dzin-yar-rgyas (1927–1996)	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi mchan 'grel* (TBRC)[45]	extant
Date unknown		
Author unknown	A synoptic outline (Title unknown) (1 fol. in the Tibetan manuscript collection from Khara Khoto, British Library)	publ.[46]
Dar-ma-bkra-shis[47]	*rGyud bla ma'i rnam bshad* (59 fols. *'Bras spungs*, p. 1402)	extant
bTsun-pa bSod-nams	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi rnam par bshad pa dgongs pa nges par gsal ba* (85 fols. *'Bras spungs*, p. 1418) / (107 fols. *'Bras spungs*, p. 1422)	extant

41 *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos snying po'i don mngon sum lam gyi bshad srol dang sbyar ba'i rnam par 'grel pa phyir mi ldog pa seng ge'i na ro*, Rumtek (Library of Congress, Microfiche number; R-1636; I [Sik]-Tib-63, 72-905654).

42 *Commentary Expanding the Text of the Ratnagotravibhāga or Uttaratantraśāstra: Classical Text of the Yogācāra School of Buddhism Attributed to Asaṅga* (reproduced place unknown) 1976, 53 fols.

43 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 9, 115 fols. in the Potala (acc. to TBRC).

44 *gSung 'bum*, vol. Nga, 69 fols. from Kha-sgang O-bso Bkra-shis-chos-rdzong in Hwa-lung in Qinghai (TBRC ref. no. W16164).

45 *'Jam mgon snyan brgyud kyi bstan pa'i mdzod 'dzin skyabs rje dze smad rin po che rje btsun blo bzang dpal ldan bstan 'dzin yar rgyas sam blo gter dgyes pa'i lang tsho dpal bzang po'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 3, pp. 441–532 (TBRC ref. no. 14430).

46 Takeuchi & Iuchi 2016, No. 44. This is a fragment from a synoptic outline possibly by a gSang phu author. This outlines RGV I.66–95.

47 Dar ma bkra shis's commentary on the *Satyadvaya* is also extant.

Bla-ma sPu-rangs-pa	*bsTan bcos rgyud bla ma'i gdam ngag bsam mi khyab kyi yi ge* (10 fols. *'Bras spungs*, p. 1399)	extant
Dharma-seng-ge	*Dam pa'i chos rGyud bla ma'i 'grel pa lho brag dharma seng ges mdzad pa'i tig ka nyi 'od gsal ba* (48 fols. *'Bras spungs*, p. 1650)	extant
'Jam-dbyangs-rin-chen	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i legs bshad nges pa'i don gyi snying po* (51 fols. *'Bras spungs*, p. 1397)	extant
Zad-pa Blo-gros-rgya-mtsho	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i nyi shu pa'i 'grel pa* (3 fols. *'Bras spungs*, p. 1398)	extant
dGe-'dun-'od-zer[48]	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i rnam bshad don dam rnam nges bsdus pa'i snying po'i snying po*	publ.[49]
	rGyud bla ma'i sa bcad mtshungs med legs bshad	
Ye-shes-rdo-rje dPal-bzang-po	*rGyud bla'i bshad pa nges don nor bu'i mdzod*	publ.[50]
Rin-chen-ye-shes	*rGyud bla ma'i 'grel pa mdo dang sbyar ba nges pa'i don gyi snang ba*	publ.[51]
Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i ṭikka de nyid snag ba* (70 fols. *'Bras spungs*, p. 1418)	extant
'Jam-dbyangs bsTan-'dzin-rgya-mtsho[52]	*rGyud bla ma'i 'grel ba dri med pad dkar dga' tshal* (*mTshan byang*)	unavail.
Chos-mdzad-bla-ma bsTan-pa-rab-rgyas-sgron-me[53]	*rGyud bla ma'i tshig 'grel* (*mTshan byang*)	unavail.
bTsun-pa Ratna-guru	*rGyud bla'i bsdus don*	extant[54]
Kun-mkhyen-rin-po-	title unknown (Pod chen drug, 13a3: *Kun mkhyen rin po che'i yang ṭīkka yod 'dug pa yin*)	unavail.

[48] There are three entries under the name of dGe-'dun-'od-zer in TBRC: two scholars of 19th century and one scholar of 16/17th century (TBRC P2211, 1200, and 8500).

[49] *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 20, pp. 455–568 ('Bras spungs gnas bcu lha khang, Phyi Tsha 122) and *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 76, pp. 395–422 ('Bras spungs gnas bcu lha khang, Phyi La 122). Cf. *'Bras spungs*, p. 1419 (14 fols.).

[50] *Jo nang dpe tshogs*, vol. 31, Rin-chen-ye-shes and Ye-shes-rdo-rje, *rGyud bla ma'i 'grel pa: rGyud bla ma'i 'grel pa mdo dang sbyar ba nges pa'i don gyi snang ba dang nges don nor bu'i mdzod*, Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2010. Cf. *'Bras spungs*, p. 1407 (90 fols.).

[51] *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 20, pp. 23–445 ('Bras spungs gnas bcu lha khang, Phyi Tsha 125); *Jo nang dpe tshogs*, vol. 31, Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2010. Cf. *'Bras spungs*, p. 1419 (*rGyud bla ma'i 'grel pa*, 202 fols.) and p. 1671 (271 fols.). Cf. Shes-rab-bzang-po *et al*. 2010: 113 "'Phan po Na lendra, pod 91, No. 800, *rGyud bla'i mdo sbyar*, 13."

[52] This author could be a Gelugpa scholar in the 19th century in Amdo.

[53] The author, too, could be a Gelugpa scholar in the 19th century in Amdo.

[54] Shes-rab-bzang-po *et al*. 2010: 131 "'Phan po Na lendra, pod 318, No. 2801, *rGyud bla'i bsdus don | btsun pa ratna gu ru*, 9."

che[55]		
Author unknown	*Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bka' gnad kyi mtha' dpyad mun sel*	publ.[56]
Author unknown	*Theg pa chen po'i rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos gsal byed*	publ.[57]
Author unknown	*rGyud bla ma'i spyi don*	publ.[58]
Author unknown	*bsTan bcos rgyud bla ma'i gdams ngag bsam mi khyab kyi yi ge*	publ.[59]

Supplimental Material: Available Folios of the Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya

The proto-Śāradā palm-leaf set preserved in TAR (see Chapter 5, Ye & Li & Kano 2013 and Kano 2014b) contains eleven folios of the *Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya*. Here is a list of hitherto discovered folios of the work. In the following, I use two abbreviations: CTRC = China Tibetology Research Center 中国藏学研究中心, CEL = China Ethnic Library 中国民族图书馆. A critical edition of these fragments is currently under preparation.

Fol. 1	CTRC (Plate No. 34/35, 3rd leaf)	RGV I.1-2
Fol. 3?	CEL (No. 17)	RGV I.3-?
Fol. (4?)	CTRC (Plate No. 28/29, 5th leaf)	RGV I.4
Fol. (5?)	CTRC (Plate No. 34/35, 2nd leaf)	RGV I.5-9?
Fol. x	CEL (No. 15)	RGV I.10?-I.12
Fol. y	CTRC (Plate No. 32/33, 1st leaf)	RGV I.12-19?
Fol.6	CTRC (Plate No. 30/31, 4th leaf)	RGV I.23-28?
Fol. 7	CTRC (Plate No. 30/31, 3rd leaf)	RGV I.28-29
Fol. 9	CEL (No. 15)	RGV I.37?-47
Fol. 14	CEL (No. 17)	RGV I.79-97
Fol. z	CEL (No. 15)	RGV I.134?-152

[55] This is probably Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge.

[56] *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 112, pp. 253–304 (26 fols.).

[57] *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 76, pp. 343–394. Tsering Wanchuk informed me that this RGV commentary belongs to the bTsan tradition.

[58] *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 76, pp. 507–508.

[59] *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 76, pp. 423–442 ('Bras spungs gnas bcu lha khang, Phyi Tsha 37).

Abbreviations

AA	*Abhisamayālaṃkāra*
AAĀ	*Abhisamayālaṃkārālokā*
AAN	*Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta*
AK	*Abhidharmakośakārikā*
AKBh	*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*
AKU	*Amṛtakaṇikoddyotanibandha*
AKVy	*Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*
AMS	*Aṅgulimālīyasūtra*
AS	*Abhidharmasamuccaya*
ATBS	Arbeitkreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien Universität Wien
BBK	*Bongo butten no kenkyū IV, Mikkyōhen* 梵語仏典の研究 IV 密教篇 (*A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. 4). Eds. K. Tsukamoto, Y. Matsunaga, & H. Isoda. Kyoto, 1989.
BCAP	*Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*
BHSD	*Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*. F. Edgerton. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.
BHSG	*Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar*. F. Edgerton. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CIHTS	Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies
Conj	conjecture(s)
CSS	*Catuḥstavasamāsārtha*
D	Derge Kanjur and Tanjur
DhDhV/V	*Dharmadharmatāvibhāga/-vṛtti*
DĪR	*Dhāraṇīśvararājasūtra*
Em	emendation(s)
IBK	*Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究
IsIAO	Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente
IsMEO	Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente
JIABS	*Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies*
JIP	*Journal of Indian Philosophy*
JNA	*Jñānaśrīmitranibandhāvalī*
KPJRI	Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute
LAS	*Laṅkāvatārasūtra*
MA	*Madhyamakāvatāra/-bhāṣya*
MĀl	*Madhyamakāloka*
MAV	*Madhyāntavibhāga*
MAVBh	*Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya*
MAvṬ	*Madhyamakāvatāraṭīkā*
MBhS	*Mahābherīsūtra*

MH	*Madhyamakahṛdaya*
MPMS	*Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*
MSA	*Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*
MSABh	*Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya*
Munimata	*Munimatālaṃkāra*
Mvy	*Mahāvyutpatti*
NGMPP	Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project
Otani	*Catalogue of Tibetan works kept in Otani University Library*. Kyoto: Otani University Library, 1973.
P	Peking Kanjur and Tanjur
PVSV	*Pramāṇavārttika(sva)vṛtti*
RGV	*Ratnagotravibhāga Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra*
RGVV	*Ratnagotravibhāga-*vyākhyā*
RGVV(tib)	*Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā*, Tibetan text. Ed. Z. Nakamura: *Zōwa taiyaku Kukyōichijō hōshōron kenkyū*. 蔵和対訳究竟一乗宝性論研究. Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1967.
ŚMS	*Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśasūtra*
SS	*Sūtrasamuccaya*
SSBh	*Ratnālokālaṃkāra nāma Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya*
T	Taishō shinshū daizōkyō 大正新脩大藏經. Ed. J. Takakusu & K. Watanabe. Tokyo: The Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō Kankō Kai, 1924–1929.
TGS	*Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*
TJ	*Tarkajvālā Madhyamakahṛdayavṛtti*
Tōhoku Zōgai	*A catalogue of the Tohoku University collection of Tibetan works on Buddhism*. 西藏撰述佛典目録. Ed. Y. Kanakura, R. Yamada, & T. Tada. Sendai: Tohoku University, 1953.
TSP	*Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā*
Upadeśa	*Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa*
UPS	*Ugraparipṛcchāsūtra*
VN	*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*
VÖAW	Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
VV	*Vigrahavyāvartanī*
WSTB	Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde
WZKS	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*

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sDom gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dris lan lung gi tshad ma 'khrul spong dgongs rgyan (abbr. *sDom gsum dgongs rgyan*). In: *rGyud sde spyi rnam gsal byed sogs*, *Four works elucidating the proper interpretation of the Sa-skya-pa approach to Buddhist tantra*. Dehra Dun: Pal Ewam Chodan Ngorpa Centre, 1985. 209–321.

dGe-'dun-chos-'phel (1902-1951)

rGyal khams rig pas bskor ba'i gtam rgyud gser gyi thaṅ ma: Thog mar lha sa nas phebs thon mdzad pa'i tshul. (A) Ed. Zam-gdong-pa Blo-bzang-bstan-'dzin. Sarnath, Varanasi: CIHTS, 1986; (B) Ed. Hor-khang bSod-nams-dpal-'bar. Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1994, vol. 1, 3–40.

dGe-ye Tshul-khrims-seng-ge (ca. 15th cent.)

rGya bod kyi chos 'byung rin po che. Miyake, S. *et al.* (eds), *History of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism by dGe ye Tshul Khrims seng ge: a critical and facsimile edition of the Tibetan text with summary and index*. Kyoto: Otani University, 2007.

rGyal-tshab Dar-ma-rin-chen (1364–1432)

Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i ṭīka (a.k.a *Theg pa chen po'i nges don gyi mdo sde'i dgongs pa 'grel par byed pa*) (abbr. *rGyud bla ṭīka*). In: *Collected works* (Zhol edition), vol. Ga, 1a–230a3.

rGyal-sras Thogs-med (1295–1369).

Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i 'grel pa nges don gsal bar byed pa'i 'od zer (abbr. *rGyud bla 'od zer*). NGMPP reel no. L165/2. 103 folios.

sGra-tshad-pa Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal (1318–1388)

De bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po gsal zhing mdzes par byed pa'i rgyan gyi rgyan mkhas pa'i yid 'phrog (abbr. *Yang rgyan*). In: *The Collected Works of Bu ston*, Ed. Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1971, part 28 (Sa), 161–284.

——— *Bu ston rin chen grub kyi rnam thar: Chos rje thams cad mkhyen pa bu ston lo tsā*

ba'i rnam par thar pa snyim pa'i me tog. Contained in Seyfort Ruegg 1966.

Ngag-dbang-chos-grags, mKhan-chen (1572–1641)
Bod kyi mkhas pa snga phyi dag gi grub mtha'i shan 'byed mtha' dpyod dang bcas pa'i 'bel ba'i gtam skyes dpyod ldan mkhas pa'i lus rgyan rin chen mdzes pa'i phra tshom bkod pa (abbr. *Pod chen drug gi 'bel gtam*). Thimphu: Kunsang Topgyal, 1979.

Ngag-dbang Blo-gros-grags-pa (1920–1975)
dPal ldan jo nang pa'i chos byung. Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1992.

Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho, Dalai Lama Vth (1617–1682)
Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gang ga'i chu rgyun (abbr. *Thob yig*). In: *The Collected Works (Gsung-'bum) of the Vth Dalai Lama, Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho*, Gangtok: Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology, 1991, vol. 1.

Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1382–1456)
Thob yig rgya mtsho. In: *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum*, Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1968–1969, vol. 9, 44.4.1–108.2.6 (vol. Ka, fol. 90a–217a).

Ngor-chen dKon-mchog-lhun-grub (1497–1557) & Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs (1649–1705)
Dam pa'i chos kyi byung tshul legs par bshad pa bstan pa rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i gru chen zhes bya ba rtsom 'phro kha skong bcas (abbr. *Ngor chos 'byung*). New Delhi: Ngawang Topgey, 1973.

rNgog Lo-tsā-ba Blo-ldan-shes-rab (1059–1109)
rGyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa (the British Library, KK. V. b. 035.h, Box 7, 66; reproduced in Kano 2008a).

——— *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa* (abbr. *rGyud bla don bsdus*). (A) *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, *ibid.*, vol. 1, 289–367; (B) *Theg chen rgyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa. Commentary on the Ratnagotravibhāga by rNgog Lotsaba Blo ldan shes rab*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1993; (C) NGMPP, Reel no. L 519/4; (D) Tōhoku Zōgai, no. 6798; (E) *rNgog lo tsā ba blo ldan shes rab kyi gsung chos skor*, In: *bKa' gdams dpe dkon gces btus*, vol. 3. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009, 545–625.

——— *Dag yig nyer mkho bsdus pa*. (A) *dPyad gzhi'i yig cha phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 1. (no pagination; published date and place unknown) = *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, *ibid.* vol. 1, 93–109; (B) *rNgog lo tsā ba blo ldan shes rab kyi gsung chos skor*, 662–670.

——— *mDo sde rgyan gyi don bsdus*. (A) *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, *ibid.*, vol. 1, 203–252; (B) *rNgog lo tsā ba blo ldan shes rab kyi gsung chos skor*, *ibid.*, 478–544.

——— *mDo sde rgyan gyi don bsdus las btus pa* (A summary of rNgog's *mDo sde rgyan gyi don bsdus* by an anonymous hand). In: *Legs par bshad pa bka' gdams rin po che'i gsung gi gces btus nor bu'i bang mdzod*, Xining: mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1996, 148–150.

——— *sPrings yig bdud rtsi'i thig le*. (A) *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, *ibid.*, vol. 1, 707–710; (B) *rNgog lo tsā ba blo ldan shes rab kyi gsung chos skor*, *ibid.*, 659–661; (C) Kano 2007 (critical edition).

——— *dBus dang mtha' rnam par 'byed pa'i don bsdus pa*. (A) *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, *ibid.*, vol. 1, 258–281; (B) *rNgog lo tsā ba blo ldan shes rab kyi gsung chos skor*, *ibid.*, 626–658.

———— *Tshad ma rnam nges kyi dka' gnas rnam par bshad pa*. (A) Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1994; (B) *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, *ibid.*, vol. 1, 420–705; (C) *rNgog lo tsā ba blo ldan shes rab kyi gsung chos skor*, *ibid.*, 53–359.

———— *Rigs thigs 'grel pa dang bcas pa'i bsdus don* (a tentative title mentioned by Grolung-pa). (A) *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, *ibid.*, vol. 1, 369–409 (wrongly entitled as *Tshad ma rnam nges kyi bsdus don*); (B) *rNgog lo tsā ba blo ldan shes rab kyi gsung chos skor*, *ibid.*, 1–52.

———— *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa man ngag gi bstan bcos don bsdus pa* or *mNgon par rtogs pa'i rgyan 'grel rin po che'i sgron me* (abbr. *mNgon rtogs sgron me*). (A) *Lotsaba'i bsdus don by Rṅog Lotsaba Blo ldan śes rab*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1993; (B) *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, *ibid.*, vol. 1, 125–201; (C) *rNgog lo tsā ba blo ldan shes rab kyi gsung chos skor* (see above), 369–477.

———— *Shes rab snying po'i rgya cher 'grel gyi bshad pa*. (A) *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, *ibid.*, vol. 1, 111–118; (B) *rNgog lo tsā ba blo ldan shes rab kyi gsung chos skor*, *ibid.*, 360–477.

bCom-ldan-ral-gri (a.k.a bCom-ldan-rig-pa'i-ral-gri, Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan) (1227–?1305)

Grub mtha' rgyan gyi me tog. In: bCom ldan ral gri, *bCom ldan rig pa'i ral gri'i gsung 'bum*. Ed. Kamtrul Sonam Dondrub. 10 vols. Trace Foundation/TBRC [Work No. W00EGS1017426], 2006, vol. 5, pp. 102-425 (Tibetan typeset reproduction; available online).

———— *rGyud bla ma'i ṭi ka rgyan gyi me tog* (abbr. *rGyud bla rgyan gyi me tog*). (A) *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, *ibid.*, vol. 62, 745–774; (B) *bCom ldan rig pa'i ral gri gsung thor bu* (TBRC Work no. W1CZ1041, no place no date), vol. 1, fols. 1–15b (= 195a–209b).

———— *Chos mngon pa kun las btus kyi rnam par bshad pa rgyan gyi me tog* (abbr. *Kun las btus pa rgyan gyi me tog*). (A) *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, *ibid.*, vol. 57, pp. 11-664 (facsimile reproduction); (B) *bCom ldan rig pa'i ral gri'i gsung 'bum*. *ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 1-735.

———— *bsTan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od*. See K. Schaeffer & L. van der Kuijp 2009; *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, *ibid.*, vol. 51, 53–156; *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, *ibid.*, vol. 61, 191–266.

———— *Byams pa dang 'brel ba'i chos kyi byung tshul*. (A) *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, *ibid.*, vol. 53. 157–167; (B) *bCom ldan rig pa'i ral gri'i gsung 'bum*, *ibid.*, vol. 5, 43–56 [= a diplomatic transcription based on the manuscript (A)]. See Kano & Nakamura 2009.

Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan (1402–1473)

dGe legs dpal bzang gi gsang ba'i rnam thar (abbr. *mKhas grub rnam thar*). In: *The Collected Works of Lord mKhas grub rje* (Zhol edition), Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1981, vol. Ka.

'Jam-dbyangs-dga'-blo/dGa'-ba'i-blo-gros (1429–1503)

Theg pa chen po mdo sde'i rgyan gyi gzhung 'brel kun bzang mchod sprin. Baksa Duar, 1965.

Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer, mNga'-bdag (ca. 1124–1192)

Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud. Lhasa: bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1988 (²2010).

Tāranātha (1575–1634)

rGya gar chos 'byung. Ed. Schiefner, A. St. Petersburg, 1868.

———— *Zab don khyad par nyer gcig pa*. In: *The Collected Works of Jo-nang rje-btsun Taranatha*, Leh: Namgyal and Tsewang Taru, 1982–85, vol. 4, 781–795.

———— *Zab mo gzhan stong dbu ma'i brgyud 'debs*. In: *The Collected Works of Jo-nang rje-*

btsun Taranatha, *ibid.*, vol. 4, 483–489.

Thu'u-bkwan Blo-bzang-chos-kyi-nyi-ma (1737–1802)
Grub mtha' thams cad kyi khungs dang 'dod tshul ston pa legs bshad shel gyi me long (abbr. *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long*). In: *Collected Works of Thu'u-bkwan Blo-bzang-chos-kyi nyi-ma*. Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1969, vol. 2, 5–519.

Dung-dkar Blo-bzang-'phrin-las (1927–1997)
mKhas dbang dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las kyi gsung 'bum. 7 vols. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004.

Dol-po-pa Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan (1292–1361)
Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos legs bshad nyi ma'i 'od zer. (A) *The Collected works of Jo-nang rje btsun Tāranātha*, *ibid.*, vol. 17; (B) *The 'Dzam-thang Edition of the Collected Works of Kun-mkhyen Dol-po-pa Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan*, *ibid.*, vol. 6, 883–1160.

——— *Ri chos nges don rgya mtsho zhes bya ba mthar thug thun mong ma yin pa'i man ngag*. (A) Gangtok, 1976; (B) Bir, 1984; (C) *The 'Dzam-thang Edition of the Collected Works of Kun-mkhyen Dol-po-pa Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan*. Delhi: Shedrup Books, 1992, vol. 2, 1–708; (D) Beijing, 1998.

——— *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi rnam bshad mdo'i don bde blag tu rtog[s] pa*. In: *The 'Dzam-thang Edition of the Collected Works of Kun-mkhyen Dol-po-pa Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan*, *ibid.*, vol. 4-2, 323–882.

lDe'u Jo-sras, mKhas-pa (13th cent.)
rGya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa (abbr. *lDe'u chos 'byung*). Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, ²2010 (¹1987).

sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho (1653–1705)
Bai ḍūrya g.ya' sel. New Delhi: T. Tsepal Taikhang, 1971.

Nor-brang-o-rgyan (ed.)
bsTan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed / tha snyad rig gnas lnga'i byung tshul blo gsal mgrin rgyan. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1987 (see Klu-grub-rgya-mtsho).

dPa'-bo II gTsug-lag-phreng-ba (1504–1566)
mKhas pa'i dga' ston: *Dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor lo bsgyur ba rnams kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston*. Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986.

dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims
Ri khrod pa chen po blo gros brtan pa'i rnam thar. *The Slob bshad Tradition of the Sa-skya Lam-'bras*, vol. I. Dehra Dun: Sakya Centre, 1983.

dPyad gzhi'i yig cha phyogs sgrigs
Zangwen shiliao huibian disanji 藏文史料彙編第 3 輯. Tianjin: Tianjin Guji Chubanshe (no date).

Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1235–1280)
Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi bsdus don. In: *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum*, Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1968, vol. 7, 225.2.4–288.3.2.

Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge (1109–1169)

Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi tshig dang don gyi cha rgya cher bsnyad pa phra ba'i don gsal ba (abbr. *rGyud bla don gsal*). In *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, *ibid.*, vol. 7, pp. 163–345.

——— *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bsdus pa'i don*. In *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, *ibid.*, vol. 7, pp. 145–156.

——— *Theg pa chen po mdo sde rgyan gyi legs bshad yang rgyan nyi 'od gsal ba* (abbr. *mDo rgyan nyi 'od*). In *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, *ibid.*, vol. 7, pp. 351–537.

——— *dBu ma shar gsum gyi stong thun*. Ed. H. Tauscher. Vienna: ATBS (WSTB 43), 1999.

Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290–1364)

bDe bar gshes pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod (abbr. *Chos 'byung*). In: *The Collected Works of Bu ston*, *ibid.*, part 24 (Ya), 633–1056 (fol. 1a–212b).

——— *Bla ma dam pa rnams kyis rjes su bzung ba'i tshul*: *bKa' drin rjes su dran par byed pa* (abbr. *Bu ston gsan yig*). In: *The Collected Works of Bu ston*, Ed. Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1971, part 26 (La), 1–142 (fol. 1a–71b).

——— *Shin tu zab cing brtag par dka' ba de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po gsal zhing mdzes par byed pa'i rgyan* (abbr. *mDzad rgyan*). In: *The Collected Works of Bu ston*, *ibid.*, part 20 (Va), 1–78 (fol. 1a–39a).

Bo-dong Paṇ-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (1375–1451)

Theg pa chen po'i rgyud bla ma'i 'grel pa. In: *Encyclopedia Tibetica: The Collected Works of Bo-dong paṇ-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal*. Ed. S. T. Kazi. New Delhi: Tibet House, 1971, vol. 22, 1–251.

Byams-pa Kun-dga'-'byung-gnas, Rin-chen-'byor-ldan (16th cent.)

dPal ldan gSang phu'i gdan rabs gsal ba'i me long. Otani Catalogue, no. 13981.

Blo-gros-mtshugs-med, gNas-drug-pa (14th cent.)

dBus mtha' rnam 'byed kyi 'grel pa dbu ma'i rgyan. In: *Sa-skya pai mkhas-pa rnams-kyi gsungs skor pod gsum-pai dkar-chag: The Collection Works of the Ancient Sa-skya-pa Scholars*, Kathmandu: Sakya College, 1999, vol. 3, 19–140.

Blo-gros-mtshugs-med, gSang-phu-pa (14th cent.)

Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi nges don gsal bar byed pa'i rin po che'i sgron me (abbr. *rGyud bla sgron me*). (A) Tezu: Tibetan Nyingmapa Monastery, 1974 (reproduced in *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, vol. 17, 10–690); (B) Kathmandu: Sakya College, 1999, vol. 3, 239–565.

'Bras spungs dkar chag

'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag. Ed. dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang. 2 vols. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2005.

Mi-pham-rgya-mtsho, 'Jam-mgon Ju (1846–1912)

Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi mchan 'grel mi pham zhal lung. In: *The Complete Works of Ju Mi pham*, Gangtok: Kazi, 1976, vol. 4, 349–561.

rMa-bya Byang-chub-brtson-'grus (d. ca. 1185)

dBu ma rtsa ba shes rab kyi 'grel pa 'thad pa'i rgyan. Rumtek: Rumtek Monastery, 1975.

sMon-lam-tshul-khrims (1219–1299)

Theg chen rgyud bla ma'i gdams pa. *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, *ibid.*, vol. 50, 147–156.

——— *Shākya'i btsun pa smon lam tshul khrims kyi thos yig* [= *mKhas pa chen po snar thang pa'i gsan yig*]. *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, *ibid.*, vol. 50, 253–280.

Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa (1357–1419)

rJe rin po che blo bzang grags pa'i dpal gyi gsan yig (abbr. *rJe gsan yig*). In: *ibid.*, vol. Ka, fols. 1a–27b.

——— *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos ngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan 'grel ba dang bcas pa'i rgya cher bshad pa legs bshad gser gyi phreng ba* (abbr. *gSer phreng*). In: *Collected Works* (Zhol edition), Dharamsala: Shes rig par khang, vols. Tsa and Tsha.

Tshal-pa Kun-dga'-rdo-rje (1309–64)

Deb ther dmar po. *Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las kyis mchan 'grel bkod*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1981 (repr. 1993 and 2004).

Zhang-zhung-pa dPal-'byor-bzang-po

Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i yid phrog (with an introduction by Roberto Vitali). Dharamshala: Amye Machen Institute, 2012.

Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen (1697–1774)

dPal ldan bla ma dam pa rnams las dam pa'i chos thos pa'i yi ge don gnyer gdengs can rol pa'i chu gter (abbr. *Zhu chen thob yig*). *Record of Teachings Received: The Gsan Yig of Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen of Sde-dge*. 2 vols. Dehradun: Gyaltsen, sLungtok, 1970.

gZhon-nu-dpal, 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba (1392–1481)

Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi 'grel bshad de kho na nyid rab tu gsal ba'i me long (abbr. *rGyud bla me long*). Ed. Klaus-Dieter Mathes, *'Gos lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal's Commentary on the Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā*, Nepal Research Centre Publications, no. 24, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003.

——— *Deb ther sngon po* (abbr. *Deb sngon*). (A) Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1984; (B) Tr. Roerich, G. N. *The Blue Annals*. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1949/53 (repr. Delhi, 1976). Locations are referred to by (A).

gZhon-nu-byang-chub, 'Das-pa (late 11th cent. to early 12th cent.)

Chos mngon pa kun las btus pa'i ṭīkka shes bya thams cad gsal bar byed pa'i sgron me. *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*, *ibid.*, vol. 40, 11–536.

Rong-ston Shākya-rgyal-mtshan (1367–1449)

rGyud bla ma'i sgom rim mi pham dgongs don. In: *Rong ston shākya rgyal mtshan gyi gsung skor*, Kathmandu: Sakya College, 1999, vol. Kha, 529.3–4.

——— *Chos dang chos nyid rnam par 'byed pa'i rnam bshad legs par 'doms pa lha'i rnga bo che* (abbr. *Chos nyid rnam 'byed*). Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1999.

——— *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos legs par bshad pa* (abbr. *rGyud bla legs bshad*). Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1997.

——— *Shes rab kyi pha rol du phyin pa'i man ngan gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa'i rnam bshad tshig don rab tu gsal ba*. See Jackson 1988.

——— *gSung thor bu*. Dharamsala, 1999.

Rwa Ye-shes-seng-ge

mThu stobs dbang phyug rje btsun rwa lo tsā ba'i rnam par thar pa kun khyab

snyan pa'i rnga sgra (abbr. *Rwa lo tsā ba'i rnam thar*). Xining: mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1989.

Las-chen Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1432–1506)

bKa' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2003.

Shākya-mchog-ldan, gSer-mdog-paṇ-chen (1428–1507)

rNgog lo tstsha ba chen pos bstan pa ji ltar bskyangs pa'i tshul mdo tsam du bya ba ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mo (abbr. *rNgog lo*). In: *The Complete Works (gsung 'bum) of gSer-mdog Paṇ-chen Shākya- mchog-ldan*, Thimphu: Kunzang Tobgey, 1975, vol. 16, 443–456.

——— *rGyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi nges don sngon med nyi ma rnam bshad sngon med nyi ma* (abbr. *rGyud bla rnam bshad*). In: *The Complete Works*, *ibid.*, vol. 13, 113–124.

——— *rGyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi nges don la sgro skur sel ba'i le'u*. In: *The Complete Works*, *ibid.*, vol. 13.

——— *rJe btsun thams cad mkhyen pa bshes gnyen Shākya rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho*. In: *The Complete Works*, *ibid.*, vol. 16, 299–378.

——— *sPring yig bdud rtsi'i thig pa'i rgya cher bshad pa dpag bsam yongs 'du'i ljon phreng*. In: *The Complete Works*, *ibid.*, vol. 24, 320.6–348.6

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Indices

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Conventions utilzed in the indices are, for instance, as follows:

5	=	p. 5
5f.	=	pp. 5 and 6
5–7	=	pp. 5, 6, and 7
$5n_{6}$	=	note 6 of p. 5
$5n_{6f.}$	=	notes 6 and 7 of p. 5
$5/n_{6}$	=	p. 5, and note 6 of the same page
$5/n_{6f.}$	=	p. 5, and notes 6 and 7 of the same page

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