that Buddhism too has a parallel concept of the attainment of companionship with Brahma. But this, however, does not mean that Buddhism, like Vedic literature or Brahmanism, admits the possibility of eternal companionship with Brahma.

Jhānic attainments signify the experiencing of a very high level of mental development through the process of jhānic practices. The teaching on the four Brahma-Vihāras (four Sublime States) is another instance which explains how the Buddha adopted another important aspect of the pre-Buddhist Brahma concept. It is obvious that many scholars are of the opinion that the teaching on Brahma-Vihāra is purely Buddhist. Perhaps this is more likely to be an adaptation of a pre-Buddhist concept to suit the Buddhist standpoint. This becomes apparent from Venerable Buddhaghosa's explanation of Brahma-vihāra. According to him, they are called Brahma-vihāras as they are supreme and faultless. These states constitute the best mode of conduct towards others. The Brahmas live with their minds freed of the five hindrances.

As the parental love is imbibed with these mental attitudes towards their children, they too can be called Brahmas. The comparison of parents with the Brahmas, has added a new dimension to the Brahma concept. The Buddhist path leading to Nibbāna²⁴ is called the "Brahma-faring" (Brahmacariya). The Buddha addressing the first disciples who grasped his teaching said, "Come O! monk, the doctrine is well taught. Practice this Brahma faring for the perfect ending of suffering". The five ascetics who were the first disciples of the Buddha were already following some kind of a restrained noble life. By inviting them to lead "Brahmacariya" Buddha seems to have made clear that his interpretation of the Brahma faring meant something different from what they were already engaged in. Brahmacariya in Buddhism, which developed from a pre-Buddhist idea, was identified as the path leading to the ending of defilement resulting in the attainment of Nibbāna.

Conclusion

It is obvious that Gautama Buddha has not been described in the sense of Brahma yet the term Brahma occurs in the discourses in the meaning of Supreme, Noble, Highest, Holy and so on. For instance, the terms such as: Brahma-cakka, Dhamma-cakka, Brahma-bhūta, Dhamma-bhūta, Brahma-kāya and Dhamma-kāya, signify this and the ascription of qualities of Brahma to the Buddha also denotes this fact. Hence, what is obvious is that Buddha has used the pre-Buddhist Brahma concept to give a new dimension to certain important Buddhist concepts. Nonetheless, glorification of the concept of Buddha is a natural outcome of this equation of the two concepts, i.e., Buddha and Brahma, but the Buddha remained a supper human being in the early Buddhist literature without undergoing significant change as found in the Mahāyāna School of Buddhist thought.

Bill M. Mak

Introduction

The convoluted story of Sadāprarudita, presented as the final chapters of Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā (AP), has been the bane of modern philologists who considered the devotional narrative embedded in an otherwise largely metaphysical text as unaccountably incongruous.¹ For the traditional Mahāyāna commentators, however, the authenticity of these materials as buddhavacana being taken for granted, their concerns were purely exegetical, that is, to interpret and explain the text to the intended audience in the most coherent and learned manner. Haribhadra's important but understudied Abhisamayālaṅkārālokā (AAA)², commentary to AP, was one of such works in a long tradition which tried to make the best sense out of the baffling texts of Prajñāpāramitā (PP). Thus taking the plot of the story as an illustration of a spiritual journey, Haribhadra presented to his readers his vision of a Mahāyāna soteriology.

In this paper, my focus will be on the sources of this scheme presented by the commentator and how he tried to fit it into the story. By examining such sources together with the commentator's interpretation, I hope to reveal the challenges the commentator confronted and some of the goals Haribhadra tried to achieve and had achieved in this work.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 362-363.

Described as "turgid devotionalism" serving the purposes of "propaganda and edification" by Conze, the story of Sadāprarudita was considered as an accretion to an *Ur-Prajñāpāramitā* no longer extant (Conze 1952:252). Conze (1952), Hikata (1958) and Schmithausen (1977) favored this view in support to their different developmental models of PP. For a survey of modern scholarship as well as traditional treatment on the problem of multiple PP texts, see my forthcoming paper, "The traditional vs. modern accounts on the structure and formation Prajñāpāramitā texts — An examination of assumptions, methodologies and their implications".

The general consensus is that Haribhadra was active in East India in the Pāla Kingdom during the late 8th century (Amano 1983: 194). According to Haribhadra himself, the work was composed in Trikaţula Vihāra under the patronage of Dharmapāla (W 994.6-7). Although Tāranātha the building of Trikaţula to Devapāla, as Sanderson pointed out, this account appeared to be confused and Dharmapāla was indeed associated with Trikaţula as well as Haribhadra (HBI 266-75; Sanderson 2009: 90-92). Furthermore, according to Tāranātha, Haribhadra was well known for his exegesis of Aṣtasāhasrikā, referring most likely to AAA (HBI 277).

Ñânappabhā

In my reading I have largely followed Wogihara's edition (W), referring to Tucci's edition (T) and the NGMPP manuscript A 37/7 (N) whenever necessary.

1. Basic assumptions concerning the mula

A few remarks concerning Haribhadra's position on the texts of PP should be made before examining the scheme found in the final chapters of AAA. These ideas were presented at the beginning of his work:

Others say that the Lord] demonstrated the Noble 100,000[-PP] to bring benefit to those beings who are devoted to words and delight in details, demonstrated the Noble 25,000[-PP], through gathering all the subject-matters (artha) together, out of affection for those beings who delight in moderation and understand from selective elaboration, and furthermore, taught the Noble 8,000[-PP], through summarizing its subject-matters, for the benefit of the beings who are captured by headings and delight in the abbreviated.⁴

Immediately after this "other's view", Haribhadra quoted a verse from Dignāga's *Prajñāpāramitā-piṇḍārtha* (PPP) to support his view:

Hence we assert that this 8000[-PP] is a condensed version [of PP], not short of any of the topics. It proclaims the very same topics that [the longer sūtras] have proclaimed.⁵

Thus for Haribhadra, as with Dignāga, AP was an abridged version (saṃkṣepita) of PP, while Pañcaviṃśati-PP (PvP) and Śasahāsrikā-PP (ŚP) the medium (madhya) and the most extensive (vistara) respectively. A more fundamental assumption revealed here is that all PP texts were considered prima facie buddhavacana

and that the different versions were simply a portion of a greater meta-text.⁶ While this assumption might seem harmless at the first sight, the structural incongruities as we shall see below will eventually need to be addressed.⁷

2. Abhisamayālankāra and its commentarial tradition

Abhisamayālankāra[śāstra] (AA), a work of 273 ślokas attributed to Maitreya, was composed to systematize the contents of PvP into eight abhisamaya-s and seventy topics. Subsequently, AA became the basis of a lineage of commentaries to which AAA belonged. Haribhadra's mission was simple — to apply the scheme of AA to AP, which Haribhadra described as sphuṭarā (very clear). The idea behind this was logical — if an excellent work like AA had managed to bring out the true structure and meaning of PvP, it should do the same for all other PP texts as well, including AP, if after all both AP and PvP had the same origin. Commenting on the concept of cittopāda, Haribhadra explained:

The passages in the text from the 25000[-PP] that teach the subdivisions (*prabheda*-) of the various production of the thought of enlightenment are not written out here [in AP] due to the fear of prolixity (*prācurya*-). They are not given here [ie. in AP] because it is a demonstration for living beings

While W in most cases is more reliable than T as the former was intended to be (see Preface of W), a new revised edition with emendations is highly desirable (Silk 2001:149). My experience with the text suggested that in some cases T's reading is preferable and W showed too strong a reliance on Tibetan translation which should not be taken as authoritative. As a large part of T was not critically edited despite of having used one of the best manuscript available (N, described by Tucci as "extremely correct" and apparently not used in W), a revision based on N should be a major improvement on both W and T. For materials in the first abhisamaya, I have used Sparham's English translation with some modifications of mine.

⁴ pada-parama-vistara-ruci-sattvānugrahārtham dešitārya-satasahasrikā. sarvārtha-saṃgraheṇa madhya-ruci-vipañcitajña-sattvānukampayārya-pañcaviṃsatisahasrikā desitā. tasyās ca sarvārthopasaṃhāreṇodghaṭitajña-saṃkṣipta-ruci-sattva-hitodayenāryāṣṭasahasrikā bhāṣiteti ... ity apare (W11-2).

⁵ ittham aṣṭasahasrīyam anyūnārthair yathoditaiḥ / grantha-saṃkṣepa iṣṭo 'tra. ta evārthā yathoditāḥ // iti (W12= PPP 7)
Also in Fomu bore boluomi yuanji yaoyi lun 佛母般若波羅蜜圓集要義論 (T25.912c).

⁶ In both the Chinese and Tibetan traditions, there was the belief that meta-text was kept somewhere in a non-human realm and whatever we have in this world is only a portion of it.

⁷ The structural incongruities of PP texts come in a variety of forms. First of all, there exist two main systems of PP texts: the Larger PP and the Lesser PP, of which the PvP belongs to the former and AP the latter. Then within these two systems there is a variety of parallel versions varying in size and to a lesser extent, contents as well, each of which has apparently its own lineage of development. For a survey of PP texts, see Conze 1978. For comparative tables of the overlapping texts and their corresponding Chinese and Tibetan translations, together with a developmental schema of PP, see Hikata 1958: Appendices.

⁸ Little is known concerning the circumstances where AA was created despite its fundamental importance in expressing what were later to become the fundamentals of Mādhyamika (Obermiller 1933:ii). The idea of reformulating prose into verses was however an ancient one in India, as in the words of Varāhamihira (6th century C.E.): prāyeṇa sūtreṇa vinākṛtāni prakāśarandhrāṇi cirantanāni / ratnāni śāstrāṇi ca yojitāni navair guṇair bhūṣayituṃ kṣamāṇi// (Bṛhatsaṃhitā 103). Though Buddha himself seemed to be against the idea of one turning his teaching into chandas (Sanskrit verses, cf. Cullavagga V.33), the prolixity and the rambling style of PP texts were most likely deemed undesirable by the learned Indian Buddhists during the early centuries of the common era. Amongst the versified PP texts, beside the watertight AA of PvP, there were also Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā and PPP of Dignāga (fn. 5), both of AP.

⁹ Thus as explained by Haribhadra himself at the beginning of AAA, AA was commented by four predecessors of his: Asanga, Vasubandhu, Ārya-vimuktisena and [Bhadanta-]Vimuktisena. bhāṣyaṃ tattvaviniścaye racitavăn prajnāvatām agraṇīḥ āryāsanga iti prabhāsvara-yaśās, tat-kartṛ-sāmarthyatah. bhāvābhāva-vibhāga-pakṣa-nipuṇa-jñānābhimānonnataḥ ācāryo vasubandhur artha-kathane prāptāspadah paddhatau. yogābhyāsa-padārtha-tattva-mathanāl lokottara-jñāninah jātas tv ārya-vimuktisena-sudhiyo yatno mahān vṛttitaḥ. ekānta-stha-vipakṣa-dṛṣṭi-śamanaṃ śāstraṃ dadhau budhimān yo loke sa vimuktisena-vacasākhyāto 'paro vārttikah. (W1).

who are captured by headings and delight in brief explanation. Still you definitely have to assume the presence of the aforementioned subdivisions because as I explained before, according to the master Dignāga this jewellike sūtra is a digest of the subject matters in the 25000[-PP].¹⁰

The jewel-like sūtra, viz., AP, did not however correspond to AA exactly. As AA had not taken the story of Sadāprarudita cycle into consideration, the last three chapters of AP in fact fell outside the AA scheme.¹¹ The commentator thus had to find a way to justify this discrepancy and to furthermore explain what was going on in this additional text in terms of its contents.

Abhisamaya in AA	Corresponding AP Ch. according to recast PvP ¹²	AP Ch. according to AAA
1 – sarvākārajñatā	1	1
2 – mārgajñatā	2-8	2-8
3 – sarvajñatā	8	8-9
4 – sarvākārābhisaṃbodha	9-20	9-20(21)
5 – mūrdhan	20-28	22-29
6 – anupūrva	-	29
7 – ekakṣaṇa	-	29
8 – dharmakāya	-	29
??	Absent in Skt PvP	30-31
(9 – epilogue)	*	32

3. Materials on Mahāyāna "spiritual paths"

Instead of leaving the story of Sadāprarudita out as AA did, Haribhadra decided to consider the story as an integral part of AP and to give it meanings probably no other commentators had thought of before. AAA's commentary on the story of Sadāprarudita begins as follows:

For the understanding of the Perfection of Wisdom whose nature is the Eight Direct Realizations (aṣṭâbhisamaya-) as stated, by means of a story of "past acts", with the intention to reveal the stages of a quest beginning with the level of a beginner (adikarmika), [the Blessed One] says: "Furthermore..." As a result of his following of the Voice and his will to relinquish all false perceptions, Sadāprarudita accumulated merits through the correct generation of the Mind of Awakening, charity and so on.¹⁴

Haribhadra suggested here that not only was the story not extraneous to the main body of PP, it was in fact an embodiment of PP, a practical illustration of the kinds of practices required to attain enlightenment starting from the very beginning. Furthermore, it should be noted that after the Sadāprarudita cycle, in *parīndanāparivarta*, the last chapter of AAA, Haribhadra quoted the closing verses of AA, ¹⁵ thus embedding the Sadāprarudita cycle into the overall structure of AA.

But how could an *avadāna* type of story serve to enlighten our understanding of PP in practice? Given "progression" (*krama*) was a constant theme in AAA, ¹⁶ it is therefore not unexpected to see Haribhadra trying to superimpose another scheme to the story. Since the AA scheme cannot be reused here, he had to look elsewhere. It turns out that there is no shortage of such ideas in both sutras and commentaries. Throughout AAA in various occasions, Haribhadra had already alluded to the reader a bewildering array of various analyses of Mahāyāna soteriology, summarized here as follows:

¹⁰ sarva-prakāra-bodhicittotpāda-prabheda-pratipādako granthaḥ pañcaviṃśatisahasrikāto jñāpakatveneha prācurya-bhayān na likhyate. atra tūdghaṭitajña-saṃkṣipta-ruci-sattvānugrahena pravṛttatvād deśanāyā iti kṛtvā noktaḥ. yathoktārtha-prabhedo 'vaśyam eva pratipattavyaḥ. yataḥ pañcaviṃśatisahasrikārthopasaṃhāreṇa pravṛttam idaṃ sūtra-ratnam iti prāg eva pratipāditam. tathā cāhācārya-dignāgah. (W27).

¹¹ We can only speculate why AA did not include the stories of Sadāprarudita, which is found in the Chinese translations of PP texts, including all AP, PvP and Śatasahāsrikā-PP, with the exception of Xuanzang's AP (T220[4]). The extant Sanskrit PvP however did not contain the story of Sadāprarudita and was arranged under the AA scheme and interpolated with AA topics as subdivisions. This led Conze to believe that the extant Sanskrit PvP was a later recast of the original of possibly the 5th century (Conze 1978: 36-39).

¹² Conze 1978; 42-45.

¹³ The three parivartas beginning with Sadāprarudita were found in certain versions, but missing in others. Among the Sanskrit PvP and ŚP extant, these three parivartas had not yet been found. Rather curiously, the three parivartas were missing in Xuanzang's translation of AP [T220(4)].

¹⁴ yathôktāṣṭābhisamaya-svabhāva-prajñāpāramitâdhigamam prati pūrva-yoga-kathāmukhenâdikarmikâvasthām ārabhya paryeṣaṇa-kramam āvedayann āha: punar aparam ityādi, sadāpraruditas tu bodhicitta-samādāna-dānâdi-subha-samcayavān ghoṣânugatvād upalambha-prahāṇârthikatvāc ca. (W928)

¹⁵ AA 9.1-9.2.

¹⁶ Beside the term yathākramam and krameņa which occurred 191 and 75 times in the work, krama as part of a compound or an isolated word occurred 22 times.

Source	Explanation of "krama" in AAA
22 objects of cittopāda in AA ¹⁷	[1.cittopāda> 2.āśaya> 3.adhyāśaya] ādikarmika-sambhārabhūmi, 4.adhimuktacaryābhūmi, 5.dāna, 6.śīla, 7.kṣānti, 8.vīrya, 9.dhyāna, 10. prajñā, 11.upāyakauśalya, 12.pranidhāna, 13.bala, 14.jñāna, [ten bodhisattvabhūmis and darśana/bhāvana-mārga end] 15.abhijñā, 16.punyajñānasambhāra, 17.bodhipakṣadharma, 18.śamathavipaśyanā, 19.dhāranīpratibhāna, (viśeṣa-marga in five bodhisattva bhūmi-s ends) 20.dharmoddāna (bodhisattva-bhūmi, preparation for buddhabhūmi), 21.ekāyanamārga (maulāvasthā of buddhabhūmi), 22.dharmakāya [buddhabhūmi] (W25)
3 types of beings ¹⁸	1. pṛthagjana-, 2.bodhisattva-, 3.tathāgata-bhūmi-bhedena (W27)
8 types of bodhisattvas in Avaivartikacakra- sūtra ¹⁹	1.bodhisattvam śraddhānusāriņam ārabhya, [2.dharmānusārin, (eight types of Buddhist disciples end) 3. śrotaāpanna, 4.śakṛdāgama, 5.anāgama, 6.arhant, 7.śravaka,] yāvad 8.bodhisattva-pratyekabuddha (W36)
10 bhūmi-s of bodhisattva ²⁰	1.pramuditā, 2.vimalā, 3.prabhākarī, 4. arciṣmatī, 5.surdurjayā, 6.abhimukhī, 7.dūraṅgamā, 8.acalā, 9.sādhumatī, 10. dharmameghā (W98-104)
10 bhūmi-s in PvP ²¹	1.śuklavipaśyanā, 2.gotra, 3.aṣṭamaka, 4.darśana, 5.tanu, 6.vītarāga, 7.kṛtāvī, 8. śrāvaka, ²² 9. bodhisattva, 10. buddha. (W104)

¹⁷ The analysis of 22 varieties of *cittotpāda* in AA 1.18-20 was a list of objects (*bhū*, *hema*, *chandra*, *etc*) supposedly derived from the Larger PP and in Conze's words, "not without some violence." (Conze 1954:9-10). As Conze pointed out, the same enumeration was found in MSA 4.15-20 referring to *Akṣayamatisūtra* as a source which I could not verify.

Source	Explanation of "krama" in AAA
5 mārgas of AKBh ²³	1.sambhāra, 2.adhimukticaryā, 3.darśana, 4.bhāvana [5.aśaikṣa] ²⁴
4 dhyāna-s ²⁵	1.prathama-dhyāna, 2.dvitīya-dhyāna, 3.tritīya-dhyāna, 4.caturtha-dhyāna (W129, 257, 888)

Two observations may be made with regard to the array of materials presented by Haribhadra. First of all, Haribhadra did not claim to be exhaustive and suggested the readers to consult the sources directly should that be necessary. Secondly, the author who considered himself to be in the lineage of Vasubandhu (320-400 C.E.), was naturally inclined to adopt the position expressed in Vasubandhu's works such as his auto-commentarial Abhidharmakośabhāṣya and his commentary to Daśabhūmikasūtra.

4. Haribhadra's solution

As Haribhadra set out to interpret this final episode of AP as a grand finale and summary of his work, it turns out to be a convenient place for the author to consolidate the various schemes of Buddhist spiritual development into a comprehensive scheme of Mahāyāna soteriology — the fourfold scheme of sambhāra-adhimukticaryā-bodhisattva-tathāgata. The scheme was once alluded earlier in the analysis of AA's twenty-two objects of cittopāda (W25) but was not treated separately. Hence the author took the opportunity to reiterate the scheme in a clearer manner. In the preface to his commentary to the story of Sadāprarudita, Haribhadra thus explained,

It is implied that, at that time, situated at the Bhūmi of Accumulation, he was intent on the quest for the teachings of penetrative insight and so on which are successively higher than that. As for now, he is in fact the Lord of Ten Bhūmis.²⁷

The career of Sadāprarudita was thus marked clearly as starting from sambhāra-bhūmi and ending, at least for the moment, at the tenth bhūmi. This system adopted

¹⁸ I cannot trace the source of this particular scheme though it is highly reminiscent of the one found in AP, viz. the descriptions of the four bhūmis of prthagjana, śrāvaka, pratyekabuddha and buddha (W666). It should be noted that in AP, there were no explicit mentions of any bodhisattva-bhūmi and Haribhadra did not comment on this particular set of bhūmis. It is thus likely that in the mind of Haribhadra, the intermediate stage between prthagjana and pratyekabuddha were deviation from the true path toward Buddhahood, that is the bodhisattva-path. Hence the threefold scheme of prthagjana-bodhisattva-tathāgata-bhūmi-bhedena was mentioned.

¹⁹ 不迟轉法輪經 T9(267),230a.

²⁰ Quoted from AA 1.48-70. This particular set has its most likely source from daśabhūmikasūtra of the Avataṃsaka system. According to Mizuno, various descriptions of ten bhūmi-s were developed through different Buddhist texts in the following order: i) biographical works; 2) various Buddhist schools; 3) an unnamed ten bhūmi system in Larger PP with influence of Dharmagupta school; 4) further elaboration in Avataṃśakasūtra as exemplified by daśabhūmikasūtra, adopted later also in Larger PP (Mizuno 1953: 324-5).

²¹ This ten-bhūmi system is found in various Larger PP-s (AdSP Ch.71.20) but not in AP. This scheme was subsumed under *sambhāra* in AA (AA 1.46-47) and its correlation with other systems were given (W104). Technically this system consists of only seven bhūmis with *kṛtavī* being the top, see Przyluski 1932:160ff for possible connection with *Akṣyupaniṣad* or even Iranian sources.

²² Or pratyekabuddha according to PvP(D) 240.

²³ For development of the system presented in AKBh, see Lamotte 1958: 679-684.

²⁴ This set of five marga-s was never mentioned as a group though it was widely adopted in various Abhidharma and Yogacara texts. From AAA's description of the "group of 22", we can see that some of the items from the five marga-s have been interpolated into some of the AA commentaries prior to AAA.

²⁵ In AAA, the four dhyāna-s were associated with attainments by which beings were reborn as devas in various worlds of kāmadhātu and rūpadhātu (see also W258).

²⁶ Thus, atra tv asmābhir vistareņa nopanyastam kim piṣṭam piṃsma iti (W36) and elsewhere, grantha-prācuryān mayeha na vistāritaḥ ity alaṃ prasangena (W104).

²⁷ sambhāra-bhūmau sthitaḥ tad-uttarôttara-nirvedhāngâdy-avavāda-paryeṣaṇa-paras tadêti lakṣyate, adhunā tu daśabhūmîśvara eva (W928).

Ñāṇappabhã

by Haribhadra suggested thus a hybrid between the five-mārga system of AKBh and the ten-bhūmi system of Daśabhūmika. By claiming that Sadāprarudita, who had accumulated abundant merits in his past life, and that he has "now" reached the highest *bhūmi* as a Bodhisattva, Haribhadra reinforced to the mind of the readers the idea that the story was illustrative in nature and opened up for himself the task to reveal doctrinally what transpired in between.

Haribhadra's strategy is as follows: by looking for signposts within the story which suggested some form of development, he tried to show such development corresponded to the soteriological scheme he had in mind and at the same time, prove that the *avadāna* was not just some random story with obscure unknown characters. During the course of Sadāprarudita's quest for PP in the *mūla*, the protagonists had three major spiritual experiences: i) hearing of a voice from the sky; ii) entrance into sixty-two samādhis after the encounter with the image of Tathāgata (*tathāgata-vigraha*); iii) entrance into ten thousand samādhis²⁹ after the encounter with Dharmodgata. Haribhadra thus associated each of these events with Sadāprarudita's ascension within the bhūmi system he proposed, namely the thresholds for *sambhāra-bhūmi*, *adhimukticaryābhūmi* and *pramudita-bhūmi* respectively.

An example of how Haribhadra tried to make connection to every possible details he could find in the $m\bar{u}la$, would be the case of sixty-two $sam\bar{a}dhis$ enumerated in Ch. 30 which the author explained as the manifestation of $adhimukticary\bar{a}$ - $bh\bar{u}mi$:

All understanding is manifested by the insubstantiality of dharmas. Thus it was said: "He had many [forms of concentration] ...". The concentration known as "All-dharma-nature-viewing" is that in which one sees the nature of all dharmas being illusion-like and so on. In such a way, the concentration known as "all-dharma-nature-non-perception" and other concentrations should be explained. Amongst these, due to the distinction of understanding of the mild, medium and superior fourfold penetration of insight (catur-nirvedhabhāgīya), there are twelve concentrations such as the "All-dharma-nature-viewing" and so on. Fifty concentrations such as "Illusion-abandoned" and so on should be understood as the ones evolved out of these [twelve concentrations] in the Bhūmi of Resolute Conduct alone. 30

Given the prolixity and the textual varieties found in PP texts, it is not unexpected that not all the materials in AP, in particular, in the story of Sadāprarudita fit nicely into Haribhadra's numerically-minded scheme. As with other incompatible elements such as the śrāvaka *dhyāna* system mentioned in the text,³¹ Haribhadra overrode them with a scheme whose structure seemed well substantiated by sūtras and commentaries.

As far as the plot of the *avadāna* is concerned, it turned out to be rather unsatisfactory in the sense that it ended abruptly at the last experience, namely, with Sadāprarudita entering into ten thousand *samādhis*, leaving the reader without a conclusion as to what eventually happened to the protagonist and what his spiritual attainment actually was. Haribhadra's claim that Sadāprarudita had become the Lord of Ten Bhūmis earlier could be interpreted as a way to preempt the doubt concerning the fate of the Sadāprarudita, a loose-end on the part of the *mūla*.

At the end of the story, Haribhadra presented once again as a summary the reconciled soteriological scheme, together with the number of eons required to attain each bhūmis (W988):³²

Major bhūmis	Subdivision	Eons required (total of 33)	Landmark events in Sadāprarudita Cycle according to AAA
sambhāra- bhūmi		One	Beginning of Sadāprarudita's quest in Ch.30. Meditation on threefold Emptiness of Sadāprarudita to gain merits (puṇya).

³¹ The spiritual experience of Sadāprarudita was in fact described in Śrāvaka terms in AP: tadyathā'pi nāma prathama-dhyāna-samāpanno bhikṣur ekāgreṇa manasikāreṇa (W954, also similarly W959, 985). Rather curiously, the Chinese translations seemed to show some form of (d)evolution of Sadāprarudita's attainment, starting with description of immense joy in the earliest translations of AP (T224, T225), the fourth dhyāna in Mokṣala's translation of Larger PP (T222) and subsequently, the third dhyāna for all subsequent translations of PP where the story of Sadāprarudita is present (Mak 2010: 66).

²⁸ For discussion of this hybrid system, see Isoda 1977: 350-354.

²⁹ All the Chinese translations of AP (T224, T225, T228) as well as parallel passages in T221, T227 read however sixty thousands.

³⁰ dharma-nairātmya-prabhāvitas ca sarvo 'dhigama ity āha: tasyânekănîtyâdi, yasmin samādhau vyavasthitah sarva-dharmāṇām svabhāvam māyôpamatvâdinā vyavalokayati, sa sarva-dharma-svabhāva-vyavalokano nāma samādhih, evam sarva-dharma-svabhāvânupalabdhir nāma samādhir ityādayo vyākhyeyāh, tatra: mṛdu-madhyâdhimātra-catur-nirvedhabhāgīyâdhigama-bhedāt sarva-dharma-svabhāva-vyavalokanâdi dvādasa samādhayah, tan-nirjātās tv adhimukticaryā-bhūmāv eva māyā-vivarjita ityādayah pañcāsat samādhayas câvagantavyāh.

³² According to Haribhadra, this calculation of eons are based on Vasubandhu's. The work Haribhadra referred to is most likely to Mahāyāna-saṃgraha-bhāṣya-ṭīka, Vasubandhu's commentary to his brother Asaṅga's work, both of which survived in Chinese translations. It appears that Vasubandhu was simply discussing the various calculations without deciding on a specific one based on a specific scheme to be a definite one. 释曰。總舉劫數無限多少。故言若干。以大小乘經兢劫數不同故。不定說劫數多少。小乘明三阿僧祇劫得成佛。大乘明或三或七或三十三阿僧祇劫得成佛。論曰。以如此時。為一刹那刹那。释曰。或合三阿僧祇劫為一刹那。或合三十三阿僧祇劫為一刹那。故再稱刹那。如此從一刹那至無量刹那。為一日一月乃至一阿僧祇劫。從一阿僧祇至三十三阿僧祇。方得成佛。欲顯菩薩意無厭足故。說此長時。T1595.31.218a.

Major bhūmis	Subdivision	Eons required (total of 33)	Landmark events in Sadāprarudita Cycle according to AAA
adhimukti- caryā-bhūmi	prayoga-mārga darśana-mārga	Two	Accumulation of knowledge (jñāna), manifesting in various intermediate samādhis in the middle of Ch.30.
bodhisattva- bhūmi	triphala-bhūmi: pramuditā vimalā prabhākārī	Thirty (3 X 10)	At the end of Ch.31, Sadāprarudita enters into hundred samādhimukhāni, sign of pramudita-bhūmi.
	sapta-prayoga-bhūmi arcişmatī sudurjayā abhimukhī dūraṅgamā acalā sādhumatī dharmameghā		Sadāprarudita is "now" daśabhūmīśvara
athāgatha- hūmi	samantaprabhā-bhūmi		

To sum, Haribhadra's vision of Mahāyāna soteriology might be presented as follows. A pṛṭhagjana first engages himself to accumulate puṇya in sambhāra-bhūmi and then jñāna in the adhimukticaryā-bhūmi. After three eons of continuous practice, a transformation would result and his career as a saint (ārya) commences in the bodhisattva-bhūmi. Twenty nine eons, with three eons per one of the nine bodhisattva bhūmi-s, one would reach the final bhūmi of dharmamegha and become the Lord of Ten Bhūmis. Three more eons will pass before one finally becomes a completely enlightened Tathāgata.

5. Characteristics of Haribhadra's scheme

The scheme Haribhadra applied to the story of Sadāprarudita is therefore a consolidation of various schemes presented earlier in AAA, derived ultimately from various sources. Broadly speaking, the scheme is a distilled version of a much larger amalgamation of materials from three main sources: 1) PP, 2) AKBh/Yogacāra, 3) Daśabhūmika.

In the case of PP, we can identify two basic schemes, firstly the more general composition of beings in various bhūmis in AP, viz. pṛṭhagjana-śrāvaka-

pratyekabuddha-buddha, secondly, the more specific list of ten bhūmis in the Larger PP, which shared some common features with the bhūmis of the Avataṃsaka system. The notable point here is that only in the second system was bodhisattva-bhūmi introduced as a separate item. When the two systems are to be merged together, the basic pattern of pṛṭhagjana-śrāvaka-pratyekabuddha-bodhisattva-buddha emerges. As AAA was conceived as a comprehensive commentary on PP, it is reasonable to see such scheme to form the basis of Haribhadra's system. As for the AKBh/Yogacāra system, only the first bhūmi, sambhāra, remains intact in Haribhadra's system. The second and third were subsumed under adhimukticaryā, while the fourth and fifth, being paths for śrāvaka-s, held little importance in Haribhadra's system, which boldly subsumed everything between adhimukticaryā-bhūmi and tathāgata-bhūmi under the category of bodhisattva. Furthermore, the bodhisattva-bhūmi adopted daśabhūmika of Avataṃsaka system, which Haribhadra had likely modeled upon as other earlier PP commentaries.³³

With respect to the way the scheme applies to the story of Sadāprudita, a few observations may be made in addition. First of all, as noted earlier, the description of Sadāprarudita's meditative experience in terms śrāvaka *dhyāna* was not commented on and according to Haribhadra's scheme, such experience would belong to that of a *pṛthagjana*. Moreover, the threshold from one *bhūmi* to another was always marked by some form of miraculous experience. The higher the *bhūmi* is, the grander such experience would be, such as by an ever increasing varieties of *samādhi*-s — a characteristic of PP as well as other Mahāyāna texts which will require further investigation.

Conclusion

In the foregoing discussion we have seen how Haribhadra handled the structural incongruities of PP texts, exemplified by his treatment of Ch. 30-31 of AP. The commentator consolidated a variety of materials pertaining to Mahāyāna soteriology into a four-bhūmi scheme which all other systems could somehow fit in. Furthermore, rather ingeniously, the scheme was shown to be illustrated by the story of Sadāprarudita, a story originally outside the overarching scheme of AA and would normally be considered incongruous to the main body of AP as far as its content is concerned.

To fully appreciate why Haribhadra took such effort in harmonizing and thus taming the text, beside the erudition of the author as a scholarly monastic, one should consider the role of commentaries play within the broader domain

³³ Subsumption of the Avataṃsaka/Daśabhūmika ten bhūmis under the Larger PP ten bhūmis may be seen also in *Daizhidulun* (*Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa). T49.411a.

of Indian hermeneutical tradition. Traditionally, Sanskrit commentaries in the form of prose unravel the meanings of the $m\bar{u}la$ -s, conceived in terse, versified "sūtras" for mnemonic purposes, by providing glosses, grammatical analyses and other vital information which render the text more "meaningful" to the intended readers. PP, despite being called $s\bar{u}tra$, with its prolixity and meandering style, behaved nothing like a $s\bar{u}tra$ in its conventional sense. AA remedied the problem by placing PP back into its proper form as conceived by the learned Indian audience, as well as in the subsequent commentarial trajectory where AAA could be seen as a final goal. In such a way, the rather obscure and baffling text of PP were not only given its badly needed structure and clarity, but also a kind of internal cohesion which enriches the doctrinal profundity of the text.

Haribhadra's scheme of fourfold bhumis and its relation with other schemes:

AAA	AP	AKBh	Daśabhūmika
1. sambhāra	1. pṛthagjana	1. sambhāra	
2. adhimukticaryā		2. prayoga	
		3. darśana	
3. bodhisattva	2. śrāvaka	4. bhāvanā	1. pramuditā
		(= śrotaāpanna)	2. vimalā
			3. prabhākārī
	3. pratyekabuddha		4. arcişmatī
			5. sudurjayā
			6. abhimukhī
			7. dūraṅgamā
		5. niṣtha/aśaikṣa	8. acalā
		(= arhat)	9. sādhumatī
			10. dharmameghā
4. tathāgata	4. buddha		

Abbreviations

- AA Abhisamayālamkāra-Prajñāpāramitopadeśaśāstra. Maitreya. Stcherbatsky and Obermiller (ed.). Bibliotheca Buddhica XXIII, 1929.
- AAA Abhisamayālankārālokā (Editions T, W, N)
- AP Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā. Mitra, Rajendralala (ed.). Ashtasāhasrikā: A Collection of Discourses on the Metaphysics of the Mahāyāna School of the Buddhists Bibliotheca. Indica, [110]. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1888.
- AKBh Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya. Pradhan, P. (ed.) Abhidharma Kośabhāṣya of Vasubandhu. Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1967.
- HBI Chimpa, Lama & Alaka Chattopadhyaya. *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India translated from the Tibetan*. Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1970. Tibetan title: rGya gar chos 'byung.
- MSA Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra. Lévi, S. (ed.). Paris: 1907.
- N NGMPP A 37/7
- PP Prajñāpāramitā (See AP, PvP)
- PPP Prajñāpāramitā-piṇḍārtha of Dignāga. Tucci, Giuseppe (ed.) "Minor Sanskrit Texts on the Prajñâ-pâramitâ: 1. The Prajñâ-pâramitâ-piṇḍârtha of Dinnâga" JRAS No. 1 (Apr., 1947). 53-75.
- PvP(D) Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā I. Dutt, Nalinaksha (ed). Pañcaviṃśa tisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra. London: Luzac, 1934.
- PvP(T) *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* I-VIII. Takayasu, Kimura (ed.). Tokyo: Sankibo Busshorin, 1986-2007.
- ŚP Śatasāhasrikā- prajñāpāramitā.
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Empiricism and the Buddhist View of the Role of Mind in Sensory Knowledge

Soorakkulame Pemarathana

Introduction

Farly Buddhist discourses deal extensively with the elucidation of the process of sensory knowledge. Early Buddhism is interested in the discussion of the process of sensory knowledge due to three main concerns. Firstly, early Buddhism which denies any existence of a soul has a theoretical need to provide an alternative and adequate explanation on how sensory knowledge occurs without such a notion, Secondly, early Buddhism describes one's personality as largely a product of his or her sensory process. Thirdly, the origin of human suffering and its cessation as explained in early Buddhism are directly related with sensory process. Various accounts of early Buddhist analysis of sensory knowledge are critically studied and interpreted by various scholars. K.N. Jayatilleke's treatment of early Buddhist analysis of knowledge seems to be the most outstanding study of the subject. He has presented a fresh view to evaluate early Buddhist accounts in the light of modern philosophical discussions of epistemology. He has also interpreted the early Buddhist account of knowledge as a form of empiricism.² A few critiques have been leveled against Jayatilleke's interpretation.³ Those critiques are basically concerned with alleged invalid usage of western philosophical categories in interpreting early Buddhism. In this paper I will attempt to highlight the role of mind in sensory knowledge, which has not been adequately addressed in Javatilleke's treatment and in the above critiques as well. I will argue that the recognizing the mind's role in sensory knowledge as presented in early Buddhist discourses is central to understand and to appreciate the early Buddhist position in epistemology.

Empiricism

K.N. Jayatilleke shows that the early Buddhist critique of "traditional authority (anussava)" and "mere reasoning (takka)" as valid ground of knowledge exemplifies the primacy of sensory experience that is evident in the early Buddhist accounts of knowledge. Based on this explicit emphasis on sensory experience in giving rise to knowledge, Jayatilleke considers the early Buddhist theory of knowledge as akin to empiricism.⁴

- 1 Buddhist discourses preserved in Pāli Nikāya literature are referred here.
- 2 Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963, p. 463.
- Frank J. Hoffman, Rationality and Mind in Early Buddhism, Delhi: Motilal Barnarsidas, 1987; David Montalvo, "Buddhist Empiricism Thesis: An Extensive Critique", Asian Philosophy, Vol. 3, 1992.
- 4 Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963, p. 463.

ÑĀŅAPPABHĀ:

A Felicitation Volume in Honour of Venerable Dr. Pategama Gnanarama Mahā Thera

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