Atiśa's A Lamp for the Path to Awakening

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One of the principles of development evident during the history of Indian Buddhism is the economy of previous forms. This idea is not as well appreciated as it could be, yet it is one of the keys for comprehending high monastic Buddhism during its final phases on Indian soil. Briefly stated, the principle is this: monastic life preserved, if sometimes in name only, the major theoretical and practical developments of the previous phases. The reasoning behind this process is not hard to comprehend. Institutions are inherently conservative, and Indian institutions tend to define their success by how well the past models of behavior have been integrated into present modes of operation. Thus, when the Buddhist clergy became settled in the monasteries of post-Asokan Buddhism, they retained the "rains retreat," even though there was no longer the necessity to cease wandering temporarily during the monsoon. Mahāyāna monasteries, moreover, paid lip service to the rules of order (pratimokṣa) of the early tradition. Even while these same institutions became increasingly supportive of the esoteric ideology of the Path of Secret Spells (Mantrayāna), they took care that the prior forms were not entirely abandoned.

The conservatism of Indian Buddhist monasteries was grounded in a concern for survival. They depended on several elements operating simultaneously in the Indian cultural ecology—the largesse of the local community, the acceptance of religious diversity by those in power, the continuing interest in the monastic career by the young, and a sense in the surrounding culture that they were performing some vital function. The Buddhist clergy did not have the automatic role in India that was accorded brahmins by birth: they performed no essential rites of passage. Thus, Buddhist monks and nuns needed to establish their worth based on paradigms well accepted by the larger society. This primarily meant that they conducted themselves in a disciplined manner—all their other activities in education, art, medicine, commerce, and so forth, depended on the perception that the Buddhist clergy were behaving correctly.

Correct behavior, in most instances, meant demonstrating the recognizably Buddhist form of the monastic ideal, so that institutional conservatism reinforced the principle of economy and gave it a behavioral orientation. Rather than any specific confession of faith, monks and nuns took vows and accepted conditions for their continued residence in a monastic enclave. New phases in doctrine and the development of further religious forms meant that new vow structures were detailed and fresh practices were set forth. Both the Mahāyāna and the Mantrayāna specified new rites that conferred innovative forms of discipline for those who desired entrance into their visions of the Buddhist dispensation.

Although Indians proved susceptible to the claims made by the Mahāyānist and Mantrayānist factions for their practices and doctrines as "exalted," this stratification of the dharma brought about its own problems. Clearly, those adhering to the "exalted" systems became less interested in the earlier emphasis on a strict regimen, especially when the new ideologies provided a systematic critique of the earlier principles and opened the antinomian door—those with the new insight might circumvent the old norms if it serves the purpose of compassion or some other superior virtue.

The challenge to the institutions, then, was to formulate the principle of economy in a manner that would sustain the earlier ideals and preserve the institution, yet allow growth and development in response to the intellectual and spiritual vitality evident in certain quarters. Mahāyāna monasteries succeeded by identifying the bodhisattva monk as the exemplar of their system, formalized in the hagiographies of figures such as Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, and so forth. Mantrayānist institutions had a more difficult time because of the explicit language of many of the scriptures and rituals, which drew on mythic systems spawned in village sacrifice and cemetery ghost rituals. Thus, the language of the Mantrayānist scriptures targeted attachment to correct behavior as detrimental to final realization. Although they recognized the validity of such critical techniques, those representing the institutions were caught in the middle. If the critique were physically enacted, the monastery itself would disappear, since the larger society is equally attached to correct behavior. If the critique were ignored, Buddhist monasteries could revert to the oppressiveness embodied in large institutions and suffer a slower but equally sure demise.

The solution to this dilemma was a recognizably Indian response. Rather than identify a single, fully integrated system of monastic behavior, the Mantrayānists simultaneously satisfied the principle of economy and institutional requirements by providing a stratified structure of vows. According to this solution, the different vows are adopted by Buddhists of disparate capacities. Those with lesser capacities must be content with the fundamentals of monastic decorum. Those of greater capacities may also adopt the behaviors of the Mahāyāna, while those few superior individuals may involve themselves in the practices of the esoteric tradition. As the ninth-century Scripture of the Adamantine Pinnacle voiced the canonical statement:
Now if he renounces, then he should correctly remain
In the triple discipline—the disciplines of the prātimokṣa,
The bodhisattva, and the highest of all,
The discipline of the holders of spells.

Vajrasekha-mahāyogatāntara, Peking Tibetan Triśatika, Pe. 113.5.26.1.7–8

In many ways this solution was a profound perception of Indian monastic realities.
The ideal of the triple discipline (triṣamvara) provided a monastic mirror of the stratification of Indian society, but based on ability rather than on birth. Those in the upper strata demonstrated superior status by increased ritual involvement, but the increase had to be earned rather than conferred. It provided a monastic model that Indians could immediately identify and accept. Thus the triple discipline assisted the integration of Buddhist monasteries into the general trend of increasing ritualization evident in Indian society during this time.

However, the primary problem with this new organization of the religious career was the nature of the advanced rituals of initiation, or “consecrations.” The ideology of the Mantrayāna indicated that the unity of opposites was to be dramatically demonstrated during the second (“secret”) and third (“insight / gnosis”) consecrations by means of the physical union of either the teacher or the disciple and a woman. According to the ideal of the Mantrayāna, this union displays the unity of insight and skillful means, or of emptiness and compassion, ultimately indicating that the relative and absolute levels of truth are identical. The use of sexuality for religious purposes is almost as shocking in the Indian environment as it is in the West but was considered acceptable in secrecy since the purpose of an action denotes its ethical value in the Buddhist system. Accordingly, sexuality between consenting members in a secret ritualized context leading to awakening can be considered a profoundly religious event.

Yet precisely this event was potentially destabilizing for the monastic community, which was committed to celibacy. Out of a wide variety of potential methods of interpreting or institutionalizing the event, two became standard—either sexual congress was restricted to the lay community or it became visualized in a ritual context. The first solution required that the Buddhist clergy be content with the first of the four esoteric consecrations and not receive the latter three. Conversely, the second solution redeems the nature of the consecrations so that the physicality of the sexual act is proscribed; only its visualized form is allowed to the clergy.

Atiśa Dipamkara Srijñāna (traditional dates 982–1054 C.E.) was one of the leading representatives of monastic Buddhism in India during the first half of the eleventh century. He was reputed to be from an aristocratic Bengali family and to have studied with the finest teachers of his period. In 1042 C.E., at the invitation of Tibetan kings in western Tibet, Atiśa arrived in the country to find it in the process of renewal following a hiatus precipitated by the collapse of the early Tibetan royal house in the middle of the ninth century. Atiśa elected to assist this renewal with his personal involvement in Tibetan religious life. He evidently wished to focus his followers on the monastic career rather than on the model of a lay teacher of the Path of Secret Spells. Part of his strategy was a fundamental statement of the integration of disparate threads of Buddhist spirituality under the triple discipline. This he effected with the composition of A Lamp for the Path to Awakening, one of the most influential of Indian texts received by Tibetans, perhaps because it was purportedly written specifically for that community.

A Lamp for the Path to Awakening implements the triple discipline by upholding the priority of celibacy as the most excellent of Buddhist virtues, a very conservative stance and indicative of the fundamentalist tenor of Atiśa’s mission in Tibet. He then espouses the bodhisattva path in a manner well integrated into the celibate lifestyle, leading into a discussion of the basics of Mahāyāna dialectics, which he supplements with references. Nothing in the first two-thirds of A Lamp is outside of mainstream late Indian Buddhism. Yet the final eight verses (verses 60–67) of the text are devoted to a shift in definition of the Mantrayāna ritual process, first by restricting the clergy to the first of the consecrations (which includes the master’s consecration) for the purposes discussed above, and second by maintaining that this first consecration is all that is necessary for the study and performance of the Mantrayāna ritual corpus.

Atiśa’s auto-commentary amplifies his objections to certain attitudes toward the esoteric practices. One side exaggerates freedom from rules in the pursuit of awakening and courts expulsion from the monastic enclave by defiling the vows of celibacy through the consecrations and other rituals of sexual enactment. Conversely, the other side denigrates the Mantrayāna as perverse, and espouses more limited codes of conduct for all, regardless of an individual’s relationship to the monastic estate and personal capacity. Atiśa’s solution—access to the higher consecrations for the noncelibate laity alone—is difficult for him to justify. Atiśa acknowledges that some will question whether his position is in contradiction to the esoteric tradition. His reply is to refer to scripture, quote from his teachers, and to use a very old Buddhist justification: if it develops the path to awakening and is in accord with the other scriptures, then there is no fault in the realization generated through these means.

For all his sophistry, Atiśa does not acknowledge that his opponents could claim that they also are without fault in their awareness of reality, thereby justifying anomic behavior. Where they are willing to privilege ritual behavior over monastic decorum, he is willing to do the reverse; both entail a subordination of one behavioral system to the other. Atiśa, furthermore, seems to sidestep the fact that his solution allows the laity—who are theoretically ancillary to the clergy—to participate in a wider range of rituals and meditations in the “exalted” esoteric system. We may appreciate the extreme nature of Atiśa’s position by understanding that although his text became the model for mainstream Tibetan monastic Buddhism for the next nine hundred years, the Tibetans almost universally elected to continue the reception of the three “higher” consecrations in a visualized rather than physical form. Thus Tibetan Buddhism retained the basic organization of the monastic lifestyle Atiśa envisioned while opting for an imple-
A Lamp for the Path to Awakening

Homage to Manjuśrī, who has been a true prince


1. With great reverence, I pay my respects to all the victors of the three times, their doctrine, and the community. Because I have been requested by Byang-chub 'od, the good disciple, I should illuminate this Lamp for the Path to Awakening.

2. Individuals may be understood as falling into three general types—lesser, middling, and excellent. Their several characteristics are clear and should be differentiated.

3. The lesser individual pursues his own benefit in the pleasures of existence by whatever means possible.

4. The middling individual pursues his own peace, turning his back on the pleasures of existence and reversing unwholesome activity.

5. The excellent individual, impelled by his own distress, seeks the perfect extinction of all the distress of others.

6. For those holy persons desiring the highest awakening, I will explain the correct ritual as detailed by the teachers:

7–8b. In front of a painting or other image of the perfect Buddha, a stūpa, and a scripture of the true dharma, one offers things such as flowers and incense, as financial resources allow. Moreover, seven kinds of offerings are mentioned in the Kingly Scripture Concerning the Resolve toward Excellent Conduct [Bhadracari-prāṇidhāna-rāja-sūtra, verses 1–12; cf. Hokei Ikumi, "The Hymn on the Life and Vows of Samantabhadra," Eastern Buddhist 5 (1930), 226–47]:

1. To all those lions among mankind who live in the three times and the ten directions, to all of them I reverentially pay homage with body, speech, and mind.

2. Making my body as numerous as particles of dust in the earth, I pay homage to the victors by imagining myself in their presence through the power of my resolve toward excellent conduct.

3. On a single particle of dust are seated buddhas as numerous as particles of dust, each surrounded by bodhisattvas. Thus I pay reverence to all the realms of reality, each full of victors.

4. With an ocean of voice in which all the notes of sound are found, I praise all those buddhas by exalting all the virtues of these buddhas, which are like the ocean of inexhaustible nature.

5. With the best flowers, wreaths, musical instruments, ointments, umbrellas, lamps, and incenses, I make offerings to the buddhas.

6. With the best garments, scented wood, powdered incense in a heap equal to [Mount] Meru, arrayed with all these excellent offerings, again I make offerings to those buddhas.

7. This is, I believe, what is to be the best, munificent offering to the buddhas; it is due to my confidence in excellent conduct that I pay homage to all the victors.

8. And all the transgressions that may have been committed by me, due to my greed, anger, and ignorance, with my body, speech, and mind, I make full confession.

9. And I rejoice in all the merits of the victors, their sons, the private buddhas, and all the world, whether they need more instruction or not.

10. And those who have come to awakening, the lumens of the ten directions of the world, who have obtained nonattachment, I entreat them to turn the unsurpassed wheel of the dharma.
11. I request all those wishing to demonstrate final nirvāṇa to remain for as many eons as there are particles of dust, for the benefit and happiness of beings.

12. Whatever merit I may have obtained, through my homage, offering, confession, rejoicing, entreating, and requesting, I dedicate it for the awakening of all.

8c–9. With mind irreversibly set until attainment of the final end, the essence of awakening, and having great confidence in the triple gem, the aspirant places the right kneecap on the ground, joins the hands at the chest, and first recites three times the refuge prayer:

I go to the Buddha for refuge.
I go to the dharma for refuge.
I go to the sangha for refuge.

10. Then, having developed in preparation a loving attitude toward all beings, one observes all the inhabitants of the various realms of existence in distress through birth in the three lower realms, death, and the process of rebirth. [The three lower realms are those of animals, ghosts, and denizens of hell.]

11. Impelled by one’s own distress and desiring to liberate beings from both distress and its causes, the aspirant should develop the irrevocable thought of awakening.

12. Maitreya, in the Stemmy Array Scripture, has explained well the good qualities invoked by the generation of this thought of awakening.

13. Reading scriptures or listening to teachers, one understands the unlimited qualities of the perfect thought of awakening. For this reason, the thought of awakening is to be generated in that way again and again.

14. In the Scripture on Viradatta’s Questions, the merit of this thought is explained. Here I shall provide that scripture’s three-verse summary [verses 15–17]:

15. “If the merit of the thought of awakening were physical, it would fill the vault of space and, indeed, overflow it.

16. “Now if a person were to fill the fields of the buddhas with jewels, and if these fields were equal in number to the grains of sand in the Ganges, and if that individual would offer all of these jewels to the Lord of the World.

17. “Superior to that would be the merit of this offering—inclining one’s mind toward awakening with hands joined. This offering is without limit.”

18. Having generated the thought that aspires toward awakening, one should increase that thought with intense effort. The instruction should be preserved exactly as it was explained, so that it might be recollected even in other births.

19. Without the discipline—essentially the thought of entering into awakening—the perfect aspiration will not increase. Thus, one desiring augmentation of complete awakening’s discipline will certainly take hold of it with assiduous effort.

20. Now, only the aspirant continually adhering to the primary discipline—the seven gradations of the prātimokṣa—is fit for the discipline of the bodhisattva. [The seven gradations of the prātimokṣa are: the fully ordained monk, the fully ordained nun, the female probationer, the male novice, the female novice, the layman, and the laywoman.]

21. Moreover, from the discussions by the Tathāgata on the seven prātimokṣa gradations, celibacy is clearly considered best—the discipline of the fully ordained monk is accepted as pure.

II. THE VEHICLE OF THE PERFECTION OF INSIGHT AND THE DISCIPLINE OF THE BODHISATTVA

22. Now one should accept the vow of the bodhisattva discipline from a good teacher of correct character, using the ceremony found in the Bodhisattva Fundamentals’ chapter on virtuous conduct.

23. A “good teacher” is learned in the ritual for imparting the discipline, observes the discipline, and has the patience and compassion to instill the discipline.

24. If, however much you have tried, you cannot find a teacher, then I will explain a different ritual whereby you can obtain the discipline.

25. It is the method by which Mañjuśrī, formerly the king Ambaraṇa, developed the thought of awakening as related in the Scripture on the Array of Qualities in Mañjuśrī’s Field of Awakening; this method is clearly presented thus:

26. In the visualized presence of the lords may we generate the thought of awakening, with the resolve: “I extend my invitation to all beings—may I liberate them from samsāra.”

27. “From now until the attainment of pure awakening, I will shun ill-will, anger, avarice, or envy.

28. “I undertake celibacy, leaving behind transgression and desire. With joy in the discipline of ethical conduct, I conduct myself as the Buddha before me.

29. “I am not anxious to obtain final awakening hastily, for I will stay until the bitter end, so long as one being remains in need.

30. “I will purify unlimited unimaginable fields and make my name renowned in the ten directions.

31. “My physical, vocal, and mental acts are all to be totally purified, and unwholesome acts may not be accomplished.”
32. With this attitude of entering [into awakening]—which is the cause for the purification of the body, speech, and mind—one resides in the discipline. Studying well the three curricula in ethical conduct, one’s trust in them flourishes. [The three curricula in ethical conduct are an obscure list taken from the chapter on conduct in the Bodhisattvabhumi; these three are disciplinary conduct, conduct preserving virtue, and ethical conduct in aid to beings.]

33. Thus, through accomplishing both vows which constitute the discipline of the perfect bodhisattva, one completes the accumulations which bring total awakening. [“Both vows” refers to the two rituals in the lineages of Asanga and Santideva.]

34. All the buddhas have held that the generation of the forms of higher knowledge is the cause of the two accumulations, knowledge and merit. [The higher knowledges are: divine vision, divine audition, knowledge of others’ thoughts, recollection of previous lives, miraculous powers, and knowledge of the destruction of defilements.]

35. A bird cannot ascend into the sky without unfolding its wings. A bodhisattva cannot work for the benefit of beings without ability in the higher knowledges.

36. The merit obtained in a single day by one with the higher knowledges cannot be equaled in a hundred lifetimes by one without them.

37. The bodhisattva wishing to complete quickly the accumulations requisite to total awakening will strenuously perfect the higher knowledges. The indolent have no chance.

38. The higher knowledges will not arise for one not accomplished in pacific contemplation—exert yourself again and again.

39. A yogin spoiling the phases of pacific contemplation will not perfect concentration in thousands of years.

40. Thus, the mind should be set virtuously on any of the objects of meditation delineated in the Pamphlet on the Accumulation of Concentration [Bodhibhadra’s Samadhisamabhavariprarta, Peking 5319].

41. If the yogin perfects pacific contemplation, then the higher knowledges will be accomplished. If he lacks preparation in the perfection of insight, though, the obscurations will not be destroyed.

42. So, to eliminate utterly the obscurations of the defilements and the knowable, the yogin should continually cultivate the perfection of insight along with skill in means.

43. Means without insight, and vice versa, is termed bondage in the scriptures, so neither may be rejected.

44. To remove doubt concerning the nature of means and insight, I will clarify their distinction:

45. The victors have defined means as all of the virtues—such as the perfection of giving—except only the perfection of insight.

46. The yogin will swiftly attain awakening in cultivating insight, aided by the cultivation of means. Exclusively contemplating nonself in phenomena retards progress.

47. Insight is fully explained as cognition of the emptiness of self-existence—the realization of the nonbirth of the aggregates, the elements, and the doors of perception. [These are the three standard models for categorizing events in the continuum of experience. The aggregates are the events which constitute the categories of form, feeling, ideation, mental / emotional formations, and consciousness. The doors of perception are the six sense objects (cognitive objects are included as a kind of sense object) and their corresponding sense faculties, including the intellect as the cognitive sense faculty. The eighteen elements are the six sense objects, the six sense faculties, and the six modes of consciousness operative in each of these sensory environments. The “nonbirth” of all of these indicates the radical deconstruction of conceptual / linguistic categories as a standard tool of Mahayana meditation.]

48. The “birth of existence” is irrational; likewise “nonexistence” is like a celestial flower. Both of these two faulty assertions reduce independently to absurdity, yet cannot occur in simultaneous conjunction.

49. A particular does not arise from itself, from something else, or from both, nor does it arise from no cause at all. Thus, there is naturally no self-existence.

50. Moreover, if we investigate the putative unity or diversity of all phenomena, since we cannot apprehend any self-existence we arrive at certainty of their lack of this quality.

51. Particulars’ emptiness of self-existence has been demonstrated conclusively in the analysis within the Seventy Stanzas [Sanyata-sapttist] and in the Basic Middle Verses [Mūlamadhyamakakārikā] of Nāgārjuna.

52. Therefore, I will not amplify here the discussion for fear of prolixity; only the tenets already demonstrated in those works are explained for the purpose of contemplative cultivation.

53. Accordingly, the cultivation of insight is precisely the contemplation of nonself through the nonapprehension of all phenomena’s self-existence.

54. Insight—by which there is no vision of self-existence within phenomena—is explained as “analysis.” It should be cultivated without conceptualization.

55. This world, arisen from conceptualization, has conceptualization as its nature. Thus, the elimination of every kind of conceptualization is the highest nirvāṇa.
56. So the Lord has said, "Conceptualization is great ignorance: it brings submersion into the ocean of existence. Presence in nonconceptual concentration is lucid nonconceptualization, clear as the sky."

57. And from the Code for Entrance into Nonconceptualization [Avikalpara-pravesa-dharani, Peking 810.32.229.1.1-232.5.8], "If a son of the victor should consider this holy dharma without conceptualization, he will pass beyond the impediments of conceptualization and will gradually obtain nonconceptualization."

58. So, having arrived at certainty about the nonself-existence of all unarisen phenomena by means of both analysis and scripture, the bodhisattva should cultivate contemplation without conceptualization.

59. Having thus cultivated reality, and having gradually obtained the stages of "heat" and so on, the bodhisattva will obtain the levels of the "joyful" and so forth. Then the awakening of the buddha is not distant. [The first line encapsulates the four preparatory phases of penetration in the "path of application": heat (that is, intensity of experience), peak experience, tolerance, and the highest mundane elements of experience. Beyond these are the ten stages of the bodhisattva—beginning with the joyful—in which the ten perfections are accomplished: liberality, virtue, patience, exertion, meditation, insight, means, aspiration, power, and gnosis.]

III. THE VEHICLE OF SECRET SPells AND THE KNOWLEDGE HOLDERS' DISCIPLINE

60–61b. One might wish to complete easily the accumulations for awakening, whether by the incantatory power that perfects the activities of pacification, augmentation, and so forth, or through the various powers, such as the eight mundane miracles—the cornucopia and so on. [Four forms of incantatory activity are frequently enumerated: the use of spells for pacification, augmentation, subjugation, and destruction. The eight mundane miracles are powers associated with all religious accomplishment. Buddhist and non-Buddhist, and indicate the appearance of abilities or miraculous objects through ascetic practices: the cornucopia, miraculous speed, the invincible sword, the instant execution of one's commands, domination over the netherworld, invisiility, the wishing tree, and supremacy. The supermundane miracle is awakening.]

61c–62. And should one desire to practice the secret spells spoken in the scriptures of ritual activity, practical application, yoga, and so forth, then the yogin should delight a holy teacher through rendering him service, gifts, and following his directions to obtain the master's consecration.

ATISA'S LAMP FOR THE PATH

63. Having obtained the complete master's consecration bestowed by a teacher well pleased, the yogin becomes purified of all transgression and fortunate in the accomplishment of psychic powers.

64. Those leading the celibate life should not accept the secret or insight / gnosis consecrations since The Scripture of the Primordial Buddha emphatically prohibits them. [As explained in the introduction, the literal performance of these two rituals, the secret consecration and the insight / gnosis consecration, involve sexual activity, either on the part of the preceptor or by the disciple. Atisa does not specify his source in the Kalacakra-tantra that "emphatically prohibits" these rituals. I have been unable to trace this prohibition anywhere in the received text.]

65. If a celibate religious accepts either consecration, then the individual's ascetic vow is spoiled, as he has engaged in forbidden behavior.

66. The fault of "defeat" will occur for that ascetic and he will certainly fall into evil states of life where there is no possibility of accomplishment.

67. Obtaining the master's consecration, the yogin may hear and explain any of the esoteric scriptures, perform the offerings or the fire ceremony; there will be no fault in his awareness of reality.

68. Based on the explanation of the dharma observed in scriptures, the elder Dpamkararshi fashioned this summary elucidation of the path to awakening when implored by Byang chub 'od.

So is completed A Lamp for the Path to Awakening authored by Sri-Dpamkararshi. The great Indian abbot and the editor / translator dGe ba'i blo gros have together translated and finalized this translation. This teaching was performed at Tho Ling Monastery in the country of Zhang Zhuang.