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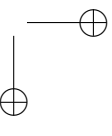
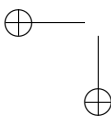
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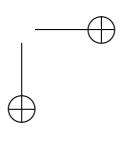
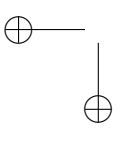
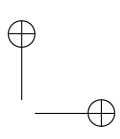
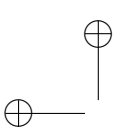
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Editorial

The tantric traditions which have played a central role in Asian cultures since at least the seventh century, and which remain significant to the present day, have long been neglected by serious scholarship. In approximately the past twenty-five years studies in this field can perhaps finally be said to have begun to come of age. The volume in your hands is the first issue of a new journal dedicated to serious scholarship in tantric studies. I take great pleasure in presenting it, and I do so in the hope that it will mark a turning point of some kind.

Tantric Studies is a peer-reviewed journal which publishes original contributions to research on the tantric traditions. It aims at maintaining a high standard of scholarship; this means above all that the articles we publish will be based on expert study of primary evidence. That evidence may of course be of diverse kinds. The papers in this issue are overwhelmingly textually oriented; but tantric studies is a cross-disciplinary field, and we look forward to presenting in the future more work in which, for instance, art-historical and archaeological material plays a prominent role. Similarly, although in this inaugural issue studies of Buddhist tantra (including critical editions of portions of several hitherto unpublished Sanskrit sources, both scriptures and commentaries) are in the foreground, I am pleased to include in it also a paper by Andrea Acri which focuses on evidence from Indonesia for an early Śaiva group. I look forward to expanding the breadth — also geographically and chronologically — of the traditions studied in this journal; contributions are warmly solicited.

Tantric Studies also includes reviews. So much that is directly related to tantric studies is published each year that it will be impossible to attempt anything close to completeness in review coverage; but our goal for the future is to offer substantive reviews by specialists of the most important book-publications in the field. For the development of tantric studies it is essential that critical, and non-perfunctory, reviews be published, and I look forward to this section of the journal, which in this issue contains only two reviews, increasing in size from our next issue.

Launching this journal would not have been possible without a great deal of help from many people: the scholars who have contributed articles and reviews, the members of our Editorial Board, assistant editor Iain Sinclair, the colleagues who kindly acted as readers and provided feedback on the submissions, and others who offered advice or help in one way or another. I would like to express my deep gratitude to all of these. Thanks to such collegial support I hope and expect that this yet fledgling journal will be able in the coming years to contribute significantly to the development of tantric studies.

— Harunaga Isaacson

A Critical Edition of Catuṣpīṭhatantra I.3 with Three Sanskrit Commentaries*

Péter-Dániel SZÁNTÓ

In this short article I present a preliminary edition of Catuṣpīṭhatantra I.3 and three Sanskrit commentaries to this sub-chapter dealing with ‘the initial undertaking of yoga’ (*yogārambha*) which equals meditation on emptiness (*śūnyatābhāvanā*) and the ‘signs of accomplishment’ (*siddhinimitta*). This early Buddhist *yoginītantra* is the topic of a monograph currently under preparation by the present author. Since this study will deal more or less extensively with the evidence for my claims below, the introduction here has been kept to a minimum.

The Catuṣpīṭhatantra The Catuṣpīṭhatantra (‘Tantra in Four Chapters’) is a Buddhist *yoginītantra* which may be tentatively dated to the late ninth or early tenth century. It certainly post-dates the Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśamvara, and most likely either predates or is contemporary with some of the other major tantras of the *yoginī* kind such as the Laghuśamvara/Herukābhīdhāna and the Vajrāmṛta. It is certainly earlier than any *uttaratantra* of the Samvara/Śamvara cult (with the exception of the Herukābhīyudaya perhaps), and the Hevajra.

Title and structure In spite of its title this scripture has nothing to do with *pīṭhas* in the sense later understood in esoteric Buddhism (especially in the cult of Samvara/Śamvara). Here *pīṭha* simply means ‘chapter’. All four chapters are divided in four sub-chapters called either *prakaraṇas* or *paṭalas*. There seems to be no clear conceptualization behind the arrangement of subject matter.

The two maṇḍalas The *maṇḍala* worshipped in this tantra consists of female deities exclusively with Jñānaḍākinī in the middle and a retinue of twelve *ḍākinīs* or *yoginīs*. It is only later that the deity Yogāmbara and his retinue are superimposed on the female *maṇḍala* thus relegating Jñānaḍākinī (often renaming her as Yogāmbarī) to the position of a consort and adding two further enclosures (*puṭa*) to the original retinue. The *maṇḍalas* transmitted up to this day in the Tibetan tradition identify these *maṇḍalas* as those of the *yum bka*’ and *yab bka*’ respectively. In Newar Vajrayāna Yogāmbara plays a crucial role up to this day; however, there is no reason to assume that the superimposition of this deity on the female *maṇḍala* took place in the Kathmandu Valley.

* My heartfelt thanks to Prof. Alexis Sanderson (All Souls College, Oxford), Prof. Harunaga Isaacson (Universität Hamburg), and Prof. Francesco Sferra (Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”) for their unconditional help and support.

Influence The Catuṣpīṭhatantra was very influential for the later development of esoteric Buddhism, although not directly. One third and possibly more of the tantra's contents is 'recycled' in four *uttaratantras* of the Herukābhīdhāna/Laghuśamvara, namely the Vajradākatantra, the Ḍākārṇavatantra, the Samvarodaya and the Sampuṭodbhavantra. The direction of borrowing can be clearly shown by philological means. Several doctrinal points of the Catuṣpīṭha are mentioned (and often refuted) in the Kālacakra literature.

Satellite texts The influence of the Catuṣpīṭhatantra can also be weighed from the amount of exegesis it attracted and the high number of satellite texts, Sanskrit and Tibetan, that it had spawned. The satellite texts include two *uttaratantras* in the Tibetan Canon (the first probably the work of (an) Āryadeva of which a Sanskrit fragment is available; the latter survives only in Tibetan), initiation manuals, several *sādhana*s, etc. Of these Caryāvratipāda's Maṇḍalopāyikā deserves special attention for it might have been instrumental in the superimposition of Yogāmbara. It survives in at least two recensions and several Tibetan renderings. (For more details see my "Antiquarian Enquiries into the Initiation Manuals of the Catuṣpīṭha", in *Newsletter of the NGMCP*, Number 6, Spring-Summer 2008. pp. 2–12.)

Commentaries Besides an anonymous and partial commentary in a late Nepalese manuscript there are three commentaries surviving in Sanskrit.

Bhavabhaṭṭa Perhaps the earliest, most extensive, and — judging by the number of surviving copies — most popular commentary is that of Bhavabhaṭṭa (*floruit* early tenth century). His commentary, the Catuṣpīṭhanibandha, is crucial in editing the text of the *mūla* for his lemmata comprise nearly two thirds of the text. The Tibetan translation of this text is a curious example of an annotated translation, most likely incorporating an oral commentary or glosses from a now lost manuscript. On the whole it is quite unreliable and not very helpful for establishing the Sanskrit original. There must have existed some, if oral, exegesis even before this author, since he occasionally cites variant interpretations of 'some' (*kecit*).

Kalyāṇavarman The second in line is Kalyāṇavarman, an otherwise unknown commentator, probably from the Kathmandu Valley, most likely working independently from Bhavabhaṭṭa. His terse Pañjikā comments on the first three chapters only. However, it is quite certain that he knew the entire *mūla*. The sole surviving copy of his commentary dates from 1012 A.D., but the work itself is likely to date from the middle or second part of the tenth century, since it is Smṛtijñānakīrti who translated it into Tibetan, at the same time completing the commentary with his own exegesis of the fourth *pīṭha*.

Durjayacandra The third and last commentary is the Mitapadā pañjikā of Durjayacandra, dating from either the late tenth or the early eleventh century. While the tantra and the two earlier commentators are silent about Yogāmbara, for this commentator there seems to be no question that Yogāmbara is the overlord of the *maṇḍala*. Curiously, his commentary also stops at the end of the third chapter. This work survives in an incomplete *codex unicus* dating from 1141 A.D. There is no canonical translation into Tibetan and I am not aware of any evidence to the fact that Tibetans were aware of its existence.

Language of the Catuspīṭha Virtually every rule of Classical Sanskrit is broken in this scripture, the metre is, however, treated somewhat less casually. When the metre is not a regular *śloka*, it is slightly hypometrical or hypermetrical (the former being the more common), but the scansion is not altogether unacceptable. Commentators and authors of minor texts of the cult call this language *yoginīmlecchabhāṣā* (the barbaric tongue of the *yoginīs*) or *yogabhāṣā* (the language of *yoga*). Indeed the safest way to read the text is to disregard most *sup-tinī* endings.

The present sub-chapter I.3. follows an elaborate sub-chapter on three sets of death signs, the methods for cheating death, a rite to cure snakebite and a rite for rainmaking. It is followed by a sub-chapter beginning with short indications for the prologue of visualizing the deity, a teaching on placing mantra-syllables on the body, the visualization of Jñānaḍākinī and two paralyzing rites. While the subject matter of deity-yoga continues in I.4., the connection of the present sub-chapter with I.2. is not readily discernible.

The *paṭala*, called *śūnyatāpaṭala* ('the [sub-]chapter on emptiness') by the two earlier commentators, sets out with Vajrapāṇi's question to the Lord (I.3.1). He wishes to hear the 'special' initial undertaking of *yoga* (*yogārambha*), the appropriate mantras (these will be given only in the next sub-chapter) and the knowledge [of 'signs of supernatural accomplishment'].

The Lord's reply comprises of two main units. The first (I.3.2–10) teaches the meditative resorption into emptiness of the Buddhist ontological categories beginning with the eighteen *dhātus* up to the three worlds and the ten directions. Then (I.3.11–14) the practitioner is instructed to gaze into that emptiness and see the emerging colour. These are then interpreted as signs of different accomplishment: white for appeasing rituals, red (sic!) for prosperity rituals and so on. The penultimate verse (I.3.15) glorifies this teaching: he who meditates on phenomena as empty will soon attain liberation. The last verse (I.3.16) states much the same, but this time with the recapitulation of a very old allegorical verse.

Except eight quarter-verses, the entire sub-chapter is taken over into other scriptures: up to verse 7 by the Saṃpuṭodbhava and from then on by the Vajradākatantra.

Editorial policies and abbreviations For the text-critical notes the principles of a positive apparatus have been employed. Every reading is reported regardless of their quality. Standardization affects sibilants (ś, ṣ, s) which are nearly always confused by Nepalese scribes; gemination (e.g. -rvv, -ryy); -ttv for -tv; homorganic nasals in external sandhi (ṃ for n, m, etc. where appropriate). For abbreviations of the codices and blockprints employed see Sigla Codicorum.

- *em.* – emendation.
- *kiṃcit^{exem.}* – reading resulting from an emendation.
- *conj.* – conjecture.
- *kiṃcit^{exconj.}* – reading resulting from a conjecture.
- *corr.* – correction.
- *unmetr.* – the reading is unmetrical.

- (kiṃcit) – uncertain reading.
- kiṃcit ^{a.c.} – the reading of a codex before correction.
- kiṃcit ^{p.c.} – the reading of a codex after correction. Where hand is not specified, it means that I was unable to discern the handwriting or that the correction is in a damaged portion of the ms. and only the place of correction indicated by the corrector survives.
- kiṃcit ^{pri} – the correction or addition is made in the scribal hand.
- kiṃcit ^{sec} – the correction or addition is made in a second hand.
- kiṃcit ^{par} – presumable lemma of a commentator.
- *kiṃcit – reconstructed reading from the Tibetan.
- †kiṃcit† – the reading does not make sense to the editor.
- kiṃcit + cit – an entire lost *akṣara*. As a rule the + sign is employed only where the loss is minor. Daṇḍas are not taken into consideration.
- +iṃcit – partial loss of an *akṣara*.
- **kiṃcit** – lemma (*pratīkas* and words intended to be quotations from the *mūla* text).
- *kiṃcit* – quotation. In the ‘Parallels’ sections italics denote the phrase/verse I refer to as a close parallel should there be any additional text.
- <kiṃcit> – addition in margin.

Sigla Codicorum For the CATUṢPĪṬHA:

- *A* = NAK 1-1078 = NGMPP B 26/23, palm-leaf, Old Newari, undated, cca. 12-13th century.
- *B* = NAK 4-20 = NGMPP B 30/36, palm-leaf, Old Newari, undated, cca. 12-13th century.
- *C* = Cambridge University Library 1704(12), palm-leaf, Old Newari, undated, cca. 13-14th century.
- *D* = NAK 5-37 = NGMPP A 138/10, paper, Common Newari, undated, cca. 18-19th century.
- *E* = IASWR MBB-I-41, paper, Common Newari, undated, 20th century.

For the NIBANDHA of BHAVABHAṬṬA (β in the apparatus of the root-text):

- *K* = Kaiser Library 134 = NGMPP C 14/4, palm-leaf, Gomola, undated, cca. 13th century.
- *M* = IASWR MBB-I-49, palm-leaf, Old Newari, undated, cca. 12-13th century.

For the PAÑJIKĀ of KALYĀNAVARMAN (κ in the apparatus of the root-text): *Cod.* = NAK 3-360 = NGMPP B 30/37, palm-leaf, Old Newari, dated 1012 A.D.

For the MITAPADĀ PAÑJIKĀ of DURJAYACANDRA (δ in the apparatus of the root-text): *Cod.* = NAK 3-336 = NGMPP B 23/14, palm-leaf, Old Newari, dated 1141 A.D.

For the VAJRADĀKA:

- *Tō* = Tokyo University Library no. 343., palm-leaf, Old Newari, dated 1171 A.D.
- *Ca* = Asiatic Society G 3825, palm-leaf, Old Newari, undated, cca. 14th century.

For the SAMPUṬA:

- *C₁* = Asiatic Society G 4854, palm-leaf, Old Newari-Gomola, undated, cca. 14th century.
- *C₂* = Asiatic Society G 3828, palm-leaf, Old Newari, undated, cca. 14th century.
- *Rb* = Royal Asiatic Society Hodgson Ms. No. 37, palm-leaf, Old Newari, undated, cca. 13th century.
- *We* = Wellcome Institute Library ε 2, Old Newari, undated, cca. 13th century.
- *Aa* = Asha Archives 5267 = Dha 375., paper, Common Bold Newari, undated, modern.

For the YOGĀMBARĪPRABHEDA: Asiatic Society G 4818, palm-leaf, Old Newari, undated, cca. 13-14th century.

For the Tibetan translation of any given work: T_D = sDe dge phar phud Bka' 'gyur & bsTan 'gyur; T_G = bsTan 'gyur gSer bris

I.3.1. bhagavanśrotum icchāmi
 yogārambha viśeṣataḥ|
 kena jñātavya mantre[*B* 12^r]ṣu
 kathaṃ jñānaṃ tu dhārayed||

NOTES: Incipit *A* 10^r3, *B* 11^v5, *C* 14^r3, *D* 12^v4, *E* 10.15 • 1a bhagavan $\beta \kappa A E$] (bha)gavāṃ *C*, bhaga + *D* • śrotum $\kappa A C E$] cchrotum *D* • 1b yogārambha $\beta \kappa C D E$] yogārambhaṃ δ , yogārambha *A* • viśeṣataḥ $\beta \kappa \delta A$] viśeṣat *C*, niṣeṣataḥ *DE* • 1c jñātavya $\beta A C D E$] jñātavyaṃ δ • 1d kathaṃ jñānaṃ $\beta \delta$] katha yogā *A*, katha yogā *C D E* • *B* omitted from the apparatus due to palimpsestic restoration

NIBANDHA: prākṛtaskandhaparitṛyāgapūrvakaṃ devatābhāvanā kāryeti śūnyatāpaṭalam āha| **bhagavann** ityādi| **yogārambha viśeṣata** iti| devatābhāvanārambhaṃ viśeṣato 'tisayena jñāntum **icchāmīti** saṃbandhaḥ| **kena jñātavya mantreṣv** iti| kathaṃ mantrā jñātavyā ity arthaḥ| **kathaṃ jñānaṃ tu dhārayed** iti| śāntikādisiddhinimittaṃ jñānaṃ kathaṃ dhārayec

cittasthikuryāt|

NOTES TO BHAVABHAṬṬA: Incipit *K* 12^r4, *M* 27^r4 • kāryeti *K*] kārya(h) *M* • devatābhāvanārambhaṃ] + + + + nārambhaṃ *M* • °nimittam jñānam katham dhārayec *K*] *damaged in M* • cittasthikuryāt *K*] +it+as+ik+ryāt *M*

PARALLEL TO BHAVABHAṬṬA: prākṛtaskandhaparītyāgapūrvakam devatābhāvanā kāryeti] ĀMNĀYAMAÑJARĪ *T_D* 11a2-11a3. introducing SAMPUṬA 1.1.13. chos thams cad rang bzhin med pa nyid du bsgom pa kho nas thog ma med pa'i skye ba brgyud par bsags pa'i dri ma rtsad nas phyung bas *tha mal pa'i phung por* 'dzin pa *spong ba sngon du 'gro bar* bskyed pa dang rdzogs pa'i rim pa dag gis *lha bsgom par bya'o zhes gsungs pa*|

PAÑJIKĀ: anutpāditabodhicittasya mantrādisiddhir na bhavatīti manyamānaḥ| **bhagavan śrotum icchāmi yogārambha viśeṣata** ityādinā tṛtīyam bodhicittapaṭalam ārabhate|

NOTES TO KALYĀNAVARMAN: Incipit *Cod.* 13^v6, *T_D* 12^r5, *T_G* 16^r4 • yogārambha *Cod.* *p.c.pri*] yo rambhaṃ *Cod.* *a.c.* • viśeṣata *corr.*] viśeṣataḥ *Cod.* • tṛtīyam bodhicittapaṭalam *em.*] tṛtīya bodhicittam *Cod.*, *cf.* byang chub sems kyi le'u gsum pa *T_D* *T_G* • ārabhate *Cod.*] bcom ldan 'das kyis ... brtsam *T_D*, bcom ldan 'das kyis ... brtsams *T_G* = *bhagavān ... ārabhate

MITAPADĀ: dvitīyam paṭalam śrutvā tṛtīyam śrotum adhyeṣayann āha| **yogārambham** ityādi| yu-
jyate samādhīyata iti yogaḥ| sa ca mantrasamsthānabhedāt trividhaḥ| tasyārambhas
tadādyanuṣṭhānam| kim asau daśabhūmīśvaro vajrapāṇir yogam api na jānātīti ced āha|
viśeṣata ityādi| yogasāmānyam itare 'pi jānate| viśeṣaḥ punar vajradharagamyā eveti|
tam artham adhyeṣayitum vajrapāṇer ucitam eva nānucitam ity arthaḥ| kīdrśo 'sau
viśeṣa iti ced āha| **kena jñātavyam** ityādi| jñānam utpādayitavyam| kutreti **mantreṣu**|
varṇacihnasaṃsthānādiparijñānam [22^v] **jñānam**| atha prāptam api jñānam **katham**
dhārayed iti pṛcchati|

NOTES TO DURJAYACANDRA: Incipit *Cod.* 22^r3 • itare 'pi] itare pi *Cod.*

I.3.2. śrṇu vajra yathātattvaṃ
 devatātmakais tathā|
 prathamam śūnya saṃcintya
 prakṣālya mala dehinām||

NOTES: 2a yathātattvaṃ β δ *ABDE*] yathātattva *C* • 2b devatātmakais *unmetr.* β δ] devatās cātmakais *A*,
devatā svātmakais *C*, devatām ātmakais *DE* • 2c śūnya κ δ] śūnyam *unmetr.* *Aβ* ?, śubhya *C*, śūnya *DE* •
2d prakṣālya β δ *ADE*] prakṣā + *C* • dehinām β δ *ADE*] dehinā *C* • *B* omitted from the apparatus due to
palimpsestic restoration

PARALLELS: 2cd] ⇒ SAMPUṬA 1.1.13ab. prathamam śūnyatām vicintya prakṣālya mala dehinām | •
⇒ *CATUṢPĪṬHAVYĀKHYĀTANTRA, GDAN BZHI PA'I RNAM PAR BSHAD PA'I RGYUD (Tōh.
430.) 2.8cd. ji ltar stong nyid de bsgoms la| lus kyi dri ma rab tu brku||

NOTES TO PARALLELS: SAMPUṬA 13b prakṣālya mala *C₁*] prakṣāla mala *We Rb*, ma + + + + + *C₂*,
malam prakṣālya dehinām *Aa*

NIBANDHA: prativacanam āha| śṛṅv ityādi| yathātattvam aviparītam| devatātmakair iti| devatā-yoga[*M* 27^v]bhāvanārtham| atha vā devatātmakatvāya vaksyamāṇam śṛṅv iti| śrotavyam āha| **prathamam** ityādi| devatābhāvanātaḥ prathamam śūnyam deham saṃcintya paścād devatām bhāvayed iti bhāvaḥ| etad evāha| **prakṣālya mala dehinām** iti| dehasya malam grāhyādyabhiniveśam śūnyatayā prakṣālya devatā bhāvetye arthaḥ|

NOTES TO BHAVABHAṬṬA: aviparītam| *K*] aviparītam *M* • atha vā *M*] atha vā| atha vā *K* dittograph • °t-makatvāya ... śrotavyam] *damaged in M* • paścād *K*] paścāt(a) *M* • mala *M*] malam *K unmetr.* • °nām iti| dehasya malam grāh°] *damaged in M* • malam *corr.*] malam| *K* • śūnyatayā *K M* ^{*p.c.*}] śūnyatayā *M* ^{*a.c.*}

PAÑJIKĀ: **prathamam śūnya saṃcintyetyādinā sarvadharmaniḥsvabhāvatām āha** [14^r]

NOTES TO KALYĀṆAVARMA: °tyādinā] °tyādinā| *Cod.* • °niḥsvabhāvatām *em.*] °niśvatāvatām *Cod.*

MITAPADĀ: tatra bhagavān āha| śṛṅv vajretyādi| vajra vajrapāṇe śṛṅv kathayāmi te| yathātattvam yādṛśam mantrādeḥ svarūpam| katham aham śṛṅvayāmi iti ced āha| **devatātmakair** ityādi| sveṣṭadevatāmūrtim ālambya tattvam śṛṅv ity arthaḥ| mantravīhitayogāmbārādidevatāmūrter ātmanaḥ svarūpam tattvam| tantre pañcavidham tattvam| *tattvam pañcakulam* ity ukteḥ| katham idam tattvam śroṣyāmi iti ced āha| **prathamam śūnya saṃcintyetyādi**| śūnyasvabhāvam agrāhakam agrāhyam| sarvam asvabhāvavibhāvanayā kim anayā syād iti ced āha| **prakṣālya mala dehinām** ityādi| malam āvaraṇam| dehinām dehavatām| skandhāyatanādīnām anayā śūnyatācintayā jalapraḥyayā kṣālitam tam malam bhavet| tatas tāḥ skandhāyatanadhātudevatāḥ śuddhā bhavanti| śuddhataiva hi buddhateti| tadartham idam malakṣālanam avyagrair agrata eva kriyate|

NOTES TO DURJAYACANDRA: śṛṅvayāmi iti *em.*] śṛṅvayāmi *Cod.* • *tattvam pañcakulam*] GUHYASAMĀJATANTRA 18.37a. (ed. Matsunaga, Tōkyō 1978) tattvam pañcakulam proktam • °ādinām anayā *em.*] °ādinām manayā *Cod.* • jalapraḥyayā *em.* ISAACSON] jalapraḥyayā

I.3.3. rūpam śūnyādi pūrvasya tāvad aṣṭādaśam manaḥ| rūpadhātveti śūnyānām śabdaṃ tasyaiva kārayet||

NOTES: 3a rūpam śūnyādi β] rūpa śūnyatādi κ , rūpa śūnyādi δACE , rūpa śūnyādi *D* • 3b tāvad aṣṭādaśam manaḥ $\beta \kappa AD$ ^{*p.c.*} *E*] tāvan maṣṭādaśam mana *C*, tāvad aṣṭādaśadaśam manaḥ *D* ^{*a.c.*}, yāvad aṣṭādaśam manaḥ δ • 3c rūpadhātveti β ^{*exconj.*} $\kappa \delta$ ^{*exconj.*}] rūpadhātveti *A* • *B* omitted from the apparatus due to palimpsestic restoration but seems to transmit this version • an expanded version for 3cd *ff.* is transmitted in *CDE*:

cakṣudhātveti śūnyānām rūpam tasyai[*D* 13^r]va kārayet|| I.3.3c' ||
śrotadhātveti śūnyānām śabdaṃ tasyaiva kārayet|| I.3.3d' ||

3c' cakṣudhātveti *conj.*] cakṣudhātveti *CE*, cakṣudhātu iti *D* • śūnyānām *CE*] śūnyānām *D* • rūpam *C*] rūpa *DE* • 3d' śrotadhātveti *em.*] śrotadhātveti *CDE* • śūnyānām *CE*] śūnyānām *D* • śabdaṃ tasyaiva *em.*] śavṛttasyaiva *C*, śabda tasyaiva *DE*

PARALLEL: 3cd] ⇒ SAMPUṬA 1.1.13cd. rūpadhātveti śūnyānām śabdaṃ tasyaiva kārayet|

NOTES TO PARALLEL: 13c rūpadhätveti $C_1 We$] rūpadhätv iti $RbAa$, + + + tv iti $C_2 \bullet$ sünyānām $C_1 C_2 Rb We$] sünyām $Aa \bullet$ 13d śabdaṃ tasyaiva $C_1 C_2 Rb We$] śabda tathaiva Aa

NIBANDHA: asya nirdeśam āha| **rūpaṃ** ityādi| rūpyate vikalpyata iti rūpaṃ skandhapañcakam| **sūnyāditi**| tad rūpaṃ svabhāvanimittapraṇidhānāsūnyam| **sūnyādity** ādisabdād dhi sünyatā-nimittāpraṇihitalakṣaṇais tribhir vimokṣai rūpaṃ bhāvyaṃ| na kevalaṃ skandhapañcakam trivimokṣaviśuddhaṃ bhāvyaṃ ity ata āha| **tāvad aṣṭādaśam mana** iti| cakṣuḥśrotra-ghrāṇajihvākāyamanāmsindriyāni ṣaṭ| rūpaśabdagandharasasparśadharmā viśayāḥ ṣaṭ| tad-vijñānāni ṣaṭ| ittham aṣṭādaśa dhātavaḥ| ete ca trivimokṣaviśuddhāḥ pūrvam eva [$K 13'$] bhāvyaḥ| **pūrvasyeti** vacanāt| etat svabhāvādisūnyam ity atra kiṃ pramāṇam ity āha| **mana** iti| yadi kalpanāmātrād anyad rūpaṃ eṣāṃ tadā svacittam eva pramāṇam| sadasadrūpaṃ sarvaṃ cittam eva kalpayatīti bhāvyaḥ|

idānīm yathākathamcit prakārabhedaṃ darśayann āha| **rūpadhätveti**tyādi| rūpaṃ śvetapitādirghahrasvādisvalakṣaṇam [$M 28'$] dadhātīti dhātuḥ| rūpaṃ ca tad dhātuś ceti rūpadhātuś cakṣurviśayaḥ| sa ca sünyaḥ svabhāvena grāhyādilakṣaṇena| yathā ghaṭaḥ sünya ity ukte jalādineti gamyate| na tu svayam eva ghaṭo nāstīti| nanu grāhyādirūpād anyat kim asya rūpadhāto rūpaṃ yenāstīti vyavahartavyam| satyam| tenaiva vicārāsahena satyamṣātvarahitena jalacandra iva so 'stīti vyavahriyate| atrāpi svacittam eva pramāṇam| **śabdaṃ tasyaiva kārāyed** iti | śabdo 'pi tathaiva grāhyādisūnya ity arthaḥ| evam uttaratrāpi|

NOTES TO BHAVABHAṬṬA: rūpyate vikalpyata $K^{p.c.sec}$] rūpyata $MK^{a.c.} \bullet$ sünyāditi| K] sünyām iti| $M \bullet$ svabhāvanimittā° K] svabhā + + mitta° $M \bullet$ sünyatānimittā° $corr.$] sünyatā-animittā° K , sünyatā'nimittā° $M \bullet$ āha| tāvad aṣṭā°] ā + + ā + ṣ + ā° $M \bullet$ tadvijñānāni K] tat(a) vijñānāni $M \bullet$ °viśuddhāḥ pūrvam K] °viśuddhāḥ| pūrvam $M \bullet$ pūrvasyeti K] pūrvaseti $M \bullet$ mana iti| yadi K] mana iti yadi M anyad rūpaṃ M] anyarūpaṃ $K \bullet$ svacittam eva] + + + m eva $M \bullet$ rūpadhätveti^{tyādi} $conj.$] rūpadhätvetyādi $MK \bullet$ °svādisvalakṣaṇam dadhā°] *damaged in M* • na tu svayam eva ghaṭo nāstīti| K] na + svaya + + + + + ti| $M \bullet$ anyat kim asya K] anyat(a) kim anyasya $M \bullet$ rūpaṃ yenā° M] rūpaṃ, yenā° $K \bullet$ satyam| K] (satya)n $M \bullet$ so 'stīti| so stīti $MK \bullet$ °te| atrāpi svacitta°] + + + + + + i + ta° $M \bullet$ śabdo 'pi| śabdo pi $MK \bullet$ ity arthaḥ| M] ity arthaḥ $K \bullet$ uttaratrāpi| K] uttaratrāpi M

PARALLEL TO BHAVABHAṬṬA: rūpaṃ śvetapitādirghahrasvādisvalakṣaṇam dadhātīti dhātuḥ| rūpaṃ ca tad dhātuś ceti rūpadhātuś cakṣurviśayaḥ|] ĀMNĀYAMAÑJARĪ T_D 11a5-11a6. ad SAṂPUṬA 1.1.13cd. ... *gzugs te dkar po dang ser po la sogs pa dang ring po dang thung ngu la sogs pa'i* (*em.*) pa'o| T_D) *rang gi mtsban nyid 'dzin par byed do zhes pa khams so|| gzugs kyang de yin la khams kyang zhes pa gzugs khams te des so||*

PAÑJIKĀ: **rūpa sünyatādi pūrvasya tāvad aṣṭādaśam mana** iti manodhätur dharmadhätur manovijñānaś ceti| evaṃ cakṣurādīṣv api yojyam| **rūpadhätveti sünyānām** iti| rūpaṃ rūpasvabhāvena sünyam ity arthaḥ| **śabdaṃ tasyaiva kārāyed** iti| śabdādīṣv api draṣṭavyeti yāvat|

NOTES TO KALYĀṆAVARMAṆ: aṣṭādaśam *em.*] aṣṭāsam *Cod.*, *cf.* bco bryad $T_D T_G \bullet$ manodhätur dharmadhätur *corr.*] manodhātuḥ dharmadhātuḥ *Cod.* • manovijñānaś ca *Cod.*] yid kyi rnam par shes pa'i khams $T_D T_G$ = *manovijñānadhātuś ca • cakṣurādīṣu *em.*] curādīṣu *Cod.*, *cf.* mig la sogs pa rnams la $T_D T_G \bullet$ rūpaṃ rūpasvabhāvena sünyam *Cod.*] *gzugs* ni rang bzhin gyis stong pa nyid do $T_D T_G$ = *rūpaṃ svabhāvena sünyam • ity arthaḥ *corr.*] iti arthaḥ *Cod. p.c.pri*, iti artha *Cod. a.c.* • śabdaṃ tasyaiva *em.*] saṃvṛttasyaiva *Cod.*, *cf.* de bzhin du ni sgra yang $T_D T_G$

MITAPADĀ: yady evaṃ kim ārabhya kriyata iti ced āha| **rūpa sünyādi pūrvasyetyādi**| pūrvam rūpaṃ āra-

bhya śūnyaṃ vibhāvyam ātmānam | kiyad vibhāvya[23^r]tām iti ced āha | yāvad aṣṭādaśam
ityādi | aṣṭādaśāpi yadi śūnyāḥ kiṃ tadā sthāsyatīti ced āha | mana iti | mano 'nanya-
rūpatvāt sarvadharmāṇaṃ tatparam avatiṣṭhate | uktaṃ ca | *na citteṣu bahirbhūtā indriyārthāḥ
svabhāvataḥ | rūpādīpratibhāsenā cittam eva hi bhāsata* iti | ke te punar aṣṭādaśa ye śūnyā vi-
bhāvanīyā iti ced āha | rūpadhātvetītyādi | śūnyo rūpadhātuḥ | śabdamaṃ tasyaiva kārayed iti |
śabdādyaṅte dhātupadaṃ prayoktavyam | tad amī rūpadhātuḥ, śabdadhātuḥ, ...

NOTES TO DURJAYACANDRA: ātmānam | kiyad *corr.*] ātmānaṃ kiyad *Cod.* • 'nanyarūpatvāt sarva° *em.*] 'nanyarūpatvāt | sarva° *Cod.* • *na citteṣu ... bhāsate*] *untraced*; also quoted in Advayavajra's TATTVARATNĀVALĪ (ed. H.P. Shastri, Baroda 1927), p.18. • ye śūnyā *em.* ISAACSON] ye ye śūnyā *Cod. dittograph* • rūpadhātvetītyādi *conj.*] rūpadhātvetītyādi *Cod.*

I.3.4. gandhadhātv iti śūnyānāṃ rasaṃ tasyaiva kārayet | sparśadhātv iti śūnyānāṃ rūpaṃ tasyaiva kārayet ||

NOTES: 4d rūpaṃ β] dharmāṃ A δ *par*, cf. gzugs *T_D* • B omitted from the apparatus due to palimpsestic restoration but seems to transmit this version • the expanded version of the verse transmitted in *CDE*:

ghrāṇadhātv iti śūnyānāṃ gandhaṃ tasyaiva kārayet || I.3.4a' ||
jihvadhātv iti śūnyānāṃ rasaṃ tasyaiva kā[C 14^v]rayet || I.3.4b' ||
kāyadhātv iti śūnyānāṃ sparśaṃ tasyaiva kārayet || I.3.4c' ||
manodhātv iti śūnyānāṃ dharmāṃ tasyaiva kārayet || I.3.4d' ||

4a' is transmitted as 4b' in *C* • ghrāṇadhātv iti śūnyānāṃ *em.*] ghrāṇapātveti śubhyānāṃ *C*, manadhātveti śūnyānāṃ *D*, manadhātveti śūnyānāṃ *E* • gandhaṃ *C*] gandha *DE* • 4b' is transmitted as 4c' in *C* • jihvadhātv iti *em.*] jihvadhātveti *CDE* • śūnyānāṃ *E*] śubhyānāṃ *C*, śūnyānāṃ *D* • rasaṃ *em.*] *omitted in C*, rasa *DE* • 4c' is transmitted as 4a' in *C* • kāyadhātv iti śūnyānāṃ *em.*] kāyavān veti śubhyānāṃ *C*, srotadhātveti śūnyānāṃ *DE* • sparśaṃ *em.*] parśa *C* parśa *DE* • 4d' manodhātv iti śūnyānāṃ *em.*] maṇodhātveti śubhyānāṃ *C*, manadhātveti śūnyānāṃ *DE* • dharmāṃ *C*] dharmā *DE*

PARALLEL: 4] ⇒ SAMPUṬA 1.1.14. gandhadhātv iti śūnyānāṃ rasaṃ tasyaiva kārayet | sparśadhātv iti śūnyānāṃ manas tasyaiva kārayet ||

NOTES TO PARALLEL: 14a gandhadhātv iti *Rb*] gandhadhātv i *Aa* • 14b rasaṃ *Rb^{p.c.}*] rasaṃ rasan *Rb^{a.c.} dittograph* • tasyaiva *Rb*] taścaiva *Aa* • 14c sparśadhātv iti *Rb*] sparśadhā ti *Aa* • although this seems to be the more archaic reading, the three other palm-leaf mss. transmit an extended version (although mostly in secondary additions) already known to Abhayākaragupta judging from the lemmata *sgra'i kbams* and *yid* in the ĀMNĀ-YAMAÑJARĪ *T_D* 11a7.

śabdadhātveti śūnyānāṃ gandhaṃ tasyaiva kārayet || I.1.14a' ||
gandhadhātveti śūnyānāṃ rasaṃ tasyaiva kārayet || I.1.14b' ||
rasadhātveti śūnyānāṃ sparśaṃ tasyaiva kārayet || I.1.14c' ||
sparśadhātveti śūnyānāṃ manas tasyaiva kārayet || I.1.14d' ||

14a' śabdadhātveti śūnyānāṃ *C*₁] śabdadhātv iti śūnyānāṃ *C*₂, <śabdadhātveti śūnyānā^{sec} > *We* • gandhaṃ tasyaiva kārayet *C*₁] <gandhaṃ tasyaiva kārayet^{sec} > *C*₂, <gandha tasyaiva kārayet^{sec} > *We* • 14b' gandhadhātveti śūnyānāṃ *C*₁^{p.c.}] gadhadhātveti śūnyā^{a.c.} *C*₁, <gandhadhātveti śūnyānāṃ^{sec} > *C*₂, gandhadhātv iti śūnyānāṃ *We* • rasaṃ tasyaiva kārayet *C*₁] <rasaṃ tasyaiva kārayet^{sec} > *C*₂ *We* • 14c' rasadhātveti śūnyānāṃ *C*₁] <rasadhātveti śūnyānāṃ^{sec} > *C*₂ *We* • sparśaṃ tasyaiva kārayet *C*₁] sparśaṃ tasyaiva kārayet *C*₂, śabdaṃ

tasyaiva kārayet *We* • 14d' sparsādhātveti *C*₁] sparsādhātvi iti *C*₂ *We* • manas *C*₁ *C*₂] manaḥs *We*

NIBANDHA: rūpaṃ tasyaiva kārayed iti | rūpyate bhidyate sarveṣv eva viṣayeṣv iti rūpaṃ dharmadhātuviṣayaḥ sukharūpaḥ |

NOTES TO BHAVABHAṬṬA: °yeṣv iti rūpaṃ] *damaged in M* • dharmadhātuviṣayaḥ sukharūpaḥ | *em.*] dharmadhātur viṣayaḥ sukharūpaḥ *K* , dharmadhātur viṣayaḥ | sukharūpaḥ | *M*

MITAPADĀ: ... gandhadhātuḥ, rasadhātuḥ, sparsādhātuḥ, dharmadhātuś ceti ṣaḍ dhātavaḥ |

I.3.5. cakṣurātmēti śūnyānāṃ madhye vijñā katham bhavet | śrotra-m-ātmēti śūnyānāṃ madhye vijñā katham bhavet ||

NOTES: 5a cakṣurātmēti δA] cakṣurātmaiti *C* , cakṣu ātmēti *DE* • śūnyānāṃ $\delta AD^{a.c.}$] śūnāṃ *C* , śūnyasya *D* ^{*p.c.pri*} , śūnyasya *E* • 5b vijñā *CDE*] vijñāna *A* • 5c śrotra-m-ātmēti *DE*] srotātmēti *A* , srotapadmeti *C* • śūnyānāṃ *A*] śūbhyanāṃ *C* , śūnyasya *D* , śūnyasya *E* • 5d vijñā *C*] vijñāna *A* , vijñā *DE* • *B* omitted from the apparatus due to palimpsestic restoration

PARALLEL: 5] ⇒ SAMPUṬA 1.1.16. cakṣurātmēti śūnyānāṃ madhye vijñā katham bhavet | śrotrātmēti śūnyānāṃ madhye vijñā katham bhavet ||

NOTES TO PARALLEL: 16a śūnyānāṃ *C*₁ *C*₂ *Rb We*] śūnyānāṃ *Aa* • 16b vijñā katham *C*₁ ^{*a.c.*}] vijñānaṃ katham *C*₁ ^{*p.c.sec*} *C*₂ *Rb We* , katham vijñānaṃ *Aa* • 16c śrotrātmēti *C*₁ *Rb*] srotātmaiti *C*₂ , srotātmēti *We* • śūnyānāṃ *C*₁ *C*₂ *Rb We*] śūnyānā *Aa* • 16d madhye *C*₁ *C*₂ *Rb We*] madhya *Aa* • vijñā *C*₁ ^{*a.c.*}] vijñānaṃ *C*₁ ^{*p.c.sec*} *C*₂ *Rb We Aa*

NIBANDHA: rūpādiviṣayānantaram cakṣurādindriyāṇi darśayati | cakṣur ityādi | cakṣuṣo rūpasya ca śūnyatvāt tayor madhye vijñānaṃ katham aśūnyam bhavati iti bhāvaḥ | tajjam vijñānaṃ katham ity arthaḥ |

NOTES TO BHAVABHAṬṬA: °ānantaram *KM* ^{*p.c.*}] °āntaram *M* ^{*a.c.*} • śūnyatvāt *corr.*] śūnyatvāt | *MK* • °śūnyam bhavati i°] *damaged in M* • katham ity *K*] katham ity *M*

PARALLEL TO BHAVABHAṬṬA cakṣuṣo rūpasya ca śūnyatvāt | tayor madhye vijñānaṃ katham aśūnyam bhavati iti bhāvaḥ |] ĀMNĀYAMAÑJARĪ *T*_D 11b1-11b2. ad SAMPUṬA 1.1.16. mig bdag nyid ces bya zhes pa 'dis rang gi ngo bos stong pa rnam par shes pa ste | *rnam par shes pa' i yul dang dbang po dag stong pa dag gi dbus su rnam shes ci ltar mi stong par 'gyur te stong pa kho na'o zhes dgongs pa'o* ||

MITAPADĀ: cakṣurātmēti śūnyānāṃ iti | cakṣuṣaḥ śūnyatayā tadantaritam cakṣurindriyavijñānaṃ tat kim aśūnyam | tad evam amī cakṣurdhātuś, cakṣurvijñānadhātuḥ | śrotradhātuḥ śrotravijñānadhātuḥ | ...

NOTES TO DURJAYACANDRA amī cakṣurdhātuś *em.* ISAACSON] amī ca cakṣurdhātuś *Cod. dittograph*

I.3.6. ghrāṇa-m-ātmeti śū[*A 10^v*]nyā[*E 11*]nām
 madhye vijñā katham bhavet|
 jihvā-m-ātmeti śūnyānām
 madhye vijñā katham bhavet||

NOTES: 6a ghrāṇa-m-ātmeti *CDE*] ghrāṇetmeti *A* • śūnyānām *AC*] śūnyasya *D*, śūnyasya *E* • 6b vijñā *C*] vijñāna *A*, vijñā *DE* • 6c jihvā-m-ātmeti *CDE*] jihvātmeti *A* • śūnyānām *A*] śūbhyānām *C*, śūnyasya *D*, śūnyasya *E* • 6d madhye *ADE*] madhye *C* • vijñā *C*] vijñāna *A*, vijñā *DE* • *B* omitted from the apparatus due to palimpsestic restoration

PARALLEL: 6] ⇒ SAMPUṬA 1.1.17. ghrāṇātmeti śūnyānām madhye vijñā katham bhavet| jihvātmeti śūnyānām madhye vijñā katham bhavet||

NOTES TO PARALLEL 17b vijñā *C₁^{a.c.}*] vijñānaṃ *C₁^{p.c.sec}* *C₂ Rb We*, vijñāna *Aa* • 17d vijñā *C₁^{a.c.}*] vijñāna *C₁^{p.c.sec}* *Aa*, vijñānaṃ *C₂ Rb We*

NIBANDHA: evaṃ śrotagrahrāṇajihvās tadvijñānāni ca śūnyānīti draṣṭavyam|

MITAPADĀ: ... ghrāṇadhātur, ghrāṇavijñānadhātuḥ| jihvadhātur, jihvāvijñānadhātuḥ| ...

I.3.7. kāya-m-ātmeti śūnyānām
 madhye vijñā katham bhavet|
 mano bahiḥ śūnyānām
 manaś cāpi vikalpayet||

NOTES: 7a kāya-m-ātmeti] kāyātmeti *A*, kāya-m-ātmeti *C* • śūnyānām *A*] śūbhyānām *C* • 7ab omitted in *DE* • 7b vijñā *C*] vijñāna *A* • bhavet *A*] bhavet *C* • 7c mano bahiḥ śūnyānām *unmetr. β*] manomaya(nti) śūnyā(nām) *A*, mano bahi śūnyānā+ *C*, mano bahirdhā śūnyānām *D*, mano bahirdhā śūnyānām *E*, *manaḥ svabhāvaśūnyānām = yid kyī rang bzhin stong pa la *T_D* • 7d manaś cāpi vikalpayet *β CDE*] madhye ścāpi (jñā) kalpayet *A*, *madhye katham vikalpayet = dbus na ji ltar brtag par bya *T_D* • *B* omitted from the apparatus due to palimpsestic restoration

PARALLEL: 7] ⇒ SAMPUṬA 1.1.18. kāyātmeti śūnyānām madhye vijñā katham bhavet| mano bahiḥ śūnyānām madhye vijñā katham bhavet||

NOTES TO PARALLEL: 18a kāyātmeti *C₁ Aa*] kāyātme *We*, kāya ātmeti *C₂ Rb* • 18b madhye *C₁ Rb We*] omitted in *C₂*, madhya *Aa* • vijñā *C₁^{a.c.}*] vijñānaṃ *C₁^{p.c.sec}* *C₂ Rb We Aa* • 18c bahiḥ *C₁ We Aa*] bahi *C₂ Rb* • 18d vijñā *C₁^{a.c.}*] vijñānaṃ *C₁^{p.c.sec}* *C₂ Rb We Aa*

NIBANDHA: kāyam iti tvagindriyam| mano bahiḥ śūnyānām manaś cāpi vikalpayet iti| antar bahir api manaḥ śūnyam| eko manaśśabdo 'ntarvāci| idaṃ sarvaṃ manaś cittam kartṛbhūtam vikalpayet|

NOTES TO BHAVABHAṬṬA: °kalpayet ... manaḥ] damaged in *M* • śūnyam| eko *K*] śūnyam eko *M* • 'ntarvāci *M*] antarvāci *K* • kartṛbhūtam *K*] kartṛbh+tam *M*

MITAPADĀ: ... kāyadhātuḥ, kāyavijñānadhātuḥ| manodhātur manovijñānadhātuḥ| ity aṣṭādaśa-
dhātavo 'pi sūnyāḥ| nanv āsatam tāvad anye| rūpam evedam tāvan nirūpyatām| sāksāc
cakṣurindriyagrāhyam api katham idam sū[23^v]nyam aviditaparamārthajñe bhaga-
vati codyam| tatrāyam siddhāntaḥ| bhagavān paramārtham idam bravīti na samvṛtim|
paramārthe kva rūpaḥ; svarūpavirahāt| uktaḥ ca| *yat kimcid rūpaḥ tat sarvam anyathā-
nupapatter anuvṛter vā sarvāvasthāsu catvāri mahābhūtāny upādāya veditavyam* iti| punar
anyatroktaḥ| *svarūpeṇa nāsti rūpaḥ na draṣṭā ca na śabda nāpi śrotā cetyādi*| tena rūpasya
sūnyatvād rūpaskandhasamgrhītā api sarve parasparopabhogadhāraṇād rūpādya dhātavaḥ
sūnyāḥ|

NOTES TO DURJAYACANDRA: °dhātavo 'pi *corr.*] °dhātavo pi *Cod.* • nanv *em.* SFERRA] na tv *Cod.* • *yat* ...
veditavyam] *untraced* • *svarūpeṇa* ... *śrotā ca*] HEVAJRATANTRA I.v.1. (ed. D. Snellgrove, Oxford 1959) •
⇒ SAMPŪTA I.1.19ab. tasmān nāsti rūpaḥ na draṣṭā ca na śabda na śrotā ca| (*C*₁ *p.c.sec*)] śrotā *C*₁ *a.c.*,
śrotārah| *C*₂ *Rb We*)

I.3.8. liyate manam ākāśam
 śūnya sarvādi cintayet|
 kṣayam kṛtvā tridhātukaḥ
 merudvīpāntaram kṣayam||

NOTES: 8a manam ākāśam *AC κ*] manasā kāmam *DE*, mana ākāśam *δ* • 8b śūnya sarvādi *δ*] śūnyam sarvādi
A, śūnyā bhāvādi *C*, śūnya sarvādi *D*, śūnya sarvādi *E* • 8c tridhātukaḥ *β*] tridhātūnām *κ*, tridhā dhātum
δ *exconj.*, tridhā dhātu *A*, trjā dhātum *C*, tujā dhātu *DE* • 8d °dvīpāntaram *β* *par*] °dīpāntaram *A*, °dīpāntara
C, °dvīpāntara *DE* • *B* omitted from the apparatus due to palimpsestic restoration

PARALLEL: 8cd] ⇒ VAJRAḌĀKA 29.2-3. merumandarākailāsam vindhyādīnām tathaiiva ca| pūrvavide-
hagodānam uttarakurum eva ca|| kṣārakṣīrādisamudraḥ nimna-ūrdhvatam tathā| kṣayam
kṛtvā tridhātum ca rūpāṇi skandhāyatanadhātukṣayam||

NOTES TO PARALLEL: 2b vindhyādīnām *Ca*] viśādīnām *Tō* • 2c °videha° *em.*] °vijaya° *Ca*, °vijaya° *Tō* • godānam
Tō] godānām *Ca* • 3a °samudraḥ *Tō*] °samudra *Ca* • 3b ūrdhva° *Ca*] ūrdhvaḥ *Tō* • 3d rūpāṇi *corr.*] rūpāṇi
Ca, rūpāya *Tō* • °kṣayam| *Ca*] kṣaya *Tō*

NIBANDHA: liyata ityādi| mano 'pi cākāśākāreṇa layam gaccha[*M* 28^v]ti| ittham sūnyam sarvam
cintayet| vyavahitam sarvam āha| kṣayam ityādi| tridhātukaḥ traidhātukaḥ merum
dvīpāntarāṇi ca ...

NOTES TO BHAVABHAṬṬA: ityādi|] *damaged in M* • mano 'pi *corr.*] mano pi *K*, + no pi *M* • cākāśākāreṇa *K*] *cāk+śāk+ + + M* • layam ... sarvam] *damaged in M* • cintayet] *c+nta + M* • vyavahitam] *+ + + tam M* •
tridhātukaḥ *M*] tridhātum| *K* • dvīpāntarāṇi *M*] dīpāntarāṇi *K*

PAÑJIKĀ: liyate manam ākāśam iti| mana ākāśam sambhāvayed iti bhāvah| uktaḥ ca| *khamadhye*
kuru ātmānam ātmamadhye tu kham kuru| ubhayaor antaram jñātvā yah pasyati sa mucyatīti|
tridhātūnām iti| kāmārūpyārūpyāḥ|

NOTES TO KALYĀṆAVARMAN: iti| *corr.*] iti *Cod.* • mana ākāśam *corr.*] manah ākāśam *Cod.* • bhāvah| *corr.*] *bhāvah Cod.* • uktaḥ ca| *corr.*] uktaḥ ca *Cod.* • *khamadhye kuru ātmā-nam ātmamadhye conj.*] *madhye kuru*

ātmānaṃ ātmadhye *Cod.*, nam mkha'i dbus su bdag med cing| bdag dbus la yang nam mkha' bgyis| $T_D T_G =$ *khamadhye kuru nairātmyam ātmamadhye? • ubhayor antaraṃ *Cod.*] de gnyis dbyer med $T_D T_G =$ *dvayor nirantaraṃ? • jñātvā *corr.*] jñātvā| *Cod.* • *khamadhye ... mucyati*] «? YOGĀMBARĪPRABHEDA 3.3. khamadhye kuru ātmānaṃ ātmamadhye tu khaṃ kuru (*em.*] kha kuruḥ *Cod.*)| ubhayor antaraṃ jñātvā mukta cevā? na saṃśayaḥ; «? *CATUṢPĪṬHAVYĀKHYĀTANTRA, GDAN BZHI PA'I RNAM PAR BSHAD PA'I RGYUD (Tōh. 430.) 12.6. nam mkha'i dbus su bdag nyid bya| bdag nyid dbus su nam mkha'o| gnyi ga'i dbu ma shes bya la| grol ba nyid du the tshom med||; «? ŚĀṆḌILYOPANIṢAD 7.19. (ed. Mahadeva Shastri, Adyar 1920) khamadhye kuru cātmānaṃ ātmamadhye ca khaṃ kuru| sarvaṃ ca khamayaṃ kṛtvā na kiṃcid api cintaya|| • tridhātūnām iti| *em.*] tridhātūnām i| *Cod.* • °ārūpyāḥ| *corr.*] °ārūpyāḥ *Cod.*

MITAPADĀ: yadi sarvaṃ idaṃ śūnyaṃ tadā tadvedakaṃ cittam kim ālambata iti ced āha| **liyate mana ākāśam** iti| sarvadharmānām avakāśadānād ākāśam rūpidravyābhāvalakṣaṇam| tadākāśe cittākāśam **liyate** saṃgacchate| uktaṃ ca| *ākāśam sarvabhūtānām sarvadharmālayo bhavet| cittam ākāśavac chuddham śuddhe citte param sukham* iti| **śūnya sarvādi cintayed** iti| ākāśalīne manasī sarvabhāve svabhāve kiṃ nāmāsti| tasmāt sarvaṃ śūnyaṃ vicintayet| **kṣayaṃ kṛtvā tridhā dhātum** iti| tridheti triṣprakāreṇa triṣaṭke dhātāu kṣiṇe kva meruḥ kva suvarṇādidvipaviśeṣāḥ|

NOTES TO DURJAYACANDRA: tridhā dhātum iti *conj.* ISAACSON] tridhātukam iti *Cod.* • param sukham *em.*] parasukham *Cod.* • *ākāśam ... sukham*] *untraced*

I.3.9. sarva śūnyādim ālambya
ūrdhvaṃ madhyaṃ tu nimnagā|
kṣayaṃ rūpādi saṃcintya
daśadiglokadhātukaiḥ||

NOTES: 9a śūnyādim *A*] śūnyādim *C*, śūnyāvim *DE* • ālambya *ADE*] ālambya *C* • 9b ūrdhvaṃ $\beta \delta$] ūrdhva° *ADE*, ū r+ *C* • madhyaṃ tu *A*] ma + + *C*, madhye tu *DE* • nimnagā β] nimnakā δA , nīmnakā *C*, nimnata *D*, nimnatā *E* • 9d °dig° *CDE*] °dik° *A* • °dhātukaiḥ *ADE*] °dhātukai *C* • *B* omitted from the apparatus due to palimpsestic restoration

PARALLEL: 9cd] ⇒ VAJRAḌĀKA 29.3ab. bhūtādi saṃcintya daśadiglokadhātukaiḥ|

NOTES TO PARALLEL: 3b daśadig° *Tō*] daśdig° *Ca*

NIBANDHA: ... śūnyatvenālambya| **ūrdhvam** ākāśam| **madhyam** pṛthvīm| **nimnagā** pātālam| **kṣayaṃ** śūnyaṃ sarvaṃ **saṃcintya** devatāyogaṃ kuryād ity arthaḥ| daśasu dikṣu lokadhātavo ye ...

NOTES TO BHAVABHAṬṬA: ākāśam| *K*] ākāśam *M* • pṛthvīm| *K*] pṛthivī *M* • nimnagā *K*] nimnayā *M* • pātālam] pātā + *M* • kṣayaṃ ... de°] *damaged in M*

MITAPADĀ: sarvaśūnyā[24']| lambanān **nordhvam** na **madhyam** na **nimnakā**| na svargamartyapātālam ity arthaḥ| rūpāditriṣaṭkadhātōḥ kṣayān na daśa diśo na lokadhātavaḥ santi|

NOTES TO DURJAYACANDRA: sarvaśūnyālambanān *em.*] sarvaśūnyālambanā| *Cod.*

I.3.10. kṣīyante ātmabhāvānām
bhāvam ambaramiśritam|
samatā [B 12^v] śūnya saṃcintya
yogīnām tu vicakṣaṇaḥ||

NOTES: 10a kṣīyante $\beta \delta A$] kṣayanta C , kṣayante $DE \cdot$ ātmabhāvānām $\beta \delta AE$] ātmabhāvānām $C \cdot$ ānma-
bhāvānām $D \cdot$ 10b bhāvam ambaramiśritam $\beta \delta D$] bhāvāmbaramisritam A , bhāvam āmbaramisritam $C^{a.c.}$,
bhāvam ambaram asthita $C^{p.c.}$, then again corrected to °m isthita in lower margin • bhāvam antaramisritam
 $E \cdot$ 10c with the second word of this quarter the testimony of B resumes • śūnya $ABCE$] śūnya $D \cdot$
saṃcintya $\beta^{par} ABDE$] + + + $C \cdot$ 10d yogīnām $\beta ABDE$] yogīnā $C \cdot$ vicakṣaṇaḥ βDE] vicakṣaṇa AC ,
vicakṣaṇam B

PARALLEL 10] \Rightarrow VAJRADĀKA 29.4cd-5ab. kṣīyante ātmabhāvaṃ tu bhāvābhāvasya miśritam|| samatā
śūnya saṃcintya yogī rūpādilaṅkaṇam|

NIBANDHA: ... te 'pi kṣīyante śūnyīkriyante| ātmabhāvānām iti| ātmagraho 'pi śūnyaḥ kartavyaḥ| bhā-
vam ambaramiśritam iti| itthaṃ sakalaṃ bhāvagrāmam ākāśasamarasamatayā śūnyaṃ
saṃcintya devatām bhāvayed ity arthaḥ| yogīnām iti yogī vicakṣaṇa iti grahaśūnyaḥ|

NOTES TO BHAVABHAṬṬA: te 'pi *corr.*] te pi $MK \cdot$ °graho 'pi *corr.*] graho pi $MK \cdot$ kartavyaḥ] kartavya + $M \cdot$
°tam iti| itthaṃ saka°] *damaged in M* • ākāśasamarasamatayā M] ākāśasamaram samatayā $K \cdot$ saṃcintya K] M
saṃ + tya $M^{p.c.}$, saṃtya $M^{a.c.}$ • bhāvayed ity arthaḥ K] bhāvaye tyarthaḥ $M \cdot$ yogīnām iti K] yogīnām iti|
 $M \cdot$ vicakṣaṇa iti K] vicakṣaṇa iti| M

MITAPADĀ: kāni nāma santīti ced āha| kṣīyanta ityādi| triṣaṭkarūpātmananyarūpatvād ātmabhāvā-
nām anantaroktadhātūnām kṣayād rūpaṃ kīḍḡ avatiṣṭhata iti ced āha| bhāvam am-
baramiśritam iti| bhāvaḥ svabhāvo 'mbaramiśrito vyomābho bhavatīty arthaḥ| tām imām
sarvadharmānām śūnyatayā samatām yogīno vicakṣaṇāś cintayitvā ...

I.3.11. paśyante asya madhyaṃ vai
pa[D 13^v]rikṣam tatra kāraṇāt|
dīpena tu śānti syād
rajarajaṃ tu pauṣṭikam||

NOTES: 11a paśyante $\beta \kappa BE$] paśyanti δ , paśyate AD , pa + + $C \cdot$ asya madhyaṃ vai A] 'sya madhyaṃ tu
 κ , madhyam asya δ , asya madhyaṃ tu B , + + madhya+tha C , asya madhye tu $DE \cdot$ 11b parikṣam tatra
kāraṇāt $A\beta$] parikṣā tatra kāraṇam $\kappa \delta$, parikṣā tatra kārayet B , parikṣā + + + + C , parikṣam tatra
kāraṇāt $DE \cdot$ 11c dīpena $\beta \delta ADE$] pradīpena κC , dīpena na $B \cdot$ tu śānti syād κ] tu śāntiḥ syād δ , tu
śānti syād A , tu śānti sya B , tu śānti syā C , tu sukhaṃ tasya $DE \cdot$ 11d rajarajaṃ $\beta \kappa$] rajaraja δ , rajaraṅgaṃ
 $ABDE$, rajarajaṃ $C \cdot$ tu pauṣṭikam $\beta \kappa DE$] tu pauṣṭike AB , tu pauṣṭikai C

PARALLEL: 11] VAJRADĀKA \Rightarrow 29.5cd. paśyate asya madhyaṃ vai parikṣa tatra kāraṇāt|| 29.6.
liyāmānam ākāśam goṣpadapuram bhāvayet| bhāvayed vidhinā yogī pradīpākāra cetasaḥ||
 \Rightarrow 29.7ab. dīpākāre śānti syāt raktarajaṃ tu pauṣṭike|

NOTES TO PARALLEL: 5c madhyaṃ vai $T\delta$] manamadhye vaiḥ $Ca \cdot$ 6a liyamānam *em.*] liyamānam $T\delta$, niyamā-
nam $Ca \cdot$ 6b goṣpadapuram *corr.*(prob. for goṣpadapuram)] goṣpadapuram Ca , gopyapuram $T\delta \cdot$ bhāvayet

Ca] bhavet *Tō* • 6c vidhinā *Ca*] vidhitā *Tō* • 6d pradipākāra cetasāḥ *Ca*] prakāracetasāḥ *Tō* • 7a dipākāre *Ca*] dvipākāre *Tō* • syāt *Ca*] syāt | *Tō* • 7b pauṣṭike | *Ca*] pauṣṭike *Tō*

NIBANDHA: **katham jñānam tu dhārayed** ity uddiṣṭam nirdiśati | **paśyanta** ityādi | ittham sūnyatām bhāvayantaś cittam ca samatārūpeṇa dhārayantaḥ | cittasamatayā **parīkṣam tatra kāraṇāt** | kāraṇam nimittam parīkṣaṇīyam ity arthaḥ | sūnyatām bhāvayan śāntikādisiddhinimittam paśyed iti bhāvaḥ | tad evāha | **dīpenetyādi** | yadā dipākāraṃ paśyati tadā śāntikam sidhyati | **rajarajam tv iti** | yadā raktavarṇam paśyati tadā **pauṣṭikam** sidhyati |

NOTES TO BHAVABHAṬṬA: °ṣṭam nirdiśati | damaged in *M* • bhāvayantaś *K*] bhāvayamntaś *M* • sūnyatām bhāvayan] + + + bhāvayan *M* • dīpenetyādi *K*] dipetyādi *M* • rajarajam tv *K*] rajārakta tv *M* • iti | yadā *M*] iti yadā *K* • °varṇam paśyati *K*] varṇam + + ti *M*

PARALLEL TO BHAVABHAṬṬA: dīpenetyādi | ... pauṣṭikam sidhyati | VAJRADĀKAVIVṚTI *T_D* 152b6-7. ad VAJRADĀKA 29.7. *mar me* lta bu *zhes bya ba la sogs pa la* | *gang gi tshes* stong pa nyid du thams cad thim zhing 'od gsal bas mi g.yo bar gnas pa *de'i tshes* ting nge 'dzin gyi mthar 'od zer *mar me* lta bu snang bar gyur na | *de'i* (em.) da'i *T_D*) tshes *zhi ba'i las 'grub par gyur pa* de'i mtshan ma yin no ||

PAÑJIKĀ: **paśyante 'sya madhyam tv** ity atrāsyeti sūnyatā | **parīkṣā tatra kāraṇam iti** | iṣṭāniṣṭasūcakaṃ nimittam parīkṣayed ity arthaḥ | **pradīpena tu śānti syād** ityādinā śāntikādinimittam āha | **rajarajam tu pauṣṭikam** ity atra rajo reṇuḥ |

NOTES TO KALYĀNAVARMAN: madhyam tv i° *Cod.* ^{p.c.}] madhyam ci° *Cod.* ^{a.c.} • sūnyatā | *corr.*] sūnyatā *Cod.* • kāraṇam iti | *corr.*] kāraṇam iti *Cod.* • śānti syād ityādinā em.] sānni syādinā *Cod.* , cf. 'bar ba yis ni zhi ba dang | *T_D* *T_G* • śāntikādi° em.] santikādi° *Cod.* • reṇuḥ | em.] reṇu *Cod.* • atra rajo reṇuḥ | de la tshag tshig ces pa [/zhes pa *T_G*] ni rdul phra rab bo || *T_D* *T_G*

MITAPADĀ: ... kiṃ kurvantīti ced āha | **paśyantītyādi** | paśyanty etām sūnyatām yogino vyomām amalām pratibimbādisaṃnibhām bodher nītim | **madhyam asyeti** | madhyamām paśyanti | uktaṃ ca | *yathā māyā yathādarśam yathākāśam yathā sukham* | *yathā vastuparijñānam idam bodhinayam dṛḍham* iti | kimartham imām paśyantīti ced āha | **parīkṣā tatra kāraṇam** iti | parīta īkṣaḥ parīkṣaḥ sa eva kāraṇam tatreti madhyamāyām | kīdrśo 'sau parīkṣa iti ced āha | **dīpena tu śāntiḥ syād** ityādi | dipaḥ parīkṣyaḥ parīkṣaṇīyaḥ | sarvatodṛśaḥ siddheḥ pūrvanimittam siddheḥ kāraṇam | kim iyanmātram asya phalam iti ced āha | **śāntir** iti | [24^v] viśayopabhoganivṛttir indriyāṇām upaśamaḥ śāntiḥ | evam aparam api kāraṇāntaram āha | **rajarajetyādi** | rajorajaḥ paṭavāsarajaḥ pītam yogapuṣṭaye |

NOTES TO DURJAYACANDRA: *yathā māyā ... dṛḍham* | untraced • 'sau *corr.*] sau *Cod.*

I.3.12. sūryamaṇḍalasādrśye
raktakarmādi sidhyati |
kṛṣṇadhūmayate śeṣaḥ
a[C 15^r]bhicāraṃ prakīrtitam ||

NOTES: 12a sūryamaṇḍalasādrśye δA] sūryamaṇḍalam ādrśya $BCDE$ • 12b rakta° $\beta ABCE$] rakṣa° D , raktaṃ δ • 12c kṛṣṇadhūmayate $\beta ABDE$] kṛṣṇadhūpayate δC • śeṣaḥ βB] śeṣo A , +e(śā)m C , seṣam DE •

12d abhicāraṃ prakīrtitaṃ *conj.*] abhicāraṃ tu kīrtitaṃ δ , bhicāra parikīrtita A , m-abhicārā prakīrtitāṃ B , $a + + + + + C$, abhicāra prakīrtitāṃ DE

PARALLEL: 12] \Rightarrow VAJRAḌĀKA 29.7cd-8ab. sūryamaṇḍalaṃ saṃdr̥śya raktakarmādi sidhyati|| kṛṣṇa-dhūmāyate śeṣa abhicāruka prakīrtitaṃ|

NOTES TO PARALLEL: 7c sūryamaṇḍalaṃ $T\bar{o}$] sūryaṃ maṇḍalaṃ $Ca \bullet$ saṃdr̥śya $T\bar{o}$] saṃdr̥śyaṃ $Ca \bullet$ 7d raktakarmādi $T\bar{o}$] raktaraṃktakarmādi $Ca \bullet$ 8b prakīrtitaṃ $T\bar{o}$] prakīrtitāṃ Ca

NIBANDHA: sūryetyādi| [K 13^v] yadā sūryamaṇḍalākāraṃ paśyati tadā raktakarmādi vaśyākṛṣṭī sidhyataḥ| kṛṣṇadhūmāyate śeṣa iti| kṛṣṇākāraṃ dhūmrākāraṃ [M 29^r] yadā paśyati tadābhicāraḥ sidhyati|

NOTES TO BHAVABHAṬṬA: paśyati K] paśyati| $M \bullet$ sidhyataḥ $K^{p.c.sec} M$] sidhyati $K^{a.c.} \bullet$ °ṣṇākāraṃ dhūmrākāraṃ yadā] *damaged in M*

MITAPADĀ: sūryamaṇḍalasādr̥śya iti| śaradanantaroditādityasaṃkāśe| raktam iti vaśibhāvah| samādhau kṛṣṇadhūpāyata iti| kṛṣṇe dhūmāyamāne prādurbhavati| abhicāraṃ tu kīrtitaṃ iti| sarvakleśābhībhavanam|

I.3.13. ākulavāyuvārṇasya
tatkṣaṇoccatākarmakaiḥ|
sitavārṇakacandrasya
sita sarve 'pi paśyati||

NOTES: 13a ākula° β] ākula° δ , ākalam A , ākulaṃ BC , sākulā $DE \bullet$ 13b tatkṣaṇoccatākarmakaiḥ δ] tata kṣaṇātmoccatākaiḥ A , tatkṣaṇoccatākarmakeḥ B , tatkṣaṇoccatākarmakai C , tatkṣaṇoccatākarmakaiḥ $DE \bullet$ 13d sarve 'pi paśyati *corr.*] sarve pi paśyati A , sarvatra paśyate B , sarveti paśyati $CD^{p.c.pri} E$, sarvasya ti $D^{a.c.}$

PARALLEL: 13] \Rightarrow VAJRAḌĀKA 29.8cd-9ab. ākulāvāyuvārṇasya tatkṣaṇād uccāṭayet|| sitarāśmisamākulaṃ devi †athānaṃ†praśasyate|

NOTES TO PARALLEL: 8c ākulavāyu° Ca] alavāyu° $T\bar{o} \bullet$ 8d tatkṣaṇād $T\bar{o}$] ta + kṣaṇād $Ca \bullet$ uccāṭayet Ca] uccārayet $T\bar{o} \bullet$ 9a °samākulaṃ Ca] °mālākulaṃ $T\bar{o} \bullet$ 9b athānaṃ Ca] 'thānaṃ $T\bar{o}$

NIBANDHA: ākulavāyuvārṇasyeti| ākulaṃ vyākulaṃ vāyuvārṇaṃ kṛṣṇākāraṃ yadā paśyati tadoccatānaṃ sidhyati| sitavārṇaṃ candrākāraṃ rūpaṃ yadā paśyati ...

NOTES TO BHAVABHAṬṬA: vyākulaṃ vāyuvārṇaṃ] vyākula+ vāyuvārṇa+ $M \bullet$ sitavārṇaṃ] sitavārṇa+ $M \bullet$ rūpaṃ yadā paśyati] *damaged in M*

MITAPADĀ: ākulavāyuvārṇasyeti| na vidyate kuśalam asyety asaṃkhyah| svayaṃ niruddhatvād gaṇanātītaḥ| vāyur dolāhāraḥ| varṇa uktasitapītādir asyety asmīn ākulavāyuvārṇe| tatkṣaṇoccatākarmakair iti| tatkṣaṇoccatānaṃ sakalavikalpānavasthānam| anavasthāne vikalpānāṃ kidṛk saṃvid upajāyata iti ced āha| sitavārṇasyetyādi| candrasyeva varṇaṃ sitaṃ prabhāsvaraṃ; sarvatraidhātukaṃ paśyati|

NOTES TO DURJAYACANDRA: akulavāyu° *Cod.*^{P.C.}] akuśalavāyu° *Cod.*^{a.c.}• kulam asyety *em.* SFERRA] kuśalam asyety *Cod.*• ukta° *em.*] ukta| *Cod.*

I.3.14. yogasiddhi vijānīyā
gatisamsthānabuddhimān|
paścād yogam utpanna
aṅkurādibhi cetanā||

NOTES: 14a yogasiddhi ABC] yogasiddhiṃ δ , yogasidhya DE • vijānīyā $BCDE$] vijānīyād δA • 14b gatisamsthānabuddhimān $\beta \delta AE$] gatiṅgānan tu buddhimān B , gatisamsthāna $+u + + C$, gatiṅgānan samsthānabuddhimān D • 14c paścād yogam utpanna β] paścād yogam utpannam κ , paścād yoga samutpanno A , paścā yogam utpanna B , paścā yoga samutpanna C , paścād yoga samutpanna DE • 14d aṅkurādibhi cetanā βAB] aṅkurādibhiś cetanā κ , akṣarādibhi cetanā DE , akusādibhi ce nā C

PARALLEL: 14] \Rightarrow VAJRAḌĀKA 29.9cd-10. yogasiddhiṃ vijānīyāt mantrasiddhiṃ tu buddhimān|| evaṃvidhaṃ paraṃ divyāya rūpādīmadhyagā| paścād yogasamutpannasya jñānādibhi cetanā||

NOTES TO PARALLEL: 9c° siddhiṃ Ca]° siddhi $T\bar{o}$ • vijānīyāt $T\bar{o}$] vijānīyā Ca • 10a evaṃvidhaṃ Ca] evaṃvidha $T\bar{o}$ • 10c° samutpannasya Ca]° samutpannasya $T\bar{o}$ • 10d jñānādibhi Ca] jñānādīvi $T\bar{o}$

NIBANDHA: ... tadā yogasiddhiḥ| gatisamsthānabuddhimān iti| anena krameṇa yā gatiḥ pūrvam āsīd bhaviṣyati ca tām jānāti| candrākāre sthīrībhūte gatiṃ vettīty arthaḥ||

idānīm śūnyatānantaram devatām bhāvayed iti darśayitum āha| paścād ityādi| paścād iti śūnyatāyā anantaram| yogam utpanna iti| devatāyoga utpādānīyaḥ| kenetyāha| aṅkurādibhi cetaneti| aṅkurādībhitī bijākṣaram tad eva cetanā cintānīyam ity arthaḥ| bijādinā devatotpādānīyeti piṅḍārthaḥ| etac ca sthāne sthāne vakṣyati| iha tv ārambhanamātram uktam| cetasā sarvaviśayagrāmaṃ gṛhītvā kṣaṇadvayaṃ yadi tiṣṭhed yogī sarvam atītādikaṃ tadā jānātīti śūnyatābhāvanāyāḥ phalam aparam ity upadeśaḥ||

NOTES TO BHAVABHAṬṬA: tadā yo°] *damaged in M*• krameṇa K] + + ṇa M • āsīd K] āsīt M • bhaviṣyati ca M] bhaviṣyati ca| K • śūnyatānantaram devatām] śūnya +ā nta + + vatā+ M • anantararam| K] anantaram M • aṅkurādībhitī] + + + + ti M • utpanna iti| M] utpanna iti K • cintānīyam M ^{P.C.} K] cintayam M ^{a.c.}• ārambhanamātram M] ārambhamātram K • uktam| K] uktam M • °grāmaṃ gṛhītvā] *damaged in M*

PAÑJIKĀ: paścād yogam utpannam aṅkurādibhiś cetanetyādinā nimittaphalabhogam āha|

NOTES TO KALYĀṆAVARMAṆ: utpannam *corr.*] utpannam| *Cod.*• aṅkurādi° *em.*] aṅkudi° *Cod.*, *cf.* myu gu la sogṣ $T_D T_G$ • °ādinā *corr.*] °ādinā| *Cod.*

MITAPADĀ: kim etāvātā syād iti ced āha| yogasiddhiṃ vijānīyād iti| yo jānāti sa yogī tadā kīdrśa iti ced āha| gatisamsthānabuddhimān iti| gatīti sarvagatitvam| samsthāneti| vajracandrasimhasāgarābhāḥ| buddhiś cidrūpatā| [25°] etadvān gatisamsthānabuddhimān| uktam ca| *sarvagataḥ sarvajñāḥ sarvajagat| sarvadaḥ sarvaḥ sarvāpāyavimuktaḥ sarvagunālamkṛtas ca sarvīyaḥ| vajraṃ durbhedyatvāt| candraḥ kleśopatāpamuktivāt| niḥśaṅkatvāt simhaḥ| jalarāśīr duravagāhatvāt* ityādi| kuta idam idrśam jñānam utpannam iti ced āha| paścād yogam ityādi| śūnyatābhāvarṇacintāyogādīdam aṅkura iva

cetanā jñānaphalam utpannam|

NOTES TO DURJAYACANDRA: cidrūpatā| *corr.*] cidrūpatā *Cod.* • *sarvagataḥ ... duravagāhatvād*] *untraced*

I.3.15. yo jñātvā śūnyatā bhāvā
 mukti śīghraṃ tu cetasā|
 jñānena jñeyam ālokya
 jñeyānām gatim ikṣayā||

NOTES: 15a śūnyatā bhāvā β] śūnyatā bhāva A , śūnyatā bhāvayoga B , śūnyatā bhāva C , śūnyakā bhāvā $D^{p.c.pri} E$, śūnyakā bhāgāvā $D^{a.c.}$ • 15b mukti śīghraṃ tu cetasā β] mukti śīghraṃ tu cetanā AC , mukti śīghra cetasā B , ye mukti śīghra bhāvanā $D^{p.c.pri} E$, ye muṣṭiki śīghra bhāvanā $D^{a.c.}$ • 15c jñeyam ālokya $\beta \delta AC$] jñeyam ālokyam B , jñeyām ālokya DE • 15d gatim ikṣayā β] gatim ikṣayet κ , gater ikṣakaḥ δ^{par} , gatikṣayā A , gati ikṣayā B , gatī + kṣayā C , gati ikṣakā DE

PARALLEL: 15] \Rightarrow VAJRAḌĀKA 29.11. yo jñātvā śūnyatābheda mukti śīghraṃ tu cetasāḥ| jñānena jñeyam ālokya jñeyānām gatikṣayā||

NOTES TO PARALLEL: 11b cetasāḥ Ca] cetasāḥ $T\bar{o}$ • 11d jñeyānām $T\bar{o}$] jñeyānām Ca • gatikṣayā $T\bar{o}$] gatikṣayā Ca

NIBANDHA: vinā śūnyatayā devatāyoge ko virodha ity āha| yo jñātvā śūnyatā bhāvā mukti śīghraṃ tu cetaseti| yo yogī bhāvānām śūnyatām jñātvā devatāyogaṃ kurute sa muktaḥ śīghraṃ syād iti| cetasā cetayasveti vajrapāṇiṃ saṃbodhya [$M 29^v$] bhagavatoktam| kim ity evam ity āha| jñānenetyādi| jñānena śūnyatājñānena jñeyam skandhādikam ālokya jñeyānām devatānām gatim ikṣayā gatim svarūpaṃ nirūpya ca yas tadyogaṃ kurute sa muktaḥ śīghraṃ syād iti pūrveṇa saṃbandhaḥ|

NOTES TO BHAVABHAṬṬA: śūnyatayā K] śūnyatāyā M • ity āha| yo jñātvā śūn°] *damaged in M* • yo yogī $M^{p.c.pri} K$] yogī $M^{a.c.}$ • syād iti| M] syād iti K • °jrapāṇiṃ ... ity āha] *damaged in M* • bhagavatoktam *em.*] bhagavatoktam K • jñānenetyādi K] jñānenetyādi M • śūnyatājñānena K] śūnyatājñānena| M • skandhādikam K] skandhādikam M • °dyogaṃ ... syā°] *damaged in M*

PARALLEL TO BHAVABHAṬṬA: yo yogī ... nirūpya] VAJRAḌĀKAVIVṚTI T_D 153a5-7. ad VAJRAḌĀKA 29.11. de dag gis ni 'di skad du *rnaḥ 'byor pa gang zbig gis stong pa nyid mngon sum du byas na lha'i ting nge 'dzin gyis myur du mtho ris dang thar pa'i dngos grub thob par 'gyur ro zhes bya bar ston to|| de nyid kyī phyir gsungs pa| ye shes kyis ni shes bya brtag| shes byas 'gro ba brtag par bya| zhes bya ba la| ye shes ni stong pa nyid kyī ting nge 'dzin to|| shes bya ni lha'i ting nge 'dzin to|| brtag pa ni mnyam par sbyar ba'o|| 'gro ba ni dngos grub kyī go 'phang ngo|| brtag pa ni bskyed pa'o||*

PAÑJIKĀ: jñeyānām gatim ikṣayed iti| gurūpadeśato jñātavyaḥ|

MITAPADĀ: yogamāhātmyam āha| yo jñātvetyādi| yaḥ śūnyatārūpaṃ śūnyatāsvabhāvaṃ jānāti| sa muktiṃ cetasā śīghraṃ eva labhate| katham aśūnyam śūnyam kariṣyatīti ced āha| jñānena jñeyam ālokyetyādi| jñānam tattvacintānīpuṇam manovijñānam| jñeyam triṣaṭkadhātvādikam| tenālokya vicārya jñeyānām gateḥ svarūpasyekṣakaḥ pratyavekṣako yogī ka ivābhidhiyata iti cet| dūram aparītya| ...

I.3.16. mātaram pitaram hatvā
rājānaṃ dvau ca śrotriyau|
rāṣṭram sānucaram hatvā
śuddha ity ucyate naraḥ||

NOTES: 16a mātaram $\beta \kappa \delta DE$] mātara° $ABC \cdot$ 16b rājānaṃ $\beta \kappa ADE$] rājānaṃ B , rājāna $C \cdot$ śrotriyau $\beta \kappa \delta A$] srotiyoh B , s(au)triyo C , srotriyoh $DE \cdot$ 16c rāṣṭram $\beta \kappa \delta AB$] rāṣṭam C , rāṣṭra $DE \cdot$ 16d śuddha ABC] śuddham $DE \cdot$ ity ucyate δB] iti ucyate A , ity ucyate C , ity ucyutaṃ D , ity acyutaṃ $E \cdot$ naraḥ BDE] nara AC

PARALLELS: 16] « GĀNDHĀRĪ DHARMAPADA 12. (ed. Brough, London 1962) madara pitara jatva rayana dvayu sotri'a| raṭha saṇuyara jatva aṇiho yadi brammano||; » PĀLĪ DHAMMAPADA 294. (ed. von Hinüber & Norman, Oxford 1994) mātaram pitaram hantvā rājāno dve ca khattiye| raṭṭham sānucaram hantvā anīgho yāti brāhmaṇo||; » UDĀNAVARGA 33.61. [= 29.24.] (ed. Bernhard, Göttingen 1965) mātaram pitaram hatvā rājānaṃ dvau ca śrotriyau| rāṣṭram sānucaram hatvā anigho yāti brāhmaṇaḥ|| 33.62. mātaram pitaram hatvā rājānaṃ dvau ca śrotriyau| vyāghraṃ ca pañcamam hatvā śuddha ity ucyate naraḥ|| • BHS DHARMAPADA st. 47 [= 3.14.] (Jha ed., Patna 1979) mātaram yaḥ saṃhantā rājānaṃ do ca khatriye| rāṣṭram sānucaram hantā anigho carati brāhmaṇo|| • » VAJRAḌĀKA 29.12. mātaram pitaram hatvā rājānaṃ dvau ca śrotriyau| rāṣṭram sānucaram hatvā śuddha ity ucyate naraḥ||

NOTES TO PARALLELS: VAJRAḌĀKA 12b] śrotriyau *em.*] śrautriyau $T\bar{o}$, srotriyo $Ca \cdot$ 12c sānucaram Ca] sānacara $T\bar{o}$

NIBANDHA: prakṣālya mala dehinām ity asya nirdeśam āha| mātaram ityādi| mātaram iti mātā trṣṇā viṣayātṛptih| yathā mātā putram maraṇe 'pi na tyajati tathā trṣṇāpi puruṣam| mātṛsādharmyān mātā trṣṇā| pitaram iti| pitā moha ātmātmīyādigrahaḥ| yathā pitā janayati tathā moho 'pi| mohavaśād dhi sattva utpadyate| hatveti svarūpāt pravayādhyā| rājānaṃ iti| ahaṃkāro rājā| ahaṃkāraprabhavaṃ hi sarvam iti| tathāha| ahaṃkārodbhavaṃ sarvam iti| dvau ca śrotriyāv iti| rāgadveṣau dharmasaṃketāt| rāṣṭram sānucaram iti| rāṣṭram śarīram| rājante kleśādayo 'sminn iti kṛtvā| anu saha carantīty anucarāḥ| skandhāyatanadhātavaś ca taiḥ saha varttata iti sānucaram| tad evam etat sarvaṃ nirābhāsikṛtya śuddho bhavati| sa cānyair api tathocyate| iyaṃ ca gāthā paṭalapiṇḍārthābhīdhāyikā||

NOTES TO BHAVABHAṬṬA: maraṇe 'pi *corr.*] maraṇe pi K , āmarane + $M \cdot$ na tyajati ta°] na tyajati| ta° K , damaged in $M \cdot$ puruṣam| K] puruṣam $M \cdot$ mātṛsādharmyān M] mātṛsādharmyāt $K \cdot$ moha ātmā° K] mohaḥ| ātmā° $M \cdot$ moho 'pi *corr.*] moho pi $MK \cdot$ °ttva utpadyate| hatve°] + + + + te| + + $M \cdot$ pravayādhyā| K] pravayādhyā $M \cdot$ ahaṃkārodbhavaṃ sarvam] untraced° śrotriyāv M] śrotiyāv $K \cdot$ dharmasaṃketāt K] dha + + + + $M \cdot$ sānucaram iti| K] sānucaramm iti $M \cdot$ rājante kleśādayo] rājant+ +1+ śādayo $M \cdot$ anucarāḥ| M] anucarāḥ $K \cdot$ skandhāyatanadhātavaś ca] skandhāyatanadhātavaś ca| K , skandha dhātavaś ca $M^{a.c.} \cdot$ sānucaram| M] sānucaram $K \cdot$ tad evam etat sarvaṃ *em.*] tad eva| etat sarva K , + + + + sarvaṃ $M \cdot$ tathocyate K] ta + ocyate $M \cdot$ °ābhīdhāyikā K] °ādhīdhāyikāḥ M

PARALLELS TO BHAVABHAṬṬA: mātaram ityādi| ... paṭalapiṇḍārthābhīdhāyikā||] VAJRAḌĀKAVIVṚTTI T_D 153a7-b2 ad VAJRAḌĀKA 29.12. sngar bstan pa'i bsdu pa'i don nye bar bsdu ba gsungs pa| pha dang ma ni gsad bya zhing| zhes bya ba la sogs pa la| pha zhes bya ba ṭla sogs paṭni nga rgyal lo|| ma ni sred pa'o|| bram ze gtsang ma gnyis ni 'dod chags dang zbe sdang ngo|| rgyal po ni ma rig pa'o|| yul 'khor ni lus so|| bcas pa ni

dbang po rnam te| *de dang lhan cig tu 'jug pa'i phyir ro*|| *bcom pa* ni rnam par rtog pa rnam bshigs te *snang ba med par byas pa'o*|| • TATTVASUSTHIRAKARA *T_D* 234a5-6. ad VAJRAḌĀKA 29.12. le'u nyi shu rtsa dgu pa las gsungs pa| *ma dang de bzbin pha dang ni* | *rgyal po bram ze gtsang ma gnyis* | *yul 'khor rgyu ba bcas bcom na* | bram ze sdig pa med par 'gyur|| *zhes pa la sogs pa ni* | ... de la *sred pa dang* | *gti mug dang* | *'dod chags dang* | *zhe sdang gzhom pa'i* don du de ltar gsungs pa yin no||

PAÑJIKĀ: asmin prakaraṇe vyākhyātatahatām eva spaṣṭayitum āha| **mātaram pītarām** ityādi| **mātaram** ṛṣṇā| **pītarām** mohah| **rājānam** ahaṃkārah| **śrotriyāv** iti śrotrendriyādiḥ| **rāṣṭram** pañcaskandhāḥ| **sānucaram** vikalpavijñānam| **hatveti** prajñākhadgenaiva teṣām mā[14^v]raṇam iti yāvat||

NOTES TO KALYĀṆAVARMA: °tatathātām *em.*] °tatathām *Cod.* • ṛṣṇā| *corr.*] ṛṣṇā *Cod.* • ahaṃkārah| *em.*] ahaṃkāra *Cod.* • ādiḥ| *corr.*] ādiḥ *Cod.* • °skandhāḥ| *corr.*] °skandhāḥ *Cod.* • vikalpavijñānam *em.*] vikalpavikalpavijñānam *Cod. dittograph*, cf. mam par rtog pa'i rnam par shes pa *T_D T_G*

MITAPADĀ: **śuddha ity ucyate nara** iti| **katham** śudhyatīti cet| **pratinivṛtyāha** | **mātaram** ityādi| janacakrajananaśaktisādharmyālābhasatkārādikāmanā ṛṣṇā māteva mātāprabhaviṣṇutvāt | †... † ahaṃkāro rājā | satata[25^v]m anyonyopasarpaṇena vartanta iti ṣaḍ indriyāṇi ṣaḍ viṣayā rāsīdvitvena **śrotriyau** | skandhādyaviruddhabuddher adhyuṣitatvād rāṣṭram iva **rāṣṭram** yogīśārīram| pratipadam anucarantīty **anucarāḥ**; vikalpotkarāḥ| tān etān sarvān **hatvā** nirjitya yogī siddhyatīti yāvat| na tu yathārutena mātāpitrōr doś vā niyatanārakacakra-carīṣṇuḥ śudhyati||

NOTES TO DURJAYACANDRA: °satkārādikāmanā *em.*] °satkārādikāmanām *Cod.* • †... †] note that 'pītarām' is not glossed or commented upon; something must be missing here • vartanta iti *corr.*] vartanta iti| *Cod.*

I.3.col. iti prakaraṇe ātmapīṭhe ṛṭīyaḥ [A 11^r] paṭalaḥ||

NOTES: ātmapīṭhe *A* | sūnyatāyoga *B*, sūtyanāyoga *C*, śūnyatāyogas *D*, sūnyatāyogas *E* • ṛṭīyaḥ *AB*] ṛṭīya *CDE* • paṭalaḥ *A*] paṭalaḥ samāptaḥ *B*, paṭala (samā)ptaḥ *C*, paṭala masāptaḥ *D*, paṭala(m) samāptaḥ *E* • Explicit: *A* 11^r1, *B* 12^v4, *C* 15^v3, *D* 13^v4, *E* 11.13

NIBANDHA: **iti prakaraṇa** iti| ity uktakrameṇa sūnyatā pauṣṭikā[*M* 30^r]dinimittam ca prakriyate 'sminn itīti prakaraṇam ātmapīṭham eva| ity ātmapīṭhe catuspīṭhanibandhe ṛṭīyaḥ paṭalaḥ||

NOTES TO BHAVABHAṬṬA: iti| ity ukta° *K*] i| ity+ kta° *M* • °krameṇa ... pauṣṭikā°] *damaged in M* • 'sminn *corr.*] sminn *MK* • itīti *M^{p.c.}K*] itīti *M^{a.c.}* • Explicit *K* 13^v7; *M* 30^r1

PAÑJIKĀ: **iti catuspīṭhapañjikāyām sūnyatāpaṭalas ṛṭīyaḥ**||

NOTES TO KALYĀṆAVARMA: iti ... ṛṭīyaḥ *Cod.*] de dag ni dpal ldan gdan bzhi pa las bdag gi gdan le'u gsum pa'i rnam par bshad pa rdzogs so *T_D T_G* = *iti śricatuspīṭhād ātmapīṭhe ṛṭīyapaṭalasya vyākhyā • catuspīṭha° *em.*] catuspīṭhi° *Cod.* • °paṭalas *em.*] °paṭala *Cod.* • Explicit *Cod.* 14^v1; *T_D* 12^v6; *T_G* 17^r1

MITAPADĀ: **iti Durjayacandrakṛtāyām Mitapadāyām pañjikāyām ātmapīṭhe ṛṭīyaḥ paṭalaḥ**||

NOTES TO DURJAYACANDRA: Explicit *Cod.* 25^v3.

A Critical Edition and Translation of a
Text Fragment from Abhayākaragupta's *Āmnāyamañjarī*:
Göttingen, Cod.ms.sanscr.259b*

Toru TOMABECHI and Kazuo KANO

Abhayākaragupta and the *Āmnāyamañjarī*

An encyclopedic author active during the reign of King Rāmapāla (ca. 1084–1126 / 1077–ca. 1119) of the Pāla Dynasty, Abhayākaragupta is renowned for his erudition in a vast range of subjects in Buddhism.¹ His expertise is especially prominent in, though not limited to, the area of Tantric Buddhism, as attested by the well-known “Garland Trilogy” (*phreng ba skor gsum*), i.e. his three major works on Tantric ritual (*Vajrāvalī*, *Jyotirmañjarī* and *Niṣpannayogāvalī*), which exercised a great influence on the Buddhism of the later period in Nepal and Tibet.

The Peking bsTan 'gyur includes twenty-six works ascribed to Abhayākaragupta, of which twenty-three are in the domain of Tantra; the other three deal with non-Tantric Buddhism.² Though most of these works are only available through Tibetan translation, some important texts of Abhayākaragupta are preserved in Sanskrit. The following works in Sanskrit have hitherto been edited: *Niṣpannayogāvalī*; *Vajrāvalī*; *Jyotirmañjarī*; *Ucchuṣmajambhalasādhana*; *Svādhiṣṭhānakramopadeśa*.³ In addition, Sanskrit manuscripts are known to exist of the *Pañcakramatātparyapañjikā Kramakaumudī*, *Kālacakrāvātāra*, and *Abhayapaddhati*.⁴ According to some recent information, furthermore, Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Āmnāyamañjarī*, *Munimatālanikāra* and *Madhyamakamañjarī*⁵ have been discovered in

* We are grateful to Harunaga Isaacson for his very valuable suggestions regarding our critical edition and translation and to Iain Sinclair for reading our draft carefully and improving our English. The present paper is part of a series of publications dealing with the Göttingen collection, which aims to report new identifications of hitherto unidentified palm-leaf folios of the collection. See Kano 2004 and 2005.

¹ For the dates and works of Abhayākaragupta, see Erb 1997: 27–29; Bühnemann and Tachikawa 1991; Bühnemann 1992.

² For bibliographical information on these works, see Bühnemann 1992: 123–125.

³ The *Svādhiṣṭhānakramopadeśa* (or *Dvibhujasaṃvaropadeśa*) was edited by Okuyama (1993).

⁴ The Centre for Tantric Studies at University of Hamburg is currently working on a joint project to the *Abhayapaddhati* in collaboration with CTRC (China Tibetology Research Centre). Tomabechi is preparing a critical edition of the *Kramakaumudī* based on the manuscript copy preserved at CTRC.

⁵ The latter text is not included in the bsTan 'gyur, but is mentioned by Abhayākaragupta himself in the *Munimatālanikāra*, D 145v6; P 179r8: *mdor bsdus pa ni kho bos dbu ma'i snye mar phul du byung bar rnam par bshad do*; *Āmnāyamañjarī*, D 28r1; P 31r2–3: *'di'i sbye ba dang 'jig pa de dag kyang dbu ma'i snye mar nges par dpyad zin pas* (P: *pa'i*) ...; D 76v7–77r1; P 86v2–3: *tshad ma gang gis 'di rang bzhin med pa nyid du bsgrub pa de ni bdag cag gis rgyas pa dang bcas par dbu ma'i snye mar nye bar bkod cing*; D 162r5–6; P 179v1: *bzlog pa kho na las de kho na nyid 'di rnams so zhes dbu ma'i snye mar nges par dpyad zin to* (P: *te*). See also Isoda 1984: 3 n. 14.

Tibet.⁶

The *Āmnāyamañjarī*, which may be called the magnum opus of Abhayākaragupta, is a commentary on the *Samputodbhāvanātra* and an encyclopedic compendium of Indian Tantric Buddhism. According to Bühnemann, Abhayākaragupta undertook the composition of the *Āmnāyamañjarī* before 1101 or 1108 C.E. (twenty-fifth regnal year of Rāmapāla) and completed it in 1113 or 1120 C.E. (thirty-seventh year of Rāmapāla). As has been remarked,⁷ the *Samputodbhāvanātra*, though traditionally considered to be an Explanatory Tantra (*vyākhyātantra*) of the *Hevajra* and *Samvara* cycles, integrates many doctrinal and ritual elements adopted from several heterogeneous textual traditions such as that of the *Gubhasamāja*. Because of this “ecumenical” character of the *Samputodbhāvanātra*, the *Āmnāyamañjarī* as its commentary also encompasses a great variety of subjects relating to the doctrine and ritual of Tantric Buddhism. The *Āmnāyamañjarī* is referred to several times by Abhayākaragupta himself in his other works, such as the *Munimatālamkāra*, *Abhayapaddhati*, *Pañcakramatātparyapañjikā*, and *Vajrāvalī*.⁸ In turn, the *Āmnāyamañjarī* refers to his other works.⁹

Though, as remarked above, the existence of a presumably complete Sanskrit manuscript of the *Āmnāyamañjarī* has been reported, it still remains inaccessible to us. However, a single folio fragment of this text has been recently identified in the collection of Sanskrit manuscripts in Göttingen. In this paper, we describe this manuscript fragment and present a critical edition and an annotated translation of the text contained in it. We also include as appendices an edition of the corresponding part of the Tibetan translation as well as parallel passages found in Kamalanātha’s *Ratnāvalī* and Abhayākaragupta’s *Abhayapaddhati*.

Contents of the text fragment

The text fragment is part of a commentary on *Samputodbhāvanātra* I.ii, *bodhicittāvatāra* chapter, and corresponds to the Tibetan rendering of the *Āmnāyamañjarī*, D 1198, 32v7–34v4; P 2328, 36v3–38v3. *Samputodbhāvanātra* I.ii first describes the Thirty-seven Elements of Awakening (*bodhipākṣikadharmā*).¹⁰ It then teaches that the Ten Stages are the abode/basis (*ālaya*) for Buddhas and bodhisattvas,¹¹ within which Buddhas and bodhisattvas complete the Thirty-two-fold Bodhicitta¹² and then accomplish Buddhahood

⁶ These texts are registered in the (unpublished) catalogue of microfilms kept at the CTTC in Beijing. Tomabechi confirmed the existence of the copies of these manuscripts during his visit to Beijing in May–June 2007.

⁷ Noguchi 1984 and Skorupski 1996: 201.

⁸ See *Munimatālamkāra*, D 89r4; P 93v2, D 218r7; P 287r4, *Kramakaumudī*, fol. 22v4, 27r1, 53v4. For the *Abhayapaddhati* see Bühnemann and Tachikawa 1991: xiv and Bühnemann 1992: 123; and for the *Vajrāvalī*, see Bühnemann and Tachikawa 1991: xvi and Bühnemann 1992: 125.

⁹ *Vajrāvalī* (in ĀM D 72v3; P 82r2, D 97r1; P 108r7, D 188v7; P 208r5, D 240r2; P 266v4, D 257v2; P 288r4, D 260r4; P 291r5–6), *Jyotirmañjarī* (in ĀM D 240r2; P 266v3, D 260r3; P 291r4), *Madhyamakamañjarī* (in ĀM D 28r1; P 31r2–3, D 76v7–77r1; P 86v2–3, D 162r6; P 179v1; See note 6 above), *Munimatālamkāra* (in ĀM D 12r3; P 13v3, D 24v5; P 27v2, D 24v6; P 27v4, D 33v4; P 37v1–2, D 41v7–42r1; P 47r2, D 52r1; P 56r6, D 77r1; P 86v3, D 112v5–6; P 125r3, D 174v7; P 193r8, D 225v3; P 249r2, D 270r1–2; P 302v6), *Abhayapaddhati* (in ĀM D 77r1; P 86v2, D 209r2; P 229v8), *Cakrasaṃvarābhisamaya* (in AM D 172v6; P 191r6–7, D 242v3; P 269v7).

¹⁰ Skorupski 1996: 224.15–231.2.

¹¹ Skorupski 1996: 231.3–5, *etā ... viśeṣataḥ*.

¹² Skorupski 1996: 231.6–8, *buddhānām ... tadanantaram*.

(*buddhatva*). It further teaches that Buddhahood abides in one's own body,¹³ and equates Bodhicitta with the body's thirty-two channels (*nāḍī*).¹⁴ The *Āmnāyamañjarī* comments upon this chapter¹⁵ by combining the Five Paths with the Thirty-seven Elements of the Awakening as follows (the Thirty-seven Elements are enclosed in parentheses, and topics available in the Sanskrit text fragment are marked in bold):

Explanation of the Thirty-seven Elements of Awakening (D 22v7–30v6)

Two kinds of Bodhicitta¹⁶

Prāṇidhicitta (D 30v6)

Mokṣabhāgiyamārga (= catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni, catvāri samyakprahāṇāni, catvāra rddhipādāḥ)

Prasthānacitta (D 31r1)

prayogāvasthā (D 31r3)

Nirvedhabhāgiyamārga

Adhīmukticyā bhūmi: uṣmagata/mūrdhāna (= pañcendriya) and
kṣānti/laukikāgra-dharma (= pañcabala)

hetvavasthā (D 31v1)

Darśanamārga (= saptabodhyaṅga) (D 31v2)

Pramuditā bhūmi (D 31v3)

Bhāvanāmārga (= āryāṣṭāṅgamārga) (D 31v5)

Vimalā bhūmi (D 31v5)

Prabhākari bhūmi (D 31v7)

Arciṣmatī bhūmi (D 32r2)

Sudurjayā bhūmi (D 32r3)

Abhimukhī bhūmi (D 32r5)

Dūraṅgamā bhūmi (D 32v6)

Acalā bhūmi (D 32v7; Skt MS r1)

Sādhumatī bhūmi (D 33r1; Skt MS r1)

Dharmameghā bhūmi (D 33r3; Skt MS r2)

phalāvasthā

Samantaprabhā bhūmi (D 33r4; Skt MS r3)

Additional remarks on bhūmis (D 33v1; Skt MS r4)

Gloss on the lines: *etā eva ... parāḥ* (D 33v4; Skt MS r6)

Differences between Pāramitānaya and Mantranaya (D 34r1; Skt MS v2)

1. The difference consists in the Vajradharabhūmi (D 34r1; Skt MS v2)

2. The difference consists in the identity between the Vajradharabhūmi and the Pañcajñāna (D 34r2; Skt MS v2)

3. Innate bliss can be accomplished only through the Mantranaya (D 34r3; Skt MS v3)

4. The means to attain Innate bliss is not taught in the Pāramitānaya (D 34r5; Skt MS v4)

5. Without Prajñāpāramitā one cannot attain Awakening (D 34r7; Skt MS v5)

Gloss on the lines: *dvātriṃśad ... tadanantaram* (D 34v2; Skt MS v6)

Gloss on the lines: *svadehe ... matam* (D 34v6)

Gloss on the lines: *svadebastham ... varjitam* (D 34v7)

Gloss on the lines: *vyāpakāḥ sarvavastūnām ... debajāḥ* (D 35r2)

Gloss on the lines: *vajragarbha uvāca ... iti* (D 35r3)

As the above section marked in bold type indicates, the Sanskrit fragment begins in the middle of a running text which explains the eighth Stage (the Immovable Stage, *acalā bhūmi*), and is followed by brief explanations of the Stages up to the eleventh Stage. For those explanations, Abhayākara Gupta most likely uses Ratnākaraśānti's *Sārottamā* as a

¹³ Skorupski 1996: 231.9–12, *svadehe ... na debaja*.

¹⁴ Skorupski 1996: 231.10–232.8: *vajragarbha uvāca ... varjitā | iti*.

¹⁵ The *Āmnāyamañjarī*'s comments on *Samputodbhavatantra* I.ii begin with D 22v7; P 25v1 and end with D 36r1; P 40r3.

¹⁶ Cf. *Munimata*, D 169r2; P 216r4–5: *yang dang po rnam pa gsum smon pa'i sems yin la bcu dgu 'jug pa nyid de nyi shu rtsa gnyis ni stong pa nyid dang snying rje'i snying po can byang chub tu sems bskyed pa rnam so ||*.

model. Abhayākara Gupta then refers to two additional Stages — *adhimuktīcaryābhūmi* and *ādīkarmīkabhūmi*, inserted before the first Stage, or alternatively, *nirupamā bhūmi* (= *viśeṣa-mārgā*) and *jñānavatībhūmi* (= *ānantaryamārgā*) after the eleventh Stage — and mentions his *Munimatālamkāra* as a source for the detailed explanation on the Stages. He then glosses lines from the *Sampūṭodbhavantra* which teach that the Ten Stages are the abode/basis (*ālaya*) for Buddhas and bodhisattvas.¹⁷ In addition, he refutes the position that there is no difference between the *mantranaya* and the *pāramitānaya*. It is to be noted that the position and its refutation are also found in his *Abhayapaddhati* and Kamalanātha's *Ratnāvalī*, almost verbatim (see Appendix B).¹⁸ Our manuscript ends with a gloss on the line which teaches that Buddhas and bodhisattvas complete the Thirty-two-fold Bodhicitta in the Stages.

The Manuscript

Our manuscript is currently preserved at the NSUB (Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen). The Göttingen Collection of Sanskrit manuscripts from Tibet largely consists of photographic materials, but also contains a small number of palm-leaf originals. Sāṅkrtyāyana brought out some palm-leaves from Tibet to the Bihar Research Society in Patna in the 1930s, and then, the NSUB bought some of them in 1978.¹⁹ Roth, Grünendahl, and Hartmann discussed the manuscripts in Göttingen in their unpublished papers,²⁰ which were later collated and published in Bandurski 1994. The palm leaves from Tibet preserved in Göttingen are as follows:²¹

- Cod.ms.sanscr.256:1.2 *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (1 fol.; Ngor)
 Cod.ms.sanscr.256:3.4 *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (2 fols.; Zhwa lu)
 Cod.ms.sanscr.257 A collection of tantric texts (16 fols.; Sa skya)
1. Ratnākaraśānti's *Hevajrasādhanopāyikā* (fol. 1v–5r1)²²
 2. *Aṣṭau śmaśānāni* (fol. 5v1–5v4)²³
 3. *Āryāṅgulī nāma dhāraṇī mahāvīdyārājñī* (fol. 5v4–6r6)²⁴
 4. *Āryāṅgulyāḥ kalpaḥ* (fol. 6r6–6v4)²⁵
 5. *Mañjuśrīgūhyacakra* (fol. 6v4–16v6)
 (= Dīpaṅkarabhadra's *Gūhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi*)²⁶

¹⁷ Skorupski 1996: 231.3–6, *etā... parāḥ*.

¹⁸ These parallels were brought to our notice by Harunaga Isaacson.

¹⁹ See Bandurski 1994: 13.

²⁰ Reinhold Grünendahl, Jens-Uwe Hartmann, “Handschriftenbeschreibungen der NdsSuUB-Signaturen Cod.ms.or.var.125 und 127 und Cod.ms.sanscr. 256:1.2, 256:3.4, 257–259. Göttingen” (unpublished); Gustav Roth: Summary of his paper on “Recent Discoveries of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts from Tibet,” On the Occasion of the Fifth World Sanskrit Conference, Varanasi (Oct.21–26, 1981) (unpublished).

²¹ See Bandurski 1994. Cf. also Ehlers 1994: 223.

²² Isaacson edited this text (under the title *Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhanā*) using this and two other manuscripts. See Isaacson 2001. Our description of the MS has benefited from suggestions by Isaacson.

²³ Some verses are identical to ones which appear in the *Cakrasaṃvarābhīsamaya*.

²⁴ The colophon of the manuscript (fol. 6r6) runs: *āryāṅgulīnāmadhāriṇī mahāvīdyārājñī samāptā*. This text is included in the *Sādhnamālā* (Nr. 120) under the title, *Āryajāṅgulīmahāvīdyā*.

²⁵ The colophon of the manuscript (fol. 6v6) states the title of the work: *āryāṅgulyā mahāvīdyā*. This text is included in the *Sādhnamālā* (Nr. 121) under the title, *Āryajāṅgulyā bhagavatyaḥ kalpaḥ*.

²⁶ Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana tentatively titled the text *Mañjuśrīgūhyacakra* (based on a word appearing in the first verse), for the last folio of the text is missing, and Bandurski followed this appellation. Isaacson first correctly identified the text as Dīpaṅkarabhadra's *Śrīgūhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi*. An edition of this text was published in *Dhīḥ* 42 (Varanasi 2006), pp. 109–154, based on a manuscript (not reported but apparently Cod.ms.sanscr.257 or a copy thereof) and a Tibetan translation (D 1865; P 2728).

Cod.ms.sanscr.258	Subhūticandra's <i>Amarakoṣaṭīkā Kāmadbenu</i> (18 fols.; Ngor) ²⁷
Cod.ms.sanscr.259a	Kambala's <i>Navasloki</i> with commentary (4 fols.; Sa skya) ²⁸
Cod.ms.sanscr.259b	An unidentified folio (1 fol.; Sa skya) (= A fragment from Abhayākaragupta's <i>Āmnāyamañjarī</i>)
Cod.ms.sanscr.259c	A cover folio (1 fol.; Sa skya)

Kano has studied a folio labeled Cod.ms.sanscr.259b together with hitherto unidentified Sanskrit manuscripts from Tibet in Göttingen, and Tomabechi conclusively identified the folio as a text fragment from the *Āmnāyamañjarī*.²⁹ The manuscript consists of one folio, 53.5 × 4.8 cm in size, and written in proto-Bengali or Maithili script. On palaeographical grounds, and taking into account Abhayākaragupta's dates, the manuscript was most likely written some time between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Bengal and brought to Sa skya in Tibet around that period.³⁰ The folio has two string holes and six lines on each side. Due to damage in the upper part and left end of the palm leaf, the first lines on each side are incomplete, and folio numbers are missing. Unusually, the *verso* side is written upside-down.

Introduction to the edition and translation

In our critical edition, we follow standard orthography with regard to gemination/degemination after or before semi-vowels and sandhi. Words in bold face refer to corresponding words in the *Samputodbhavantra*. Angle brackets < > enclose reconstructed passages which are missing due to damage. Our reconstruction (about 60–70 *akṣaras* on each side of the folio) is based on parallel passages found in Abhayākaragupta's other works in Sanskrit and the Tibetan translation of the *Āmnāyamañjarī*. In the footnotes, raised arrow signs \rightarrow \leftarrow enclose Tibetan renderings corresponding to missing words in the Sanskrit manuscript. Sanskrit words or passages preceded by an asterisk are reconstructions based on Tibetan renderings.

Critical edition of the *Āmnāyamañjarī* fragment³¹

(*acalā bhūmiḥ*)

<yato 'syāṃ praṇi>³²_(r1)dhānapāramitayā yathāpraṇidhānaṃ phalasaṃṛddher³³
bodhipakṣasatyapratītyasamutpādāmbano nirnimittavihāraḥ svarasavāhitvād acalas tas-
mād acalā ||

²⁷ Mahesh Rāj Pant is currently preparing a critical edition of this text.

²⁸ Tucci edited the root verses of the text, and J. Pandey edited the whole text including the prose commentary. See Tucci 1956: 209–231 and Pandey 1997: 1–9.

²⁹ Earlier, in 2003, Isaacson had suggested in personal communication that the fragment is most likely from the *Āmnāyamañjarī*.

³⁰ The script in our manuscript is very close to that of the manuscript of the **Lakṣaṇaṭīkā* (which was written around Abhayākaragupta's time), among those Sanskrit manuscripts which were found in Tibet. See Yonezawa 2001.

³¹ Tib. D 1198, 32v7–34v4; P 2328, 36v3–38v3.

³² This passage belongs to the previous folio, which is missing, and is reconstructed based on Tib. (D 32v7; P 36v3): *gang gi phyir 'dir smon* (om. in P) *lam*.

³³ °*saṃṛddher* em.] °*saṃṛddhe* MS.

(*sādhumatī bhūmiḥ*)

yato 'syāṃ balapāramitayā <vineyasattvānāṃ dānapriyavādyatārthacaryāsamānā-
rthatālakṣaṇair akṣayaiś caturbhiḥ saṃgrahavastubhiḥ paripācakatvād dharmārthanirukti-
pratibhānapratisaṃvi>³⁴ (r2) dbhir dhārmakathikatvād³⁵ bodhisattvaḥ sādhus tasmāt
sādhumatī ||

(*dharmameghā bhūmiḥ*)

yato³⁶ 'syāṃ bodhisattvo dharmeṣv abhiṣicyate³⁷ yauvarājyāya tasmād³⁸ dharmameghā³⁹ | miha secane ghaṇ | nāmni⁴⁰ ghatvam | jñānapāramitayā⁴¹ kṣayābhiḥ
pratisaṃvidbhir⁴² vineyāvahanakaradharmadeśakatvān mahāmeghavad anābhogena sar-
vadharmam abhivaṣṭi tuṣṭabhavanādikrameṇa lokasya kuśa^(r3) lasasyābhivṛddhyartham⁴³
iti ca dharmameghā ||

(*samantaprabhā bhūmiḥ*)

yato 'syāṃ savāsanāśeṣakleśajñeyāvaraṇaprahāṇād⁴⁴ ātyantikaviśuddhyādarśādipañca-
jñānamayatvena⁴⁵ yathākṛpāprajñādvayadharmadhātvaḥ dhigamanīṣṭi yathādharmā-
nairātmyasamatam yathāsattvacittacaritam yathājagatkṛtyam samantataḥ pratiparamāṇu-
niravadhidhātutrayicittetarasarvavastuprabhāsanam⁴⁶ (r4) prabhā tasmāt samantaprabhā ||
dharmakāyādisvabhāvā⁴⁷ mahāsuratasukhottamāparanāmāmadheyā yā mukhyā prajñāpāra-
mitā sarvopāramitāparikaritā sarvākārajñatā dharmameghāntabodhisattvabhuvām⁴⁸ phalā-
vasthā buddhabhūmir ekādaśī ||

(*Additional remarks on bhūmis*)

ity⁴⁹ ekādaśa bhūmayah || adhi⁵⁰ mukticyābhuvā⁵¹ saha dvādaśa | ādikarmikabhuvā

³⁴ This passage is missing in MS due to physical damage and is reconstructed from Tib. (D 33r1–2; P 36v5–6):
— *sbyin pa dang snyan* (: *stan* in D) *par smra ba dang don spyod pa dang don mthun pa'i mtshan nyid can bsdu ba'i*
dnogs po bzhi mi zad pa rnams kyis gdul bar bya ba'i sems can yongs su smin par byed (: *byad* in D) *pa'i phyir | chos*
dang don dang nges pa'i tshig dang spobs pa so so yang dag par rig pa rnams kyis— *chos ston pa po nyid kyi phyir*. The
text °*dharmārthaniruktīpra*° is partially legible in the MS.

³⁵ *dhārmā*° em.] *dharmā*° MS. Cf. *Sāratamā* p. 4.25. See note 86 below.

³⁶ *yato* em.] *yate* MS.

³⁷ *abhiṣicyate* em.] *abhiṣicyate* MS.

³⁸ *tasmād* MSP^c] *tatasmād* MS^{ac}.

³⁹ *dharmameghā* em.] *dharmagho* MS.

⁴⁰ *nāmni* em.] *namni* MS.

⁴¹ Cf. Tib. reads **jñānapāramitāyām* (D 33r3; P 36v7: *ye shes kyi pha rol tu phyin pa la*).

⁴² **kṣayābhiḥ pratisaṃvidbhir* em.] **kṣayā pratih pratisaṃvidbhir* MS. Cf. Tib. (D 33r3; P 36v7–8): *so so yang*
dag par rig pa mi zad pa rnams kyis (P: *kyi*).

⁴³ **sasyā*° em.] **śasyā*° MS. Cf. Tib. reads **lokasya kuśalasyābhivṛddhyartham* without *sasya* “crop” (D 33r4; P
37r1: *jig rten gyi dge ba mngon par 'phel ba'i don du'o*). However a corresponding passage in Abhayākaragupta's
Munimatālamkāra reads **lokasya kuśalasyābhivṛddhyartham* which contains a word corresponding to **sasya*
(D 255r3; P 342v6: *sprin chen po ltar jig rten pa'i dge ba'i lo tog mngon par 'phel ba'i don du*).

⁴⁴ **kleśā*° em.] **kleśam*° MS.

⁴⁵ **adarśā*° em.] **adarśanā*° MS.

⁴⁶ **niravadhi*° em.] **niravi*° MS.

⁴⁷ *dharmā*° em.] *karmā*° MS (*ka* is canceled).

⁴⁸ **bhuvām* em. (= Tib)] **bhuvā* MS.

⁴⁹ *ekādaśī* | *iti* (*ekādaśī ti* in MS).

⁵⁰ *bhūmayah* | *adhi*° (*bbūmayo' dhi*° in MS).

⁵¹ **bhuvā* em.] **bhuvā* MS.

sārdhaṃ trayodaśa⁵² ||_(r5) atha vā viśeṣamārgarūpayā⁵³ nirupamayā bhuvā saha dvādaśa | buddhabhūmer ānantaryamārgātmikayā jñānavatībhuvā⁵⁴ sārdhaṃ trayodaśeti yathā-vineyāśayaṃ sūtratantrādiṣu vyavasthā ||

āsāṃ ca bhūmīnāṃ pratisvaṃ⁵⁵ yathāyogam uttarottarāsu cittāvasthāsu krameṇot-pattyutkarṣataratamādibhedena divyacakṣurdivyaśrotraparacittajñānapūrva_(r6) nivāsānu-smṛtirdhyabhijñādiguṇaratnarāśayo⁵⁶ labhyante | yeṣāṃ savistaraṃ pratipatter ākaro munimatālankāraḥ ||⁵⁷

(Gloss on the lines: *etā eva ... parāḥ*)

[*etā eva samākhyātā muditādyās tu bhūmayāḥ |*
ālayo bodhisattvānām indriyādisvarūpiṇām ||
ālayaḥ sarvabuddhānām skandhādīnām viśeṣataḥ |
buddhānām bodhisattvānām buddhatvāvāhikāḥ parāḥ ||] (Sampūṭodbhavantra, I.ii)⁵⁸

sarvaṃ cedam antarnayann āha — **etā evetyādi**⁵⁹ | **tur** viśeṣe | anāsravatvena lokot-tarā **muditādayaḥ** | sāsrapaprthagjanabhūmidvayam⁶⁰ etatkāraṇatvena sugamatvān⁶¹ noktam || ā sarvatas tādātmyena liyate sa_(v1) <mbadhyate yasmin sa **ālayaḥ** | pramu-ditādisvarūpa eva | anāsravaśraddhādīndriyādisvarūpiṇām anāsravacakṣurādisvarūpiṇām vā kṣitigarbhādīnām | **sarvabuddhānām** ca vairocanādīnām anāva>⁶²raṇarūpādīpañca-skandhādarśādi⁶³ pañcajñānātmanām⁶⁴ | **viśeṣata** iti phalabhūmir amīṣāṃ **ālayaḥ** | atha vālaya āsrayaḥ | pūrvapūrvabhūmer uttaro<ttarabhūmer hetutvāt || tad eva prakāśayann ā>_(v2)ha⁶⁵ — **buddhānām** ityādīnā | **āvāhikāḥ** prāpikāḥ **parāḥ** śreṣṭhāḥ śrāvakādibhyaḥ⁶⁶ ||

(Differences between Pāramitānaya and Mantranaya)⁶⁷

⁵² trayodaśa conj.] trayaparicittajñā MS. Tib. has an equivalent for trayodaśa (D 33v1; P 37r6: *las dang po pa'i sa dang lhan cig bcu gsum rnam so*).

⁵³ viśeṣamārgarūpayā conj.] viśeṣamārgapaṇama MS. (the first *pa* is canceled)

⁵⁴ jñānavatī° em.] jñānavanti° MS.

⁵⁵ pratisvaṃ conj.] pratisvayaṃ MS.

⁵⁶ °rddhy° em.] °rddhy° MS.

⁵⁷ Cf. Tib. (D 33v4; P 37v1–2): *de rnam kyī lam gyi rnam pa rgyas pa dang bcas par thub pa'i dgongs pa'i rgyan du'o*.

⁵⁸ These verses from *Sampūṭodbhavantra* are supplied by the present editors. For the text, see Skorupski 1996: 231. These verses from the *Sampūṭodbhava* are almost parallel to the *Vasantatilakā*, 4.7–4.8.

⁵⁹ evetyādi em.] evadi MS.

⁶⁰ °prthag° em.] °prg° MS.

⁶¹ sugamatvān em.] sugamatvā MS.

⁶² This passage is missing in the MS due to physical damage and is reconstructed based on Tib. (D 33v5–7; P 37v3–5): *kun te thams cad du de'i bdag nyid kyis* → *gang du gnas shing 'brel ba de ni kun gzhi'o || rab tu dga' ba la sogs pa'i rang bzhin kbo na ni zag pa med pa'i dad pa la sogs pa'i dbang po la sogs rang bzhin nam | zag pa med pa'i mig la sogs pa'i rang bzhin sa'i snying po la sogs pa rnam so || sangs rgyas thams cad kyang rnam par snang mdzad la sogs pa rnam te | sgrib pa med pa'i* → *gzugs la sogs pa phung po lnga dang me long lta bu la sogs pa'i ye shes lnga'i bdag nyid rnam so ||*

⁶³ °adarśādi° em.] °adarśānādi° MS.

⁶⁴ °ātmanām (not clear in MS.)

⁶⁵ This is missing in the MS due to physical damage and is reconstructed based on Tib. (D 33v7–34r1; P 37v6): *snga ma snga ma'i sa ni* → *phyi ma phyi ma'i rgyu nyid kyis na'o || 'di nyid gsal bar byed de* → . Note that Tib. does not have an equivalent of *āha* (in MS *ā* belongs to the damaged part, and *ha* is visible) which however should not be omitted in light of the context.

⁶⁶ Tib. reads *śrāvakādibhūmibhyaḥ (*nyan thos la sogs pa'i sa rnam las so*).

⁶⁷ For the parallel passages in the *Abhayapaddhati* and *Ratnāvalī*, see appendix B.

nanv evaṃ⁶⁸ pāramitānayasamānataiva syāt || maivam | mahāsukharūpāyā⁶⁹ vajradhara-
bhūmer atraiva pratipādanāt ||

nanv asāv ādarśādijñānarūpaiva⁷⁰ | tat ko viśeṣaḥ || asti viśeṣaḥ | tādrūpyapratipādanam
eva | tad yathā vastutaḥ śūnyataikarasānām⁷¹ balavaiśāradyādīnām śrāvaka_(v3)naye prati-
pāditānām api śūnyatāyā⁷² apratipādanāt pāramitānaye⁷³ ca pratipādanān mahān viśeṣo
gīyate ||

nanu ca prathamadhyānalābhino 'pi cakravartina⁷⁴ iva sukham upadiśyate | kiṃ punar
ubhayanairātmyaprativedhe | tathā hi pramododrekād eva prathamā bhūmiḥ pramuditety
ucyate || satyam | na tv etat sahasasukham | ata e_(v4)va na mahāsukham | na copāyabhūtam
ādikarmikāvasthāyām | na hi sūcicchidram chidram⁷⁵ ity evākāśenāpi sāmyam anubhavati ||

nanūktam prajñāpāramitāyām — yac cānuttaram samyaksambodhisukham iti || uktam
etat | na tv asyopāyo darśitaḥ⁷⁶ | upāyabhūtasahajamahāsukhānupadeśāt | tasmāt tad apy
anenaiva krameṇa boddhavyam | tathā coktam vairo_(v5)canābhisambodhau — paśya tvaṃ
kulaputra svacittaṃ candrākāreṇetyādi ||

tat kiṃ pāramitānayena na bodhiḥ || naivam⁷⁷ | prajñāpāramitayā vinā kutaḥ⁷⁸
samyaksambodher gandho 'pi | param paryante 'py avaśyam ekam upāyam apekṣata
ity ucyate | yathā nabhaḥsthasambuddhārpitaprajñābhiṣekam⁷⁹ śākyanātho 'pekṣate
sma bodhidrumamūlaniṣaṇṇo bodhilābhāyārdharātre⁸⁰ | yathā cāne_(v6)naiva bhagavatā
tilottamāyām dattam abhiṣekam vajragarbha ity alam ativistareṇa | viditopadeśair evaiṣa
viśeṣaḥ parisphuṭam vijñāsyate ||

(Gloss on the lines: *dvātriṃśad . . . tadanantaram*)

[*dvātriṃśad bodhicittānām ya ihāyānti pūrṇatām* ||
indriyaskandhabhūtānām buddhatvaṃ tadanantaram ||]

(*Samputodbhavantra* I.ii)⁸¹

kadaitā buddhatvam āvahantīty⁸² āha — *dvātriṃśad* iti | nāḍyaḥ | ṣaṣṭhasya tṛtīyaprakaraṇe
vakṣyamāṇotpannamāṇḍaladevatādhimokṣāt prakṛtāhaṅkāram apanīya karmayogasahaja-
tathatānām anyata_(end of the Skt MS) <reṇa>

⁶⁸ *nanv evaṃ* em.] *nanv evaṃ* MS. Cf. Tib. (D 34r1; P 37v7): 'o na de lta na.

⁶⁹ *rūpāyā* em.] *rūpā* MS. The emendation is supported by parallels in the *Abhayapaddhati* and *Ratnāvalī*.

⁷⁰ *nanv asāv ādarśādi*] *nanv asāv adarśādi* MS (unclear). Cf. Tib. (D 37r2; P 37v78): 'o na de yang me long
lta bu la sogs pa'i ye shes kyi ngo bo kho na ste | des na khyad par ci zbe na |. This reading is supported by parallel
passages in the *Abhayapaddhati* and *Ratnāvalī*. See Appendix B.

⁷¹ *ānām*] Not clear in MS. Cf. Tib. (D 34r2–3; P 37v8–38r1): *stong pa nyid dang ro gcig pa'i stobs dang mi*
jigs pa. This reading is supported by parallel passages in the *Abhayapaddhati* and *Ratnāvalī*.

⁷² *śūnyatāyā* em.] *śūnyatāya* MS.

⁷³ *pāramitānaye* em.] *parimitānaye* MS. Cf. Tib.: *pha rol tu phyin pa'i tshul la*.

⁷⁴ *cakravartina* em.] *cakravartīno* MS.

⁷⁵ *cchidram* (standardized to *chidram* by the present editors) MS^{pc}] *cchidramm* MS^{ac}.

⁷⁶ *darśitaḥ*] This word is badly damaged in the MS (da . . i .[h]) and is reconstructed based on the Tib. (D
34r6; P 38r5): *'di'i thabs bstan pa ni ma yin te*.

⁷⁷ *naivam* em.] *naiva* MS. Cf. Tib. (D 34r7; P 38r6–7): *de lta ma yin te*.

⁷⁸ *kutaḥ* em.] *kuto* MS.

⁷⁹ *nabhaḥ* MS^{pc}] *nabha* MS^{ac}.

⁸⁰ *rātre* em.] *mātre* MS.

⁸¹ This verse from the *Samputodbhavantra* is supplied by the present editors. For the text, see Skorupski
1996: 231. This verse from the *Samputodbhava* is closely parallel to *Vasantatilakā*, 4.9, which has a slightly
different reading: *dvātriṃśad bodhicittāni yadāyānti pūrṇatām | tadā sasutabuddhānām buddhatvaṃ nikaṭam*
bhavet || [For *yadāyānti*, the edition reads *yadā yānti* in pāda b].

⁸² *āvahantīty* MS^{pc}] *āvahāntīty* MS^{ac}.

Translation

(*acalā bhūmiḥ*)

Because [a bodhisattva] in this [eighth stage] — who meditates upon the [thirty-seven] elements of Awakening, [the four noble] truths as well as dependent origination, and abides in the state free from characterization (*nirnimittavīhārah*) — becomes immovable, since [for him the wished effects] arise spontaneously,⁸³ for he accrues the result (*phalasaṃrddheḥ*) in accordance with [his] vows (*yathāpraṇidhānam*)⁸⁴ through his Perfection of Vows,⁸⁵ [this stage is] therefore [called] “Immovable (*acalā*).”⁸⁶

(*sādhumatī bhūmiḥ*)

Because a bodhisattva in this [ninth stage] becomes excellent (*sādhū*), for he expounds teachings by means of the [four] thorough knowledges (*pratisaṃvid*) of doctrine (*dharma*), with regard to [scriptural] meaning (*artha*), about scriptural exegesis (*nirukti*) and about eloquence (*pratibhāna*), [attained] through the Perfection of Powers, in order to ripen beings to be trained⁸⁷ through the four attracting conducts (*saṃgrahavastu*) which are generosity (*dāna*), friendly language (*priyavadyatā*), altruism (*arthacaryā*) and sympathy (*samānārthatā*), [this stage is] therefore [called] “Excellent (*sādhumatī*).”⁸⁸

⁸³ Cf. *Dasabhūmika*, p. 135.2: *sarvābhogavigato 'nābhogadharmatāprāptaḥ*.

⁸⁴ The expression *yathāpraṇidhānam phalasaṃrddheḥ* corresponds to *yathāpraṇidhānaphalasaṃrddhi*, which is the 12th topic (i.e. *acalā bhūmi*) of the twenty-two-fold *cittotpāda* explained by Āryavimuktisena and Haribhadra. See *Abhisamayālamkāravṛtti*, p. 19.8: *tasya yathāpraṇidhānam phalasaṃrddheḥ*; *Abhisamayālamkāravivṛti*, p. 12; and *Ālokā*, p. 20.2–4.

⁸⁵ On the relation between the ten *bhūmis* and the ten *pāramitās*, see *Abhisamayālamkāravivṛti*, pp. 11–12. Cf. Taniguchi 2002: 152–155 and *Abhisamayālamkāravṛtti*, pp. 17–19.

⁸⁶ This passage is most likely based on Ratnākaraśānti's *Sāratamā* (p. 4.24–25: *yato 'syāṃ sa eva svarasavāhitvād acalāḥ tasmād acalā*) and *Śuddhamatī* (D 117r7; P 135v1: *gang gi phyir 'dir de nyid kyi rang gi ngang gis 'jug pa las g.yo ba med pa de'i phyir mi g.yo ba'o* ||). Abhayākara Gupta in his two *Abhisamayālamkāra* commentaries explains *acalā bhūmi* in similar expressions. See *Munimata* (D 249r7–v1; P 333v8–334r4: *smon lam ji lta bar 'bras bu phun sum tshogs pa'i phyir ro || mngon par shes pa mi zad par yang ste | mngon par shes pa rnam lhun gyis grub par 'jug pa'i phyir ro || sa mi g.yo ba yang ste gang gi phyir byang chub kyi phyogs dang bden pa dang rten cing 'brel bar 'byung ba la dmigs pa'i mtshan ma med par gnas pa rang gi ngang gis 'byung ba nyid kyi phyir g.yo ba med de de'i phyir mi g.yo ba'o* ||) and *Marma* (ad AA I.19–20, D 11v3–4; P 13v4–5: *smon lam gyi pha rol tu phyin pa dang lhan cig pa dang mngon par shes pa dang lhan cig pa ni yid bzhin gyi nor bu dang 'dra ste | mos pa ji lta ba de'i 'bras bu spel ba'i phyir ro* ||). Cf. also Ratnakīrti's *Kīrtikalā* (D 194v5–6; P 230r4: *smon lam gyi pha rol tu phyin pa dang bcas pas yid bzhin gyi nor bu lta bu ste | ji ltar smon lam btab pa bzhin 'bras bu thob pas so* ||) and AA I.66–67.

⁸⁷ The phrase *vineyasattvānām ... paripācakatvād* corresponds to *vineyasasyaparipācana*, which is the 13th topic (i.e. *sādhumatī bhūmi*) of the twenty-two-fold *cittotpāda*. See *Abhisamayālamkāravṛtti*, p. 19.11: *tasya vineyasasyaparipācanāt*; *Abhisamayālamkāravivṛti*, p. 12; and *Ālokā*, p. 20.4–5.

⁸⁸ This passage is most likely based on the *Sāratamā* (p. 4.25: *yato 'syāṃ pratisaṃvidbhīr dhārmakathikatvād bodhisattvaḥ sādhus tasmāt sādhumatī*) and *Śuddhamatī* (D 117r7; P 135v1–2: *gang gi phyir 'dir so so yang dag par rig pa dag gis chos chen po ston pa nyid kyi byang chub sems dpa' legs pa yin pa de'i phyir 'dir ni legs pa'i blo gros so* ||). Cf. also *Munimata* (D 252r7–v1; P 338v1–2: *sa legs pa'i blo gros kyang ste | gang gi phyir 'dir byang chub sems dpa' so so yang dag par rig pa rnam kyi chos 'chad pa po nyid kyi phyir legs pa ste | de'i phyir legs pa'i blo gros so || de ni so so yang dag par rig pa bzhi rnam kyi chos smra ba po chen po'o* ||). In his *Marmakaumudī* (on AA I.19–20), Abhayākara Gupta explains the four *saṃgrahavastus* more precisely. See *Marma* (D 11v4–6; P 13v5–8): *stobs kyi pha rol tu phyin pa dang lhan cig par gyur pa dang sbyin pa dang | ngag snyan pa dang | don spyod pa dang | don mthun pa'i mtshan nyid kyi bsdu ba'i dngos po dang lhan cig par gyur pa ni nyi ma dang 'dra ste | gdul bar bya ba'i lo tog smin par byed pa'i phyir ro || de la sbyin pa ni nang dang (om. in D) phyi rol gyi yo byad sbyin pa'o || snyan par smra ba ni 'jig rten dang 'jig rten las 'das pa'i chos kyi sbyin pa'o || don spyod (P: dpyod) pa ni chos la (D: las) yang dag par len du 'jug par byed pa'o || don mthun pa ni gang gzhan la yang dag par len du bcug pa de la bdag nyid rjes su 'jug par byed ces pa ni sems can gyi bsdu ba'i dngos po'i thabs rnam so* ||). See also Ratnakīrti's *Kīrtikalā* (D 194v6; P 230r4–5: *stobs kyi pha rol tu phyin pa dang bcas pas nyi ma lta bu ste | gdul bya'i sa bon rnam yongs su smin par*

(*dharmameghā bhūmiḥ*)

Because a bodhisattva in this [tenth stage] is anointed (*abhiṣicyate* < *abhi*√*sic*) as crown prince with regard to teachings/in the religious sense (*dharmeṣu*), for this reason [this stage is called] “Sprinkler of Teachings/Religion” (*dharmameghā*). [Here, the word *megha* is constituted as follows: the verbal root] √*mih* [is used] in the sense of “to sprinkle” (*secana* < √*sic*).⁸⁹ [To this root] the primary affix *-a* (*ghañ*), [which changes the grade of the preceding vowel,] is applied and the [trailing *h* is substituted with the consonant] *gh* in order to form the noun [*megha*].⁹⁰

[In this stage,] when expounding doctrines⁹¹ that attract trainees⁹² by [drawing on] his [four kinds of] infinite thorough knowledge [attained] through the Perfection of Knowledge, [the bodhisattva] effortlessly pours forth all kinds of religious teaching (*sarvadharmā*), like a huge cloud (*mahāmeghavat*), for the sake of raising the crop of virtue in the world, through the step [of the twelve deeds of the great person] beginning with [the residence] in Tūṣita heaven.⁹³ For this reason too, [this stage is called] “the Cloud of teachings” (*dharmameghā*).⁹⁴

(*samantaprabhā bhūmiḥ*)

In this [eleventh stage,] thanks to the utter purity (*ātyantikaviśuddhyā*) [attained] through the elimination of all obstructions related to defilements (*kleśa*) and objects of knowledge (*jñeya*) including their latent tendencies (*vāsanā*), [a light arises] comprised of the five kinds of knowledge, the Mirror-like knowledge (*ādarśajñāna*) and the rest.⁹⁵ Conforming with the perfect realization of the Dharma-sphere [in which] the Compassion and Wisdom are not two (= *dharmadhātusvabhāvajñāna*), with equality of selflessness with regard to all things (= *samatājñāna*), with the mental activities of sentient beings (= *pratyavekṣaṇājñāna*) and with the benefit of the world (= *kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñāna*), this light (*prabhā*) universally (*samantataḥ*) illuminates all things, both mental and others, in the infinite three-

byed pas so ||) and AA I.68–69.

⁸⁹ *Dhātupāṭha*, I (*bhūvādayaḥ*), 1041: *mīha secane*.

⁹⁰ Cf. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 8.2.32–33: *dāder dhātor ghaḥ | vā drubamubhasnubasniḥām |*.

⁹¹ lit. “Because [the bodhisattva in this stage] is a preacher of doctrines” (*dharmadeśakatvāt*).

⁹² The expression *vineyāvahanakaradharmadeśakatvāt* corresponds to *vineyāvarjanakaradharmadeśanā*, which is the 14th topic (i.e. *dharmameghā bhūmi*) of the twenty-two-fold *cittotpāda*. See *Abhisamayālaṅkāravṛtti* (p. 19.17–18: *tasya vineyāvarjanakaradharmadaśikatvāt*); *Abhisamayālaṅkāravṛtti* (p. 12); and *Ālokā* (p. 20.5–6).

⁹³ The phrase *tūṣitabhavanādikrameṇa* seems to correspond to *tūṣitabhavanavāsādisattvārthasamdarśana*, which is the 22nd topic of the twenty-two-fold *cittotpāda* (*Abhisamayālaṅkāravṛtti*, p. 12). Note however that according to Haribhadra, this 22nd topic corresponds to the stage of the Buddha, but not to the *dharmameghā bhūmi*.

⁹⁴ Here Abhayākaraḡupta presents two alternative interpretations of *dharmameghā*: (1) the stage in which the bodhisattva is consecrated, and (2) the stage in which the bodhisattva pours the rain of teachings. This passage is most likely based on Ratnākaraśānti’s *Sāratamā* (p. 4.26–27: *yato ’syāṃ bodhisattvo ’bhiṣicyate yauvarājyāya tasmād dharmameghā*) and *Suddhamatī* (D 117r7–v1; P 135v2–3: *gang gi phyir ’dir byang chub sems dpa’ chos kyi rgyal tshab du dbang bskur ba de’i phyir ’dir chos kyi sprin no* ||). Cf. also *Munimata* (D 255r2–4; P 342v4–7: *sa chos kyi sprin yang ste | gang gi phyir sa ’dir byang chub sems dpa’ chos la rgyal tshab nyid du dbang bskur bar bya ba de’i phyir chos kyi sprin no* || *mi ha bran pa la ste gha nya’o* || *ming la gha nyid do* || *sprin chen po ltar ’jig rten pa’i dge ba’i lo tog mngon par ’phel ba’i don du lhun gyis grub par chos thams cad kyi char pa ’bebs so zhes pas kyang chos kyi sprin no* ||), *Marma* (on AA I.19–20, D 11v6; P 13v8–14r1: *ye shes kyi pha rol tu phyin pa dang lhan cig pa ni dri za’i dbyangs ’jam zhing snyan pa dang dra ste | gdul bya ’dun pa’i chos ston pa’i phyir ro* ||), and AA I.70.

⁹⁵ In the following explanation of the five kinds of knowledge, Abhayākaraḡupta explains only four of them. While the first and fourth correspond respectively to *dharmadhātujñāna* and *kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñāna*, the correspondence of the other two to the rest is unclear.

fold realm, without any limit (*niravadhidhātutrāyī*),⁹⁶ down to each atom. Therefore, [this stage is called] “Universal light” (*samantaprabhā*).

[The stage of Universal light is] Perfection of Wisdom in the true sense (*mukhyā prajñā-pāramitā*), which is by nature the [three] bodies [of the Buddha], namely the Dharmabody, etc., and is also called the highest bliss of sensual pleasure (*suratasukhottama*); [it is] the omniscience (*sarvākārajñatā*) accompanied by all the Perfections; this Buddha-stage, culmination (*phalāvasthā*) of the [ten] bodhisattva stages ending with the *dharmameghā-bhūmi*, the eleventh.

(Additional remarks on *bhūmis*)

Thus, the bodhisattva’s paths are eleven. [If counted] together with the Practice of the Conviction stage (*adhimuktīcaryā*),⁹⁷ there are twelve [stages], and with the Novice stage (*ādikarmika*),⁹⁸ thirteen. Alternatively, [counting] the Unparalleled stage (*nirupamā*) which is by nature the Path of Excellence (*viśeṣamārga*), there are twelve [stages], and with the stage of Knowledge (*jñānavatī*) which is by nature the Path of non-obstruction (*ānantaryamārga*), preceding the Buddha-stage, [there are also] thirteen.⁹⁹ In this way, [different] systems [of stages are presented] in sūtras, tantras, and the like in accordance with the disposition (*āśaya*) of trainees.

[The bodhisattva], as appropriate (*yathāyogam*), individually (*pratisvām*), in the course of [traversing] these stages, obtains — gradually, as his state of mind goes higher and higher through the different [levels], i.e., the initial [level] (*utpatti*), higher [level] (*utkarṣatara*) and highest [level] (*utkarṣatama*)¹⁰⁰ — the heaps of jewels which are good qualities such as the [five kinds of] supernatural knowledge, i.e., divine vision, divine hearing, knowledge of others’ minds, remembrance of previous lives, and supernatural power.¹⁰¹ For a detailed

⁹⁶ On the expression *niravadhidhātutrāyī*°, cf. *Kramakaumudī*, fol. 4v2–3: *vyāpī sa eva tathāiva nirmāṇakāyasvarūpo niravadhidhātutrāyīṣu pratisvāṃ nirmītakāyair vyāpanāt*; *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (p. 3.12) *niravadhidhātutrāye*.

⁹⁷ According to Abhayākaragupta, the *adhimuktīcaryā* stage, which is before the first *bhūmi*, is the Path of penetration (*nirvedhabhāgīya*), which corresponds to the first level of the three kinds of *prasthānacitta*. See *Āmnāyamañjarī*, D 31r1–v1; P 34r8–v8.

⁹⁸ According to Abhayākaragupta, the Novice stage (*ādikarmika*) is the Path of liberation (*mokṣabhāgīya*), which consists of the three-fold *prañidhicitta*. See *Āmnāyamañjarī*, D 31r1; P 34r7–8: *gsum po (P: pa) 'di ni las dang po pa'i sa tshogs kyi lam thar pa'i cha dang mthun pa'i dge ba'i rtsa bar brjod par bya ste | thar pa'i cha ni thob pa ste | de'i ched du phan pa'o || zhes byas nas so ||*. Here Abhayākaragupta uses Ratnākaraśānti’s etymological explanation of *mokṣabhāgīya*: *mokṣasya bhāgo bhajanam prāptiḥ tasmai hitāni mokṣabhāgīyāni tad apy uktāni* (*Sāratamā*, p. 107.3). Cf. *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.1.5: *tasmai hitam*.

⁹⁹ According to Haribhadra, *viśeṣamārga* is the level after *bhāvanāmārga* (see *Abhisamayālamkāravivṛti*, pp. 12, 20, 24 and Taniguchi 2002: 216 note 184). According to the present passage of Abhayākaragupta, *ānantaryamārga* is the level preceding Buddha’s stage (cf. also *Abhisamayālamkāravivṛti*, pp. 95–96 and Taniguchi 2002: 267). For the *nirupamā* and *jñānavatī* stages, see *Yogaratnamālā* on *Hevajratantra* I.vii.11, p. 122: *kramāt | muditā vimalā arciṣmatī prabhākārī sudurjayā abhimukhī dūraṅgamā acalā sādhumatī dharmameghā samantabhadrā [sic for °prabhā] nirupamā jñānavatī ceti | trayodaśī bhūmis tu |*. The Tibetan translation of the *Yogaratnamālā* lists twelve stages up to *nirupamā* and then adds *jñānavatī*. See P 4687, 23r7–v1: *... dpe med pa zhes bya ba rims bzbin no || ye shes ldan zhes bya ba bcu gsum pa rdo rje 'dzin pa'i sa ni shin tu mi gnas pa'i mya ngan las 'das pa'i ngo bo nyid yin pas de ni ma brjod do ||*. See also Ratnākaraśānti’s *Muktāvalī* on *Hevajratantra* I.vii.11 (p. 70), and *Dharmasamgraha*, nos 64–65.

¹⁰⁰ These three levels (*utpatti*, *utkarṣatara*, and *utkarṣatama*) most likely correspond to Abhayākaragupta’s explanation on the three levels of the *prasthānacitta*, i.e., the preparatory state (*sbyor ba'i gnas skabs* = *ādikarmika-bhūmi*), the causal state (*rgyu'i gnas skabs* = the bodhisattva’s ten stages), and the resultant state (*'bras bu'i gnas skabs* = the Buddha-stage). See *Āmnāyamañjarī*, D 38v1–2; P 34r8–v2.

¹⁰¹ In his *Āmnāyamañjarī* (D 30v6–31v7; P 34r5–35r8) and *Munimata* (D 211r5–6; P 276r2–3), Abhayā-

understanding (*pratīpatti*) of these [qualities,] the *Munimatālanākāra* is the source (*ākāra*) [to be consulted].¹⁰²

(*Gloss on the lines: etā eva ... parāḥ*)

These very stages, from the Joy stage onwards, are however proclaimed as the abode (*ālaya*) of bodhisattvas whose nature is sense-organs (*indriya*) and the like, and the abode of all Buddhas who are the five aggregates and the like, in particular; [in all,] the superior [path] that brings forth Buddhahood for Buddhas and bodhisattvas. (*Samputodbhavantra* I.ii)

And, incorporating all of this (*antarnayann*),¹⁰³ [the Tantra] says: **these very [stages]** (*etā eva*) and so on. [The expression] **however** (*tu*) is used in the sense of distinguishing (*viśeṣa*) [the Buddha-stage from the bodhisattva's stages]. [The stages] **from the Joy stage onwards** (*muditādayas*) are supramundane because they are free from contamination (*āsrava*). The two stages¹⁰⁴ of ordinary persons (*prthagjana*), which are contaminated, are not [explicitly] mentioned [in the Tantra] because, being the causal phase of those [supramundane stages], they can easily be understood. The verbal prefix *ā* [in the word *ālaya* conveys the meaning of] “fully” (*sarvataḥ*); [the locus in which a thing] abides (*liyate*), i.e., connects (*sambadhyate*), by [full] assimilation (*tādātmya*) [is called] an **abode** (*ālaya*).¹⁰⁵ [This abode], by nature, consists of the Joy stage and so on. [Those stages are the abode] for [bodhisattvas], such as Kṣitigarbha, who have the stainless **capacity** of faith (*śraddhendriya*) **and so on as their nature**, or who have the stainless [sense faculties (*indriya*)] **such as eyes as their nature**.¹⁰⁶ [The stages from the Joy stage onwards are in particular the abode] for **all the Buddhas**, i.e., Vairocana and other [four Buddhas], who possess the nature of the five aggregates, such as matter (*rūpa*) without obscuration, and of the five knowledges, such as the Mirror-like knowledge. [The expression] **in particular** (*viśeṣataḥ*) [indicates that] the culminating stage (*phalabhūmi*) is **the abode** of those [five Buddhas].¹⁰⁷ Alternatively,

karagupta divides the 37 *bodhipākṣika-dharmas* into four groups: (1) the four *smṛtyupasthānas*, the four *samyakprabhānas*, and the four *ṛddhipādas*, (2) the five *indriyas* and the five *balas*, (3) the seven *bodhyaṅgas*, and (4) the eight *āryamārgas*. He relates these four to the four paths: the first group corresponds to the *mokṣabhāgiya*, the second to the *nirvedhabhāgiya*, the third to the *darśanamārga*, and the fourth to the *bhāvanāmārga*. The five kinds of *abhijñās* are accomplished at the Buddha's stage.

¹⁰² For a more detailed explanation on the Ten Stages, see *Munimata*, D 233v4–259r3; P 310r3–348v4. The Tibetan rendering of this passage is not literal: “For a detailed characteristic (*ākāra) of their path (*lam, pratīpatti*) of those, [that is stated] in the *Munimatālanākāra*.” (D 33v4; P 37v1–2: *de rnam kyī lam gyī rnam pa rgyas pa dang bcas par thub pa'i dgongs pa'i rgyan du*). See also his *Marma*, D 61v7; P 70v3: *sa rnam kyī (P: kyis) rgyas pa ni thub pa'i dgongs pa'i rgyan las so* ||.

¹⁰³ The word “all of this” indicates the above-mentioned explanation on the bodhisattva's stages (D 30v6–33v4), which is not explicitly stated in the *Samputodbhavantra*. The Tibetan translation renders this passage as: *'di thams cad nang gi tshul du gsungs pa*. The expression *antarnayann* appears in Ratnakīrti's *Sarvajñāsiddhi*, p. 1.9–11: *tad ayam ācāryo 'pi sarvasarvajñacaraṇareṇusanātham yāvadākāśam jagad icchann api tribhuvanacūḍāmañbhūtasaparikarabheyopādeyatattvajñapurūṣapundārikaprasādhānād apy apramānakajaḍavidikaśabdarāśīpramukhasakaladurmatipravādapratīhatir ity antarnayann āha — heyopādeyatattvasya sābhypāyasya vedakaḥ | yaḥ pramānam asāv iṣṭo na tu sarvasya vedakaḥ || ityādi* ||. Bühnenmann (1980:1) renders *antarnayann* as “einführend.”

¹⁰⁴ i.e., *ādikarmikabhūmi* and *adbimukticyābhūmi* (= *mokṣabhāgiya* and *nirvedhabhāgiya*).

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *Kramakaumudī*, fol. 9v4 (ad *Piṇḍikrama* 44d): *āliyante tādātmyenāsminn ity ālayaḥ*.

¹⁰⁶ Abhayākaragupta here presents two alternative interpretations of *indriya*: (1) *indriya* means the five capacities (*pañcendriya*) of the 37 *bodhipākṣikadharmas*, and (2) *indriya* means the six sense faculties corresponding to bodhisattvas.

¹⁰⁷ This passage suggests that Buddha's abode is only the eleventh stage (i.e. *samantaprabhā bhūmi*) and not other lower stages.

the word *ālaya* means “foundation” (*āśraya*) because each preceding stage constitutes the cause of the stage that follows. [The *Saṃpuṭodbhavantra*] clarifies the same subject by saying: for Buddhas (*buddhānām*), etc.¹⁰⁸ The [path] that brings forth (*āvāhikāḥ*) means that which leads to (*prāpikāḥ*). It is superior (*para*), i.e. the best (*śreṣṭha*), compared to [the path followed by] Listeners (*śrāvaka*) and the like.

(*Differences between Pāramitānaya and Mantranaya*)

[Objection:] But then isn’t this exactly the same as the [non-tantric] Way of Perfections (*pāramitānaya*)?

[Answer:] Not at all. For it is only in this [Way of Mantra (*mantranaya*)] that the Vajradhara-stage, which is by nature the Great Bliss (*mahāsukha*), is expounded.

[Objection:] [The Vajradhara-stage] is nothing but the [five kinds of] knowledge, i.e. the Mirror-like knowledge, etc., [which are also taught in the Way of Perfections]. What then is the difference?

[Answer:] There is a difference, [and only the Way of Mantra explicitly] teaches the identity/correspondence (*tādrūpya*) [between the Vajradhara-stage and the five gnoses]. [The difference between the Way of Mantra and the Way of Perfections is] just as much as thus: one proclaims a significant difference [between the Way of Listeners and the Way of Perfections] because a) in the Way of Listeners [Buddha’s ten] powers (*bala*) and [four] self-confidences (*vaiśāradya*) etc. are taught and they are in fact the same as voidness (*sūnyataikarasa*), but the voidness [itself] is not taught; b) in the Way of Perfections [the voidness] is [explicitly] taught.¹⁰⁹

[Objection:] It is taught that even a practitioner who has [just] attained the first level of contemplation (*prathamadhyāna*) enjoys bliss like that of the Universal monarch (*cakravartin*).¹¹⁰ And it goes without saying [that he enjoys an even greater bliss] when he penetrates both kinds of selflessness (i.e. *pudgala-* and *dharmanairātmya*), for the first stage is called the Joy stage for the very reason that the joy is very strong (*pramododreka*) [in this stage].¹¹¹

[Answer:] True. However, that [joy] is not the Innate bliss (*sahajasukha*). Precisely for this reason, it is not the Great bliss (*mahāsukha*). Furthermore, [that joy] does not constitute

¹⁰⁸ To avoid a confusion of mixing bodhisattvas’ stages up with Buddha’s stage which might be derived from misunderstanding of the verse, Abhayākara Gupta takes the expression *viśeṣataḥ* “in particular” as indicating only culminating stage, in order to separate the Buddha’s stage from bodhisattvas’ stages. Alternatively, to avoid the same problem, he understands *ālaya* in the sense of foundation (*āśraya*), so that bodhisattvas’ stages are understood as foundations for bodhisattvas as well as for Buddhas. Among these two alternative interpretation, the latter interpretation can be found at the beginning of his explanation on *bhūmis* in his *Āmnāyamañjari* that states: the higher *cittotpāda*, i.e., *prasthānacitta*, is ultimate, supramudane, and undefiled, and it should be regarded as consisting of the eleven stages, i.e., from *pramuditā* up to *samantaprabhā*, because [each previous] stage becomes a foundation for the qualities in each higher stage: (D 31v1–2; P 34v8–35r2: *de las gong ma’i sems bskyed pa rnam ni don dam pa dang jig rten las ’das pa dang zag pa med pa rnam te | gong nas gong du yon tan gyi rten du gyur pa nyid kyi phyir na rab tu dga’ ba dang dri ma med pa dang ’od byed pa dang ’od ’phro ba dang sbyang dka’ ba dang mngon du gyur pa dang ring du song ba dang mi g.yo ba dang legs pa’i blo gros dang chos kyi sprin dang | kun tu ’od ces pas bcu gcig po rnam su bla bar bya’o ||*).

¹⁰⁹ i.e. The magnitude of the difference is as great as the difference between the Listeners’ Way and the way of Perfections.

¹¹⁰ Cf. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* on VIII.12: *prathamadhyānotpattau tisro vedanāḥ | sukham trivijñānakāyikam saumanasyam manobhūmikam*.

¹¹¹ Cf. *Munimata*, D 233r6–7; P 309v2–4: *gang gi phyir ’dir dang por rang gzhan gyi don sgrub par byed pa’i jig rten las ’das pa’i lam thob pa las byang chub sems dpa’ rab tu dga’ ba de’i phyir ’di rab tu dga’ ba ste dang po’o || gzhan yang rab tu dga’ ba nyid ces bya ba ni sems tshim pa dang | yid bde ba nyid dang | rangs pa yid la byed pa’o ||*.

the means (*upāya*) [of meditational realization] on the Novice stage, just as¹¹² one does not consider the eye (*chidra*) of the needle as the same thing as the [whole of] space just because it is a hole (*chidra*).

[Objection:] Does the *Prajñāpāramitā* not say: “the supreme bliss of perfect awakening (*anuttaram samyaksambodhisukham*)”?¹¹³

[Answer:] Yes, it does say this; but the means for its [realization] is not revealed, as there is no instruction [in the *Prajñāpāramitā*] on the innate great bliss that constitutes the means [of the tantric path]. Therefore, that [which is taught in the *Prajñāpāramitā*], too, should be understood precisely through this process [of the Way of Mantra], and similarly it is taught in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi*: “Observe, Son of a good family, [your] mind in the form of a lunar disk!”¹¹⁴

[Objection:] Then, is there no Awakening by means of the Way of Perfections?

[Answer:] That is not correct. Without the Perfection of Wisdom, from where [can there be] even a whiff of Perfect Awakening? But in the end, too, necessarily, one [has to] depend on a specific means — just like Śākyanātha, seated at the foot of the Bodhi tree, relied upon the Insight initiation (*prajñābhīṣeka*) conferred by the Buddhas in the sky at the midnight in order to attain his Awakening. It is also like [the bodhisattva] Vajragarbha [relying on] the initiation of Tilottamā¹¹⁵ given by this very Blessed One (*bhagavat*, i.e. Śākyamuni); now enough with the details. Only those who know the [traditionally imparted] instructions (*upadeśa*) will understand this distinct feature [of the Way of Mantra] with complete clarity.

(Gloss on the lines: *dvātriṃśad . . . tadanantaram*)

Those who, in the [bodhisattva’s stages], complete the thirty-two-fold Mind of Awakening thereupon [realize] that [their] sense-organs, aggregates, and elements are Buddha.¹¹⁶ (*Samputodbhavantra*, I.ii)

When do these [stages] bring forth Buddhahood? [The *Samputodbhavantra*] says: **thirty-two** (*dvātriṃśat*). [This refers to the body’s thirty-two] channels of vital energy

¹¹² lit. “for” (*hi*).

¹¹³ See *Aṣṭasahasrikā* (included in *Ālokā*, p. 327.17–18: *yac cānuttaram samyaksambodhisukham*).

¹¹⁴ It is remarkable that Abhayākara Gupta misattributes this quotation from the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha* to the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*. This is most likely influenced by Kamalanātha’s passage which has exactly the same wording: *tathā coktaṃ vairocanābhisambodhau | paśya tvam kulaputra svacittaṃ cakra-kāreṇety ādi* | (see appendix B). The corresponding passage in the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha* (p. 25, §21) is not expressed as an instruction by Buddhas, but expressed as a reply by Sarvārthasiddha bodhisattva: *ājñātaṃ me, bhagavantas tathāgatāḥ, svahr̥di candramaṇḍalākāraṃ paśyāmi*.

¹¹⁵ In Indian mythology, Tilottamā appears as a beautiful divine maiden originally fashioned by Viśvakarman. In *Hevajratantra* II.v.42, she is attracted by Hevajra in order to give consecration (which is identified as the *prajñājñānābhīṣeka*) to Vajragarbha: *maṇḍalaṃ vartayitvā tu jvālāmālākārālinam | abhiṣekaṃ vajragarbhasya dātum kṛṣyā tilottamā* || (The reading in pāda d: *kṛṣyā tilottamā* [instead of *kṛṣyam tilottamaṃ* which is Snellgrove’s emendation based on the Tibetan translation] is an emendation suggested by Nihom. The manuscripts AB read *kṛṣṇa tilottamā*; C reads *ākṛṣṇā tilottamā*.) “Having executed the *maṇḍala* terrific with a garland of flames, to give confirming lustration to Vajragarbha, Tilottamā is she to be attracted.” (Translation by Nihom) Regarding Tilottamā, see Nihom 1995.

¹¹⁶ Instead of *indriyaskandhabhūtānām* in the *Samputodbhavantra*, the parallel verse in the *Vasantatilakā* reads *tadā sasutabuddhānām*. If we can interpret the compound *indriyaskandhabhūtānām* as *indriyabhūtānām* and *skandhabhūtānām*, i.e., bodhisattvas and Buddhas (see verse above: *bodhisattvānām indriyādisvarūpiṇām* and *sarvabuddhānām skandhādīnām*), the reading of the *Samputodbhavantra* will semantically correspond to the *Vasantatilakā*.

(*nāḍī*). After eliminating the ordinary self-conception (*prākṛtāhnikāra*) through the adhesion (*adbimokṣa*) to the deities of the mentally emanated maṇḍala (*utpannamāṇḍala*), which will be explained in the third section of the sixth chapter [of the *Samputodbhava-tantra*],¹¹⁷ [the practitioner,] by [choosing] either outer ritual (*karman*), yoga, or innate Reality (**sahajatatatā*),¹¹⁸ (*end of the Skt MS*) meditates upon the Mind of Awakening (*bodhicitta*) — which has as its nature the Means (*upāya*) and Wisdom (*prajñā*) and in which the conventional and ultimate [truths] are not separated — by means of the six-part (**ṣaḍaṅga*) [yoga] in accordance with the master's instruction (**gurūpadeśa*). [Through this practice,] the channels are filled with the Mind of Awakening on the conventional level. Thereupon (**tadanantaram*), at once, (**nirantara*) — having filled [the channels] — [there arises] the culminating state (**phalāvasthā*) which is the Vajradhara[-stage] whose sense-organs and the like have the nature of the Mind of Awakening in the ultimate sense (**paramārthabodhicitta*).

Appendix A: Tibetan translation

The following text is the Tibetan translation of the *Āmnāyamañjarī* (D 1198, 32v7–34v4; P 2328, 36v3–38v3) that corresponds to the Sanskrit text fragment edited above. Raised arrow signs → ← enclose Tibetan renderings corresponding to missing words in the Skt Ms. Words in bold face refer to corresponding words in the *Samputodbhavantra*. Verses from the *Samputodbhavantra* are supplied by the present editors.

(*acalā bhūmiḥ*: D 32v7–33r1; P 36v3–4)

→ gang gi phyir 'dir smon¹¹⁹ lam gyi pha rol tu phyin pas smon lam← (*beginning of the Skt MS*) ji lta ba bzhin 'bras bu 'grub pa'i phyir byang chub kyi phyogs dang bden pa dang rten cing (*D33r*) 'brel bar 'byung ba la dmigs pa'i mtshan ma med pa'i gnas pa rang gi ngang gis 'byung ba nyid kyi phyir mi g.yo ba ste | de'i phyir mi g.yo ba'o ||

(*sādhumatī bhūmiḥ*: D 33r1–3; P 36v4–6)

gang gi phyir 'dir stobs kyi pha rol tu phyin pas → sbyin pa dang snyan¹²⁰ par smra ba dang don spyod pa dang don mthun pa'i mtshan nyid can bsdu ba'i dngos po bzhi mi zad pa rnam kyi gdul bar bya ba'i sems can yongs su smin par byed¹²¹ pa'i phyir | chos dang don dang nges pa'i tshig dang spobs pa so so yang dag par rig pa rnam kyi chos ston pa po nyid kyi phyir byang chub sems dpa' legs pa ste de'i phyir legs pa'i blo gros so ||

(*dharmameghā bhūmiḥ*: D 33r3–4; P 36v6–37r1)

gang gi phyir 'dir byang chub sems dpa' chos rnam la rgyal tshab kyi ched du dbang bskur te de'i phyir chos kyi sprin te | miha bran pa la'o || gha nya ste ming la gha nyid do || ye shes kyi pha rol tu phyin pa la so so yang dag par rig pa mi zad pa rnam kyi gdul bya 'dun

¹¹⁷ See *Samputodbhavantra*, VI.iii, D 114r3–4: *rtsa chen sum cu rtsa gnyis kyi || 'khor lor yang ni dkyil 'khor brjod || byang chub sems ni rin po che || dkyil 'khor de nyid dkyil 'khor nyid ||*.

¹¹⁸ The expression *sahajatatatā* is rather uncommon. In a later passage of the *Āmnāyamañjarī*, Abhayākara-gupta uses a similar expression **sahajattva*, *lhan cig skyes pa'i de kbo na nyid*: D 34v5–6; P 38v5–6: *'di tsam kbo nas rdo rje 'dzin pa mchog ma yin gyi 'on kyang lhan cig skyes pa'i de kbo na nyid rtoḡs pa'i ched du phyag rgya la bltos* (D: *ltos*) *par bya ste |*.

¹¹⁹ *smoṅ* D] P om.

¹²⁰ *snyan* P] *stan* D.

¹²¹ *byed* P] *byad* D.

par byed pa'i chos ston pa po nyid kyi phyir sprin chen po bzhin du rtsol ba med par chos thams cad mngon par char du 'babs¹²² te dga' ldan gyi gnas la sogs pa'i rim pas (P37r) jig rten gyi dge ba mngon par 'phel ba'i don du'o zhes pas kyang chos kyi sprin no ||

(*samantaprabhā bhūmiḥ*: D 33r4–v4; P 37r1–37v2)

gang gi phyir bag chags dang bcas pa'i nyon mongs pa dang shes bya'i sgrib pa ma lus par spongs pa'i phyir shin tu rnam par dag pas¹²³ me long lta bu la sogs pa ye shes lnga'i rang bzhin nyid kyis na ji ltar snying rje dang shes rab gnyis su med par chos kyi dbyings rtogs¹²⁴ pa ltar dang chos la bdag med par mnyam pa ji lta ba bzhin dang sems can gyi sems kyi spyod pa ji lta ba bzhin dang 'gro ba'i bya ba ji lta ba bzhin du kun nas rdul phra rab so so bar mu mtshams med pa khams gsum pa'i sems dang cig shos kyi dngos po rab tu snang bas¹²⁵ 'od can te | de'i phyir kun tu 'od ||

chos kyi sku la sogs pa'i rang bzhin shin tu dga' ba chen po'i bde ba dam pa zhes pa'i ming gzhan can gang shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa dngos pha rol tu phyin pa thams cad kyis yongs su bskor ba | rnam pa thams cad mkhyen pa nyid | chos kyi sprin gyi mthar thug pa'i byang chub (D33v) sems dpa'i sa rnams kyi 'bras bu'i gnas skabs¹²⁶ bcu gcig pa sangs rgyas kyi sa'o ||

(*Additional remarks on bhūmis*: D 33v1–4; P 37r5–v2)

de ltar sa bcu gcig rnams te | mos pa spyod pa'i sa dang lhan cig bcu gnyis dang las dang po pa'i sa dang lhan cig bcu gsum rnams so || yang na khyad par gyi ngo bo dpe med pa'i sa dang lhan cig bcu gnyis te | sangs rgyas kyi sa'i bar chad med pa'i lam gyi bdag nyid ye shes dang ldan pa'i sa dang lhan cig bcu gsum mo zhes pa ji ltar rigs par gdul bya'i bsam pa ji lta bar mdo dang rgyud la sogs pa rnams su rnam par bzhag¹²⁷ pa'o || sa 'di rnams la so so rang gis ji ltar rigs par phyi ma phyi ma'i sems kyi gnas skabs rnams su rim pas skye ba'i phul du byung ba mchog dang rab mchog la sogs pa'i dbye bas lha'i mig dang lha'i rna ba dang gzhan gyi sems (P37v) shes pa dang sngon gyi gnas rjes su dran pa dang | rdzu 'phrul gyi mngon par shes pa la sogs pa'i yon tan rin po che'i phung po rnams 'thob bo || de rnams kyi lam gyi rnam pa rgyas pa dang bcas par thub pa'i dgongs pa'i rgyan¹²⁸ du'o ||

(*Gloss on the lines: etā eva ... parāḥ*: D 33v4—34r1; P 37v2–7)

[de nyid yang dag bshad pa ni ||
dga' ba la sogs pa rnams te ||
dbang po la sogs rang bzhin gyi ||
byang chub sems dpa' rnams kyi gnas ||
phung po la sogs khyad par gyi ||
sangs rgyas thams cad kyi ni gnas ||
sangs rgyas byang chub sems dpa' yi ||
sangs rgyas nyid ni mchog tu 'bab ||]

(*Samputodbhavantra*, I.ii)¹²⁹

¹²² 'babs D] 'bebs P.

¹²³ shin tu rnam par dag pas em.] shin tu ba'i rnam par dag pas DP.

¹²⁴ rtogs P] rtog D.

¹²⁵ bas conj.] ba'i DP.

¹²⁶ skabs D] bskabs P.

¹²⁷ bzhag P] gzbag D.

¹²⁸ rgyan D] rgyun P.

¹²⁹ These verses are supplied by the present editor. For the Tibetan text, see Skorupski 1996: 231.

'di thams cad nang gi tshul du gsungs pa | 'di rnams kho na zhes pa la sogs pa ste | ni ni khyad par la'o || zag pa med pa nyid kyis na 'jig rten las 'das pa rab tu dga' ba la sogs pa rnams so || zag pa dang bcas pa ni so so'i skye bo'i¹³⁰ sa gnyis te | 'di rnams kyis rgyu nyid kyis go sla ba nyid kyis phyir ma gsungs pas so ||

kun te thams cad du de'i bdag nyid kyis →gang du gnas shing 'brel ba de ni kun gzhi'o || rab tu dga' ba la sogs pa'i rang bzhin kho na ni zag pa med pa'i dad pa la sogs pa'i dbang po la sogs rang bzhin nam | zag pa med pa'i mig la sogs pa'i rang bzhin sa'i snying po la sogs pa rnams so || sangs rgyas thams cad kyang rnam par snang mdzad la sogs pa rnams te | sgrub pa med pa'i← gzugs la sogs pa phung po lnga dang me long lta bu la sogs pa'i ye shes lnga'i bdag nyid rnams so || khyad par gyi zhes pa 'bras bu'i sa ste | 'di rnams kyis gzhi'o || yang na gzhi ni rten te | snga ma snga ma'i sa ni →phyi ma phyi ma'i rgyu nyid kyis na'o || 'di nyid gsal (D34r) bar byed de← | sangs rgyas rnams kyis zhes pa la sogs pas so || 'byung byed ni 'thob byed do || mchog ni dam pa ste nyan thos la sogs pa'i sa rnams las so ||

(Differences between Pāramitānaya and Mantranaya: D 34r1–34v2; P 37v7–38v2)

'o na de lta na pha rol tu phyin pa'i tshul dang mtshungs pa nyid kho nar 'gyur ro zhe na | de ltar ma yin te | bde ba chen po'i ngo bo rdo rje 'dzin pa'i sa 'di kho nar rtogs par byed pa'i phyir ro ||

'o na de yang me long lta bu la sogs pa'i ye shes kyis ngo bo kho na ste | des na khyad par ci zhe na | khyad par yod de de'i ngo bo nyid du sgrub par byed pa kho na'o || dper na dngos por na¹³¹ stong pa nyid dang (P38r) ro gcig pa'i stobs dang mi 'jigs pa nyan thos kyis tshul la sgrub pa rnams kyis yang | stong pa nyid du ma sgrubs pa'i phyir dang | pha rol tu phyin pa'i tshul la bsgrubs pa'i phyir khyad par chen po brjod pa bzhin no ||

'o na bsam gtan dang po thob pa rnams kyang 'khor los sgyur ba rnams bzhin du bde bar nye bar bstan na | bdag med pa nyid gnyis ka rab tu rtogs pa na lta ci smos | de ltar ni rab tu dga' ba lhag pa nyid las sa dang po rab tu dga' ba'o zhes brjod par bya bas so zhe na | bden te | 'di lhan cig skyes pa'i bde ba ni ma yin te | de nyid kyis phyir bde ba chen po ma yin zhing | las dang po pa'i gnas skabs su thabs su gyur pa yang ma yin te | khab kyis bu ga ni bu ga'o zhes pa kho nas nam mkha' dang yang mnyam par gyur pa ma yin pas so ||

'o na shes rab kyis pha rol tu phyin par gang yang bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub kyis bde ba zhes gsungs so zhe na | 'di gsungs mod | 'di'i thabs bstan pa ni ma yin te | thabs su gyur pa lhan cig skyes pa'i bde ba chen po nye bar ma bstan pa'i phyir ro || de'i phyir de yang rim pa 'di kho nas rtogs par bya'o || de skad du yang rnam par snang mdzad mngon par byang chub par gsungs pa | rigs kyis bu khyod kyis rang gi sems zla ba'i rnam par ltos shig ces pa la sogs pa'o ||

de ci pha rol tu phyin pa'i tshul gyis byang chub pa med dam zhe na | de lta ma yin te | shes rab kyis pha rol tu phyin pa med par bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang (D34v) chub kyis dri yang ga la yod | mchog tu mthar thug pa na yang nges par thabs 'di la bltos so zhes brjod par bya ste | dper na nam mkhar bzhugs pa'i rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rnams kyis gnang ba'i shes rab kyis dbang la shākya'i mgon po byang chub kyis shing drung du bzhugs pa byang chub thob pa'i ched du mtshan byed na bltos¹³² pa bzhin dang | (P38v)

¹³⁰ bo'i em.] bo' D; bos P.

¹³¹ na D] nang P.

¹³² bltos P] ltos D.

ji ltar yang bcom ldan 'das¹³³ 'di kho nas rdo rje snying po la¹³⁴ thig le mchog ma¹³⁵ la dbang bskur byin pa bzhin no zhes shin tu rgyas pas mchog ste | man ngag rig pa rnam kyis khyad par 'di yongs su gsal bar rnam par shes par 'gyur ro ||

(Gloss on the lines: *dvātriṃśad . . . tadanantaram*: D 34v2–5; P 38v2–5)

[byang sems sum cu rtsa gnyis kyis ||
gang tshe 'dir ni gang gyur pa ||
dbang po phung po 'byung ba yi ||
sangs rgyas de yi de ma thag ||]

(*Samputodbhavantra*, I.ii)¹³⁶

nam gyi tshe 'di rnam sangs rgyas nyid du 'byung bar byed ce na gsungs pa | **sum cu rtsa gnyis** zhes pa ste | rtsa rnam ni drug pa'i rab tu byed pa gsum par 'chad par 'gyur ba'i rdzogs pa'i dkyil 'khor gyi lhar mos pa las tha mal pa'i nga rgyal bsal nas las dang rnal dang lhan cig skyes pa'i de bzhin nyid rnam las gang yang rung bas^(end of the Skt MS) bla ma'i man ngag ji lta ba bzhin du yan lag drug rnam kyis shes rab dang thabs kyi rang bzhin kun rdzob dang don dam pa dbyer med pa'i byang chub kyi sems bsgom pa las gang gi tshe kun rdzob pa'i byang chub kyi sems kyis rtsa rnam **gang bar gyur** cing | **de** gang ba'i **rjes thogs** te bar ma chad pa de'i tshe kho na 'bras bu'i gnas skabs don dam pa'i byang chub kyi sems kyi rang bzhin **dbang po** la sogs pa rnam rdo rje 'dzin pa'o ||[←]

Appendix B: Parallel passages in the *Abhayapaddhati* and *Ratnāvalī*

The following texts are passages from Abhayākaragupta's *Abhayapaddhati* on *Buddhakarapāla* XIII and Kamalanātha's *Ratnāvalī* on *Hevajrantra* I.viii that discuss the differences between the Pāramitānaya and Mantranaya; and they include many sentences parallel to the *Āmnāyamañjarī*. We used these passages as witnesses for our critical edition of the *Āmnāyamañjarī*. In the following texts, we follow standard orthography as mentioned in our introduction above. Passages parallel to the *Āmnāyamañjarī* are marked in italics.

- Parallel passage from the *Abhayapaddhati* (Ms A 26r7–v3; Ms B 65r1–v2)

*ata eva mahāsukharūpāyā vajradharabhūmer*¹³⁷ *atraiva pratipādanāt pāramitānayād asya viśeṣaḥ*¹³⁸ |

*nanv asāv advayajñānarūpaiḥ | tat ko 'sya viśeṣaḥ || asti viśeṣaḥ | tādrūpyapratipādanam eva | yathā vastutaḥ śūnyataikarasānām*¹³⁹ *balavaiśāradyādīnām śrāvakanaye pratipāditānām api śūnyatāyā apratipā*^(A26v) *danāt pāramitānaye ca pratipādanān mahān viśeṣo gīyate*¹⁴⁰ ||

*nanu ca prathamadhyānalābhino 'pi cakravartina iva sukham upadiśyate | kiṃ punar ubhayanairātmyaprativedhe*¹⁴¹ | *tathā hi pramododrekād eva prathamā bhūmiḥ pramuditocyate || satyam | na tv etat sahaḥ sukham | ata eva na mahāsukham | na copāyabhūtam ādikarmikā-vasthāyām | na hi sūcicchidram chidram ity evākāśenāpi sāmyam anubhavati ||*

¹³³ 'das em.] om. DP.

¹³⁴ la P] dang D.

¹³⁵ ma D] la P.

¹³⁶ These verses are supplied by the present editor. For the Tibetan text, see Skorupski 1996: 231.

¹³⁷ The letters (*dhara*) are missing due to damage of the right edge in A.

¹³⁸ *asya viśeṣaḥ* A] *aviśeṣaḥ* B.

¹³⁹ The letters (*nyataika*) are missing due to damage of the right edge in A.

¹⁴⁰ *gīyate* A] *gīya* B.

¹⁴¹ *ubhaya*° A] *uya*° B.

nanūktam prajñāpāramitāyām yac cānuttaram samyaksambodhisukham iti || uktam etat | na tv asyopāyo darśitaḥ | upāyabhūtasahajasukhānupadeśāt | tasmāt tad apy anenaiṃva krameṇa boddhavyam ||

tat kiṃ pāramitānayaena na bodhiḥ || (B65v) naiṃvam | prajñāpāramitayā vinā kuto 'nuttarāyāḥ samyaksambodher¹⁴² gandho 'pi | param paryante 'py avāśyam etam upāyam apekṣata ity ucyata ity alam ativistareṇa | viditopadeśair evaiṣa viśeṣaḥ parisphuṭam vijñāsyate ||

- Parallel passage from Kamalanātha's *Ratnāvalī* (Ms A, 10v1–7; Ms B, 17r9–18r4)

nanv evaṃ pāramitānayasamānataiṃva syāt || nāsty etat¹⁴³ | mahāsukharūpāyā vajra_(B17v) dharabhūmer atraiva pratipādanāt ||

nanv asāv ādarśādijñānarūpaiva tat ko viśeṣaḥ || asti viśeṣaḥ | tādrūpyapratipādanam eva | tad yathā vastutaḥ śūnyataikarasānām¹⁴⁴ balavaiśāradyādinām śrāvakanaye pratipāditānām api śūnyatāyā apratipādanāt pāramitānaye ca pratipādanān mahān viśeṣo gīyate ||

evam api na buddhabhūmer vajradharabhūmir anyā syāt || satyam | bodhisatvabhūmer apy ananyatvāt kiṃ punar buddhabhūmeḥ ||

nanv ihaiva pañcākārābhisambodhād dhetuvajradharasyotpattiḥ | mahāsukhābhisambodhāt phalavajradharasya herukābhuyodayapaṭale¹⁴⁵ darśiteti | ata eva buddhabhūmir hetubhūtā vajradharabhūmiḥ phalabhūtety upadiśanti hetuvajradhare 'pi mahāsukham asty eva | aparipūrṇatā tu pañcākārābhisambodhāv api | sāpi¹⁴⁶ hi mahāsukhābhisambodhipariniṣpattāv eva¹⁴⁷ pariniṣpadyate | phalavajradharotpattāv iti | saiva ca vastutaḥ pañcākārābhisambodhiḥ | saiva ceha nairātmyamaṇḍale darśitā | kevalam atrātivopadeśagamyam¹⁴⁸ mahāsukham, na cāpy evaṃ dhagity āmukhībhavatīti | ata eva madhyo 'yaṃ kramaḥ | aṣṭāsyē tu parisphuṭam tad iti adhimātro 'sāv upadiśyate | ata eva ca tantrāntareṣu candrādikrameṇa pañcākārābhisambodhāv uktāyām api na mahāsukharūpatopadiśyate | evaṃvidheṣv eva tu yogayoginītantreṣu mahāsukhamayī vajradharabhūmiḥ parisphuṭā | tadanusārato 'nyatrāpi pratiyate ||

nanūpadiśyate saḥajasekam antareṇa bhagavadājñaiṃva || saḥajasekas tu evaṃvidheṣv eva tantreṣu ||

nanu ca prathamadhyānalābbhino 'pi cakravartina iva sukham upadiśyate | kiṃ punar ubhayanairātmyaprativedhe | tathā hi pramododrekād eva prathamā bhūmiḥ pramuditocyate || satyam | na tv etat saḥajam su_(B18r)khām | ata eva na¹⁴⁹ mahāsukham | na copāyabhūtam ādikarmikāvasthāyām | na hi sūcīchidram chidram ity evākāśenāpi¹⁵⁰ sāmyam anubhavati ||

nanūktam prajñāpāramitāyām yac cānuttaram samyaksambodhisukham iti || uktam etat | na tv asyopāyo darśitaḥ | upāyabhūtasahajamahāsukhānupadeśāt | tasmāt tad apy anenaiṃva krameṇa boddhavyam | tathā coktam vairocānābhisambodhau — paśya tvam kulaputra svacittam cakrākāreṇetyādi ||

tat kiṃ pāramitānayaena na bodhiḥ || naiṃvam | prajñāpāramitayā vinā kuto 'nuttara-samyaksambodher¹⁵¹ gandho 'pi | param paryante 'py avāśyam etam upāyam apekṣata ity ucyate |

¹⁴² °bodher B] °bodhor A.

¹⁴³ nāsty etat A] nāsyetat B.

¹⁴⁴ °ṇām A] °nām B.

¹⁴⁵ i.e., *Hevajratāntra* II.v.

¹⁴⁶ sāpi B] sāmi A.

¹⁴⁷ °niṣpannāv eva A] °niṣpattācaiva B.

¹⁴⁸ °deśagamyam conj.] °deśāgamyam AB.

¹⁴⁹ na conj.] om. AB.

¹⁵⁰ ity evākāśenāpi A] ity ekāśenāpi B.

¹⁵¹ 'nuttara° B] 'nuttarā A.

ity alam vistareṇa¹⁵² | viditopadeśair evaiṣa viśeṣaḥ parisphuṭam vijñāsyate ||
hetuvajradharam antareṇa phalavajradharotpatih ity āha | ālityādi¹⁵³ |

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A Definition of Mahāyoga

Sources from the Dunhuang manuscripts

Sam VAN SCHAİK

1. Introduction

The categories that we use to talk about groups of texts are always problematic. We tend to adopt a category from traditional sources, and make our own sense of it, using it for convenience because we need a way to refer to a group of thematically or historically associated texts. This is understandable and perhaps necessary as a working practice. But our use of these terms is called into question when such categories are themselves submitted to historical analysis. Sometimes such analysis reveals that the category came into being so late that its use is anachronistic, or that it has been used with such a variety of significations that our way of employing it is almost entirely arbitrary. Then it may seem as if we have no choice but to continue using the category in a way that is historically inaccurate or to abandon it entirely.

The category of *Mahāyoga* — “the great yoga” — has come to be problematic in just this way. Mahāyoga has not yet been treated to a full historical analysis as a doxographical category, yet it continues to appear in current scholarly discourse as if it were self-explanatory and unproblematic. Mahāyoga (Tib. *rnal 'byor chen po*) does have a particular meaning in the received Tibetan tradition, especially within the Nyingma school, where it signifies a group of eighteen tantras, a set of meditative and ritual practices, and a philosophical view associated with these.¹ Yet the interpretation of Mahāyoga has not been stable over the 1,200 years of the Tibetan tradition; nor is any uniformity in its use to be found in the Indic commentarial tradition.

Therefore I would argue that it is time that the category of *Mahāyoga* was treated to a thorough historical analysis, even though it is not my intention in this article to undertake such an awesome task in full. Here I will take just one phase in the development of Mahāyoga in the Indo-Tibetan tradition by looking at the meanings of Mahāyoga in the Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts, mostly dating from the tenth century AD. I hope to show that the category of *Mahāyoga* is defined coherently enough in these manuscripts to justify our continuing to use it in this context at least, without anachronism. At the same time, understanding the way in which the Dunhuang texts define Mahāyoga may augment our reading of the tantras and *sādhana*s themselves.

My main intention is to introduce a group of texts from the Dunhuang manuscripts that can be brought into relationship with each other using the definitions of Mahāyoga found within the manuscripts themselves. I will show connections between these sources and how they imply an attempt to form a coherent concept of Mahāyoga, without glossing over the differences between them. Thus my aim here is mainly synchronic. I hope at least to show the state of the developing Tibetan tradition of Mahāyoga exegesis, as it stood in the tenth century.

¹ A classic Tibetan presentation of Mahāyoga in English translation can be found in Dudjom 1991 (Volume I, Part 4).

2. The Sources

A Summary of the View of Mahāyoga According to Scripture

The *Summary* is the most important text for this study. It is substantially the longest and most detailed definition of Mahāyoga provided in any of the Dunhuang manuscripts. It is found in a single manuscript, IOL Tib J 436, which is poorly written and physically damaged, and the text is probably missing its opening lines.² The *Summary* treats Mahāyoga under four headings: (i) view, (ii) *samaya*, (iii) union and liberation, and (iv) meditation.³

Doxographical texts

Two further manuscripts (IOL Tib J 644 and Pelliot tibétain 656) offer definitions of Mahāyoga in the context of doxographical treatments of Buddhist scripture that are antecedents to the nine-vehicle system of the Nyingma. Here we find brief but well-developed treatments of not only Mahāyoga, but Anuyoga and Atiyoga as well. Notably, none of the manuscripts refer to these higher yogas as “vehicles” (*theg pa*) per se. In both manuscripts the treatments of Mahāyoga are interestingly in close concordance with the definitions offered in the *Summary*. In particular, Pelliot tibétain 656, entitled *The Seven Great Scriptural Systems (Spyi'i lung chen po bdun)* presents an almost identical definition of Mahāyoga view, practices and vows, and may be from the same authorial source.

The works of Gnyan dPal dbyangs

Of primary importance here is *The Questions and Answers on Vajrasattva (Rdo rje sems dpa'i zhus lan)*, a treatise by Gnyan dPal dbyangs comprising a wide-ranging collection of fifty-one questions and answers on meditative and ritual practice, encompassing both philosophical and practical issues. These questions and answers are intended as a clarification of Mahāyoga. In contrast to the doxographical texts, Mahāyoga is here called “the supreme system,” and no higher class of tantra is mentioned.⁴

The Questions and Answers on Vajrasattva appears in three Dunhuang manuscripts (IOL Tib J 470, Pelliot tibétain 819 and 837) as well as the Tibetan canonical collections, and will shortly appear in translation and critical edition elsewhere, so is not included here.⁵

² Though the text is apparently incomplete, the word that begins the treatise as we have it, “... meditation” (*bsgom pa*) suggests that all we are missing is a list of the topics covered in the treatise, i.e. view, *samaya*, union, liberation and meditation.

³ The *Summary* is not the only text contained in the manuscript IOL Tib J 436, though it is the first text. It is followed by five others. The titles of the six texts in the manuscript are as follows.

- (i) *Ma ha yo ga'i lung du bsdu pa*
- (ii) *Man ngag he ru ka la bstod pa* (a stotra to Heruka)
- (iii) *Byang chub sems pa rdo rje la bstod pa* (a stotra to Vajrasattva)
- (iv) *Lha rnams la rdo rje gar gis mchod pa* (a treatise on the *vajra* dance performed as an offering)
- (v) *Dpal chen sbri he ru ka la bstod pa* (another stotra to Heruka)
- (vi) *Dam tshig nyams la bskang ba'i 'thol bshags* (a confession prayer for infringements of the tantric *samaya*)

The nature of the texts, and the very rough and ready quality of the paper and handwriting comprising this manuscript suggest that it was the property of an individual who used it for teaching and ritual purposes. For a complete catalogue entry, see Dalton and van Schaik 2006. A translation and transcription of the *Summary* appears below in Section 5.

⁴ Note that Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and (implicitly) Atiyoga are also briefly discussed in Pelliot tibétain 841.

⁵ A full translation and critical edition of *The Questions and Answers on Vajrasattva* appears in Takahashi forthcoming.

Another treatise by Gnyan dPal dbyangs, the *Lamp for the Mind*, also treats Mahāyoga explicitly, and though it is preserved only in the Tibetan canon (and not in the Dunhuang manuscripts) I will refer to it here as well.

The works of Madhusādhu

Another important text, though less well-known than *The Questions and Answers on Vajrasattva*, is an unnamed commentary associated with a master known as Madhusādhu. This appears in a lengthy scroll (IOL Tib J 454), and in a condensed form in a shorter manuscript fragment, IOL Tib J 508. While only the latter presents itself as a Mahāyoga treatise, the strong thematic connections between these two texts justifies the inclusion of the longer manuscript in this group as well. I have presented a translation and edition of both texts elsewhere, and here I will draw on these texts where appropriate.⁶

The works of Padmasambhava

The only early text convincingly attributed to Padmasambhava is a commentary on the *Upāyapāśa* which survives in a Dunhuang manuscript copy (IOL Tib J 321) as well as in the Tibetan canon. The canonical version is unattributed but the Dunhuang manuscript contains a colophon which states that Padmasambhava was the author of the commentary. The term Mahāyoga occurs both in the main text and in the interlinear notes.⁷ The *Upāyapāśa* itself is known to the later Nyingma tradition as one of the eighteen Mahāyoga texts, and is also cited in the longer Madhusādhu treatise. In addition there is an important work on Mahāyoga that is attributed to Padmasambhava in the Tibetan canon, *The Garland of Views* (well-known through Samten Karmay's edition and translation). Though though this attribution is later and perhaps less certain, the text does contain much that is similar to the Dunhuang Mahāyoga texts, and even if not by Padmasambhava at least seems to belong to the early period.

The works of Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes

While they are not represented among the Dunhuang manuscripts, we should not neglect the two major works of Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes. His *Lamp for the Eyes of Contemplation* and *Armour Against Darkness*, dating from the late ninth to early tenth centuries, are classic works of Tibet's 'dark age' and contain much that is thematically linked to the Dunhuang manuscripts. Both works offer definitions of Mahāyoga, which we must consider as vital context for the definitions in the Dunhuang manuscripts.⁸

⁶ Another important and lengthy tantric treatise is found in the manuscript Pelliot tibétain 337. Although the term Mahāyoga does appear once in the treatise (panel 3, l.17), the doxographical system here is that of exoteric (*nang*) and esoteric (*phyi*) yoga. The treatise quotes from the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga* and *Gubyasamāja* tantras, as well as the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasamgraha* tantra (panel 4, ll.4–5). The treatise does not share many of the features that characterize the explicitly Mahāyoga literature, and may represent a slightly earlier stage of tantric exegesis.

⁷ The main text in chapter 38 (IOL Tib J 321: 78r.5–6) states that to understand the meaning of *mahāmudrā*, one should start with the four activities, and goes on to say that this is taught in many Mahāyoga tantras (*ma ha yo ga 'i tan tra du ma las bshad do*). The interlinear note to 1v.3 mentions “the tantra [class] of Mahāyoga” (*ma ha yo ga 'i rgyud*). My thanks to Robert Mayer and Cathy Cantwell for their help with locating these passages.

⁸ Despite the existence of a critical edition of the Tibetan text and more than one translation in progress, no translation or edition of the *Lamp for the Eyes of Contemplation* has yet been published. There are however two studies of the text's general framework: van Schaik and Dalton 2003 and Meinert 2003. Regarding the

Tantric notes

There are notes on tantric theory and practice scattered throughout the Dunhuang manuscripts. Two such collections of notes, brief treatises and practice texts are relevant to our investigation here. The first, which I will refer to as *Tantric Notes I*, is a large concertina now split into three parts. The first folios are Pelliot tibétain 36, followed by a substantial segment in IOL Tib J 419, followed by Pelliot tibétain 42 (when the manuscript is turned over to read the verso, this order is reversed, of course). All in all, the complete manuscript contains about twenty texts of various kinds.⁹ Among these texts is a series of questions and answers (IOL Tib J 419.6, Pelliot tibétain 42.I). These are similar in subject matter and tone to *The Questions and Answers on Vajrasattva*. There is also a long treatise dealing with various matters relating to tantric meditation practices (Pelliot tibétain 42.II–VI). There is a descriptive treatment of the rituals of union and liberation (Pelliot tibétain 42.VIII–IX and IOL Tib J 419.7), and a more detailed ritual manual for the liberation practice (IOL Tib J 419/12).

The second of these manuscripts, which I will refer to as *Tantric Notes II*, is a compact concertina, in a fluent but hastily written handwriting with several mistakes and corrections. Like the manuscript above, it is now split between the Stein and Pelliot collections, the beginning and end appearing in IOL Tib J 583 and the middle in Pelliot tibétain 288.¹⁰ The manuscript contains a series of *sādhana*s, prayers and notes. Among these is a treatise on “the six boiled-down essentials” (IOL Tib J 583/4), which are: (i) view, (ii) *samaya*, (iii) recitation practice, (iv) purification through burning, (v) aspirational prayer, (vi) *sādhana*.¹¹

Manuals for tantric practice

There are a great number of meditation and ritual manuals found in the Dunhuang collection, including *sādhana*s (*sgrub thabs*), *vidhi* (*cho ga*) and other descriptions of ritual techniques. I will draw on some examples of these in the Dunhuang manuscripts where they seem particularly apposite to the way Mahāyoga is being defined in the *Summary*.

Armour Against Darkness, Jacob Dalton’s Ph.D. dissertation on the *Sutra Gathering All Intentions* (Dalton 2002, as yet unpublished) draws extensively on this work.

⁹ Macdonald and Imaeda (1978–9) divided one long text on aspects of tantric practice into five parts (their parts II to VI). Due to the widespread use of their division of the manuscript, I will use it (represented by Roman numerals) when discussing texts in Pelliot tibétain 42. When discussing text in IOL Tib J 419, I will use the divisions found in Dalton and van Schaik 2006.

¹⁰ The structure of this manuscript is as follows:

- (i) Fragmentary notes
- (ii) *Sādhana* for Avalokiteśvara
- (iii) Prayers to the five buddhas
- (iv) The six boiled-down essentials (*bskol mo rnam drug*)
- (v) Prayer to Vajrasattva
- (vi) Notes on the view of Mahāyoga
- (vii) Invitation prayer to the bodhisattvas of the *vajra*, *ratna* and *dharma* families
- (viii) Invitation prayer to Vajrasattva
- (ix) Treatise given “by the yogin to his students”

As with IOL Tib J 436, the miscellaneous nature of this material, and the poor quality of the handwriting and spelling suggest that this was a personal collection of materials for teaching and ritual purposes. For a complete catalogue entry, see Dalton and van Schaik 2006.

¹¹ Due to a lacuna in the manuscript, (i) is incomplete while (ii), (iii) and (iv) are missing. Fortunately, another explanation of these “six boiled-down essentials” has survived in Pelliot tibétain 280/2, which is also fragmentary but contains full treatments of (ii), (iii) and (iv).

An exception among the *sādhana*s is the long ritual manual in Pelliot tibétain 245, which appears to follow the ritual sequence of the *Guhyagarbha*. It contains a ritual for the “Mahāyoga maṇḍala of the gathering” (*rnal ’byor chen po’i tshogs kyi dkyil ’khor*), and refers elsewhere to “the eternal Mahāyoga” (*rnal ’byor g.yung drung chen po*).

Tibetan Chan texts

It has been known for some time that several of the Tibetan Chan texts in the Dunhuang manuscript collections refer to the practices of Chan as “the great yoga” (*rnal ’byor chen po*), the same Tibetan term that translates the Sanskrit *mahāyoga*.¹² However, there is no indication in any of these manuscripts that “great yoga” refers to the tantric class of the same name. Thus it may be used simply to refer to an exceptional yoga.

Kenneth Eastman argued that “the great yoga” in Chan texts does indeed refer to the tantric class of Mahāyoga, but that it was used in these texts by “members of a Ch’an lineage who were attempting to disguise their teachings with the name of Mahāyoga.”¹³ This explanation seems unlikely, since there is no sign of any attempt to disguise the nature of these texts, which name many Chinese Chan masters, frequently use the Tibetan equivalent for the term “Chan” (*bsam gtan*) and which are even in places referred to as Chan texts (*bsam gtan gi yi ge*).¹⁴ In general, it seems that “the great yoga” appears in these texts merely as a synonym for Chan practice.

On the other hand, there is evidence of integration between Chan and Mahāyoga lineages, and even syncretism between Chan and Mahāyoga meditation practices at Dunhuang. A group of manuscripts written in the same hand suggest that the Chan techniques of examining the mind (*sems la lta*) were taught in the context of the “suchness concentration” in Mahāyoga *sādhana*s.¹⁵ In addition to this, one of our Mahāyoga manuscripts defines the view in the following striking way: “according to the scriptures of Chan, Sūtra and Mantra, the view is non-fixation (*dmyigs su myed pa*).”¹⁶

Thus the question of the significance of the term “great yoga” in the Tibetan Chan manuscripts remains open. In the notes toward a definition of Mahāyoga below I will return to certain parallels with Tibetan Chan; but as none of these texts contain any explicit references to tantric meditation practices, we do not need to consider them among our primary sources for a definition of Mahāyoga.

Dating

An important point here is the dating of the manuscripts that we are using as sources for the definition of Mahāyoga. It was once thought that the Tibetan manuscripts in the Dunhuang collections must date to the period of Tibetan occupation; that is, between the conquest of Dunhuang in 786 and the fall of Tibetan power there in 848. It is now recognized that many of the Tibetan manuscripts can be dated to later than this. Indeed

¹² For example, IOL Tib J 705, 709/9, 710/1; Pelliot tibétain 116, 818.

¹³ Eastman 1983: 58.

¹⁴ See for example 709/9, also discussed in the section on the *samaya* vows, below.

¹⁵ For a detailed examination of the manuscripts in question, see van Schaik and Dalton 2004. See also Meinert 2006 for a detailed analysis of one of these manuscripts, and an argument for links with Atiyoga rather than Mahāyoga.

¹⁶ IOL Tib J 508/4 r19.3–5: *lta ba ni bsam gtan dang / mdo sde dang sngags gyi gzhang zhes dmyigs su myed de*.

some of the Tibetan manuscripts were written only a few years before the closing of the cave at the beginning of the eleventh century.¹⁷

Many of the later manuscripts contain tantric material. Indeed, few if any manuscripts containing tantric texts have been dated to the earlier, imperial period. Some of the manuscripts that we will look at below have been firmly dated to the tenth century, and without contrary evidence, we may take it as a working hypothesis that all of these manuscripts postdate the Tibetan rule of Dunhuang, and indeed may well be as late as the end of the tenth century.

A separate issue, however, is the date of the textual content of the manuscripts. There is little to indicate that any major translation of Indian tantric sources occurred between the fall of the Tibetan empire in the mid-ninth century and the activity of the “new” translators from the late tenth century onward. The Dunhuang materials contain little or no sign of developments in the manipulation of internal energies (and the corresponding set of four empowerments) that characterize the Indic movements of the mid-ninth century onward, such as the eighteenth chapter of the *Guhyasamāja* and the works of the Ārya school. Thus the Tibetan tantric manuscripts from Dunhuang, while generally written in the tenth century, seem to represent lineages that came to Tibet between the mid-eighth and mid-ninth centuries. The primary reason for this is probably simply that after the fall of the Tibetan imperial dynasty there was not the necessary will or resources to carry out the project of sending Tibetan translators to India to find new lineages and translate new texts. It was just this combination of will and resources in the kings of Western Tibet and other local princes that restarted the Tibetan translation project in the late tenth century — too late to leave a trace in the Dunhuang manuscripts.¹⁸

As for the interest in Mahāyoga at Dunhuang itself, we can only speculate on who was practising Mahāyoga. However, there are some indications that that was a relatively wealthy audience for these texts. We have, for example, the beautifully produced manuscripts of the *Guhyasamāja* and the commentary on the *Upāyapāśa* attributed to Padmasambhava. There is also a ritual item featuring Vajrasattva as the chief of the five buddha families, expensively decorated with the rare pigments of lapis lazuli and vermilion¹⁹ (see Figure 1).

Furthermore, we have evidence that relatively highly placed Chinese officials from the regime that replaced the Tibetan occupation were deeply involved with Tibetan Mahāyoga. In one of the copies of *The Questions and Answers on Vajrasattva* (IOL Tib J 470) the name of the scribe is Phu shi meng hwe'i 'gyog. The first part of this clearly Chinese name is an official rank, *fu shi* 副使, the name for the third highest ranking official in a district called a *zhen* 鎮, comprising 50 households. This same scribe probably also wrote out the longer Madhusādhū treatise mentioned above.²⁰ This certainly suggests that the presence of Mahāyoga at Dunhuang was at least in part sustained by patronage from wealthy Chinese officials.

¹⁷ See Takeuchi forthcoming. Important tantric manuscripts dated to the late tenth century include Pelliot tibétain 44, Pelliot tibétain 849 and Or.8210/S.95.

¹⁸ One of the best discussions of this movement is in Davidson 2005, chapters 4 and 5.

¹⁹ This item is IOL Tib J 1364. Analysis of this item with Raman Spectroscopy has shown that it contains the precious pigments lapis lazuli and vermilion, rare among portable painting from Dunhuang. See Chudo 2005: 61. The author states that “the evidence of very precious lapis lazuli on the icon may serve to illustrate the iconographic importance of Vajrasattva in the 8–10th century with the spread of esoteric Buddhism in Dunhuang.” For my reasons for associating this image specifically with Mahāyoga, see Section 3(i) of this article.

²⁰ This rank, as it appears in another Tibetan Dunhuang document (Pelliot tibétain 1124), is discussed in Sakajiri 1995: 70. For further discussion of this scribe, see van Schaik forthcoming(a), where I argue that the same scribe is responsible for IOL Tib J 454.



Figure 1: Vajrasattva with Five-Buddha Crown. IOL Tib J 1364.

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3. The View

(i) THE SINGLE MODE (*tshul gcig*)

The *view (lta ba)* is a catch-all term for philosophical or doctrinal content.²¹ Among the Dunhuang texts we find two ways of defining the Mahāyoga view. The first is found in the *Summary* and the doxographical texts, and clearly works to set Mahāyoga apart from other tantric classes, especially the other ‘inner yogas’ of Anu and Ati. The second way of defining Mahāyoga is more inclusive, emphasizing a nonconceptual formulation of the view, the spontaneous presence of enlightenment, and the identity of the buddhas and one’s own mind. I will discuss these two kinds of definition separately and then look at their relationship to each other.

The *Summary* defines the view of Mahāyoga with the words “seeing the five families in a single mode” (*rigs lnga tshul gcig du lta*). This is repeated, more or less exactly, in the definitions of the view in the two doxographical texts. *The Seven Great Scriptural Systems* says:

In Mahāyoga secret mantra the view is that the five families are seen in a single mode. Moreover, the five great elements are the female deity, and the objects formed from them are the male deity. Because they abide pervasively in everything, everything is seen as *nirvāṇa* without self or other.²²

While in the other doxographical text, we have:

In the deity system of Mahāyoga the five families are seen in a single mode.²³

²¹ While *lta ba* is used in Tibetan translation for Skt. *darśana* or *dr̥ṣṭi*, in the Tibetan exegetical tradition it generally has the specific signification of the philosophical or gnoseological insight that characterizes a particular system of thought and practice. Thus in the Dunhuang doxographies and later Rnying ma exegesis there is a different ‘view’ associated with each of the Buddhist vehicles.

²² Pelliot tibétain 656 l.24: gsang sngags ma ha yo ga lta ba ni / rigs lnga tshul gcig du lta / de yang ’byung ba chen po lnga ni yum / de las gzug [25] su gyur pa ni yab / thams cad la khyab par gnas pas / bdag dang gzhan myed ngan las ’das pa lta ba’o /

²³ IOL Tib J 644 1v.5: ma ha yo ga’i lha rgyud ni / rigs lnga tshul gcig par lta /

This was clearly a popular formulation of the difference between Mahāyoga and other, earlier tantric systems.²⁴ So what might it mean? The “five families” are the five buddha families, a *maṇḍala* formulation that is implicit in the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha* and appears in fully developed form in tantras such as the *Guhyasamāja* and *Guhyagarbha*. Indeed, in the opening passages of the early-period Tibetan translation of the *Guhyasamāja* all forms of buddhas and bodhisattvas are absorbed into the body of Mahāvairocana. Then at the beginning of the next section of the tantra we have the following statement:

Then the *tathāgata* Akṣobhya, the *tathāgata* Vairocana, the *tathāgata* Ratnaketu, the *tathāgata* Amitābha and the *tathāgata* Amoghavajra resided together in the heart of the *tathāgata* Bodhicittavajra.²⁵

The remainder of the first chapter consists of the transcendent buddha re-emanating the five buddha-families and their consorts. Both of the passages quoted above can be found in the somewhat fragmentary first pages of the Dunhuang manuscript of the *Guhyasamāja*. This manuscript contains interlinear notation throughout; the note to the second of the two quotations reads: “then the buddhas of the five families resided in the body of Vajrasattva”.²⁶ This identification of the supreme buddha who embodies all five families as Vajrasattva is significant, for we see it again and again in the Dunhuang manuscripts, in an apparent smoothing-over of the different names for the transcendent deity found in the *Guhyasamāja* and elsewhere. For example, our manuscript of notes of Mahāyoga, IOL Tib J 583, also contains the following prayer to Vajrasattva:

The five families are a single mode, inseparable by nature,
But due to the need for training, the five families teach individually;
The omniscient Bodies are without limits;
To the inseparable wisdom Body I pay homage.

Although the aggregate of wisdom is like space,
Body, Speech and Mind are the great embodiment.
Please come from the place
Where all emanations originate, O Vajrasattva.²⁷

Here, by implication Vajrasattva is the embodiment of the five buddhas. *The Questions and Answers on Vajrasattva* seems to presuppose the eminence of this deity in its very title, and this is made explicit in the first two questions and answers in the text. The answer to the second question states:

²⁴ Note however that the “single mode” is not discussed by Gnubs Sangs rgyas ye shes in his treatment of Mahāyoga in the *Lamp for the Eyes of Contemplation*. It is also absent from Gnyan dPal dbyang’s works on Mahāyoga. Possibly it derives from a distinct lineage of Mahāyoga exegesis.

²⁵ Tn.409: 55.6: / de nas de bzhin gshegs pa rdo rje mi bskyod pa dang / de bzhin gshegs [7] pa rin chen dpal dang / de bzhin gshegs pa tshes dpag tu med pa dang / de bzhin gshegs pa rdo rje gdon mi za bar grub pa dang / de bzhin gshegs pa rnam par snang mdzad rnam [56.1] de bzhin gshegs pa byang chub kyi sems rdo rje’i thugs la bzhugs so /

Most of this passage, with no significant variation, is found in IOL Tib J 481: 1v.5 and IOL Tib J 438: 1r.1

²⁶ IOL Tib J 481 1v.5 (*mchan ’grel*): de nas rigs lnga’i sangs rgyas rdo rje sems pa’i skur bzhugs so //

²⁷ IOL Tib J 583 v9.3: // rigs lnga tshul [4] gcig rang bzhin dbyer myed yang // [5] btul pa’i dbang gyis rigs lnga so sor [v10.1] bstan // thams cad mkhyen pa’i sku [2] ni mtha’ dag myed // dbyer myed ye shes [3] sku la phyag ’tshal lo // ye shes phung po mkha [4] ’dra yang sku sku gsung thugs ni bdag [5] nyId che // <spu> sprul pa kun gyis [v11.1] ’byung gnas nas rdo rje sem pa gshegs [2] su gsol //

He is identical to the matchless realization of nonproduction of all conquerors of the
 three times;
 He is the nature of them all, the mind of the ocean of sugātas.
 Because he is the genuine basis for all the marks
 Of Body, Speech and Mind, he is taught as the supreme one.²⁸

We also find ample evidence for the primary role of Vajrasattva in the Dunhuang *sādhana* material. Indeed, it is a striking fact that the majority of the *sādhana*s which might be categorized as Mahāyoga based on the criteria of the *Summary* (discussed in the next section) involve self-visualization as Vajrasattva.²⁹ In one of these *sādhana*s, Vajrasattva is visualised as appearing from a *vajra* in which the five spokes represent the buddhas of the five families, and he wears a crown with the buddhas of the five families.³⁰ Furthermore, in the *sādhana*s which focus on the practice of “union” (on which, see below), the male practitioner is visualized as Vajrasattva, often with the deities of the five families visualized internally at different points of his body. These are clear instances from the ritual texts of the meaning of the “single mode”. To give one final, visual, example, we also have a painting of Vajrasattva on a ritual item which I mentioned in the previous section (see Figure 1). On this item, Vajrasattva is clearly wearing the crown of the five buddha families, a visual implication of his role as the embodiment of all five families.³¹

The assignment of this role to Vajrasattva can be seen in the later Tibetan tradition as well, and not only within the Nyingma school. The Sakya patriarch Bsod nams rtshe mo (1142–1182) is credited with the statement that Vajrasattva should be considered the principal deity because of his ability to cause any of the buddha families to manifest.³² This is essentially the same point made in the *Summary*, though Vajrasattva is not mentioned explicitly there. In the later tradition, the role of Vajrasattva seems to have been somewhat weakened as the deity became primarily associated with the purification practice of the tantric preliminaries (*sngon 'gro*).³³

The five families that are contained within the “single mode” are of course the standard five buddhas and their consorts. In the *Summary* and other sources, the female deities are said to represent the “five great elements” (*'byung ba chen po*), while the male deities

²⁸ From the critical edition in Takahashi forthcoming: [Q2] / rdo rje sems dpa' ni dus gsum gyi de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi thugs rdo rje/ lags la/ sku gsung thugs kyi bdag po lags so zhes bya ba'i don ci lta bu lags// dus gsum rgyal bas skye med rtogs par mnyam / / kun gyi rang bzhin bde bshegs rgya mtsho'i thugs // sku gsung thugs kyi mtshan ma ci snyed pa'i// dngos gzhi nyid du gyur pas bdag por bshad/

²⁹ Such *sādhana*s include IOL Tib J 331/2, 464/1, 552, 553, 554, 716/1, 754/8; Pelliot tibétain 245.

³⁰ This is in IOL Tib J 552 4r.6–5r.4.

³¹ This item is IOL Tib J 1364.

³² For a discussion of Vajrasattva's role as principal deity, and this statement in particular, see Snellgrove 1987: 220–223.

³³ Note that the purification practice from the tantric preliminaries employs the imagery of the descent (*'babs*) of the flow of *bodhicitta*, and in some cases, for example the preliminaries of the *Klong chen snying thig* Vajrasattva is visualized in union with a consort, making explicit the connection with the practice of union (many translations are available; probably the most easily acquired is the commentary by Dpal sprul o rgyan 'jigs med chos kyi dbang po: Patrul Rinpoche 1998). Note also the so-called “hundred syllable mantra” of Vajrasattva, which is always associated with the purification practice, appears on the verso of the final folio of the Great Perfection text IOL Tib J 647, with the instruction that it is to be recited before the precepts (*lung*) of the main text can be received (see van Schaik 2004b: 175–176). The hundred-syllable mantra also appears on the final folio of IOL Tib J 581, which may possibly be included among our Mahāyoga material, as it contains imagery from the *sādhana*s of union, especially in the final line: “[the goddesses] play by offering the secret nonduality” (3v.2: *gnyis myed gsang ba'i mchod pas rol*).

represent the forms made up from those elements. This statement is characteristic of the *Gubhyagarbha*.³⁴

Before we move on I would like to note, without drawing any conclusions, that the “single mode” (*tshul gcig*) is also a common term in Tibetan Chan literature. In the Tibetan Chan manuscripts (also from the Dunhuang collections), the “single mode” (*yi xing* 一行 in Chinese) signifies the method of simultaneous (*cig car*) realization through non-conceptualization (*mi rtogs*) or non-fixation (*mi dmigs*). The idea that there could be a single mode for realization was contentious within Chan, and was one of the distinguishing features of the split between the so-called northern and southern schools.³⁵ We see both positions represented in the Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts.³⁶

(ii) NON-FIXATION, SAMENESS AND THE BUDDHA AS ONE’S OWN MIND

The second common way of formulating the Mahāyoga view can be seen in the following quotation from *Tantric Notes II*:

The view of Mahāyoga: Phenomena are neither existents nor non-existents. Having renounced purity and impurity, “not renouncing” and “not obtaining” are one in space. Whoever understands the true state of Vajrasattva becomes him. Since one’s own mind is the path to liberation, nothing will come of seeking it anywhere else.³⁷

This passage (apart from the last sentence, which I will come back to shortly) is a version of the view strongly based in the *prajñāpāramitā* texts, though without recourse to the specific arguments of the Madhyamaka literature. Turning to a canonical source from the same period, we see a very similar definition of the view of Mahāyoga given by Gnyan dPal dbyangs in his *Lamp for the Mind*:

The meaning of the view of Mahāyoga is this:
If it is sought in existence that is a superimposition;
If it is sought in nonexistence that is a depreciation;
If it is sought in both existence and nonexistence,
It would become indeterminate.

Since it is not connected with any other [state]
It will never be found.

All debate regarding the extremes is thus
Free from these three and free from all biased extremes,
Which are the manifestations of one’s own deluded intellect.
Consequently, this is the ultimate view.³⁸

³⁴ See for example the description of the generation of the maṇḍala in chapter 6 of this tantra.

³⁵ See the discussion of *ting nge ’dzin tshul gcig* in van Schaik and Dalton 2004: 67. See also the translation of the *Text on the Single Mode of Non-fixation* (*Dmyigs su myed pa tshul gcig pa’i gzhung*) in Faber 1985. On the controversy related to this term in Chinese Chan see Faure 1997: 67–69.

³⁶ For example, IOL Tib J 710/1 contains a detailed critique of the idea that a single mode is suitable for all, and IOL Tib J 709/4 argues for a multiplicity of methods contained in the so-called single mode. Other treatises, especially those from named Chinese masters, often lean more toward the single mode approach; see for example the treatise of ’Gal na yas in IOL Tib J 709/8.

³⁷ IOL Tib J 508/8 v5.2–v6.1: / rnal ’byor chen po ’i lta ba la // dngos po dngos po myed pa’i chos // dag cing ma dag rnamspang nas ma spangs ma blangs dbyings su gcig // rdo rje sems dpa’i ngang nyid la gang shig shes pa der ’gro ’o // bdag sems thar pa’i lam las ni gzhan las btsal bar myi ’byung ’o /

³⁸ *Thugs kyi sgron ma*, 377r: rnal ’byor chen po lta ba’i don // yod las btsal na sgros btags te // med las btsal na skur btab ’gyur // yod med gnyis las btsal byas na // de ni lung du ma bstan ’gyur // de la gzhan yang ’brel med pas // nam yang rnyed par mi ’gyur te // mtha’ la rtsod kun de lta bas // gsum bral phyogs gcig mtha’ bral ba // rang blo ’khrul pa snang ba yin //

This kind of *prajñāpāramitā*-based discourse is seen in much of tantric literature. In many sources it is expressed as “non-fixation” (*myi dmyigs*), a term that occurs across the spectrum of sutra and tantra, and therefore attractive to exegetes seeking to associate the tantras with the philosophical position of the sutras.³⁹ A striking instance of this appears in one passage from the Mahāyoga Notes: “According to the scriptures of Chan, Sūtra and Mantra, the view is non-fixation.”⁴⁰ Is there any basis for this highly syncretic statement? The longer Madhusādhu treatise does offer a definition of non-fixation (*myi dmyigs*):

Non-fixation means that the dharmakāya, or the space of reality, pervades all phenomena, and in wherever is pervaded by that space is nondual with the wisdom of awareness. [Thus] not to fixate on substances and characteristics is to be pervaded by the dharmakāya.⁴¹

Indeed, along with its occurrence in the tantras and sūtras, *non-fixation* is also found throughout the Tibetan Chan texts. The statement that the view of non-fixation is found throughout “the scriptures of Chan, Sūtra and Mantra” may just reflect an awareness that this term was used in a variety of traditions, but we should also keep in mind the syncretic tendencies of Tibetan Chan.⁴²

Another important way of expressing the view of Mahāyoga in the Dunhuang manuscripts is in terms of “oneness” (*gcig tu*) or “sameness” (*mnyam nyid*). For an example let us look again at *Tantric Notes II*:

What does it mean to “cut through phenomena”? Whatever exists, it is all based on the five great [elements]. Even the great [elements] themselves do not exist. Thus, everything — proof and refutation, self and other, virtue and sin, purity and dirt and so on — is shown to be nothing whatsoever. Everything is non-dual. This is known as *sameness*.⁴³

The concept of sameness is described as one of the ways of formulating the Mahāyoga view by Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes in his *Lamp for the Eyes of Contemplation*:

According to some spiritual guides (the masters Padmasambhava and Madhusādhu) the view of Mahāyoga is sameness. They (the arguments, scriptural sources and esoteric instructions on sameness) say that there is sameness in ultimate, in conventional, in the nonduality of the truths, that the five great elements are the same as the five *tathāgatas*, and that the eight consciousnesses are the same as the five wisdoms. I will

³⁹ It is particularly common in the *Prajñāpāramitā* sūtras. In the tantras, see for example *Guhyaḡarbhā* chapter 5 (Tb.417: 168.2): *'jigs pas dmigs med shes par gyis*/. While the *Mahāvvyūtpatti* (4461) gives the Sanskrit equivalents *anupalabdhi* and *anupalabdhibetuh*, in the current context the original Sanskrit term may be **nirāmbana* or **anāmbana*.

⁴⁰ IOL Tib J 508/4 r19.3–5: lta ba ni bsam gtan dang/ mdo sde dang sngags gyi gzhang zhes dmyigs su myed de.

⁴¹ IOL Tib J 454 l.195: myi dmyigs [196] zhes pa ni / chos kyi sku ste / chos kyi dbyings kyim chos can thams cad la khyab pa dang / dbyings kyis gar khyab par rig [197] pa'i ye shes kyis gnyis myed pa / dngos pa dang mtshan mar myi dmyigs pa chos kyi skus kyab khyab bo /

⁴² On syncretism at Dunhuang see van Schaik and Dalton 2004 and Meinert 2007.

⁴³ IOL Tib J 508/9 v12.3–5: / de la chos gyi la gcad pa gang zhes na / ci snyed du srid pa de dag thams shad / ched po lnga las brten zhang/ (Pelliot tibétain 288 v1.1–5) ched po nyid kyang myed te / de bzhin du thams shad / sun phyung dang / bdag dang gzhen zhes 'am / dge sding dang / gtsang smyes zhes bya ba la bstogs ste / gang yang myed par mngon te /

[v2.1] thams shad gnyis su myed na / mnyam pa nyid [2] ces bya 'o /

not go into the arguments for these at length as it would only increase the number of words.⁴⁴

In fact, Gnubs chen does continue with a detailed account of each kind of sameness. Other accounts of the Mahāyoga view are offered by Gnubs chen, with the names of those who taught them given in the interlinear notes: the non-duality of buddhas and sentient beings, attributed to Dga' rab rdo rje; all phenomena as buddhahood in reflexive wisdom — *bodhicitta*, attributed to Padmakāra; the union of insight (*shes rab*) and means (*thabs*), attributed to Buddhaguhya; the great embodiment (*bdag nyid chen po*), attributed to Ska ba dpal ba rtsegs; nonduality, attributed to Gnyan dPal dbyangs; sameness, attributed to Padmasambhava and Madhusādhu; that all phenomena are the vase of *bodhicitta* filled with the *vajra* water, attributed to Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti's *Gubhasamāja* exegesis.⁴⁵

In any case, we can confirm that the view of sameness was associated with the otherwise mysterious master Madhusādhu. In the Dunhuang treatise associated with Madhusādhu, we find the following definition of *sameness*:

Sameness means not being distinct from the dharmakāya. The manifestation of the dharmakāya is the sambhogakāya, which does not move away from the dharmakāya without characteristics. Although the different kinds of characteristics of the sambhogakāya come forth and manifest, they are empty in their very manifestation. They [do not] move away from being without characteristics. This nonduality is called *sameness*.⁴⁶

The term *sameness* appears with particular frequency in the *Gubhyagarbha*, a text which seems to have influenced the work of Madhusādhu, as I have shown elsewhere.⁴⁷

Now we can return to the last sentence in the quotation that began this section: “One’s own mind is the path to liberation and there is no striving for anything else.” This is very similar indeed to another passage from the Madhusādhu text:

Your own mind is primordial purity and buddhahood, and to comprehend that mind is primordial purity and buddhahood is to be accomplished as a buddha, to see the face of a buddha, and to hold a buddha in your hand. Therefore, it is sufficient to realise mind’s reality. It is not necessary to seek buddhahood anywhere other than in the mind.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ STMG: 210.5–211.1: dge bshes (slob dpon padma dang ma du sa du'i bzhed) kha cig ni mahā yo ga'i lta ba ni mnyam pa nyid du bzhed de / de (mnyam pa'i gtan tshigs pa lung man ngag gsum) yang don dam par mnyam pa dang / kun rdzob du mnyam pa dang / bden pa gnyis su med par mnyam pa dang / chen po lnga de bzhin gshegs pa lngar mnyam pa dang rnam par shes pa brgyad ye shes lngar mnyam pa dang lngar gsungs na / de dag gi gtan tshigs rgyas par ni yi ge mangs te 'gro bas ma bgod do /

⁴⁵ STMG: 191–216. Note that the reference to the Ārya school of *Gubhasamāja* exegesis here is the only example that I have seen of an awareness of this tradition and its contents before the later diffusion of Tibetan Buddhism (*phyi dar*).

⁴⁶ IOL Tib J 454 l. 197: mnyam nyid zhes [198] pa ni / chos kyi sku las myi gzhan pa / chos kyi sku nyid snang ba'i long spyod rdzogs pa'i sku ste / chos kyi sku mtshan myed pa / [199] la ma g.yos bzhin / longs spyod rdzogs pa'i sku mtshan ma'I rnam par yang 'byung zhing snang la / snang bzhin du stong ste / [200] mtshan myed pa las g.yos te / gnyis su myed pa ni mnyam pa nyid ces bya ste /

⁴⁷ See for example *Gubhyagarbha* chapter 5 (Tb.417: 168.5): *mnyam par bzhag pas btul nas su* /.

⁴⁸ IOL Tib J 454 ll.88–92: yang na rang gyī sems ye nas rnam par dag cing sangs rgyas pa yin dang / sems ye nas rnam par dag cing sangs rgyas pa yin pa'i don rtogs pa ni sangs rgyas su grub pa 'am / sangs rgyas kyi zhal mthong ba 'am / sangs rgyas lag tu 'ongs zin pa yin pas / sems kyi chos nyid rtogs pa kho nas chog / sems la gzhan du sangs rgyas btsal myi dgos / sangs rgyas sems las btsal na /

The same emphasis on the practitioner's own mind is found in *The Questions and Answers on Vajrasattva*. The shorter Madhusādhū text (IOL Tib J 508) combines the statement that one's own mind is the buddha with the concept of sameness:

You won't find the Buddha-bhagavān in any of the ten directions or the three times. Look in your own mind and you will find him. If the nature of your own mind is realized without mistake, all inner and outer phenomena have the significance of the two aspects of sameness. This occurs through realizing the meaning of abiding in buddhahood.⁴⁹

Thus we have numerous sources among the Dunhuang manuscripts, explicitly identifying themselves in the category of Mahāyoga, which define the view according to the related ideas of sameness / nonduality and the presence of the buddha in the realization of one's own mind. These ways of expressing the view, found in the Dpal dbyangs and Madhusādhū works and in various of the Dunhuang manuscripts, is essentially identical to that found in the early Great Perfection texts.

I have argued elsewhere that the early function of the Great Perfection was primarily a mode (*tsbul*) of deity yoga practice, or an expression of a view to be held while undertaking these practices.⁵⁰ It fitted into the scheme of development (*bskyed*), perfection (*rdzogs*) and great perfection (*rdzogs chen*) found in Padmasambhava's *Garland of Views* and elsewhere. It is clear from Dpal dbyangs' *Questions and Answers on Vajrasattva* that all three were to be applied within the context of Mahāyoga. In this text, which is explicitly set out as an explication of Mahāyoga, we have much discussion of the practice of deity yoga in the context of freedom from effort. The different modes of engaging in deity-yoga are explained as follows:

When, as in the example of a king appointing a minister,
The accomplishments are granted from above, this is the exoteric mode.
When the kingdom is ruled having been offered by the people,
This is the mode of the unsurpassable, self-arisen great perfection.⁵¹

So the sense that the mode of effortlessness should be included within Atiyoga rather than Mahāyoga is not found in the *Questions and Answers on Vajrasattva*.⁵²

On the other hand, the doxographical texts, which do distinguish Mahāyoga from Anuyoga and Atiyoga, define the view of Mahāyoga primarily in terms of the "single mode" and not nonduality or sameness. It is possible that the doxographical texts belong to a later stratum; later, that is, than *The Questions and Answers on Vajrasattva* and the Madhusādhū works (in which there is no mention of classes of tantra higher than Mahāyoga), perhaps

⁴⁹ IOL Tib J 508: sangs rgyas bcom / ldan 'das phyogs bcu dus gsum gang nas kyang rnyed par myI 'gyur gi / rang gI sem / btsal dang rnyed par 'gyur te / sems kyi rang bzhin phyin 'chi ma log par rtogsna / phyI nang / gI chos thams cad kyi rang bzhIn yang mnyam ba nyid rnam gnyIs kyi don kyIs / : / sangs rgyas par gnas pa'I don rtogs pas 'gyur ro /

⁵⁰ See van Schaik 2004b.

⁵¹ From the edition in Takahashi forthcoming: [Q9] / rnal 'byor pas dngos grub thob pa'i khyad par ci ltar mchis / / dper na rgyal pos blon po bskos pa ltar / / grub pa gong nas byin pa phyi'i tshul / / 'bangs kyis rgyal srid phul nas dbang sgyur ltar / / rang 'byung rdzogs chen bla na myed pa'i tshul /

⁵² The term Atiyoga does appear in the interlinear notes to IOL Tib J 470, one of the versions of the *Questions and Answers on Vajrasattva*, but this copy, and its notes, are almost certainly much later than the text itself, possibly as late as the end of the tenth century.

as late as the second half of the tenth century. Clearly, due to its similarity to the doxographical texts, the *Summary* would also belong to the later stratum. It is in this putative later stratum the themes of nonduality, nonconceptualization and spontaneous presence become the province of Anuyoga and Atiyoga.⁵³ At the same time the “single mode” becomes the characteristic feature of the Mahāyoga view, filling the space left in Mahāyoga by the migration of the themes of nonduality and sameness to Anuyoga and Atiyoga.

More research on the period following these tenth century Dunhuang texts may reveal further connections with later exegetical styles among the Nyingmapas. Of particular relevance here are the two traditions of *Gubhyagarbha* exegesis known as the Zur tradition and the Rong-Klong tradition.⁵⁴ The Zur tradition of Mahāyoga, developed by Zur po che Śākya 'byung gnas and his lineage, considered the definition of distinct views for each of the vehicles of yoga to exclude the possibility of applying the approach of Atiyoga, or anything like that approach, to Mahāyoga. In effect, this meant that an unqualified account of the path as nondual, nonconceptual and spontaneously present was not appropriate to the exegesis of Mahāyoga. In this the Zur tradition seems to have followed the lead of Gnubs Sangs rgyas ye shes; their approach fits well with the later stratum of Mahāyoga exegesis in the Dunhuang manuscripts – represented by the *Summary* and the doxographical texts. On the other hand, the method of exegesis represented by Rong zom pa and Klong chen pa adopted of the distinction between the views of the yogic vehicles, but considered it appropriate to apply the view of Atiyoga to Mahāyoga exegesis. In this regard the Rong-Klong tradition is closer to the earlier stratum of Mahāyoga exegesis, as seen in the works of Gnyan dPal dbyangs and the Madhusādhu treatises.⁵⁵

The three concentrations

In a brief section on meditation, the *Summary* defines Mahāyoga meditation in the context of three concentrations (*ting nge 'dzin*, Skt. *samādhi*). The *Seven Great Scriptural Systems* also puts it succinctly:

Developing the three aspects in stages is meditation.⁵⁶

These three are well represented in the Dunhuang *sādhana* material, as well as in the later Nyingma tradition.⁵⁷ They are:

⁵³ Note that Anuyoga, as it is defined in the Dunhuang texts (IOL Tib J 656 and Pelliot tibétain 644), is similar to Atiyoga in having no meditative or ritual content. According to IOL Tib J 656 (l.30) the practice of Anuyoga is union and liberation (*sbyor sgröl*) but this is also said of Mahāyoga in the same text. Both of the emergent categories of Anuyoga and Atiyoga clearly show their basis as modes (*tsbul*) of the view in the practice of Mahāyoga, concordant with the modes of development, perfection and great perfection in *The Rosary of Views*.

⁵⁴ There have been no published studies on the Zur and Rong-Klong traditions of exegesis, but see Garson 2004.

⁵⁵ The Zur tradition of exegesis presents itself as preserving the Indic exegetical tradition of Vilāsavajra, Buddhaguhya and Vimalamitra. The Rong-Klong tradition, on the other hand, is linked to the *Gubhyagarbha* commentary of Sūryasiṃhaprabha. It is certainly true that the latter commentary uses the vocabulary later to be characterised as Atiyoga, and is similar in its approach to the Mahāyoga works of Gnyan dPal dbyangs and Madhusādhu. However, a deeper analysis of the historical development of the *Gubhyagarbha* exegetical tradition is required before such general observations can be warranted.

⁵⁶ Pelliot tibétain 656 l.26: rnam gsum rims kyis bskyed de bsgom ba'o /

⁵⁷ For a translation and edition of a nineteenth-century treatise in which the three concentrations are discussed (by 'Jam mgon kong sprul blo 'gros mtha' yas), see Jamgön Kongtrül 2004.

- (i) the concentration on suchness (*de bzhin nyid*)
- (ii) the concentration on total illumination (*kun tu snang ba*)
- (iii) the concentration on the cause (*rgyu*)

These three concentrations are a schematic for the stages in meditation, based on earlier systems, especially the five enlightenments (*abbhisambodhi*) of the *Tattvasamgraha*.⁵⁸ Discussions of the three concentrations feature in several manuscripts, with considerable consistency in the way they are described.⁵⁹ The most extensive treatment is probably that found in IOL Tib J 437/2, a short treatise devoted to the subject, from which the following summary of the three is primarily drawn.

(i) THE CONCENTRATION ON SUCHNESS

The author of IOL Tib J 437 states that conceptualization is the cause of *samsāra*, and therefore one needs to meditate nonconceptually as an antidote to conceptualization. He goes on to offer a syllable-by-syllable definition of the Tibetan term for “suchness” (*de bzhin nyid*). Note that this Tibetan etymology (which we also see in the longer Madhusādhū treatise) implies a well-developed Tibetan tradition of tantric exegesis at this time.

Regarding the definition of meditation: *De* means to remain in the state of the totally pure space of reality, unborn even from the very beginning and unceasing even at the end. *Bzhin* means clarity without center or periphery due to the wisdom of reflexive awareness within that unborn state. *Nyid* means realization.⁶⁰

The meditation on suchness is situated in the context of the space of reality (*chos kyi dbyings*, Skt. *dharmadhātu*) which is defined as “pure from the beginning” (*ye nas rnam par dag pa*). The true nature of phenomena is said to be natural authenticity (*rang bzhin kyi rnal ma*) and unborn *bodhicitta* (*skyes pa myed pa'i byang chub kyi sems*). The meditator is instructed not to think of anything at all (*ci la yang myi sems*), not to abide anywhere (*myi gnas*) or to be attached to anything (*myi chags*).⁶¹

In these meditation instructions on the suchness concentration we can see many aspects of the discourses on the view of Mahāyoga discussed in the previous section. The suchness concentration places this kind of discourse on nonduality and nonconceptualization at the beginning of any Mahāyoga meditation practice, so that the visualizations emerge from the state of nonconceptualization.

It should be added that a number of Dunhuang *sādhana*s insert a preliminary visualization before the concentration on suchness. This involves the visualization of syllables (usually three) at the main physical centres, which emit light and purify the meditator's conceptual mind.⁶² This is then followed by the non-conceptual meditation on suchness.

⁵⁸ Three concentrations, though not the same as these, are discussed in the *Sarvatathāgatattattvasamgraha* (see Weinberger 2003: 64–65).

⁵⁹ See Garson 2004: 35–36, 51–55 and the first chapter of Weinberger 2003.

⁵⁹ See IOL Tib J 437, 552, 553, 554, 716; Or.8210/S.95/7; Pelliot tibétain 42 (26–29), 283, 634.

⁶⁰ IOL Tib J 437 2v/15r.3: sgom pa'i nges tshig ni / de zhes bya ba ni / gte thog ma nyid nas kyang ma skyes / mtha' mar yang ma [4] 'gegs // chos kyi dbyings rnam par dag pa'i ngang la gnas pa la bya // bzhin zhes bya ba ni / de ltar ma skyes pa'i ngang [5] las rang rig pa'i ye shes kyis mtha' dbus myed par gsal la bya / nyi ces bya ba ni / rtogs pa 'o //

⁶¹ IOL Tib J 437 2v/15r.3.7–9.

⁶² See IOL Tib J 716 R1.1–12; Pelliot tibétain 626 1a; Pelliot tibétain 634 1r. See also the *sādhana* IOL Tib J 331/1, which is devoted to this practice alone, and is attributed to Mañjuśrīmitra.

The author of IOL Tib J 437/2 includes two citations from tantras in his discussion of the suchness meditation. The first is rather long, but as it is one of the few citations from the *Gubhyagarbha* in the Dunhuang manuscripts, it is worth quoting here in full:

Ema'o! This teaching, secret from the beginning,
Has been spoken by all the perfect buddhas.

All birth comes from the unborn,
Birth itself is unborn.

Ema! This amazing and marvellous teaching
Has been spoken by all the perfect buddhas.

All cessation comes from the unceasing,
Cessation itself is unceasing.

Ema! This amazing and marvellous teaching,
Has been spoken by all the perfect buddhas.

All abides in the unabiding,
Abiding itself is unabiding.

Ema! This amazing and marvellous teaching,
Has been spoken by all the perfect buddhas.

All fixation comes from nonfixation,
Fixation itself is nonfixation.

Ema! This amazing and marvellous teaching,
Has been spoken by all the perfect buddhas.

All movement comes from the unmoving,
Movement itself is unmoving.⁶³

These verses are identical to those that appear at the end of chapter two of the *Gubhyagarbha*, where they are spoken on the subject of generating oneself as the wisdom mind of primordial buddhahood.⁶⁴ However, the name of the tantra is not mentioned here. The author of IOL Tib J 437/2 also cites the following verse from the *Gubhyasamāja*:

The lack of essence is the essence of meditation;
To practise meditation is not meditation.

If you meditate on essence and the lack of essence,
Meditation is without fixation.⁶⁵

⁶³ IOL Tib J 437 15v/3r.2: e ma 'o ye nas gsang ba'i chos / rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas kun kyis gsungs // skye pa myed las thams [3] cad skyes / skyes pa nyid na skye pa myed // e ma ngo tshar rmad <rmad> kyi chos // rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas kun kyis gsungs / [4] 'gags myed las thams cad 'gag // 'gag pa nyid na <thams cad> 'gag +pa myed+ / e ma ngo tshar rmad kyi chos // [5] rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas kun kyi gsungs // gnas pa myed na thams cad gnas / gnas pa nyid la gnas pa myed / [6] e ma ngo tshar rmad kyi chos // rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas kun kyis gsungs // dmyigs pa myed las thams cad [7] dmyigs // dmyigs pa nyid na dmyigs pa myed / e ma ngo tshar rmad kyi chos // rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas kun kyis [8] gsangs // 'gro la myed las thams cad 'gro / 'gro 'ong nyid na 'gro 'ong myed / ces brjod nas /

⁶⁴ See Tb.417: 158. The only consistent deviation from the canonical version is the repeated phrase *rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas kun kyis gsungs*, as the last syllable is *gsang* in the canonical versions. Thus "This amazing and marvellous teaching / Is the secret of all the perfect buddhas."

⁶⁵ IOL Tib J 437 3v.2: rgyud nyid las dam pa'i don du bsgom pa ni // [3] dngos po myed par bsgom pa'i dngos // bsgom par bya ba bsgom ma yin // dngos dang dngos myed bsgom pas na / bsgom pa [4] dmyigs su myed pa 'o // zhes 'byung ste /

These lines also appear in a similar context in Pelliot tibétain 42 v2.2–3. The version of this verses found in these two manuscripts is similar, though not identical, to the Dunhuang manuscript version (IOL Tib J 438 8v.4) and the *Rnying ma rgyud 'bum* version (Tb.409: 767.1–2).

This verse, which appears in several other manuscripts as well, seems to have been popular in tantric exegesis at Dunhuang.⁶⁶ These two citations give us a clear view of the tantric sources used for the explication of the first of the three concentrations. Most explanations of the three concentrations seem to be wholly based on such tantric sources. However certain Dunhuang texts seem to draw on Chan terminology in their descriptions of the suchness concentration.⁶⁷ Two commentaries, Pelliot tibétain 626 and 634 (both on the same root text and written in the same hand) associate the suchness concentration with the Chan practice of “viewing the mind” (*sems la lta*).⁶⁸ In this practice the mind is examined for features like shapes and colours, and consequently found to exist nowhere.

Techniques of introspective analysis are not unique to Chan Buddhism, but it is striking that they are found in the writings of the Northern Chan schools in conjunction with the phrase “viewing the mind” (Ch. *kan xin* 看心) and also in the Dunhuang Chan manuscripts, including the fragments attributed to the Chan master Heshang Moheyan.⁶⁹ Furthermore, in IOL Tib J 626 and 634 the mental state resulting from the suchness concentration is described as non-thought (*mi bsam*), non-conceptualization (*mi rtog*), and not engaging the mind (*yid la mi byed pa*), three important terms in Tibetan Chan, including the texts attributed to Moheyan.⁷⁰ Yet despite the striking concordances found in these two manuscripts, and the more general shared meditation practice of not thinking (*mi sems / bsam*) no such obvious syncretism is found in other treatments of the suchness concentration.

(ii) THE CONCENTRATION ON TOTAL ILLUMINATION

According to IOL Tib J 437/2, the purpose of this concentration is to purify concepts, to be comfortable in the arising of the illusory manifestations, and to be able to visualize the *maṇḍala* and the palace with ease. The actual meditation instructions are given in series of poetic similes:

Like the emptiness of the sky, appearance shines forth as appearance, and emptiness shines forth as emptiness. It is wisdom like a moon-disc [reflected] in water, and it pervades deep space without center or limits. Thus it is known as *concentration on total illumination*. It is also called *concentration on emptiness, the clear bliss of method, the opening for forms, or the seed of the arising forms*. Meditate without wavering from the state of the great compassion, like the surface of an empty sky, or the reflected forms of the sun, moon, planets, and stars vividly appearing on a clear lake, or a mirror without nature or characteristics, or a lake at dawn.⁷¹

⁶⁶ The verse appears in descriptions of the concentration on suchness in IOL Tib J 552 (1v) and 553 (1v), and in a longer citation from the tantra in Pelliot tibétain 42 (38).

⁶⁷ I have previously discussed this material in an article co-authored with Jacob Dalton. See van Schaik and Dalton 2004.

⁶⁸ PT626 f. 2v.6, PT634 f. 1v.1 (*mchan 'grel*).

⁶⁹ See IOL Tib J 468 2r.4–5; STMG 146.6–147.2; PT823, recto f. 1.4 (translated in Gomez, 1983: 109, 119, 126). On *kan xin* see Meinert 2006: 251–262.

⁷⁰ See 1983: 152 n. 43.

⁷¹ IOL Tib J 437 4v/5r.1: kun snang gyi ting nge 'dzin sgom ba'i thabs ni//nam ka 'i stong bzhin du snang snang bzhin du [2] stong la stong bzhin du gsal//ye shes chu zla'i dkyil 'khor dang 'dra bar//mkha' gting dbus mtha' [3] myed par khyab pas // kun tu snang ba'i ting nge 'dzin zhes bya / thabs gyi [4] bde sel zhes kyang bya//gzugs gi go byed zhes kyang bya / gzugs 'byung ba'i drgyu zhes kyang bya ste/ nam ga bstod pa'i ngos blta [5] bu 'am/ mtsho dangs pi nang na nyi zla gza skar gi gzugs gnyan gsal par snang yang/ rang bzhin dang mtshon ma myed [6] pa rgya long kha bsdu 'dra bu 'am/ nam nangs pi mtsho 'dra bur bsnyin rje chen po'i ngang las ma g.yos par bsgom mo /

The main themes that emerge here are openness and light. As the various names for this stage of meditation suggest, this is a preparation for the appearance of the forms of the deities. Another important aspect of the concentration on suchness, appearing here and in most other treatments, is the generation of compassion. In some *sādhana*s, specific contemplation of the suffering of sentient beings is recommended.⁷² This emphasis on compassion as an integral part of meditation places the practice in the general context of sūtric Mahāyāna. The same can be said for the first concentration, which in its emphasis on the lack of birth and cessation draws heavily on the discussion of emptiness in *prajñāpāramitā* literature. Thus it is clearly a function of the first two concentrations to locate the *sādhana* in the context of Mahāyāna sūtric discourse, emphasising a continuity between the latter and tantric meditation techniques.

Additionally, the combination of compassion with the idea of total pervasion prefigures the definitions of the “basis” (*gzhi*) in later great perfection (*rdzogs chen*) literature. One Dunhuang *sādhana* explains in more detail how compassion pervades all sentient beings because it arises from the wisdom body (*jñānasattva*); intriguingly, this *sādhana* is said to be based on “the tantras of secret mantra and the sūtras of the great perfection.”⁷³

Finally, in discussing the concentration on total illumination, the author of IOL Tib J 437/2 adds another tantra citation:

Everything has the characteristic of the sky,
Yet the sky has no characteristics.

Through the sky-like yoga,
All objects are clarified as equal.⁷⁴

Once again the tantra is not identified, but we do find the same quote elsewhere in the Dunhuang Mahāyoga manuscripts, in IOL Tib J 454 and 508, where it is attributed to the *Śrīparamādya*, a tantra which is often included in list of the Eighteen Mahāyoga tantras. The lines do indeed appear in the *Śrīparamādya*, where they are attributed to “the *prajñāpāramitā*.”⁷⁵

(iii) THE CONCENTRATION ON THE CAUSE

The last of the three concentrations represents the inception of formalized visualization practice. The relationship between this concentration and the last is eloquently explained by the author of IOL Tib J 437:

From the empty sky, as described above, come phenomena which are in essence without birth or cessation. The sky, too, can become anything — clouds, wind, thunder and lightning, and so on. Due to the cause of rain falling on the ground, everything — like plants and forests — is made to spread and ripen. Similarly, from the state of

⁷² For example, IOL Tib J 716 R1.12–24.

⁷³ Pelliot tibétain 353 1r: *gsang ba sngags tan tra rdzogs chen pa chen po'i mdo*.

⁷⁴ IOL Tib J 437 4v/5r.8: *de yang ci mngon zhes na / drgyud nyid las thams chad nam ka 'i mtshan nyid bste / [9] nam ka la yang mtshan nyid myed / nam ka 'dra bu rnal bsbyor pas // / don kun mnyam pa nyid du gsal /*

⁷⁵ *Śrīparamādya* (Tib. Dpal mchog dang po) Tb.477.7–478.1. Here “the *Prajñāpāramitā*” may be a reference to the *Prajñāpāramitā-nayaśatapañcāsātikā*, an early tantra (or perhaps a “proto-tantra”) which does not contain these lines in its canonical version, but does have them in the Dunhuang version (see IOL Tib J 97 53v–54r). For further discussion see the relevant entries in Dalton and van Schaik 2006.

unborn and unceasing phenomena, the emanated unceasing phenomena take on any aspect and emanate.⁷⁶

The general meaning of “cause” is made quite clear here. More specifically, the cause is embodied in the visualization of a seed syllable (*sa bon gi yi ge*), the basis for the visualization of the deity.⁷⁷ In IOL Tib J 437, the white syllable *a* is visualized. In certain *sādhana*s, the syllable *om* is used instead. In some *sādhana*s the syllable rests on a moon disc; in the lengthy *sādhana* in IOL Tib J 716, even the visualization of the moon disc is a gradual process, in which the moon begins as the new moon on the first day of the lunar month, and gradually passes through the days of the month to become full.⁷⁸

Generally the whole visualization begins from this seed syllable. As it says in IOL Tib J 437:

The inconceivable three-pointed *a* emanates as all of the thousand worlds,
and everything becomes like the sky.⁷⁹

This use of the letter *a* to symbolize the primordial sky-like state from which all pure appearances come into being became a standard feature of great perfection texts. In brief, there is a degree of consistency within the Dunhuang manuscripts regarding the treatment of the three concentrations, and there is also a consistency with the later Nyingma tradition.⁸⁰

In the *Summary*, where the three concentrations are referred to simply as “the three aspects of Mahāyoga”, they are the last topic to be discussed, after the section on union and liberation. This is slightly anachronistic, in that the *sādhana* manuscripts show us that the three concentrations are often practised immediately before the sexual practices that are indicated by the term “union.” The categorization of such visualization practices as the “development stage” (*bskyed rim*) seems to be implicitly present here, in that the three concentrations are explicitly said to be “developed” (*bskyed*) and often the phrase “in stages” (*rim gyis*) is also used.

5. Union and liberation

Union (*sbyor ba*) and liberation (*sgrol ba / bsgral ba*) are usually found together, and often discussed as a pair, in tantric literature. Together, they are also the subject of five of the *samaya* vows (see below). Union and liberation embody the most transgressive of tantric practices — the ritualized practice of sexual intercourse and of violence. These were, of

⁷⁶ IOL Tib J 437 6v/7r.1: drgyu bsgom pa ni / gong ma lta bu nam ka stong ba las [2] chos skye 'gag myed pa'i ngo bor yin ste / nam ka la yang bsprin dang / khu rlabs dang / 'brug dang glog las [3] bstsoqs bste / cir yang 'gyur pas / sa gzhi yang char pi drgyu phab pas / rtsi shing dang / nag gtsal la [4] bstsoqs pa tams cad / rgyas shing bsmyin par byed pa dang 'dra bar // chos bskyed 'gag myed pi ngang las / [5] 'gag pa myed pi chos 'phrul rnam pa cing yang 'gyur zhing / ! / bspros bste /

⁷⁷ For an instance of the specific term “seed syllable” in the context of the three samādhis, see Pelliot tibétain 42 (28.4).

⁷⁸ IOL Tib J 716 R1.12–24.

⁷⁹ IOL Tib J 437 7v/8r.5: a gru gsum bsam gyis myi khyab [6] par stong gi 'jigs rten thams cad du spros / thams cad nam ki rang bzhin 'gyur nas /

⁸⁰ By contrast, Gnubs chen's treatment of Mahāyoga barely touches on the three concentrations, perhaps because he considered them outside of the purview of his discussion of the view of Mahāyoga.

course, the aspects of tantric ritual practice in the early period of transmission that so troubled the kings of Western Tibet in the late tenth and eleventh centuries.⁸¹ Others have already discussed the presence of rituals for union and liberation in the Dunhuang manuscripts as evidence for their practice during this period.⁸²

In the *Summary*, union and liberation are explicitly identified as Mahāyoga practices; however some sources on Mahāyoga do not seem to engage with the practices of union and liberation at all.⁸³ These include *The Questions and Answers on Vajrasattva* and the two Madhusādhū treatises. Kammie Takahashi has suggested, that this may be because *The Questions and Answers on Vajrasattva* is earlier than the Dunhuang *sādhānas*; however, she concludes that it probably represents an alternative exegetical tradition contemporary with the *sādhānas*. I would agree that we seem to be dealing with alternative styles of exegesis, and note in addition that we might see these two exegetical tendencies a precursor to the Nyingma distinction between the “path of means” (*thabs lam*) and the “path of liberation” (*grol lam*). These are presented as two ways of approaching the perfection stage in Mahāyoga. The first relies on psycho-physical practices, while the second on presentations of the view.⁸⁴

(i) UNION

As mentioned above, in many of the Dunhuang *sādhānas* meditation practice involving sexual intercourse follows the gradual development of the visualization. Such practices were categorized as the “perfection stage” (*rdzogs rim*), following on from the “development stage” (*bskyed rim*).⁸⁵ The section on union is the most detailed part of the *Summary*, which is interesting considering that the later Nyingma tradition tended to categorise Mahāyoga as the vehicle of the development stage, with Anuyoga being the vehicle of the perfection stage.

The *Summary* defines Mahāyoga union as “the union of the *vajra* and the lotus.” This is of course a symbolic reference to the male and female sexual organs.⁸⁶ The *Summary* goes on to list three kinds of union: (i) the union in the single ornament, (ii) the union of the

⁸¹ On these events see Wangchuk 2002, and the earlier studies cited therein.

⁸² See Dalton 2004, Meinert 2006, and Dalton forthcoming. Note that union and liberation are not discussed in the *Lamp for the Eyes of Concentration*, which may be simply due to Gnubs chen’s treatment of Mahāyoga according to its view alone.

⁸³ It should be noted here that IOL Tib J 644 defines union and liberation in the context of Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga; however, in the latter two contexts union and liberation are given a metaphorical reading. See also IOL Tib J 647 (3v.5–4r.2), which gives an Atiyoga reading to union and liberation, and Pelliot tibétain 841 (1r.1–2) which mentions union and liberation in the context of Anuyoga (though the main treatment of the topic is in the context of Mahāyoga).

⁸⁴ See for example Klong chen pa’s presentation of these two in his *Dispelling Darkness in the Ten Directions*, pp.113–127. The path of liberation (*grol lam*) here should not be confused with the violent rituals of liberation (*sgrol ba*).

⁸⁵ There is no explicit discussion of these two key terms in the Dunhuang manuscripts, though in the *Summary* and elsewhere Mahāyoga meditation is characterized in terms of the gradual ‘development’ of the visualized deity, and IOL Tib J 656 characterizes Anuyoga as meditating on development via the mode of perfection. (1.29–30: *bskyed de rdzogs pa’i tshul du bsgom ba’o*). Note also that the stages of development and perfection, along with a “great perfection” stage, are listed in the *Garland of Views* of Padmasambhava. See Karmay 1988: 155, 164. Similarly, the *Sutra Gathering All Intentions* (probably dating to the latter half of the ninth century) characterizes these three modes as development, perfection and total perfection (*yongs su rdzogs pa*). See *Armour of Darkness* vol.1, 509–511.

⁸⁶ This may also be an implicit reference to the fourfold classification of union found in IOL Tib J 754(b)/3. Here union is divided into (i) the union of the senses with their objects, (ii) the union of knowledge with means, (iii) the union of wisdom with space, and (iv) the union of the vajra with the lotus.

five families in a single mode, (iii) indiscriminate union. There is no further elaboration on these in the *Summary*, but fortunately they are defined in the *Seven Great Scriptural Systems*, as follows:

The single ornament is the vow to [remain as] a pair. *The five families in a single mode* is the accomplishment of one principal deity, four principal female deities and a single location. *Indiscriminate* is the greatest path of the three realms. In this case, if one is engaging in union with all women in accordance with the ritual manuals, one should avoid criticism by using *vajra* speech.⁸⁷

Here the distinction seems to be between different contexts for the practice of union, either (i) in a monogamous pair, (ii) with one male and four female practitioners or (iii) as a wandering male engaging in union with all kinds of women. Interestingly the text here is aware of the social transgression entailed by the third style of union, and recommends a kind of indirect language to avoid censure.⁸⁸ The *Summary* goes on to define union according to several further sets of categories. These initially seem rather bewildering, but on closer inspection, all of them can be mapped onto the structure of the Mahāyoga *sādhana*s found in the Dunhuang manuscripts.⁸⁹ In these *sādhana*s, the structure of the practice has these general stages, subsequent to the three concentrations:

1. Visualization of male and female practitioners as deities (usually as Vajrasattva and Samantabhadri). This is often referred to in the *sādhana*s as the *mahāmudrā* (the other three *mudrās* are not usually invoked). The non-differentiation of practitioner and deity is one feature that distinguishes Mahāyoga from the lower tantric methods, according to the doxographical text IOL Tib J 644. Here, the relationship between deity and practitioner is said to be that between a buddha and a sentient being in the ordinary Mahāyāna, that between a slave and a master in the Kriyā, that between a lord and a servant in Upāya, that between a brother and sister in Yoga, and without distinction in Mahāyoga. This lack of distinction is also said to characterize Anuyoga and Atiyoga.⁹⁰

IOL Tib J 754(b)/3, l.45: sbyor ba rnam pa bzhi la// dbang po yul la sbyor ba dang/ shes rab thabs la abyor ba dang// ye shes [46] dbyings la sbyor ba dang// rdo rje pad mo la sbyor ba'o//

It is evident from the discussion that follows this classification that only the last of these four refers to the performance of the practice of sexual union itself.

⁸⁷ Pelliot tibétain 656 l.45: gsang sngags ma ha yo ga'i sbyor ba ni / rdo rje dang pad mo sbyor ba ste de yang gsum mo / rgyan gcig par sbyor ba dang [46] rigs lnga tshul gcig par sgyor ba dang / phyal bar sbyor ba'o / de la rgyan gcig pa ni gnyis su dam bcas pa'o / [47] rigs lnga tshul gcig pa ni / gtso bo gcig dang / gtso mo bzhi dang / yul gcig sgrub pa'o / phyal ba ni khams [48] gsum dag kyi lam mchog / na / bud myed ci snyed yod pa rnam / thams cad cho ga bzhin sbyor na / rdo rje gsung kyis [49] myi smad do zhes 'byung ba'o /

⁸⁸ For a discussion of coded language in the tantras, see Davidson 2002: 257–269. A promiscuous lifestyle played a part in the legends of some of Tibet's "crazy yogins" (smyon pa), such as 'Brug pa kun legs, whose exploits have been translated in Stein 1972 and Dowman 1980.

⁸⁹ It is much more common to divide these practices according to the four limbs of *sādhana*: propitiation (*bsnyen pa*), approaching propitiation (*nye bar bsnyen pa*), accomplishment (*bsgrub pa*) and great accomplishment (*bsgrub pa chen po*). These four also appear in the Dunhuang manuscripts, including IOL Tib J 332/1 (translation in Dalton 2004: 11). They are also found in many canonical sources, including the *Gubyasamāja* (Tb.409: 187.4–5). There also seems to be a certain amount of correspondence here with explanations of the stages of empowerment (*abhiṣeka*) as described in some Indic treatises; see for example the translation of Sujayaśrīgupta's *Abhiṣekanirukti* in Onians 2001: 342–347.

⁹⁰ IOL Tib J 644 1r–1v.

2. Visualization of one or more deities and/or syllables inside the male's and female's own bodies. Sometimes these are the standard five deities of the *maṇḍala*, but other variants often occur.⁹¹ Sometimes an external *maṇḍala* is visualized as well.⁹²
3. Visualization of the internal flow or “descent” (*'babs*) of *bodhicitta*. In some *sādhana*s the reference to the act of intercourse is more or less explicit, in others, the process seems to be described through visualization alone.⁹³
4. Visualization of the emanation of light from the *bodhicitta*, as an offering to the buddhas and as an empowerment for the benefit of all sentient beings.
5. Consuming the *samaya* substances. The *Summary* glosses this as “experiencing the savour of *bodhicitta*” or “receiving and eating”. This may be a reference to two alternative practices: on the one hand, the physical experience of the profound sensations of the descent of the *bodhicitta* energy, and on the other hand, the ingestion of the five nectars, including the sexual fluids.⁹⁴ This would account for a number of *sādhana*s in which there is no mention of ingesting anything.⁹⁵ Where there is explicit reference to consuming the *samaya* substance, it is usually first offered to the buddhas.⁹⁶
6. Contemplating the ultimate meaning of the *bodhicitta* or *samaya*. In some *sādhana*s there is a dissolution back into the nonconceptual state, and the language used here echoes the descriptions of the concentration on suchness.⁹⁷ At this point there is often also a reference to the *samaya* vows. Rather than spelling out the vows, most *sādhana*s just mention that the practitioners are bound by them, and the consequences of transgressing them. We will look at the definition of the Mahāyoga *samaya* vows in the next section.

Thus the various categories in the *Summary* map onto these *sādhana* stages as follows:

⁹¹ The standard five deities are seen in Pelliot tibétain 42 (28); an example of a different system is seen in IOL Tib J 716 (ll.46–70).

⁹² The external maṇḍala appears in the *sādhana*s in IOL Tib J 331/2 and 554, for instance.

⁹³ The deliberately allusive language of these *sādhana*s make such judgements necessarily tentative. Those *sādhana*s with apparent reference to intercourse include IOL Tib J 331/2, 464; Pelliot tibétain 42 and 841 (on these see Dalton 2004). *Sādhana*s which describe the movement of *bodhicitta* through visualization alone include IOL Tib J 716. Other *sādhana*s, IOL Tib J 552, 553 and 554, refer to the “play” (*rol*) of the father and mother, but otherwise give instructions purely in terms of visualization.

⁹⁴ On the five nectars, see Wedemeyer 2007: 401–403.

⁹⁵ These include IOL Tib J 552, 553, 554 and 716.

⁹⁶ For example, Pelliot tibétain 841 (2v.2–4), 332/e (1v.1–4) and 36 (v1.4–v2.1). These references from Dalton 2004: 16 n.40.

⁹⁷ For example, IOL Tib J 552 has “the supreme *samaya* is the sublime expanse itself” (6v.2: dam tsiṅ mchog rab dbyings dam pa nyid to /). IOL Tib J 437 has “the great perfection, the great embodiment, the essential nectar, this sublime, supreme medicine beyond birth and death.” (13v/14r.1: rdzogs chen bdag nyid chen po thugs kyi bcud // skye shi myed pa'i sman mchog [2] dam pa 'di /). Note here the reference to the “great perfection” (*rdzogs chen*) which is also found in the *Gubhyagarbha* in the same context. Here “great perfection” seems to indicate the culmination of the phase of perfection, while prefiguring some of the themes of later Great Perfection texts. I have discussed these *Gubhyagarbha* passages and their continuity with later Great Perfection texts in van Schaik 2004a: 167–169.

	4 types of union	Conquering the 4 Māras	5 space mistresses	4 secret consorts
1	Union	Conquering Māra the aggregates	The vajra and lotus space mistresses	The Lady of Mudrā
2	Subsequent union			
3	Total union	Conquering Māra the afflictions	The jewel space mistress	The Lady of Intoxication
4	Universal union	Conquering Māra the god	The karma space mistress	
5		Conquering Māra the lord of death		The Lady of Eating
6			The airborne space mistress	The Lady who Prolongs Life

The fact that none of these four lists covers the whole content of the *sādhana*s suggests that the author of the *Summary* did not have a single system available in the contemporary exegetical tradition.⁹⁸

(ii) LIBERATION

The *Summary* gives a very brief treatment of liberation, dividing it into liberation of the self and liberation of others. As with the section on union, we find an almost identical treatment in the *Seven Great Scriptural Systems*, which is as follows:

Liberation comprises (i) liberation of oneself and (ii) the liberation of others. Of these, there are two measures of the liberation of oneself: (i) approaching the deity and (ii) the tantric guru. *Approaching the deity* is when the practitioner levitates up to four finger-widths. *The tantric guru* is one who is learned. Having gathered numerous sages who are learned in this way, [one who is endowed with] the ten fields is brought and their conceptual stream is liberated. This is liberation of others.⁹⁹

In this twofold system, the “liberation of oneself” is devoid of the violent connotations of “liberation”, and refers only to tantric deity practice on the one hand, and tantric learning on the other.¹⁰⁰ However, these qualities seem to be introduced here mainly as a requirement for the “liberation of others”, that is, the violent ritual practice of symbolic or genuine

⁹⁸ Note that in IOL Tib J 331/1, a *sādhana* attributed to Mañjuśrīmitra, we have a tenfold division of a perfection stage practice, as follows:

(i) the way of entering the *sādhana*, (ii) the place, (iii) developing the deities, (iv) the blessings, (v) empowerment by the *jñānasattva*, (vi) offering, (vii) the ritual of propitiation, (viii) dissolution of the *maṇḍala*, (ix) protecting the body and (x) the continuous *samādhi*.

IOL Tib J 331/1 2v.1: //bsgrub pa la 'jug pa'I tshul dang/ gnas dang/ lhar bskyed pa dang/ byIn kyIs brlab pa dang/ ye shes sems dpas dbang bskur ba dang/ mchod pa dang/ bsnyen pa'I co ga dang/ dkyil 'khor bsdu ba dang/ lus srung ba dang/ rgyun kyI tIng nge 'dzIn bstan pa'o//

My schematic six-part distinction roughly corresponds to parts iii to viii of this scheme. Parts i and ii are the preliminary steps of finding a master, receiving empowerment and finding a suitable site to practice (on which see section 9 below). Parts ix and x are post-meditation practices which aim to maintain the meditative realization through recitation of mantras and the correct state of mind.

⁹⁹ Pelliot tibétain 656 l.49: sgröl ba ni bdag bsgrol ba dang gzhan bsgrol ba'o / de la bdag bsgrol ba tshad rnam pa nyis [50] te / lha nye ba dang rgyud bla ma'o / de la lha nye ba ni bsgrub pa po de sor bzhi yan cad 'phags pa'o / rgyud bla ma ni mkha [51] pa'o / de lta bu skyes bu mkhas pa mang zhig 'dus nas / zhing bcu la bstags te bdag du / rtog pa'i rgyud [52] sbyor ba ni gzhan bsgrol ba'o /

¹⁰⁰ Note that the discussion of liberation in IOL Tib J 754 (b), which imposes a classification of four types of liberation, does not mention the liberation of others at all (ll.56ff).

sacrifice. Both the *Summary* and the *Seven Great Scriptural Systems*, though dealing with this ritual in the briefest of terms, suggest that it is only to be carried out by a group of well-qualified tantric practitioners. This is also emphasised in Pelliot tibétain 42, which states that liberation is not to be performed by ordinary people (*phal ba*).¹⁰¹

Regarding the subject who is to be liberated, the *Summary* states that the victim must possess the so-called “ten fields”. These are the “ten fields for liberation” (*bsgral ba'i zhing bcu*), a list of ten sins which make a being suitable for liberation (that is, for killing). Such lists are fairly common in later *sgrol ba* and *phur ba* literature, as well in as some Indic tantras and treatises, though the contents and arrangement of the list differ quite widely.¹⁰² I have not seen a definition of the ten fields in the Dunhuang manuscripts, though the liberation rite discussed immediately below does contain five suitable objects for liberation.¹⁰³

Compared to the practices which fall under the heading of “union” discussed above, there are very few explicit ritual manuals for liberation. One manuscript which does discuss the liberation ritual in detail is *Tantric Notes I*. The liberation ritual is described in brief and extensive versions. The brief version (Pelliot tibétain 42.IX) has been discussed by Carmen Meinert, while the more extensive version (IOL Tib J 419/12) will be the subject of a detailed study by Jacob Dalton, so I will only summarize it here.¹⁰⁴

The ritual of liberation begins with a preliminary list of five reasons for performing the ritual: the subject of liberation must have (i) denigrated the Mahāyāna, (ii) offended a Noble One, (iii) come to a *maṇḍala* without the *samaya*, (iv) hold a false view or (v) have caused a cessation in the Mahāyāna *dharmā*. It is made clear that liberation must be practised on the basis of great compassion. The extensive version of the ritual then goes into some detail on the preparation of the ritual space. There follows a description of the visualization, a *maṇḍala* of deities and various seed syllables. The act of liberation is carried out with a weapon and the recitation of a mantra. The victim's liberated consciousness becomes an offering to the assembled deities of the *maṇḍala*, and the visualization is dissolved. In the extensive version there is a discussion of the signs that indicate the outcome of the ritual.¹⁰⁵ In both versions of this ritual it is suggested that the practice of union is to follow.

The Vajrakīlaya (*phur ba*) material is also relevant in this context. These rituals are contextualized in much the same way as the liberation ritual in *Tantric Notes I*, that is, in the context of compassion.¹⁰⁶ However, it should be noted that the practices explicitly pre-

¹⁰¹ Pelliot tibétain 42.I: 24.4–25.3. Translation in Meinert 2006: 117.

¹⁰² A detailed discussion of seven fields for liberation appears in Chapter 12 of the *Phur ba bcu gnyis* tantra (Tb.414: 907.6–913.7). Thanks to Robert Mayer for this information. An early version of the ten fields is found in the following list in Vilāsavajra's *Exposition of the Samaya* (576a.1–2):

dkon mchog slob dpon sku dgra gnyis // dam nyams log dang 'khus pa dang // 'du bar 'ongs dang yongs la gnod // dam dgra ngan pa'i ngang tshul can // ngan song gsum dang bcu po ni // rnal 'byor kun gyis dang du blang /

On the ten fields in the later Tibetan tradition see Cantwell 1997: 108–109. For one version of the ten categories in the later Tibetan *phur ba* tradition see Boord 2002: 224.

¹⁰³ See Meinert 2006: 199–120.

¹⁰⁴ See Dalton forthcoming, which will include a translation and transcription of this ritual, as well as the other Dunhuang manuscript source for a liberation ritual, Pelliot tibétain 840/1.

¹⁰⁵ The ritual begins on Pelliot tibétain 42, 68.4–72.4, and concludes on IOL Tib J 419 3r.1–4. In his forthcoming book, Jacob Dalton argues that this ritual manual implies the presence of a real human victim, and not a symbolic object, as is specified in the later tradition.

¹⁰⁶ The most important Vajrakīlaya *sādhanas* are IOL Tib J 754(b)/2, discussed in Mayer 1994, Pelliot tibétain 349, discussed in Mayer 2004, and IOL Tib J 331/3, discussed in Mayer and Cantwell 2008. Furthermore, an exhaustive review of the Dunhuang Vajrakīlaya material is the subject of a forthcoming book by Cantwell and Mayer.

sented as liberation in the Dunhuang manuscripts, discussed above, are not Vajrakīlaya rituals. Equally, in the Dunhuang Vajrakīlaya rituals the term ‘liberation’ does not play a central role. This is in contrast to the later Tibetan tradition, in which liberation rituals came to be synonymous with the figure Vajrakīlaya, and Vajrakīlaya came to represent the personification of the liberation act. Thus it appears that the Dunhuang manuscripts represent a stage at which these were two separate ritual lineages with similar content, which merged in the subsequent Tibetan tradition.

Finally, there are many related *sādhana*s and ritual manuals concerning wrathful deities to be found in the manuscripts that are not specifically concerned with liberation. One genre describes *maṇḍalas* with the deity Heruka at the centre surrounded by arrays of wrathful female deities. These deities include the well-known sequence of Gaurī, Caurī, Pramohā and so on, and animal-headed goddesses such as Kaṅkamukhā, Kākamukhā and Hulukumhā. In one manuscript (IOL Tib J 716), this wrathful *maṇḍala* immediately follows the *sādhana* of union, suggesting the union/liberation pair. In another version (IOL Tib J 332) the *maṇḍala* is clearly derived from chapter 17 of the *Guhyagarbha*. Behind these *maṇḍalas* there is the myth of the liberation of the demon Rudra by Heruka, which is recounted in one of the texts in *Tantric Notes I* (IOL Tib J 419.5). This story, which appears in chapter 15 of the *Guhyagarbha*, is the mythical prototype of the act of ritual liberation.¹⁰⁷

6. *Samaya* Vows

The *Summary* defines the *samaya* vows of Mahāyoga as a group of twenty-eight comprising three root vows and twenty-five branch vows. These will be known to anyone familiar with the later Nyingma tradition, where this arrangement of the vows has remained the same to the present day within the vehicle of Mahāyoga. I have discussed these vows, and other related vow systems found in Dunhuang, in a recent article where I traced the development of this system of *samaya* vows from the *Guhyagarbha*’s chapter 19, through Vilāsavajra’s *Exposition of the Samaya*, and finally to the system of the Dunhuang manuscripts, which has remained unchanged to the present day.¹⁰⁸

The *Summary* characterizes the *samaya* vows as “transmitted precepts” (*lung*). While the meaning of *lung* is not made clear in the *Summary*, we find the following passage in Pelliot tibétain 337, after a discussion of the *samaya* vows: “The *samaya* are the transmitted precepts of the *vajra* master, passed down from one person to another.”¹⁰⁹ The sense of *lung* here seems to be an oral explanatory tradition which accompanies the teaching of scriptural sources.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ See again Cantwell 1997, Meinert 2006 and Jacob Dalton forthcoming.

¹⁰⁸ See van Schaik forthcoming(b).

¹⁰⁹ Pelliot tibétain 337: panel 4, l.22: *slobd dpon gyI lung gcIg du brgyud cIng bshad pa yIn*

¹¹⁰ Note that early great perfection texts were often characterised as *lung* (see van Schaik 2004b). The esoteric instructions (*man ngag*) seem to differ only marginally in signification from the transmitted precepts. They may perhaps indicate a more personal, oral instruction. The *Lta ba’i yang dag pa’i sgron me* (ll.9–16) of Gnyan dPal dbyangs mentions both, without however helping us to distinguish them:

If you focus the mind on the great way of awareness,
That is, non-conceptualization, the nature of ultimate truth,
Using awareness you will confirm the transmitted precepts and esoteric instructions.
This is known as confidence in the correct nature of phenomena.
rnam pa mi rtog don dam rang bzhin gyi /

In addition to the *Summary* itself, we find other references to the twenty-eight *samaya* vows in the Dunhuang manuscripts. They are mentioned, though not listed, in the *Seven Great Scriptural Systems*:

There are twenty-eight *samaya*, grouped into three: the *samaya* of view, the *samaya* of practice, and the *samaya* of accomplishment.¹¹¹

The same twenty-eight vows are clearly intended in the following lines on *samaya* from “the six boiled-down essentials” in *Tantric Notes II*:

What are the *samaya*? They have the nature of moral discipline and vows. They are the root *samaya* of body, speech and mind, and the *samaya* to be practiced, and so on. Having received these as transmitted precepts, they must be protected and practised.¹¹²

The three root vows are discussed in some detail in three different manuscripts, suggesting that these three vows were sometimes transmitted independently of the twenty-five branch vows.¹¹³ The three root vows are:

- (i) The vow of the body: to venerate the guru.
- (ii) The vow of speech: to continually practice the mantras and mudrās of the deity.
- (iii) The vow of mind: to keep the restricted teachings of the tantras secret.

The twenty-five branch vows are arranged in five groups of five:

- (i) The five to be accepted, which are the five nectars: faeces, urine, semen, blood and human flesh
- (ii) The five not to be rejected, which are the five defilements of desire, hatred, ignorance, pride and jealousy
- (iii) The five to be practised, which are the five rituals of liberation and union
- (iv) The five to be known, which are the pure natures of the components, elements, sense objects, sacraments and propensities
- (v) The five to be accomplished, which are the buddha’s body, speech, mind, qualities and activities

The *Summary* and the *Seven Great Scriptural Systems* complicates things further by placing these vows into another threefold classification:

- (i) the *samaya* of the view, comprising root vow iii and branch vow iv.
- (ii) the *samaya* of practice, comprising root vow i and branch vows ii and iii.
- (iii) the *samaya* of accomplishment, comprising root vow ii and branch vow v.¹¹⁴

rig pa'i tshul chen sems kyis dmigs ba na /
lung dang man ngag rig pas thag gcod te /
chos kyi rang bzhin yang dag yid ches bya /

¹¹¹ Pelliot tibétain 656 l.26: dam tshigs ni nyi shu rtsa brgyad do / [27] de yang lta ba'i dam tshig dang / spyod pa'i dam tshig dang / bsgrubs pa'i dam tshig gsum du 'dus so /

¹¹² Pelliot tibétain 280 13r.2: dam tshIg gang [3] zhe na // tshul khrIms dang sdom ba'I rang bzhIn // sku gsung thugs kyI [4] dam tsIg gI rtsa ba gsum dang // spyod pa'I dam tshIg la stsogs ste // [5] lung bnos nas // bsrung dang / spyod pa 'o /

¹¹³ The manuscripts are IOL Tib J 718, Or.8210/S.9223 and Pelliot tibétain 269. The latter pair are two versions of the same text.

¹¹⁴ Note that the first set of branch vows has been omitted in *Summary*, which I take to be a scribal error, given the references to twenty-eight vows here and elsewhere.

As mentioned earlier, the *samaya* vows are frequently invoked in the Dunhuang *sādhana*s at the conclusion of the practice of union, in which the consumption of the *samaya* substances entails commitment to the *samaya* vows.¹¹⁵ The result of not maintaining the *samaya* vows is described in several places in graphic terms. The following description is typical:

If the *samaya* deteriorate, then while you live your complexion will deteriorate, your mind will become unclear, you will be subject to many illnesses and your wishes will go unfulfilled. Innumerable spirits and demons will wound you like an animal. When you die, your senses will become clouded, your tongue will stick [to your palate], you will smell unpleasant, and you will die vomiting blood. You will be escorted [from this life] by innumerable malicious demons.¹¹⁶

Perhaps surprisingly, a discussion of the *samaya* is also found in a Tibetan Chan text from Dunhuang, IOL Tib J 709/9. This text is interesting in several regards. It is titled “Chan document” and begins with the statement “the neck seal of the emperor Khri srong lde btsan appears below.”¹¹⁷ Though no such seal appears, it seems that the previous presence of such a seal associated with this text is intended here, suggesting that it was authorized by the emperor.¹¹⁸ In addition, this is one of the Tibetan Chan texts that refers to its teachings as “the great yoga”, that is, Mahāyoga.

In the middle of this text we find the question, “how does one receive the *samaya*?”¹¹⁹ In the answer, we may detect a similarity to the first root vow of the Mahāyoga *samaya*, which enjoins the veneration of the guru:

Those who have first made offerings to many buddhas and purified their minds should rely on the master-buddha, and not rely on any other.¹²⁰

The following sentence enjoins the trainee to avoid any conventional practices based on intellectual analysis, which may be loosely linked to the theme of practice in the second of the Mahāyoga root *samaya*. The remainder of the text is just a further elaboration of this point, so there is no correspondance to the third Mahāyoga root *samaya* of secrecy. Clearly more research into this text and the whole genre of Tibetan Chan is required before we can state anything with certainty about these terminological resemblences with the tantric Mahāyoga texts.

¹¹⁵ This is stated quite explicitly in IOL Tib J 552 (6v) and 554 (3v).

¹¹⁶ IOL Tib J 718 v4.1: / dam tshIg [2] 'dI gsum ma nyams na ni lus ngag yid gsum / [3] rdo rje rang bzhIn du gyur te // tshe 'di la yang / bsam [4] ba 'grub pa dang / 'chI ba'i dus byung na yang / sems [v5.1] gsal ba dang / nyon mongs pa pa'i nad kyI pa myI brlungs [2] pa drI ma zhIm ba dang / man ngag myI brjed cing // sun mar yang lha [3] rnams pa byon no // dam tshIg nyams pa na / [4] tshe 'di la yang mdog nyams pa dang / sems myi [v6.1] gsal ba dang // nad mang ba dang / bsam pa [2] myI 'grub pa dang / rI dags sman ma dang 'dra ste // [3] 'dre srI na yang bsam gyIs myi khyab pas [v7.1] glags gcod do // 'chI ba'I dus su yang / [2] dbang po myi gsal ba dang // lce stibs pa dang // [3] drI ma myI zhibs pa dang / khrag skyug nas snying [4] gas te 'chI 'o // sun mar yang 'dre gnon [v8.1] bsam gyIs myI khyab par 'ong // 'dI [2] gsum nyams na dmyal ba chen por 'gyur ro //

¹¹⁷ IOL Tib J 709/10, 36r.1: // bsam gtan gI yI ge // lha btsan po khri srong lde brtsan gI mgur gI phyag rgya 'og nas 'byung ba'

¹¹⁸ On the “neck seal” (*mgur gi phyag rgya*) see Stein 1983, which contains a discussion of IOL Tib J 506, wherein the “neck seal” is mentioned.

¹¹⁹ IOL Tib J 709/10, 38r.2: dam tshIg jI ltar blang zhe na /

It is possible that this question marks the beginning of a new text.

¹²⁰ IOL Tib J 709/10, 38r.2: sngon sangs rgyas mang po la / mchod bkur ba dang // bsam pa yongs [3] su dag pa'I rnams kyis // slobd dpon sangs rgyas la rten gyI // gzhan la myI brten par bya'o //

7. Results

The result of Mahāyoga practice is not a subject we find treated in much detail among the Dunhuang manuscripts. The long Madhusādhū treatise discusses the result of practice mainly in terms of the three buddha bodies (*kāya*). The treatise stresses the oneness of the realized yogin and the buddhas.¹²¹ Perhaps more interesting is the discussion of *vidyādhara* levels in one of the doxographical texts (IOL Tib J 644). This text identifies four kinds of *vidyādhara* in the context of Mahāyoga, a distinction that has continued in the Tibetan Nyingma tradition through to the present day.

The four *vidyādhara* in the Dunhuang text are (i) the deity *vidyādhara* (*lha'i rigs 'dzin*), (ii) the medicine *vidyādhara* (*sman kyi rigs 'dzin*), (iii) the fully-ripened *vidyādhara* (*rnam par smyin pa'i rigs 'dzin*) and (iv) the *mahāmudrā vidyādhara* (*phyag rgya chen po'i rigs 'dzin*). These four are not identical to those of the later tradition, but there is a clear continuity. In the later tradition the four are usually (i) the fully ripened *vidyādhara* (*rnam par smim pa'i rigs 'dzin*), (ii) the life-enhancing *vidyādhara* (*tshe dbang gi rigs 'dzin*), (iii) the *mahāmudrā vidyādhara* (*phyag rgya chen po'i rigs 'dzin*) and (iv) the spontaneously accomplished *vidyādhara* (*lhun gyi grub pa'i rigs 'dzin*).¹²² There is probably a connection between the medicine *vidyādhara* and the lifespan-enhancing *vidyādhara*. The spontaneously accomplished *vidyādhara* does appear in IOL Tib J 644, but in the context of Kriyā, not Mahāyoga.¹²³

8. Scriptures

The *Summary* does not discuss the source texts for Mahāyoga, but it does mention “the eighteen tantras.” We do have a few other references to a group of Mahāyoga tantras in the Dunhuang manuscripts, and there is an interesting difference here, in that some of our sources use the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit word *tantra* (*rgyud*) while others transliterate it (*tan tra*). It is likely that the transliterated form was later abandoned in favour of the translated form, but this distinction is not entirely useful for dating, since the transliterated form was still in unofficial use at the end of the tenth century, as demonstrated by the list of tantras in Pelliot tibétain 849.¹²⁴ In some sources it seems that *rgyud* was used to refer to the general category of tantra, while *tan tra* was used for specific titles. The shorter Madhusādhū treatise refers to “the tantras (*tan tra*) of Mahāyoga, the esoteric tantra class (*rgyud*) of method.”¹²⁵ Similarly, Padmasambhava’s commentary on the *Upāyapāśa* mentions “many tantras (*tan tra*) of Mahāyoga,” while the interlinear notes mention the

¹²¹ This discussion comprises the last third of the manuscript, from l.132 to the end. See van Schaik forthcoming for a complete translation and transcription.

¹²² See for example Dudjom 1991: II.132.

¹²³ For a full translation of this manuscript see Dalton 2005.

¹²⁴ The transliterated form does not appear in the *Mahāvīryūtpatti*. On the list of tantras in Pelliot tibétain 849 see Hackin 1924 and Kapstein 2006. Note that all of the sources in the long Madhusādhū treatise are *tan tra* rather than *rgyud*.

¹²⁵ IOL Tib J 508 r32: /rnal 'byor chen po nang pa thabs kyI rgyud kyi tan tra las kun kyI nang nas bsdu pa'i lus tshad/ dpal rdo rje sems 'pa la phyag 'tshal lo/

In Padmasambhava’s *Garland of Views*, “the esoteric yoga tantras of method” (*rnal 'byor nang pa thabs kyi rgyud*) signifies the esoteric aspect of the Yogatantra category, which includes the subcategories of (i) development, (ii) perfection and (iii) great perfection (see Karmay 1988: 155, 165). In the later Tibetan tradition a similar phrase, “the vehicle of the esoteric tantras of method” (*nang pa thabs kyi rgyud kyi theg pa*), was used by some exegetes with reference to all three of the higher yoga classes (Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga) and

tantra class (*rgyud*) of Mahāyoga as a gloss on the phrase “scriptures of definitive meaning.” An early source mentioning a group of eighteen scriptures is a text by Jñānamitra which is mentioned in the *Ldan dkar ma*. As Dan Martin has pointed out, only two tantras are mentioned there by name: the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga* and the *Guhyasamāja*.¹²⁶ For more names, we can turn to two Dunhuang treatises for help: the long Madhusādhu treatise and Padmasambhava’s commentary on the *Upāyapāśa*.¹²⁷ Both treatises quote from numerous tantras, and there is a close match between these titles and the list of eighteen Mahāyoga tantras enumerated by Longchenpa (1308–1364) in his *Thunderous Melody of Brahmā*, one of the earliest such lists.

Interestingly, there is relatively little overlap with the list of tantras in the famous scroll Pelliot tibétain 849, which dates to the very end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century. It seems plausible that the list in Pelliot tibétain 849 reflects later developments in India which were not fully assimilated in Tibet until the later diffusion (*phyi dar*) of tantric Buddhism.¹²⁸ An interesting link between this scroll and the later diffusion which has not previously been noticed is the presence in the Pelliot tibétain 849 list of an *O li pad ti tantra*. This title is strikingly similar to the *Olapati*, one of the Sakya school’s nine cycles of the path (*lam skor*) attributed to the mahāsiddha Caryāvajra or Kāṇha, and is said to be based on the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*.¹²⁹

Returning now to Longchenpa’s list, we find that more than half of his eighteen texts appear to some extent in the Dunhuang manuscripts. The following table shows which of these tantras are present, cited, or at least mentioned in the Dunhuang manuscripts:

1	<i>Glang chen rab ’bog</i>	Cited (IOL Tib J 321).
2	<i>Glang po chur ’jug</i>	Cited (IOL Tib J 321).
3	<i>Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor</i>	Cited (IOL Tib J 454, Pelliot tibétain 337, 849)
4	<i>Ri bo brtsegs pa</i>	Cited (IOL Tib J 321, 454)
5	<i>Padma dbang chen</i>	Not found, but IOL Tib J 454 cites a <i>Dbang chen bsdus pa’i tan tra</i> .
6	<i>Zla gsang thig le</i>	Partially present (Pelliot tibétain 281) and mentioned (Pelliot tibétain 849). ¹³⁰
7	<i>rTse mo ’dus pa</i>	Possibly to be identified with the <i>Rtse gcig bsdus pa</i> cited in IOL Tib J 321.
8	<i>gCig las ’phros pa</i>	Cited (IOL Tib J 454)
9	<i>gSang ba ’dus pa</i>	Present (IOL Tib J 438) and extensively cited (IOL Tib J 437, 454, 508, Pelliot tibétain 337). ¹³¹
10	<i>sGron me ’bar ba</i>	Not found.
11	<i>bDud rtsi samaya ’bum sde</i>	Not found. ¹³²

by others with exclusive reference to the Mahāyoga tantras, more in concordance with the earlier tradition represented here. See Dudjom 1991: I.357 and Garson 2004: 98, 141–142.

¹²⁶ Martin 1987: 179.

¹²⁷ On the citations from the longer Madhusādhu treatise (IOL Tib J 454), see van Schaik forthcoming(a). Thanks to Robert Mayer and Cathy Cantwell for sharing their list of the citations from IOL Tib J 321, which are to be discussed in their forthcoming monograph on this manuscript.

¹²⁸ On Pelliot tibétain 849 and the full list of tantras therein, see Hackin 1924 and Kapstein 2006.

¹²⁹ The *Olapati* has been identified by Davidson with the canonical text *The Four Stages* (*Rim pa bzhi pa*) T.1451 (Davidson 2005: 200–201).

¹³⁰ This tantra is also cited in *The Lamp of the Eyes of Contemplation* (26.6ff and 206.2ff). I am currently preparing a critical edition of Pelliot tibétain 281.

¹³¹ This tantra is also cited in *The Lamp of the Eyes of Contemplation* (194.6ff).

¹³² There is a reference to a *bDud rtsi rgyud* in *The Lamp of the Eyes of Contemplation* (52.1ff and 209.1ff) and quoted in IOL Tib J 437 (14v.6–1r.6) Note also the reference to a *Bdud rtsi mchog gi lung* at the beginning of in IOL Tib J 552.

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|---|
| 12 | <i>dPal mchog dang po</i> | Cited (IOL Tib J 321, 454). |
| 13 | <i>dPal phreng dkar po</i> | Cited (IOL Tib J 321). |
| 14 | <i>Ma mo rgyud lung</i> | Not found. ¹³³ |
| 15 | <i>Bidyotamala 'bum sde</i> | Mentioned (Pelliot tibétain 44). |
| 16 | <i>Thabs zhags</i> | Present (IOL Tib J 321) and cited (IOL Tib J 454, 508). |
| 17 | <i>Dam tshig bkod pa</i> | Not found, but note that a Rdo rje bkod pa is cited in IOL Tib J 321. |
| 18 | <i>gSang ba sgyu 'phrul</i> | Passages cited without attribution, mentioned in Pelliot tibétain 332B, 849. ¹³⁴ |

As this list shows, some of these tantras are actually present in the Dunhuang manuscript collection. The *Guhyasamāja* (*Gsang ba 'dus pa*), *Upāyapāśa* (*Thabs kyi zhags pa*) and **Candra-guhyatilaka* (*Zla gsang thig le*) are all present (though the latter only partially). We should also mention here the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, which is present in the Dunhuang manuscripts, and has sometimes been considered a Mahāyoga tantra.¹³⁵ Investigations into these manuscript versions have shown that they are generally closer to the versions in the *Rnying ma rgyud 'bum* than the versions in the *Bka' 'gyur*.¹³⁶

In any case, there have always been a number of traditions in the enumeration of the eighteen tantras. In Tibet an alternative list of eighteen tantras was transmitted in the Zur tradition, though it is only known from an eighteenth-century source. Since this list is notable for its close correspondence to the Mahāyoga section of the *Rnying ma rgyud 'bum*, and includes of a group of five tantras with 'play' (*rol pa*) in the titles which are not attested in the Dunhuang manuscripts, it appears to be later than Klong chen pa's list.¹³⁷ Even if identifying the exact content of the "eighteen tantras" mentioned in the *Summary* is impossible, we can at least see a significant continuity between the tantras that were being cited and made the subject of exegesis in the context of Mahāyoga in the tenth century, and the later Nyingma lists of eighteen Mahāyoga tantras.

9. Contexts

We have now explored quite thoroughly the various elements of tantric practice which are classified as Mahāyoga in the *Summary* and other sources. In pointing out, as I have done here, that which is considered specific to Mahāyoga, I do not want to suggest any that Mahāyoga practices existed in some kind of conceptual isolation. They were closely linked on the one hand to earlier manifestations of tantric practice, and on the other hand to the emerging developments found under the headings of Anuyoga and Atiyoga.

(i) THE RITUAL CONTEXT OF MAHĀYOGA

The Mahāyoga practices we have been looking at here are clearly situated in the same framework as earlier forms of tantric ritual. For example, the necessity for tantric empowerment and the importance of the master-disciple relationship is indicated in some *sādhana*s which spell out the necessary stages prior to the actual practice of *sādhana*. In IOL Tib J 565/1 for instance, the following sequence is set out:

¹³³ But see the *sādhana* of *Ma mo chen mo* at IOL Tib J 716/3.

¹³⁴ There are also numerous citations of the *Guhyagarbha* and various *Māyājāla* tantras in the *Lamp for the Eyes of Contemplation*.

¹³⁵ See Davidson 1981.

¹³⁶ Davidson 1981 and Martin 1987.

¹³⁷ On the Zur tradition's list of eighteen tantras, see Garson 2004: 257–264.

- (i) Receive the empowerment (*dbang*) from a master (*slobs dpon*) who has the empowerment of the *Gubhyasamāja*.
- (ii) Carry out the activities pleasing to the guru.
- (iii) Generate great compassion for all sentient beings.
- (iv) Find a quiet place to practice.

We find similar sequences elsewhere, such as in IOL Tib J 331/1 and Or.8210/S.95/7. These two manuscripts do not mention any specific empowerment; in the first the practitioner is instructed to request the empowerment “by the drop” and this is glossed in the interlinear notes as “the trio of outer, inner and secret.”¹³⁸ The second refers to the stages (*rim pa*) of empowerment. Another, more complex, discussion of the stages of empowerment appears in Pelliot tibétain 42.VI, and this is preceded by a brief discussion of the requisites of a genuine tantric master (*rdo rje'i slob dpon*).¹³⁹ We may infer that the necessity for the guru and the empowerment is assumed in those *sādhanas* which do not specifically mention it.

Mahāyoga *sādhana* practice at Dunhuang is often further contextualized by the more general ritual activities of aspirational prayer, offering and confession. Some *sādhana* collections containing Mahāyoga elements (according to the criteria of the *Summary*) begin with aspirational prayers and/or *gtor ma* offerings.¹⁴⁰ Equally, many *sādhanas* conclude with the activities of offering and confession, either as part of the ritual of union or liberation, or in a separate text written after the *sādhana*.¹⁴¹ These contextualizing prayers and practices bind the Mahāyoga *sādhanas* to the aspirations of Mahāyāna Buddhism. At the same time, they bind the practitioners of the *sādhanas* into Buddhist communities (whether lay or monastic) through the communal activities of prayer recitation, confession and offering.

(ii) MAHĀYOGA, ANUYOGA AND ATIYOGA

In the later Tibetan tradition, Mahāyoga is considered a ‘vehicle’ (*theg pa*) in a system of nine vehicles. It is surpassed in this system by Anuyoga, the penultimate vehicle, and Atiyoga, the ultimate. In establishing the meanings of Mahāyoga from the Dunhuang manuscripts, we should be careful not to read this later system back onto them. As we saw earlier, some of the Mahāyoga texts from Dunhuang treat Mahāyoga as they highest form of yoga, the “supreme system” in the words of *The Questions and Answers of Vajrasattva*. As I mentioned earlier this may represent an earlier stratum in the manuscripts, based on developments in the late eighth and ninth centuries.

In other texts, we see a development in which Mahāyoga is understood in the context of the doxographical category of three inner yogas, of which it is the lowest. This probably represents a later stratum, dating to the tenth century. Yet even these Dunhuang doxographical texts, which seem to be standardizing the distinctions between the inner tantric frameworks of Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga, do not designate these three ‘vehicles’ per se. Rather they continue to present Anuyoga and Atiyoga in terms of modes (*tsbul*) of Mahāyoga practice, without any meditative content of their own. Thus in IOL Tib J 656

¹³⁸ IOL Tib J 331/1, 1a.2: thigs pas dbang bskur gsol btan nas/ (interlinear note: phyI dang nang dang gsang gsum gyIs/)

¹³⁹ Pelliot tibétain 42.V is folio 51.1–4, which VI is folios 51.5–61.4.

¹⁴⁰ For example, IOL Tib J 419, Or.8210/S.95.

¹⁴¹ For an example of the latter, see IOL Tib J 332.

Anuyoga is characterized as a meditation on the development of the visualization via the *mode of perfection*.¹⁴²

Thus Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga seem to have developed in parallel, if not in total identification with the three modes of esoteric yoga set out in Padmasambhava's *Garland of Views* and elsewhere: development (*bskyed*), perfection (*rdzogs*) and great perfection (*rdzogs chen*). It is evident in *Garland of Views* that these modes apply to the same basic practices.¹⁴³ Similarly, in *Armour Against Darkness*, Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes' commentary on the *Sutra Gathering all Intentions*, the author treats the yogas of Mahā, Anu and Ati as 'systems' (*lugs*) representing 'modes' of practice, and not as 'vehicles'. Rather they are specifically characterized as the lower, middle and higher divisions of a single vehicle.¹⁴⁴ While Gnubs chen does write of a vehicle of Atiyoga in his *Lamp for the Eyes of Contemplation*, his use of the term 'vehicle' is rather haphazard in this text, and it is clear that Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga are fully conceptualized as three distinct vehicles here either.¹⁴⁵ In fact, as far as I am aware there is no reliable source before the eleventh century for the classic presentation of the nine vehicles as vehicles. Though such a source may yet come to light, we can at least say that Anuyoga and Atiyoga were not widely considered to be independent vehicles before the eleventh century.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² IOL Tib J 656: 29-30: *bskyed de rdzogs pa'i tshul du bsgom ba'o*.

It is interesting to note that Anuyoga seems to have developed independence even later than Atiyoga. It is absent from Vilāsavajra's commentary on the *Guhya garbha's* chapter thirteen, on the stages of tantric practice (Q.4718: 186b), and it is similarly absent from the treatment of the levels of empowerment in Sūryasimhaprabhā's *Guhya garbha* commentary (Q.4719: 224a–224b). In Pelliot tibétain 644 it is the same as Atiyoga in having no specific meditative or ritual content, while according to IOL Tib J 656 the practice of Anuyoga is the same as Mahāyoga: union and liberation (*shyor sgral*). Moreover it seems that Anuyoga was not given any specific scriptural content until much later than was the case with Atiyoga. While Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes seems to have been instrumental in defining a group of texts as Atiyoga scripture in his *Lamp for the Eyes of Contemplation*, no specifically Anuyoga texts are mentioned there. The *Sutra Gathering all Intentions*, which was to become one of the central Anuyoga scriptures was well known to Gnubs chen, who wrote an extensive commentary on the text, but in the *Lamp for the Eyes of Contemplation*, he uses it solely as a source for his Atiyoga chapter, suggesting that it, like the other sources in that chapter, should be considered an Atiyoga text.

¹⁴³ For the relevant section of the *Garland of Views*, see Karmay 1988: 155, 164.

¹⁴⁴ See *Armour of Darkness*: I.509: *mi mthun par 'dul ba'i theg pa la'ang gdul bya rab kyi rab 'bring tha ma gsum gyis lha rim par bsgom pa la rtsal chen rdzogs pa dang/ skad cig mas (rdzogs dang) bsgom pa bdal ba chos nyid kyi sa pa dang/ bskyed rdzogs dang bral (yongs su) rdzogs pa spyi chibs kyi sa pa'o/*

The root text *Sutra Gathering all Intentions* characterizes the three modes not as Mahā-, Anu- and Atiyoga but as development (*bskyed pa*), perfection (*rdzogs pa*) and total perfection (*yongs su rdzogs pa*). In this it is similar to the *Garland of Views*. See *Armour of Darkness*: I.509–511.

¹⁴⁵ *Lamp for the Eyes of Contemplation* 291.4: *shin tu rnal 'byor gyi theg pa*

In his summary of the differences between Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga (pp.490–491), Gnubs chen does not specifically apply the term 'vehicle' to these three yogas. However, he does not characterize them as 'modes' either. In general the *Lamp for the Eyes of Contemplation* seems to stand midway between the understanding of Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga as modes of esoteric yoga, and the understanding of them as independent vehicles.

¹⁴⁶ There is one ostensibly early source that does define Mahā-, Anu- and Atiyoga as vehicles per se in the manner of the later Nyingma tradition. This is the *Esoteric Instructions on the Stages of the View*, attributed to the eighth-century translator Ska ba Dpal brtsegs. However, there are many reasons for doubting the authorial attribution and early date of this text. Karmay has discussed Bu ston's questioning of the authorship (Karmay 1988: 149), and elsewhere I have noted the text's absence from Gnubs chen's *Lamp for the Eyes of Contemplation*, despite the inclusion of other works by Dpal brtsegs (van Schaik 2004b: 188). Furthermore, Matthew Kapstein has noted that this text contains developments in doctrinal matters that bear comparison with works produced in the early second millennium Bka' ma lineages, notably the *Definition of the Vehicles* of Kaḥ thog dam pa bde gshegs (personal communication).

As I argued at the beginning of this paper, we must be careful to avoid reading the doxographies of a later period onto the earlier appearances of these terms. I have already suggested that Mahāyoga, as it appears in the ninth and tenth century texts we have been examining here, cannot be considered in isolation from the discourses of Atiyoga, or the Great Perfection. The earliest strata of Atiyoga, or Great Perfection, literature is characterized by a reformulation of Mahāyoga meditative practice in terms of nonconceptuality, nonduality and the spontaneous presence of the enlightened state. Before the eleventh century Atiyoga is not generally associated with a separate vehicle; rather it is characterized as a ‘mode’ (*tsbul*). Treatises like *The Questions and Answers on Vajrasattva* show exactly how the view embodied in the Great Perfection was to be applied to the practices of Mahāyoga.¹⁴⁷

10. Conclusions

As we have seen, the Dunhuang manuscripts represent an intense period of development in Indic tantra and its absorption into Tibet in the ninth and tenth centuries. The sources I have drawn upon here represent a time when Mahāyoga was considered the pinnacle of tantric ritual practice, while it was simultaneously in the process of being displaced from that position by the developing rubrics of Anuyoga and Atiyoga. At this point the latter (Anuyoga and Atiyoga) seem to have been primarily view or theory-based approaches, with little or no ritual presence in the manuscripts. Toward the end of this period we see a movement towards the stratification of the tantric categories of Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga. That trend is best represented in doxographical texts and — for Mahāyoga — the central text of this survey, *The Summary of the View of Mahāyoga According to Scripture*.

What then is the ‘definition’ of Mahāyoga offered by the Dunhuang manuscripts we have been looking at here? Based on the *Summary* we may offer the following brief definition of Mahāyoga in tenth-century Tibet:

- The theoretical content or view is defined as the ‘single mode’ (*tsbul gcig*) in which the buddhas of the five families are embodied in a single deity, usually Vajrasattva.
- Meditation is defined by the gradual visualization practice of the three concentrations (*ting nge ’dzin*). These are the concentrations on (i) suchness, (ii) total illumination, and (iii) the cause.
- Ritual practice is subsumed by the two categories of union and liberation (*sbyor sgral*), that is, sexual practice with a consort and ritual murder. The *Summary* leaves some room for interpreting these practices metaphorically.
- The *samaya* vows (*dam tshig*) that bind a practitioner who has received a Mahāyoga empowerment comprise three root and twenty-five branch vows.
- The result of Mahāyoga practice is defined in a succession of four levels of accomplishment known as the four kinds of *vidyādhara* (*rigs ’dzin*).
- The scriptural group associated with Mahāyoga is the ‘eighteen tantras’, although the content of this group is uncertain.

¹⁴⁷ For the full argument, see van Schaik 2004b.

As I mentioned at the outset, this has primarily been a synchronic study of the way Mahāyoga was understood at a particular time in the development of tantric theory and practice. The Dunhuang manuscripts capture the period just before the renaissance in tantric translation at the end of the tenth century. As new tantric lineages flooded into Tibet, those who remained loyal to the older lineages came to be known as Nyingma, “the ancient ones.” Under threat from the new lineages, the adherents of the Nyingma were involved, throughout their history, in defending the genuine antiquity and Indic origin of their own tantric lineages.¹⁴⁸

These Dunhuang manuscripts make it clear that the development of the ritual and theoretical content of Mahāyoga that characterises the later Nyingma tradition was already well underway by the tenth century. The links between the Indic sources and Tibet’s early tantric traditions — and the way that the Tibetans adapted and reshaped those sources — have become a little more clear now that we have a sense of the definition of Mahāyoga in Tibet during the tenth century. I hope that we can now, at least in this context, use the term Mahāyoga in an informed way and without too great a danger of anachronism.

Appendix: Translation and edition of IOL Tib J 436

A Summary of the View of Mahāyoga According to Scripture

[1r] Now, the view of Mahāyoga. What is the view of the five families as a single mode? When the great elements are subsumed into one, they exist in utter perfection. This is the female deity. The forms that come into being from them are the male deity: he who is called Totally Illuminating (Vairocana). As he cannot be carried off by external forces, he is known as The Immoveable (Akṣobhya). As he fulfills all wishes, he is known as The Jewel-Born (Ratnasambhava). As he goes to the realms of light he is known as Limitless Light (Amitābha). [1v] As . . . he is known as Meaningful Accomplishment (Amoghasiddhi).¹⁴⁹ The five families are, in this way, a single mode.

What are the relevant *samaya*? One should gather the *samaya* in order to embrace that which is concordant, in order to restrain that which is discordant, and in order to obtain and accomplish. The 28 *samaya* are the transmitted precepts. According to the esoteric instructions these are grouped into three. This one should know. What are they? They are:

- (i) the *samaya* of view,
- (ii) the *samaya* of practice,
- (iii) the *samaya* of accomplishment.

Now to distinguish these. The *samaya* of mind (not disseminating the secret instruction to others) and the five aspects to be known are *the samaya of the view*. The *samaya* of the body (not developing ill-will or scorn towards the *vajra* master and brothers and sisters) and the five *samaya* to be practised, and the five *samaya* not to be renounced, are *the samaya of practice*. The *samaya* of speech (not ceasing in the mantras and mudrās) and the five

¹⁴⁸ On this process, see Davidson 2004: 151–154. This polemical process continued through to the 20th century, when Nyingma exegetes were still on the defensive; see Dudjom 1991: 888–940.

¹⁴⁹ One edge of the manuscript has been severely damaged here, but most of the text can be reconstructed.

samaya to be accomplished are *the samaya of accomplishment*. [2r] The unsurpassable fruit of these three is the nature of accomplishment.

The union of Mahāyoga is called “the union of the *vajra* and the lotus.” It is also three-fold:

- (i) The union in the single ornament,
- (ii) The union of the five families in a single mode,
- (iii) Indiscriminate union.

One should know that each of these has four parts:

- (i) Union,
- (ii) Subsequent union,
- (iii) Total union,
- (iv) Universal union.¹⁵⁰

Of these, meditating on oneself as the deity is *union*. *Subsequent union* is developing the wisdom being at one’s heart. *Total union* is the unshakeable great bliss of the descent of the *bodhicitta* of the union of *vajra* and lotus. *Universal union* is projection and absorption, conferring empowerment upon limitless sentient beings, each in their particular deity family. [2v]

When [practising] union in Mahāyoga, the qualities of greatness are said to be:

- (i) Subduing the four Māras,
- (ii) Playing with the five space mistresses,¹⁵¹
- (iii) Possessing the four secret consorts.

The four Māras are:

- (i) Māra the aggregates,
- (ii) Māra the afflictions,
- (iii) Māra the god,
- (iv) Māra the lord of death.¹⁵²

Of these, the phase of meditation on the *mahāmudrā* of the deity’s body is called *conquering Māra the aggregates*. The phase of the unshakeable great bliss of *bodhicitta* is called *conquering Māra the afflictions* because the mind of the three times does not arise. The phase of acting for the benefit of sentient beings is called *conquering Māra the god*. The phase of

¹⁵⁰ The Tibetan terms are (i) *sbyor ba*, (ii) *rjes su sbyor ba*, (iii) *rab tu sbyor ba*, and (iv) *kun tu sbyor ba*. Possible Sanskrit equivalents are: (i) *yoganam*, (ii) *anuyoganam*, (iii) *prayoganam*, (iv) *saṃyoganam*. The last of these is attested in *Mahāvīryūtpatti* 2134. I have not found this particular fourfold classification in other Dunhuang sources or in later Nyingma presentations of Mahāyoga. Note however that another Dunhuang manuscript contains a different enumeration of four *sbyor ba*: (i) *dbang po yul la sbyor ba*, (ii) *shes rab thabs la sbyor ba*, (iii) *ye shes dbyings la sbyor ba*, (iv) *rdo rje pad mo la sbyor ba* (IOL Tib J 754/9.45–55). This enumeration occurs in the context of a discussion of a sexual ritual practice of union (*sbyor ba*).

¹⁵¹ Tib. *dbyings kyi dbang phyug ma*, Skt. *dhātviśvari*. These female deities appear as consorts in many tantras. Note that IOL Tib J 419/14 contains a list of eight *rnal ’byor gyi dbang phyug chen po* and in IOL Tib J 716/2, the consort of Heruka is named *Khro mo dbang phyug ma*.

¹⁵² This standard set of four Māras derives from early Buddhist sources. The Sanskrit terms are (i) *skandha-māra*, (ii) *kleśa-māra*, (iii) *mṛtyu-māra*, (iv) *devaputra-māra*. The conquest of the four Māras became a central metaphor in the Tibetan “cutting” (*gcod*) tradition.

experiencing the savour of *bodhicitta*, which transcends birth and death, is called *conquering Māra the lord of death*.¹⁵³ [3r]

The five space mistresses are:

- (i) The *vajra* space mistress,
- (ii) The lotus space mistress,
- (iii) The jewel space mistress,
- (iv) The karma space mistress,
- (v) The airborne space mistress.¹⁵⁴

Of these, the male is called *the vajra space mistress* and the female is called *the lotus space mistress*. The phase of unshakeable great bliss which is the descent of *bodhicitta* endowed with the *vajra* and the lotus is called *the jewel space mistress*. The phase of activity for the benefit of sentient beings [by] projecting and absorbing the *bodhicitta* is called *the karma space mistress*. And thus making all *bodhicitta* of one taste without it bursting out is called *the airborne space mistress*.¹⁵⁵

The four secret consorts are:

- (i) The Lady of Mudrā,
- (ii) The Lady of Intoxication,
- (iii) The Lady of Eating,
- (iv) The Lady who Prolongs Life.¹⁵⁶

Of these, the body of the consort is known as *the Lady of Mudrā*. The unshakeable great bliss of *bodhicitta* is known as *the Lady of Intoxication*. [3v] Experiencing the savour as *bodhicitta*, or alternatively accepting and eating, is known as *the Lady of Eating*.¹⁵⁷ The phase of obtaining the praiseworthy qualities of *bodhicitta* is known as *the Lady who Prolongs Life* because it transcends birth and death.

The liberation of Mahāyoga is said to comprise:

- (i) Liberation of oneself,
- (ii) Liberation of others.

Of these, liberation of oneself comprises:

- (i) Approaching the deity,

¹⁵³ The conquest of the four Māras is mentioned in the prayer in Pelliot tibétain 16: 30r.4.

¹⁵⁴ These five categories obviously correspond to the five buddha families, with the exception of the fifth, which is *mkha' la* rather than *tathāgata*. See however the *Gubhyagarbha* (chapter 2, Tb.417: 157.1), where the five female buddhas are collectively called “space mistresses of the sky” (*nam mkha'i dbyings kyi dbang phyug ma*).

¹⁵⁵ I have not seen the specific names here in later sources, nor in other Dunhuang manuscripts. We do find groups of female deities (usually in groups of eight) surrounding a *heruka* figure in a *maṇḍala* in some Dunhuang ritual texts (as discussed above). The names in these manuscripts partially overlap with the eighteen *dbang phyug ma* which are found in later Nyingma Mahāyoga commentaries and *sādhana*s (see for example Klong chen pa's *Phyogs bcu mun sel*). On the 18 *dbang phyug ma* see Blezer 2000.

¹⁵⁶ The Tibetan names are: (i) Phyag rgya ma, (ii) Rmongs byed mo, (iii) Zab mo, (iv) Tshe 'phel mo. For the last name the text has *rmongs byed tshe 'phel mo*, but this is probably a scribal error, as the name when repeated later is just *tshe 'phel mo*. The Sanskrit equivalents here may be: (i) Mudrī, (ii) Mohaṇī, (iii) Gambhīra, (iv) Āyurnardhana.

¹⁵⁷ On “experiencing the taste of *bodhicitta*” see also *Tattvaratnāvaloka*, 240a.3: *byang chub sems/ ro myang dbang bz'hir 'chad pa* (from Dalton 2004: 26). Note that in the *Summary* the context suggests that “experiencing the taste of *bodhicitta*” is distinct from “accepting and eating”. The latter could well be a reference to consuming all the five nectars (see esp. Wedemeyer 2007: 401–403).

- (ii) Clarifying the tantras.

Of these, in *approaching the deity* the measure of accomplishment is the ability to levitate up to four finger-widths. And *clarifying the tantras* means becoming learned in the eighteen tantras, or alternatively it indicates the sages who possess the transmitted precepts and esoteric instructions. The liberation of others means that having assembled many such great lords, those in the category of the ten fields are placed into the *maṇḍala* of the heroes. Within the circle they are liberated to bring them into accord with others.

Meditation, via the gradual development of the three aspects of Mahāyoga, is as follows: [4r]

- (i) First, one begins with meditation on the *dharmatā*;
- (ii) Second, one then meditates on the unassailable total illumination;
- (iii) Third, one then meditates on the causal concentration.

Here ends *A Summary of the View of Mahāyoga According to Scripture*

TRANSCRIPTION OF IOL Tib J 436:

In the following transcription, I have attempted to provide a clear reading of the manuscript without over-correcting the archaic orthography. The reverse *gi gu* is indicated with a capital I. The *anusvāra* (which is merely used for scribal convenience) is indicated by a dot under the m. In most cases the divergences from classical orthography (eg. *rin cen*, *dam tsig*) are self-explanatory. I have made a very few insertions (marked by square brackets) where these seemed necessary to make the reading more clear.

CONVENTIONS:

- < > deleted in original manuscript
+ + inserted in original manuscript
... lost due to manuscript damage
{ } unclear reading
[] inserted in the present edition

[1r.1] bsgom pa / 'di // de la ma ha yo ga'i lta / rIg<s> lnga tshul gcIg tu lta gang zhe na // 'byung [2] ba ched po la gcig gi nang na // kun rdzogs par yod pa nI // yum yin la / de las gzugs [3] su red pa nI / yab ste rnam par snang mdzad // ces bya // de nyid gzhan gyis myi 'phrogs pa nI [4] myI bskyod pa zhes bya // de thams cad re ba yid bzhin du skong ba ni // rin <ce> cen 'byung ldan zhes [b]ya [5] {snang zhing song bas ni snang} [ba mtha' yas] zhes bya // ... thams cad ... nI {gyis} // ...

[1v.1] ... nI // {don yod grub pa zhes} bya // rig[s] lnga de ltar tshul gcig go // de la {rtse}'i phyo[gs] [2] dam tsig ce na // 'dra bar dkra' ba'i phyI r dang / myi 'dra bar sdom ba'i phyI r dang // thob <par> cing [3] grub pa'I phyir dam tsig tseg bya'o // de la dam tsig nyi shu rtsa bgyad nI // lung yin la man ngag gIs ni gsu du 'dus pa [4] shes gpar bya ste // dpe yang gang zhe na // lta ba'i dam tsig dang / spyod pa'i dam tshig dang // bsgrub pa'i dam tsig go // de la dbyen [5] thugs kyi dam tsig gsang ba'i man ngag // gzhan la myi spel

ba dang // shes par bya ba'I dam tsig la ni / lta ba'i dam tsig go [6] sku'i dam tsig <ni>
 rdo rje slobd dpon dang / mched lcam dral la ngan sems dang spyad sems myi bskyed pa
 dang // spyad par bya {du} [7] dang / myi spang ba lnga ste / spyad pa'i dam tsig go //
 gsung gi dam tsig sngags phyag rgya rgyun myi gcad pa dang / grub par bya ba

[2r.1] dam tsig lnga nI bsgrub pa'i dam tsig go // 'di gsum ya char ma gyur pa'i 'bras
 bu nI grub pa'I rang bzhin no // [2] de la maha yo ga'i / sbyor ba nI // rdo rje dang pad
 mor sbyor ba zhes bya // de la yang gsum ste // rgyan cig par sbyor ba dang / rIgs lnga
 tshul [3] gcig par sbyor ba dang // phyal bar sbyor ba'o // de yang re re la bzhi bzhir shes
 par ba ste // sbyor ba dang / rjes su sbyor ba dang/rab tu [4] sbyor ba dang / kun tu sbyor
 ba'o // de la bdag lhar sgom pa ni / sbyor ba'o // rjes su sbyor ba nI // ye shes sems pa
 thugs kar [5] bskyed pa'o // rab tu sbyor ba ni rdo rje dang pad mor sbyor ba'i byang chub
 sems / babs pa'i bde ba chen po myi g.yo ba'o // kun tu [6] sbyor ba nI 'phro 'dus / sems
 can <gi don> rgya mtsho rigs su [r]es par dbang bskur ba'o // [de] la maha yo ga'i sbyor
 ba'i

[2v.1] [d]u[s] // ch[e] ba'i yon tan n[i] bdud bzhi bcom ba dang // dbyings phyug ma
 lnga la rol pa dang / gsang ba'i yum bzhi dang ldan no [2] zhes byung ste // de la bdud
 bzhi ni / pung po'i bdud dang / nyon mongs pa'i bdud dang / shi bdag gi bdugd dang /
 [3] lha'I bdud do // de la lha'I +sku+ phyag rgya chen por sgom pa'I dus na // pung po'i
 bdud bcom zhes bya // byang chub kyi sems [4] bde ba ched po myi g.yo ba'i dus na //
 dus sum gi sems myi 'byng bas // nyon mongs pa'i bdud bcom zhes bya // byang [5] chub
 kyi sems kyi 'phro 'dus / sems can gi don byas pa'i dus na // lha'i bdud bcom zhes bya //
 byang chub kyi [6] sems kyi ro tsor pa'i dus na // skye shi las 'das pa'i shI bdag gi bdud
 bcom zhes bya // de la dbyings phyug

[3r.1] ma lnga la // rdo rje dang pad mo'i dbyIngs phyug ma dang // rin chen dbyIngs
 phyug ma dang / las kyi dbyIngs phyug ma dang / [2] mkha' dbyings phyug ma zhes bya'o
 // de la yab ni rdo rje dbyings phyug ma zhes bya // yum ni pad mo dbyings phyug ma
 zhes bya / [3] rdo rje dang pad mor ldan pa'i byang chub kyi sems babs pa'i bde ba ched po
 myi g.yo ba'i dus na // rin cen dbyings phyug ma [4] zhes bya'o // byang chub kyi sems
 kyi 'phro 'dus sems can gyi don byas pa'i dus na // las kyi dbyings phyug ma zhes bya //
 de lta [5] bas na // byang chub kyi sems kun ro gcig par byas pa ni / ma brdos pa yin bas
 mkha' la dbyings phyug ma zhe bya / [6] de la gsang ba'i yum bzhi ni / phyag rgya mo dag
 rmongs byed mo dang / za ba mo dang / rmongs byed tshe 'phel mo zhes bya // de la yum
 [7] kyi {sku} nI phyag rgya ma zhes bya // byang chub kyi sems bde ba ched po myi g.yo
 ba nI [rm]o[ng]s [byed mo // byang] chub kyi se[ms]

[3v.1] su ro tshor ba 'am / yang na blangs te za ba ni / za ba mo zhes bya ba / byang
 chub kyi sems ky[i] y[o]n tan bsngags po thob pa'i [2] dus na // skye shi las 'das pas tshe
 'phel ma zhes bya // de la maha yo ga'i sgom pa ni // bdag bsgral ba dang / [3] gzhan
 bsgral ba <o> // zhes bya'o // de la bdag bsgral ba ni / lha nye ba dang / rgyud gsal ba
 o / de la lha nye ba ni grub [4] pa'i tshad de // sor bzhi yan cad nam ka la 'pag nus pa
 dang // rgyud gsal pa ni rgyud bco brgyad la mkhas par [5] gyur pa 'am // yang na lung
 dang man ngag dang ldan pa'i skyes bu rnam la bya // gzhan pa sgral ba ni // de lta bu'i
 [6] dbang phyug ched po du <me>zhi'g 'tshogs nas // zhing bcu rim pa dang ldan pa'i
 rnam dpa' bo'i dkyil 'khor du [7] sbyar ba'o // bskor na mthun 'jug 'tsha<1>m pa'i sgral
 ba'o // mā ha yo ga'i rnam sum rims kyis [4r.1] bskyed nas / bsgoms / pa ni // dang po
 chos nyid sgom pa ste gcig // de nas kun tu snang ba'i myI brdos par bsgom [2] ba dang
 gnyis / de nas rgyu'i ti nge 'dzin sgom pa dang gsum mo // maha yo ga'i lta ba lung du
 bsdus pa rdzogs so //

(end)

Handwritten Tibetan script on a fragment of aged, stained paper. The text is arranged in approximately five horizontal lines, though some characters are obscured by the irregular edges and holes of the fragment.

Handwritten Tibetan script on a fragment of aged, stained paper. The text is arranged in approximately six horizontal lines, with some characters obscured by the irregular edges and holes of the fragment.

Handwritten Tibetan script on a fragment of aged, stained paper. The text is arranged in approximately seven horizontal lines, with some characters obscured by the irregular edges and holes of the fragment.

MS IOL Tib J 436, ff. 1r, 1v, 2r

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Handwritten text in an Indic script, likely Sanskrit or Pali, on a fragment of aged, yellowed paper. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect than the main body of text.

Handwritten text in an Indic script, likely Sanskrit or Pali, on a fragment of aged, yellowed paper. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines, showing some signs of wear and tear at the edges.

Handwritten text in an Indic script, likely Sanskrit or Pali, on a fragment of aged, yellowed paper. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect than the main body of text.

Handwritten text in an Indic script, likely Sanskrit or Pali, on a fragment of aged, yellowed paper. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines, showing some signs of wear and tear at the edges.

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The “Succession of the Four Seals” (*Caturmudrānvaya*)

Together with Selected Passages from Karopa’s Commentary

Klaus-Dieter MATHES

The *Caturmudrānvaya* and its commentary by Karopa¹ play an important role in defining the system of the four seals (i.e., the *karma-*, *dharmam-*, *mahā-*, and *samaya-mudrās*), which lies at the centre of the Yoginī or Mother Tantras. The four seals not only describe ground, path, and fruit in the Yoginī Tantras, but are also the equivalent of the five stages in the Yoga Tantras (see below). *Mahāmudrā* corresponds to the level of the fruit, and *dharmamudrā* to the ultimate (i.e., *dharmadhātu*, or the like) which is meditated upon or cultivated on the path. This path is fully in accordance with non-tantric Mahāyāna Buddhism, but can be effectively initiated with the help of a *karmamudrā*, which involves sexual union with an actual consort in order to identify the goal of co-emergent joy. This occurs through an image of co-emergent joy, which manifests for an instant when one experiences on a physical level the sequence of the four moments — manifold appearances, maturation, freedom from defining characteristics, and relaxation — and the four joys: joy, supreme joy, co-emergent joy, and joy beyond joy. This sequence is best summarized in Maitrīpa’s (ca. 1007 – ca. 1085)² *Caturmudropadeśa*:

- (1) Starting from exterior activities [such as embracing and kissing] up to the final arousing is the joy related to [the moment of] the manifold.
- (2) The experience [from that point] up until [the drop of *bodhicitta*] has reached the tip of the jewel is [the moment of] maturation. It is supreme joy.
- (3) The illustrious one taught [in *Mañjuśrīnāmasamgīti* X.3b] “Holding the drop of sixteen halved twice.”³ Two [parts] (of what is thus present in the form of a four[fold] drop) at the tip of the jewel and two [parts] in the middle of the lotus [correspond to the moment of] freedom from defining characteristics, [related to] co-emergent joy.
- (4) When all four [parts of the] drop are inside the lotus, [it is the moment of] relaxation, [the joy of] no joy.⁴

Mahāmudrā impresses its seal on the other *mudrās*, that is to say, they are reflections of *mahāmudrā*. The wisdom (*jñāna*) that arises from a consort, usually referred to as *prajñā*, (i.e., the *prajñājñāna*) is only a reflection of the real wisdom. It is thus necessary to ascertain the four moments and joys again on the level of the *dharmamudrā*. On the basis of *dharmamudrā*

¹ Karopa (or also Bhitakarman) was a disciple of Vajrapāṇi, who in turn was one of Maitrīpa’s heart disciples (see Roerich 1949–1953:842–843).

² Tatz 1994:65. On the life of Maitrīpa, see Tatz 1987:695–711.

³ MNS, p. 107: *ṣoḍaśārdhārdhabindudbrk* /.

⁴ CMU, fol. 11b6-12a2: *phyi rol gyi bya ba nas bskyod pa’i mthar thug pa’i bar ni rnam pa sna tshogs pa’i dga’ ba’o / rin po che’i mthar thug par nyams su myong ba ni rnam par smin pa ste / mchog dga’o / bcom ldan ’das kyis / bcu drug phyed phyed thig le ’chang [text: can] / / zhes bya bas / thig le bzhi’i gzugs kyis bzbugs pa las / gnyis ni rdo rje rtse mo’i cha la gnas / gnyis ni padma’i ze’u ’bru’i cha la gnas pa ni mtsban nyid dang bral ba ste / lhan cig skyes dga’o / thig le bzhi char padma’i cha la gnas pa ni rnam pa med pa ste / dga’ bral lo /*

instructions, the bliss of the four joys is now realized to be empty. This leads to *mahāmudrā*, the realization that bliss and emptiness are inseparable. Here, however, there is only the true co-emergent joy, and not the other three impure joys.

The path can be further supported by the causal *samayamudrā*⁵ of visualizing deities, *maṇḍalas* and the like. The actual *samayamudrā* is the display of form *kāyas* for the sake of others as a result of having attained *mahāmudrā*. Karopa provides the following etymology of the four seals:

Action (*karma*-) is bliss, and *mudrā* the recognition [of this bliss], the very moment [it appears]. As to *dharmā*, *skandhas* and so forth are realized to be without origination, and *mudrā* is the recognition [of this non-origination] through the instructions of the guru. *Mahā* [stands for] non-dual bliss and emptiness, and *mudrā* [for] the recognition of the [related] view by becoming mentally disengaged (*amanasikāra*).⁶ *Samaya* has the meaning of abundance, and *mudrā* is the recognition of the benefit for others through the two form *kāyas*.⁷

The sequence of the four seals is best summarized in Maitrīpa's *Sekanirdeśa*, stanza 26:

Having approached a *karmamudrā*, one should meditate on the *dharmamudrā*.

Hereafter [follows] *mahāmudrā*, from which the *samaya*[*mudrā*] arises.⁸

The commentary on this stanza by Rāmapāla (one of the four heart disciples of Maitrīpa)⁹ commentary of this stanza is fully in line with the *Caturmudrānvaya*, and Karopa's commentary on the *Caturmudrānvaya* in turn largely draws on Rāmapāla's *Sekanirdeśapañjikā*. The succession of four seals also describes the third and fourth of the four tantric empowerments — usually referred to as vase, secret, *prajñājñāna*, and the fourth empowerment. The chapter on *karmamudrā* thus explains in detail how the exemplifying wisdom of the third empowerment is experienced in union with a consort (*prajñā*), and the chapters on the remaining seals show how this leads to the attainment of the real wisdom of the fourth empowerment. This is called the empowerment of *dharmamudrā* or *mahāmudrā* in Karopa's commentary on the chapter on *samayamudrā*.

The *Caturmudrānvaya* is contained in Maitrīpa's *Advaya vajrasaṅgraha*, but the authorship of this important work on the four seals remained a controversial issue. In his introduction to the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā*, Rāmapāla attributes the *Caturmudrānvaya* to (the Tantric)

⁵ This according to Karopa (see below).

⁶ For Maitrīpa and his circle *amanasikāra* not only means to refrain from the mental engagement of dualistic thought, but also to directly realize the luminous nature of mind (See Mathes 2006:206 and 2008:38–39).

⁷ CMAṬ (B 267a3–5, P 328b6–8, T 133b5–6): *las ni bde ba ste / phyag rgya ni dus kyi sna rtses^a tshad du 'dzin pa'o / / chos ni phung po la sogs pa skye med du rtogs^b pa ste / / c phyag rgya ni bla ma'i gdams ngag gi^d tshad du 'dzin pa'o / / chen po ni bde stong gnyis med de / phyag rgya ni yid la mi byed pas^c lta ba 'dzin pa'o / / dam tshig^f ni phun sum tshogs^g pa'i don^g te / phyag rgya ni gzugs sku rnam pa gnyis kyi^g gzhan don tshad du 'dzin pa'o /*

^a P rtsē T rtser ^b P rtog ^c T / / ^d P gi T om. ^e T pa'i ^f T tshig gi ^g T sna tshogs pa'i yon tan

In the scans of the dPal spung edition, which was reproduced by Zhamar Rinpoche in Delhi (TBRC Resource Code W 23447) fols. 257–268 are missing and copied by hand from another source. I thank Tony Duff (Kathmandu) for having provided me with the complete first volume of this dPal spung edition (*rGya gzhung*, vol. *om*) from Bhutan. The variant readings of B are thus according to the original block print.

⁸ SN, p.36, ll.5–6: *karmamudrām samāsādyā dharmamudrām vibhāvayet / tasyā ūrdhvaṃ mahāmudrā yasyāḥ samayasambhavaḥ / /*

⁹ See above.

Nāgārjuna,¹⁰ which is corroborated by its colophon in the Tibetan translation,¹¹ but contested by Vibhūticandra (12th / 13th century), who claims in his *Amṛtakanīkodyotanibandha* that this is false.¹² The *Caturmudrānvaya* was first published under the title *Caturmudrā* in Haraprasad Shastri's edition of the *Advaya vajrasamgraha*. The same text was edited for a second time by the Study Group on Sacred Tantric Texts at the Taishō University in Tokyo. My English translation is based on a comparison of the latter with my edition of the Tibetan translation contained in the dPal spungs block print of the *Phyag chen rgya gzhung* (B),¹³ the Peking Tengyur (P), and the *'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod* (T).

According to the present Chetsang Rinpoche, the *'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod* was compiled under the direction of the 17th 'Bri gung abbot Kun dga' rin chen (1475–1527), and this is corroborated by the *'Bri gung gdan rabs*¹⁴ written by the Fourth Chetsang Rinpoche Bstan 'dzin padma'i rgyal mtshan (1722–1778). There is not much information in the colophons, but the first volume contains an interesting topical outline (*sa bcad*) of the *Amanasikāra* Works based on notes taken by 'Bum la 'bar,¹⁵ and in the second volume we find a till now unknown subcommentary to Sahajavajra's *Tattvadaśakaṭikā* by (the same?) Ti pi 'Bum la 'bar.¹⁶ Bu ston Rin chen 'grub (1290–1290–1364) mentions in his *gSan yig* a certain Bra bo 'Bum pa 'bar (or: “Bra'o 'Bum la 'bar” in the *Blue Annals*¹⁷) as one of the seven men from dBus and gTsang who received *mahāmudrā* teachings from Maitrīpa's disciple Vajrapāṇi.¹⁸ 'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal (1392–1481) provides the additional information that this happened at Chu go in gTsang.¹⁹ If our 'Bum la 'bar belongs to these seven men, the *mahāmudrā* works in the first two volumes of the *'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod* go directly back to Maitrīpa's disciple. A comparison of the 'Bri gung manuscript with the Peking Tengyur and dPal spungs edition also provides the basis for the translated passages from Karopa's commentary on the *Caturmudrānvaya*. In the Peking Tengyur and the dPal spungs edition this commentary contains an insertion of more than 15 folios,²⁰ which is missing in the old 'Bri gung manuscript. The insertion repeats many explanations, but provides some valuable extra information on the four seals. Unlike Karopa's commentary, the inserted text makes use of the typical Tibetan system of divisions and subdivisions (*sa bcad*) which suggests that it is not a direct translation from the Sanskrit.

1 Karopa's Introduction to his Commentary on the *Caturmudrānvaya*

In the introduction to his commentary, Karopa relates the system of the four seals in the Yoginī Tantras to the five stages of the Yoga Tantras (i.e., the *Guhyasamājatantra*) by fur-

¹⁰ SNP_{S(C)}, fol. 1b3–4; SNP_{S(P)}, fol. 1b4: ... *āryanāgārjunapādakṛtacaturmudrānvayānugatam sekanirdeśam kartukāmaḥ* ...

¹¹ On the life of the Tantric Nāgārjuna see Dowman 1985:112–122.

See appendix.

¹² AKUN, p. 170: *caturmudrānvayas tv āryanāgārjunakṛta iti mṛṣā*.

¹³ For a description of dPal spungs edition of the *Phyag chen rgya gzhung*, see Mathes: *forthcoming*.

¹⁴ See *'Bri gung gdan rabs*, p. 183.

¹⁵ In vol. *kha*, fol. fols. 80a5–82a5, we find “A Summarized Meaning [and] Topical Outline of the Twenty *Amanasikāra* Works — Notes Taken by 'Bum la 'bar” (“Yid la mi byed pa'i nyi shu'i bsdus don sa bcad 'bum la 'bar gyis zin bris (text: ris) bzhugs so”).

¹⁶ *'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod*, vol. *kha*, fol 186a4: ... *de nyid bcu 'grel 'di // / ti pi 'bum la 'bar gyis bris / /*

¹⁷ Roerich 1949–1953:857.

¹⁸ See “Bu ston gsan yig”, p. 115, ll. 1–2.

¹⁹ Roerich 1949–1953:857

²⁰ In the dPal spungs edition (B) from 296a6 to 314b6; and in the Peking Tengyur from 352a5 to 366a4.

ther dividing the twofold division of the “creation” (*utpattikrama*) and “completion” stages (*utpannakrama*) of the *Hevajratantra* (which is a Yoginī Tantra). The *utpattikrama* is thus distinguished into an outer and inner one, and the *utpannakrama* into an *utpannakrama*, *pariniṣpannakrama*, and *svābhāvīkākrama*. This fivefold division is then related to the five stages of the Yoga Tantras and the four seals:

These [five stages], too, are known to have the nature of the illusion-like, the apprehension of the mind, *vajra* recitation, luminosity, and the union as a pair.²¹ [They] should be perfected, for the sake of myself and others, by the *karma-*, *dharmā-*, *mahā-*, and *samaya-mudrās*, which are characterized by [the syllables] *e vaṃ ma yā*.²²

The presentation of the five stages differs slightly from the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* where Rāmapāla relates the fivefold division of the two stages in the *Hevajratantra* to the system of the *Gubhasamājantra* in the following way:

With regard to the *utpattikrama* are [two stages], the *piṇḍīkrama* and the *vajra* recitation. They are known as outer *utpatti[krama]* and profound *utpatti[krama]*. With regard to the *utpanna[krama]* there are [three stages]: the stages of blessing from within, perfect enlightenment, and union as a pair. They are known as *utpanna[krama]*, *pariniṣpanna[krama]*, and *svābhāvīkākrama*.²³

The five stages taught by Rāmapāla are in accordance with Muniśrībhadrā, Samayavajra, Abhayākāragupta and Līlavajra.²⁴ One way of articulating the correspondence between the stages of the *Gubhasamājantra* and the system of the four seals in the Yoginītantras is also proposed in a short appendix (probably by 'Bum la 'bar) to the Tibetan translation of the *Caturmudrānvaya* in the first volume of 'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod:²⁵

Vajra recitation is the inner *utpattikrama*. Isolation of the mind and illusory body²⁶ are the *dharmamudrā*. Luminosity is *mahāmudrā*, and union as a pair the great fruition *samayamudrā*. The [outer?] *utpattikrama* is the corresponding gate, i.e., causal *samayamudrā*. Detailed explanations of this should be known from the *Sekanirdeśa*.²⁷

²¹ These five stages are slightly different from the ones in the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* (see footnote below).

²² CMAṬ (B 255b6–256a2, P 318b4–6, T 124a6–b1): *de dag kyang sgyu ma lta bu dang / sems la dmigs pa dang / rdo rje'^a bzlas pa dang / 'od gsal ba dang / zung du 'jug pa'i bdag nyid du shes par byas la / e vaṃ ma ya'i mtshan nyid can gyi'^b las kyi phyag rgya dang / chos kyi phyag rgya dang / phyag rgya chen po dang / dam tshig gi'^c phyag rgya rnams kyi'^d bdag gi'^e don dang gzhan gyi'^f don phun sum tshogs par bya'o'^g /*

^a T rje ^b T gyis ^c T om. ^d PT kyi ^e T gis ^f T gyis ^g T byed pa'o

²³ SNP_{S(C)} 25a1 (up to *-bodhiyu-* missing in C), SNP_{S(PE)}, fol. 21b6–8: *utpattikrame piṇḍīkramavajra-jāpau /^a bāhyotpattigambhīrotpattiyāparanāmakau / /^a utpanne ca svādhīṣṭhānā^b bhisambodhiyuganaddhakramā utpanna^c pariniṣpannasvābhāvīka^c kramāparanāmakā iti*

^a Pe // ^b Pe -a a- ^c C -svābhāvīkāpariniṣpanna-

²⁴ See Mimaki and Tomabechi 1994:x.

²⁵ The appendix is on fol. 149a6–b6.

²⁶ For a detailed explanation of the stages “Isolation of the Mind” and “Illusory Body” see Cozort 1986:89–104.

²⁷ 'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod, vol. ka, fol. 149b5–6: *rdo rje bzlas pa nang bskyed pa'i rim pa'o / / sems dben dang sgyu lus chos kyi (text: kyi) phyag rgya'o / / 'od gsal ni phyag rgya chen po yin la / / zung 'jug ni 'bras bu dam tshig gi phyag rgya chen po / / bskyed rim ni de dang mthun pa'i sgo te rgyu dam tshig gi phyag rgya'o / / rgyas par di'i don 'grel dhang rnam nges las shes par bya'o / /*

Next, Karopa informs us that the subject matter of the *Caturmudrānvaya* is taken to be empowerment whose main point is the co-emergent (*sabhaja*),²⁸ which means that co-emergent joy should be experienced within the sequence of the four joys of empowerment.²⁹ The essence of the four seals is said to be means and insight,³⁰ and their defining characteristics appearance and emptiness.³¹ The relevant word in this “Succession of the Four Seals” consists of *e* and *vaṃ*,³² which are explained to stand for mother and father on the basis of the *Devendrapariṣcchātāntra*:

In terms of the eighty-four thousand groups of Dharma, the two letters are the basis of everything,

Father and mother. Thus they are spoken of. ^{33a}*kṣaram kathitaṃ tathā* // ^a C *dva-* Pe *dva-*

Based on that Karopa explains the essence and defining characteristics of *e-vaṃ*:

The essence is appearance and empti[ness]. This, too, is non-dual union because it is said [in the *Devendrapariṣcchātāntra*]:

The letter *e* is the mother and *va* is called the father.

The dot is here [their] union. It is a wonderful union.³⁴

Wherever there is a union without the notion of duality, co-emergent wisdom [manifests]. The defining characteristic is the subject matter as well as what expresses it, that is to say, [the letter] *e* is the subject matter as the nature of empti[ness], and as the nature of bliss *vaṃ* indicates (lit. “expresses”) [it]. Or else, the instructions of the guru in the form of general terms should be known as that which expresses, and the realization taught by it, i.e., in the form of bliss and empti[ness] as a general image, should be known as the subject matter.³⁵

²⁸ For a discussion of the term *sabhaja*, see Kværne 1986:61–64.

²⁹ CMAṬ (B 256a3–4, P 318b7–319a1, T 124b2–3): *de la brjod par bya ba ni dbang ste* / ... *dbang gi^a don gyi^b*
gtso bo ni lhan cig skyes pa ste^c // ^a T *gis* ^b T *gyis* ^c T *om*.

In support of this, Karopa quotes *Hevajratāntra* II.2.40 (HT, p. 146, ll. 3–4), in which co-emergent joy is said to be experienced in the context of the four joys and thus empowerment: “My nature is co-emergent joy [experienced] at the end of supreme joy and at the beginning of no joy. And so we have confidence, O son, for it is like a lamp in darkness.” (*sabajānandasvabhāvo ’ham paramāntaṃ vīramādikam* / *tathā ca pratyayaṃ putra andbakāre pradīpavat* //)

³⁰ CMAṬ (B 256a6, P 319a3–4, T 124b5): *ngo bo^a ni thabs dang shes rab ste* / ^a BT *bo nyid*

³¹ CMAṬ (B 256b5, P 319b1, T 125a3): *mtshan nyid ni snang ba dang stong pa ste* /

³² CMAṬ (B 258a6, P 320a8, T 126a6): *skabs su bab^a pa’i tshig ni^b yi ge^b e dang vaṃ ste^c* //

^a T *’bab* ^b PT *om*. ^c P *mo*

³³ CMAṬ (B 258a6–b1, P 320b7–8, T 126a6–b1): *skabs su bab^a pa’i tshig ni^b yi ge^b e dang vaṃ ste^c* // *bcom ldan ’das la lha’i dbang pos zhus pa’i mdo las* / / *chos kyi phung po brgyad khri dang* / / *bzhi stong^d dag gi^d grangs snyed kyi* / / *kun gyi gzhi dang pha ma ni* / / *yi ge gnyis ni yang dag bstan^e* // / *zhe bya bas* ...

^a T *’bab* ^b PT *om*. ^c P *mo* ^d B *gi ni* ^e T *bsten*

The stanza from the *Devendrapariṣcchātāntra* is also quoted in the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* (SNP_{S(C)}, fol. 2a2–3, SNP_{S(PE)}, fols. 1b8–2a1): *dharmaskandhasahasrāṇāṃ caturaśītisaṃkhyayā* / *sarvāśrayaḥ pitā mātā dva[yā?]*

³⁴ The stanza from the *Devendrapariṣcchātāntra* is also quoted in the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* (SNP_{S(C)}, fol. 2a3, SNP_{S(PE)}, fols. 2a1–2): *ekāras tu bhaven mātā vakāras tu pitā smṛtaḥ* / *bindus tatra bhaved yogaḥ sa yogaḥ paramādbbutaḥ*

³⁵ CMAṬ (B 258b2–5, P 321a1–4, T 126b1–4): *ngo bo ni snang ba dang stong pa gnyis^a ste* / *de yang de nyid las* / *yi ge e ni mar gyur la* / / *vaṃ^b ni pha zhes bya bar grags^c* / / *thig le de gnyis sbyor ba^d ste* / / *sbyor de shin*

Next, Karopa explains how the four moments and joys can arise from *evam* as an acoustic reality, i.e., as *dharmamudrā*, or, if this is not possible, from that for which *evam* really stands, i.e., the sexual union with a *karmamudrā*, which is also referred to as “source of phenomena” (*dharmodayā*). When practiced with skillful means in a proper way the goal of the path can be indicated and *mahāmudrā* eventually attained. In this case Karopa speaks, just as Rāmapāla in his *Sekanirdeśapañjikā*, of a correct empowerment as opposed to bad and “forceful” (*haṭhayoga*) empowerments:

First, the four moments occur in [proper] order from *evam* [understood either as] acoustic reality [or as] the real one. From this the four joys arise and through this the defilements are abandoned together with [their] imprints. The [resulting] fruit, the manifestation of inherent *mahāmudrā*, is of great value. From those [four joys and] through the power of [former] aspiration and compassion the two form *kāyas* manifest in accordance with the appearances [which are familiar to] sentient beings. This is of great benefit. This, too, because it is said [in the *Devendrapariṣcchātantra*]:

The knower of reality, who knows the two letters which are the *dharmamudrā*, is the one who sets the wheel of teachings in motion for the sake of sentient beings.³⁶

Those persons who cannot comprehend such a *dharmamudrā* must rely on a *karmamudrā*. The latter is also accepted as exemplifying wisdom and “source of phenomena” (*dharmodayā*), and having disapproved of forceful *yoga*, the exemplifying [wisdom] is established in a correct empowerment and one practices by way of connecting with [its] development.³⁷

In this regard, too, just as the four moments and four joys are counted on the level of *dharmamudrā*, so are they also on the level of *karmamudrā*. For this

tu rmad byung ba'o / / zhes bya bas^c gnyis su med par sbyor ba'o^f / / gang la gnyis kyi 'du shes med^g par sbyor ba^g ni lhan cig skyes pa'i ye shes so / ^h / mtsban nyid ni brjod par bya ba dang / rjod^a par byed pa ste / ^h / de^j yang e stong pa'i ngo bor brjod par bya ba yin la / vaṃ bde ba'i ngo bor rjod par byed pa'o / / ^k de yang^k bla ma'i gdams ngag sgra spyi'i rnam^l pa ni ^m rjod byed^m du shes par bya ste / des bstan pa'i ⁿ rtogs pa bdeⁿ stong don spyi'i rnam pa ni / / ^o brjod byar^o rtogs par bya'o /

^a P om. T nyid ^b BP baṃ ^c T grag ^d T bar ^e T las / / ^f T ba yin ^g T pa ^h T om. ⁱ P brjod ^j T e de ^k T zhes de yang ^l T rnam^s ^m T brjod ⁿ T rtog pa med ^o T rtogs pa brjod par

³⁶ This stanza from the *Devendrapariṣcchātantra* is also quoted in the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* (SNP_{S(C)}, fol. 2a4–5, SNP_{S(PE)}, fol. 2a4–5): *yo vijānāti tattvājño dharmamudrākṣaradvayam / sa bhavet sarvasattvānām dharmacakrapravartakāḥ / /*

³⁷ CMAṬ (B 258b5–259a3, P 321a5–b1, T 126b4–127a1): *dang po sgra dang don gyi e vaṃ las / skad cig ma^a bzhi rim gyis^a byung la / ^b de dag las^b dga' ba bzhi skyes pas nyon mongs pa bag chags dang bcas pa spong^c ste / 'bras bu phyag rgya chen po rang chas^d su 'char ba ni don che ba'o / / de dag las^e smon lam dang snying rje'i stobs^f kyis gzugs sku rnam pa gnyis sems can gyi snang ba la 'byung^f ba ni phan yon che ba ste / ^g de yang^g chos kyi phyag rgya'i yi ge gnyis / / de nyid shes pa gang gis shes / / des ni sems can thams cad la / / chos kyi 'khor lo^h skor byed^h gyur / ⁱ / zhes bya bas kyang ngoⁱ / / de lta bu'i chos^j kyi phyag rgya la 'jug pa'i nus pa med pa dag gi gang zag^k gis / ^j las kyi phyag rgya la 'jug par bya ste / de yang dpe'i ye shes su ^l rigs pa^l dang / ^m chos kyi 'byung gnas su rigsⁿ pa dang / ^m btsan thabs kyi^o rnal 'byor sun 'byung ba^p la / yang dag pa'i dbang dper gzbag^p pa dang / 'phel bar byed pa 'brel ba'i tshul gyis nyams su blang ba'o / /*

^a P bzhi rims kyis T bzhi'i rims kyis ^b P de las T de la ^c B spangs T spongs ^d P chags ^e T la ^f T kyi gzugs sku rnam pa gnyis su sems can gyis snang ba las byung ^g B de'ang / ^h PT bskor bar ⁱ P zhes pa'o ^j T kyis phyag rgya la la 'jug par mi nus pa dag gis gang gis ^k P om. ^l P rig pa T rig ^m T om. ⁿ P rig ^o T kyis ^p T yang dag ges (?) dbang por bzbag

reason and because [the experienced co-emergent is only] similar, it is not the real one. This is because the goal can [only] be indicated, [in that its] sign is experienced. Moreover, when [the practice of *karmamudrā*] is not embraced with skillful means, the result will be *samsāra*. When embraced with skillful means the result will be *nirvāṇa*, because passages such as:

The letter *e* is the lotus, and *va* nothing but the *vajra*.
The dot on that is seed, the threefold world having been produced by it.³⁸
[*Devendrapariṣcchātantra*]

and:

The divine reality, which has the form of the letter *e*,
and is ornamented with the letter *vaṃ* in its middle,
Is the basis of everything blissful,
the box of the buddha-jewel.³⁹
[*Hevajratantra* II.3.4]

teach this. This is also because in a forceful empowerment, both the realization and the sequence of [the four moments and joys] are wrong; in a bad empowerment, the realization is wrong; and in a correct empowerment both the realization and the sequence are not wrong. Moreover, from the union of the lotus and *vajra* [as symbolized by] *evaṃ* in its written form in the [stanza above], and the gradual abandonment of the defilements and [their] imprints through the different moments, there is a recognizing experience, and thus the goal can be indicated.⁴⁰

The differences between a correct empowerment and a forceful and bad empowerment are discussed in detail in Rāmapāla's *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* and will be also addressed further down in Karopa's commentary.

In the remaining part of his introduction, Karopa draws a clear line between Tantra and ordinary Mahāyāna or Pāramitāyāna, even though the way the goal is taken in Apratiṣṭhāna-Madhyamaka does not differ from Mahāmudrā:

³⁸ This stanza from the *Devendrapariṣcchātantra* is also quoted in the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* (SNP_{S(C)}, fol. 2a2–3, SNP_{S(PE)}, fol. 2a3–4): *ekāraḥ padmam ity^a uktaṃ vakāro vajram eva ca / bindus tatra bhaved bijam tatprabhūtam jagattrayam^b / /* ^a C *it-* ^b C *-yah*

³⁹ HT, p. 155, ll. 5–6: *ekārākṛti yad divyaṃ madhye vaṃkārabhūṣitam / ālayaḥ sarvasaukhyānām buddharatnakaraṇḍakam / /*

⁴⁰ CMAṬ (B 259a3–b1, P 321b1–7, T 127a1–5): *de la yang^a chos kyi phyag rgya la skad cig^b bzhi dang dga' ba bzhi ji^c ltar^d rtsi ba^d bzhiⁿ / las kyi^e phyag rgya^f la yang^f yod pa'i phyir^g dang / 'dra ba'i phyir na dngos^h ma yin te / mtshon byaⁱ mtshon par^g nus la / / mtshon byed nyams su myong ba'i phyir dang / thabs kyi^s ma zin na 'khor ba 'byung la / / thabs kyi^s zin na mya ngan las 'das pa 'byung ba ni / e ni padma nyid 'gyur la / / va^l ni rdo rje bshad pa ste / / thig le de^k ni sa bon yin / / de las 'gro ba^l rnam gsum skyes^l / / zhes bya ba dang / e yi cha byad bzang po gang^m /^k / dbus su vaṃⁿ gyis rnam par brgyan / /^k / zhes bya ba la sogs pas^o bstan pa'i phyir dang / drag po'i dbang bskur ni^p rtogs pa dang go rim^p gnyis la 'khrul la / dbang bskur ngan pa ni^q rtogs pa la 'khrul pa nyid kyi^q phyir dang / yang dag^r gi dbang bskur^r ni /^p rtogs pa dang go rim gnyis ka^p la ma 'khrul pa'i phyir dang / de la'ang^s dbyibs kyi e bam^t padma dang rdo rje snyoms pa dang / / skad cig ma'i bye brag gis nyon mongs pa bag chags dang bcas pa^u rim gyis spangs^u pa las / mtshon byed nyams su myong las^v mtshon bya mtshon par nus pa'i phyir ro /*

^a B 'ang T om. ^b B cig ma ^c T ci ^d BT yod pa ^e T kyi^s ^f B la 'ang T yang ^g T 'dra ba'i phyir na dngos min te / / mtshon bya mtshon byar ^h B dngos po ⁱ P cha ^j BP bam T bya ^k T om. ^l B rnam gsum skye T rnam gsum skyes ^m PT la ⁿ B bam ^o PT ba ^p P rtog pa dang go rims T rtog pa dang go rim ^q P rtog pa las 'khrul pa nyid kyi T rtog pa las 'khrul pa nyid kyi^s ^r T gis dbang skur ^s PT yang ^t BT bam P ba ^u T rims kyi^s spangs ^v BP la

It is superior to the Mahāyāna of the perfections because this is also stated in the *Pradīpoddyotana*⁴¹ [commentary on the *Guhyasamājatantra*]:

It has the same goal [as Pāramitāyāna], but is free from confusion, rich in [skillful] means and without difficulties. Moreover, it is [only] used by those with sharp faculties. Mantrayāna is thus superior.⁴²

Because of being without refutation and establishment in terms of reality, i.e., the true nature in Apratiṣṭhāna Madhyamaka and the true nature in Mahāmudrā, [these two] are the same; but there is a difference on the path for the individual at the time of accomplishing it. Madhyamaka is the ascertainment through scripture and logic. [The followers of this approach] are [still] deluded. These [Mahāmudrā practitioners] are not because they distinguish themselves through instructions of the guru.⁴³

In Pāramitāyāna the nature of the two accumulations, that is to say, generosity, discipline, patience, diligence, meditation, and insight are the means. Here [in Mahāmudrā] the paths on which the imagined is sealed by the *samayamudrā*, on which defilements are taken as the path through the *karmamudrā*, and on which thoughts blaze as wisdom through the *dharmamudrā* are the means. The perfections are difficult. Seeking to abandon the defilements which must be abandoned and seeking to rely on the remedies which cause abandonment, one is on the path of abandoning the basis. It is said that one becomes a Buddha after three innumerable eons. Here [in Mahāmudrā], because of [its] distinction through empowerment, one abandons the states of the intellect which are accompanied by obstinate clinging. And because one awakens through the realization that the knowledge of something non-existent is not anything, it is not difficult. Even those with average and inferior capacities can enter Pāramitāyāna. But here it is different since [the co-emergent] is the experiential object of those with sharp faculties only.⁴⁴

⁴¹ The commentary itself is normally not referred to as *rgyud* (Tantra). This stanza is not in fact found in the *Pradīpoddyotana*, but rather occurs in the **Nayatrayapradīpa*.

⁴² For the Sanskrit of this stanza see the *Tattvaratnāvalī* (TRĀ, p. 21, ll. 12–13): *ekārthatve 'py asaṃmohāt bahūpāyād aduṣkarāt / tikṣṇendriyādhikārāc ca mantrasāstram viśisyate / /*

⁴³ CMAṬ (B 259b6–260a3, P 322a4–7, T 127b3–5): *pha rol tu phyin pa'i theg pa chen po las khyad par du 'phags a pa ste /^a de yang^b sgron ma gsal ba'i rgyud las don gcig^c na yang ma rmongs dang / / thabs mang bka' ba med pa dang^d / / dbang po rnon pos^e dbang byas kyang / / sngags kyi theg pa khyad par 'phags / zhes gsungs pa'i phyir / / don rab tu mi gnas pa'i dbu ma'i gnas lugs dang / phyag rgya chen po'i gnas lugs la / dgag sgrub^f dang bral ba'i phyir /^g gcig gis kyang bgrub^h pa'i dus kyi gang zag gi^g lam la khyad par yod do / / dbu ma ni lung dang rig pas gtan la phab pa ste / rmongs pa yin la 'di dag niⁱ bla ma'i gdams ngag gi^j khyad par du byas pa'i phyir ma rmongs pa ste ...*

^a T pa'o / ^b B 'ang ^c T cig ^d P dag ^e B po'i ^f T bsgrub ^g T cig gi de bsgrub pa'i dus kyi gang zag ^h B sgrub ⁱ P gdams ngag gi

⁴⁴ CMAṬ (B 260a4–b2, P 322a8–b6, T 127b6–128a4): *pha rol tu phyin pa'i theg pa ni tshogs gnyis kyi rang bzbin sbyin pa dang / tshul kbrims dang / bzod pa dang / brtson 'grus dang / bsam gtan dang shes rab thabs su gyur pa yin la / 'dir^a ni dam tshig gi^b phyag rgya[s?]^c kun brtags^c la rgyas 'debs^d par byed pa dang / las kyi^e phyag rgya[s?]^e nyon mongs pa lam du slong bar byed pa dang / chos kyi^e phyag^f rgyas rtog pa ye shes su 'bar^f bar byed pa'i lam rnamsh thabs su 'gyur ba'o / pha rol tu phyin pa ni bka' ba dang bcas pa ste / spang^g bya'i nyon mongs pa spong^h bar 'dod la / spong^g byed kyi^e gnyen po bstenⁱ par 'dod pas 'gzhi spang^j ba'i lam pa^k ste / bskal pa^l grangs med pa gsum gyis^m tshang rgya bar gsungs so^m / / 'dir ni dbang giⁿ rab tu^o dbye bas^o mngon par zhen pa dang bcas pa'i blo'i bdag nyid spangs te / dngos^p med kyi ye shes ci yang^q ma yin pa nyid du^r rtogs pas tshang rgya ba'i phyir^s bka' ba med pa'o / / pha rol tu phyin pa'i theg pa la ni dbang po 'bring dang^t tha mas^t kyang 'jug par nus la / 'dir ni dbang po rab 'ba' zbig gi^u spyod*

2.1 The Introduction of the *Caturmudrānvaya*

2.1.1 Translation of the Root Text

[The Succession of the Four Seals (*Caturmudrānvaya*)]⁴⁵

Homage to the Venerable Vajrasattva!

Evam.⁴⁶

Having first bowed to Vajrasattva, whose nature is pure wisdom, I write in short “A Succession of Seals” for the sake of my own understanding.

Here, because of the confusion with regard to the succession of seals, those whose minds are confused wander distressed in the ocean of *saṃsāra*. It is in order that they realize easily the meaning of the four seals that the means of great bliss is presented in accordance with the Tantras. The four seals are *karmamudrā*, *dharmamudrā*, *mahāmudrā* and *samayamudrā*.⁴⁷

2.1.2 Karopa’s Remarks on the Introduction of the *Caturmudrānvaya*

Of particular interest is the *mahāmudrā* interpretation of “Vajrasattva,” who is venerated at the beginning of the *Caturmudrānvaya*. The compound “Vajrasattva, whose nature is pure wisdom” is taken as follows:

Here, the *dharmakāya* is pure wisdom. It is beyond the extremes of existence, non-existence, [a combination of] both, and neither [existence] nor [non-existence]. In its stainless part it is without superimposition and denial, beyond the objects of knowledge and expression, and not made into an object by the intellect. It is *mahāmudrā*. As to the appearance of the *sambhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya* from it, [the form *kāyas*] are put in place through the intellect of sentient beings. Since [all three *kāyas*] are contained in the natural state and thus inseparable, their nature is the *svābhāvikakāya*. They are also the great bliss of inseparable bliss and empti[ness], and [thus] Vajrasattva.⁴⁸

yul yin gyi^v...

^a P *di* ^b T om. ^c T *btag* ^d T *'deb* ^e T *kyis* ^f T *rgya rtogs pa ye shes su bhar* ^g T *spangs* ^h T *spongs* ⁱ T *brten* ^j P *bzhi spong* ^k B *pas* T om. ^l T *pa la* ^m T *sangs rgyas par gsung ngo* ⁿ B *gi* ^o BP *byed pas* ^p PT *gnyis* ^q B *'ang* ^r PT om. ^s T om. ^t PT *thams cad* ^u T *gis* ^v T *pas*

⁴⁵The Sanskrit text in the *Adṣvayaṣvajrasaṃgraha* does not have a title. The form *Caturmudrānvaya* is thus supplied as found in the *Sekaniṛdeśapañjikā* (see above). In the Peking/Tengyur we find “An Ascertainment of the Four Seals” (*Phyag rgya bzhi gtan la dbab pa*), and in the *Phyag chen rgya gzhung* collection and the *'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod* “A Presentation of the Four Seals” (*Phyag rgya bzhi rjes su bstan pa*).

⁴⁶Missing in the Tibetan.

⁴⁷CMA, p. 92, ll. 2–10: // *om namaḥ śrīvajrasattvāya* // *evam* // *vajrasattvaṃ praṇamyaḍau viśuddhajñānatanmayam* // *mudrānvayaḥ samāseṇa kriyate ātmabuddhaye* // *iha hi mudrānvayaḥ vibhṛāntya mūdhamanaso bhrāmanti bhavārjave duḥkhitāḥ* // *teṣāṃ sukheṇa caturmudrārthapratipattaye tantrānusāreṇa mahāsukhasādhanaṃ prasādhya-ate* // *caturmudreti karmamudrā dharmamudrā mahāmudrā samayamudrā* //

⁴⁸CMAT (B 260b5–261a2, P 323a1–5, T 128a6–b3): *de la chos kyi sku ni rnam par dag pa'i ye shes te* / *yod pa dang med pa dang gnyis ka^a dang gnyis ka^a ma yin pa'i mtha' las 'das pa* / *dri ma dang bral ba'i cha* / *sgro skur gyis^b dben pa shes shing brjod pa'i yul las 'das pa blos^c yul du ma byas pa ste* / *phyag rgya chen po'o* / *de las^d longs spyod rdzogs pa dang sprul pa'i sku^e snang ba ni* / *sems can gyi blos gzhag^f pa ste^f // gnyug mas bsdu pas dbyer mi phyed pa'i phyir* / *ngo bo nyid kyi sku de'i rang bzhin no* / *de yang^g bde ba dang stong pa dbyer mi phyed pa'i bde ba chen^h po ste^h // rdo rje sems dpa'o* /

^a PT om. ^b P *gyi* ^c T *blo* ^d B *la* T om. ^e BT *skur* ^f P *pa la* T *te* ^g B *'ang* ^h B *pos te*

The goal of *dharmakāya* is thus equated with *mahāmudrā* and Vajrasattva, which symbolizes the bliss of emptiness and compassion. This in turn hints at the means by which the goal is approached. In this context Karopa stresses that during an empowerment the causal *samaya-mudrā* of the *utpattikrama* (in which the *maṇḍala*, its deities and so forth are visualized) comes first, and not the real form *kāyas*:

Since the vase empowerment comes first, causal *samayamudrā* will be explained first. Here, too, empowerment is based on a *maṇḍala*. Here, because a vase (on which the first empowerment is based) is the experiential object of somebody with ordinary (lit. “coarse”) thoughts a coloured sand *maṇḍala* must be visualized. ...⁴⁹

Karopa continues with a detailed presentation of empowerment, and defines then *mudrā* (“seal”):

Mudrā means “to seal” and “not to transgress” [the dictum of the seal]. Body, speech and mind – [all] three are sealed by the co-emergent. Phenomena, sights and sounds are sealed by non-arising; experience is sealed by becoming mentally disengaged; and the benefit of others is sealed by the power of aspiration and compassion. Bliss, empti[ness], and [their manifestation] do not transgress non-duality.⁵⁰

In his commentary on the sentence “Here, because of the confusion with regard to the succession of *mudrās*, those who do not know [it] wander distressed in the ocean of *saṃsāra*” from the root text, Karopa points out that the teaching of the *Caturmudrānvaya* is meant for proponents of bad and forceful empowerments, as well as the Yogācāras and Mādhyamikas:

Having the sequence of the four moments wrong, being deluded in terms of [their correct] realization, and being [thus] not different from the non-Buddhists, [they adhere to a] forceful empowerment. “Those whose minds are confused”⁵¹ refers to the practitioners of bad empowerments because [the latter] are not acceptable even though they have the sequence right. “Distressed” are the Yogācāras and Mādhyamikas, since it is said that they will be Buddhas [only] after three innumerable eons.⁵²

⁴⁹ CMAṬ (B 261b3–4, P 323b6–7, T 129a3–4): *bum pa'i dbang sngon du 'gro ba'i phyir / dam tshig gi phyag rgya rgyur gnas pa^a sngon du bshad par bya'o / / de^b la yang^b dbang dkyil 'khor la brten^c pa ste / de la^d bum pa^e r^frog pa^f rags pa'i gang zag gi^g spyod yul yin pa'i phyir / rdul tshon gyi dkyil 'khor bsam par^h bya ste^h / ...^a BT pas^b B'ang T la^c T bstan^d PT yang^e B pa'i^f B r^frog pa T bsnog (?) pa^g T gis^h T byed*

⁵⁰ CMAṬ (264a6–b2, P 326a5–7, T 131b1–3): *phyag rgya ni 'debs^a pa'i don dang / mi 'da' ba'i don te / lus^b ngag yid gsum la lban cig skyes^c pas 'debs^c pa dang / chos snang zhing grags^d pa la skye ba med pas 'debs^c pa dang / nyams su myong ba la^f yid la mi byed pas 'debs^g pa dang / gzhan gyi^h don la smon lam dang snying rje'i mthus 'debs^g pa'o / / bde ba dang stong pa dang shar ba gnyis med las mi 'da' (text: mda') ba'o*

^a T 'deb^b T las^c T pa'i bde^d B grag^e T bden^f T om.^g T 'deb^h T gyis

⁵¹ The *pratika* in Karopa's commentary often differs from the root text, but it is clear that the *shin tu rmongs pa dang* refers to the *'khrul zhing yid rmongs pas* in the Tibetan and *-vibhrāntiā mūḍhamanaso* in the root text.

⁵² CMAṬ (B 265a5–b1, P 327a2–5, T 132a4–5): *skad cig bzhi'i go rim la 'khrul cing / rtoḡs^a pa la rmongs pa ni^b phyi rol pa dang khyad^c med pa'i phyir / drag po'i dbang bskur ba'o^d / / shin tu rmongs pa dang zhes bya ni dbang bskur ngan pa rnam^e te / go rim^e la ma 'khrul pa'i rjes la mi rigs^f pa'i phyir ro / dka' ba can dag zhes bya ba ni / rnal 'byor spyod pa ba^g dag dang dbu ma pa^h ste / /^h bskal pa grangs med pa gsum gyis^d sangs rgyas zhes gsungs pa'i phyir ro /*

^a BPT rtoḡ^b P om.^c T khyad par^d PT ro^e P rims^f T rig^g T om.^h T drangⁱ T gyi

The phrase “It is in order that they realize easily the meaning of the four seals” is then taken in the following way:

[Realization which] occurs from the co-emergent as cause, non-origination as path, and great bliss as fruit, is not different. In this sense it occurs “easily.” “Realizing the meaning of the four seals” means that [the meaning of] *karmamudrā* is [realized] at the time of empowerment, [that of] *dharmamudrā* when reality (*don*) appears as a general image, [that of] *mahāmudrā* when reality [ap- pears] according to its specific characteristic, and [that of] *samayamudrā* at the time of actualization and maturation. As to “that they [easily] realize,” the first [*mudrā*] makes them realize bliss, the second empti[ness], and the third that [these two] are inseparable.⁵³

3 The Chapter on *Karmamudrā*

3.1 *Karmamudrā* and the Sequence of the Four Joys

3.1.1 Translation of the Root Text

Here the nature of *karmamudrā* is analyzed. Action (*karma-*) is the intention related to body, speech and mind. The seal (*mudrā*), whose primary import is this [action] (*karma-*), has the nature of imagination. In (Tib. “from”) this *karmamudrā* the [four] joys arise — divided according to the [four] moments. [It is stated in *Hevajratantra* II.3.5cd]:

Knowing the moments, blissful wisdom
which is based in the syllable *evam* [arises].

The four joys [are:] joy, supreme joy, co-emergent joy and [joy of] no joy.

Otherwise the passage

Between supreme [joy] and [joy of] no joy no joy, see the goal and stabilize [it]!⁵⁴

would not make sense.

The four moments are: [the moment of] the manifold, maturation, freedom from defining characteristics and relaxation. The presentation of freedom from

⁵³ CMAṬ (B 265b3–5, P 327a7–b1, T 132a6–b2): *rgyu lhan cig skyes pa dang / lam skye ba med pa dang / 'bras bu bde ba chen po las 'byung^a ba tha mi dad pa ni bde bar 'byung ba'o / / phyag rgya bzhi'i don^b rtogs nas^b zhes bya ba ni / las kyi phyag rgya dbang gi^c dus su dang / chos kyi^d phyag rgya don spyi'i^e rnam pa 'char ba'i dus su dang / phyag rgya chen po don rang gi mtshan nyid ji^f lta bu'i dus su^g dang / dam tshig gi^h phyag rgya mngon du gyur cing smin pa'i dus su^o / khong du chud par bya ba'i phyr zhes byaⁱ ba ni / dang pos^k bde ba khong du chud par byed do /^l / gnyis pas stong pa khong du chud par byed do^m /^l / gsum pasⁿ dbyer mi phyed pa khong du chud par byed do /*

^a T *byung* ^b B *rtogs gi ba(?)* PT *rtog nas* ^c T *gis* ^d T *kyis* ^e P *ci'i* ^f T *ci* ^g PT *om.* ^h T *om.* ⁱ T *so* ^j B *om.* ^k T *po* ^l P *om.* ^m T *om.* ⁿ T *pa*

⁵⁴ A passage from an attested, but as yet unidentified tantra. This recognition of *sabhaja* during the third moment was also maintained by Maitrīpa's teacher Ratnākaraśānti. Abhayākara Gupta and Kamalanātha took *sabhaja* as the fourth (see also Kværne 1985:34–35). This latter view, i.e., *virama* in the third position, goes back to a tradition which takes *virama* as “intensification of joy” and not its cessation (no joy). Oral information from Prof. Harunaga Isaacson.

defining characteristics between [maturation and relaxation] should be understood in [the context of] empowerment. It should be understood that in *haṭhayoga* freedom from defining characteristics and co-emergent joy are put at the end. The illustrious one taught this extensively in [the context of] empowerment and *haṭhayoga*.⁵⁵

3.1.2 Karopa's Commentary on *Karmamudrā* and the Sequence of the Joys

The initial passage “Here, the nature of *karmamudrā* is analyzed. Action (*karma-*) is the intention related to body, speech and mind. The seal (*mudrā*), whose primary import is this [action] (*karma-*), has the nature of imagination.

Here, the nature [of] *karmamudrā* will be analyzed. Action (*karma-*) [happens] equally [on any of the three levels of] body, speech, and mind. Intention is the main thing. As to seal (*mudrā*), [its] nature is analyzed according to the guru's instruction. As to the nature [of] *karmamudrā* in this [passage], it is the co-emergent. Here it must be analyzed with the help of other practices. [These] practices should be known as action. [Actions on the level of the] body are looking, sucking the tongue, biting the lower lip, kissing, embracing, massaging the breasts, tickling, and the movements of the penis in the vagina. Actions on the level of speech are talk [instigating] attachment and *vajra* recitation. The blessing of *vajra* and *padma* and possessing the mind of a perfect Buddha are actions on the level of the mind. These should be also known as the secret interior empowerment. . . . As to the secret inner empowerment, the experience of supreme joy [at] the moment of maturation is caused inside the lotus. [Then, the *bodhicitta*] must be drawn back through the power [of] reality which is of one taste and accompanied by the wisdom of self-awareness.⁵⁶

Intention is the primary import.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ CMA, p.92, 1.10 – p.94, 1.9: *tatra karmamudrāyāḥ svarūpaṃ nirūpyate / karma kāyavākcittacintā tatpradhānā mudrā kalpanāsvārūpā / tasyām karmamudrāyām ānandā jāyante kṣaṇabhedena bheditāḥ / kṣaṇajñānāt sukhaññānam evamkāre pratiṣṭhitam // ānandās catvārah / ānandaḥ paramānandaḥ sahaññānando vīramānandaḥ / anyathā / paramāvīramayor madhye lakṣyaṃ vikṣya dṛḍhikuru / iti yad uktam tat samgatam na bhavati / catvārah kṣaṇāḥ / vicitravipākavilakṣaṇavimardāḥ / madhye vilakṣaṇam dattvā seke boddhavyam / haṭhayoge punaḥ sahaññānāy ante sthitir boddhavyā // seke haṭhayoge cedam nirdiṣṭam bhagavatā /*

⁵⁶ CMAṬ (267a5–b3, P 328b8–329a4, T 133b6–134a3): *de la las kyi phyag rgya rang gi^a ngo bo brtag^b par bya ste / las ni lus ngag yid gsum^c mnyam pa ste^c // bsam pa ni^d gtso bo yin la / phyag rgya ni bla ma'i^e man ngag gis^e rang gi^f ngo bo brtag^g pa'o / zhes bya ba la^h las kyi phyag rgya rang gi^f ngo bo ni lhan cig skyes pa ste / derⁱ sbyor ba gzhan gyis brtag par bya ste / sbyor ba ni las su shes par bya'o / / de la mig blta^j ba dang / lce 'jib^k pa dang / ma mchu so yis gzung^l ba dang / 'o bya zhing 'khyud pa dang / nu ma mnye^m ba dang g.ya' sgogⁿ pa dang / ka kkoⁿ lar bo la bskyod pa ni lus^o so / chags pa'i^p gtam gleng ba dang / rdo rje'i bzlas pa ni ngag go / / rdo rje dang^q padma'i^r byin gyis brlab pa dang / rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas kyi^s blo yod pa ni yid kyi las te / de dag ni gsang ba nang gi dbang^t la yang^t shes par bya'o /...*

^a T gis ^b B bstan T bsten ^c B mnyam pas te T ste ^d PT om. ^e P gdams ngag gi ^f T gis ^g P brtags ^h T ni ⁱ BT de la ^j BT lta ^k B 'jibs PT bzhib ^l T bzung ^m P mnyel ⁿ BP bslang T blang (see CMAṬ (P 355b7–8): *g.ya' bsgag*) ⁿⁿ BPT ko ^o P las ^p P pa la ^q P om. ^r B padma gnyis T padma ^s T kyis ^t B la'ang T la

CMAṬ (B 268a2–3, P 329b3–4, T 134b2): *gsang ba nang gi^a dbang ni / rnam par smin pa'i skad cig ma mchog b^g gi dga' ba padmar^b nyams su myong bar byas la / rang rig pa'i ye shes dang bcas pa'i^c ro gcig^c pa'i de nyid mthus bzlog par bya'o*

^a T gis ^b T gis dag par padma ^c T ye shes de nyid ro cig

⁵⁷ In the Tibetan translation, *tatpradhānā* has not been taken as a *bahuvrīhi* qualifying *mudrā*, but simply

As to seal (*mudrā*), it is the wisdom consort of body, speech, and mind. “In accordance with pith-instructions” refers to the practice of great attachment, which is opposed to [ordinary] attachment[, i.e., the practice] guided by the instructions of a genuine guru. By these the nature [of *karmamudrā*], i.e., the co-emergent, is analyzed.⁵⁸

Of great interest is also Karopa’s presentation of the four joys and their correct sequence in the context of discussing the quotation from the unknowntantra which suggests that the goal can be ascertained between supreme joy and joy of no joy:

If [somebody objects:] In the tantras the moment of relaxation is presented as the third one, but here it is presented as the fourth, [the answer is as follows:] The nectar from the mouths of genuine gurus refuted *haṭṭhayoga*. As to teaching the moment of freedom from defining characteristics in the middle (i.e., in the third position), because of its superiority it should be known as the correct empowerment. This is justified because of [Maitrīpa’s *Sekanirdeśa* 2]:

The manifold, then there is ripening.
The third is freedom from defining characteristics.
It should be known that relaxation is afterwards,
the [sequence of] *haṭṭhayoga* being rejected.⁵⁹

Otherwise the passage “between supreme [joy] and [joy of] no joy, see the goal and stabilize [it]!” would not make sense.⁶⁰

If one objects that relaxation is taken to be in the third [position], the following words (i.e., *Sekanirdeśa* 3ab) make it clear:

When relaxation is the consideration [of having experienced bliss],
how can it be taken to be in the third [position]?⁶¹

Therefore *haṭṭhayoga* is not logical and contradicts canonical scripture.⁶²

rendered as *gtso bo’o*. It is difficult to say how precisely the *pratīka* corresponding to *bsam pa ni gtso bo yin la* fitted into Karopa’s root text.

⁵⁸ CMAT (B 268b1–2, P 329b8–330a1, T 134b6): *phyag rgya ni sku gsung thugs kyi rig ma’o’ā // / man ngag gi’is^b zhes bya^c ba ni^c ’dod chags^d las log^d pa’i ’dod chags chen po’i sbyor ba bla ma^e dam pa’i^e gdams^f ngag gi’is^g zin pa’o / /*
^h *de dag gi’is ni^h lhan cig skyes paⁱ rang^j gi ngo bor brtags^j pa’o / /*

^a BT pa’o ^b P gi ^c P ba’i ^d B la sogs ^e T las zlog ^f PT om. ^g T gdam ^h P gi ⁱ T om. ^j T pa’i ^k T gi’is ngo brtag

⁵⁹ SN, p.48, ll.5–6: *citram tato vipākāḥ syāt trṭīye tu vilakṣaṇam / vimardaś ca tato jñeyo haṭṭhayoganirākṛteḥ //*

⁶⁰ CMAT (B 269a6–b2, P 330b5–331a1, T 135b3–5): *gal te rgyud dag las^a rnam pa nyed^b pa’i skad cig ma gsum par bzbag la / ’dir bzhi par gzbag pa ni / bla ma dam pa dag gi^c zhal gyi^d bdud rtsis^e btsan thabs kyi rnal ’byor sun phyung ste / mtshan nyid dang bral ba’i skad cig ma dbus su bstan pa ni mchog tu gyur pa’i phyr yang dag gi^f dbang du shes par bya’o / / de’ang^g drag po’i sbyor ba spangs pa yis / sna tshogs de nas^h rnam par smin / / gsum pa mtshan nyid bral ba ste / rnam pa nyed^b pa de nas shes zhes bya basⁱ rigs so / / de’ang^j ma yin na / mchog dang dga’ bral dbus su ni / / mtshon bya^k shes^l nas brtan^l par gyis zhes gsungs pa de^m ’thad par yang mi ’gyur ro /*

^a B na ^b T la ni ^c BPT med ^d T gi’is ^e T rtsi’i ^f PT gi’is ^g PT de yang ^h B las ⁱ B bar ^j T ba ^k P de yang ^l T de ^m P cha ⁿ T na brten ^o T om.

⁶¹ SN, p.48, l.7: *ālōcanam vimardaś cet trṭīye katham isyate /*

⁶² CMAT (B 269b2–3, P 331a1–2, T 135b5–6): *rnam pa nyed^a pa gsum par ’dod do zhe na / rnam nyed^a kun tu b^b skyod byed^b na / / gsum pa^c ji ltar ’dod par byed / ces^d bya ba’i tshig^e gi’is gsal to / / de bas na btsan thabs kyi rnal ’byor^e ni // ^c rigs pa^f dang bral zhing lung dang ’gal ba’o / /*

^a T med ^b B skyod byed ^c P spyod ce ^d T spyod ces ^e T om. ^f T zhes ^g T mtha’ tshig ^h PB om.

Objection: As to this [quotation],⁶³ determination is [expressed by] the sixth case. [What is meant by “in the middle of⁶⁴ supreme joy and joy of no joy”] is the middle, that is to say,⁶⁵ supreme joy and the joy of no joy with respect to joy and co-emergent [joy]. Because the most important among them is the third, joy of no joy is appropriate [in this position]. This is clear from scripture (HT II.5.70cd):

The beginning of [the joy of] no joy (*viramādiḥ*) is beyond supreme joy.
Empty and non-empty is Heruka.^{66,67}

Here the third is [the joy of] no joy.

[Reply: But] *ādi* refers to the co-emergent, beyond supreme [joy, so to say].

[Objection:] No. This is clear from [HT I.10.18cd]:

He should note at the beginning of [the joy of] no joy.
It is free from the three joys.^{68,69}

[Reply:] This, too, is like before. Likewise,⁷⁰ this is clear in [HT II.3.8ab]:

It has been said that relaxation is the consideration
“I have experienced bliss.”⁷¹

Therefore, how can [such] a concept be non-conceptual? It is not. Thus it is invalidated even by the standard of what is known in the world, and moreover it contradicts careful analysis. Moreover, the [joy of] no joy is relaxation since it is stated [in HT II.3.9]:

The first joy is [experienced] during [the moment] of multitude, supreme
joy during [the one of] maturation,
The joy of no joy during [the one of] relaxation, and co-emergent joy during
[the one of] freedom from defining characteristics.⁷²

⁶³ I.e., “between supreme [joy] and no joy stabilize after beholding the goal!”

⁶⁴ Otherwise translated as “between.”

⁶⁵ That is, taking the genitive as determination.

⁶⁶ HT, p. 214, l. 5: ^a*viramādiḥ paramāntaraḥ*^a *sūnyāśūnyam tu herukam* //

^a The edition has *paramāntam viramādhyam*.

⁶⁷ CMAṬ (B 269b3–5, P 331a2–4, T 135b6–136a1): *gal te 'di ni nges par gzung^a ba drug pa'i sgra ste / dga' ba dang lhan cig skyes pa la ltos pa'i mchog^b gi^c dga' d^d ba dang dga'^d bral gyi^c dga' ba i^f g^g dbus ma^g ste / de nyid kyi^h gtso bor gyur paⁱ ni gsum pa yin pa'i phyir^j dga' bral gyi^c dga' ba de^k rigs so^l zhe na / |^l gsung rab las / dga' bral dang po mchog dga'^m mtha' / | stong dangⁿ stong min he ru ka / zhes bya bas bsal to^o*

^a P 'byung T bzung ^b P chog ^c T gis ^d P om. ^e T gyis ^f P ba ni ^g T dbu ^h P om. T kyis ⁱ T ba'i ^j P phyir / T phyir ro / | ^k P ste T ster ^l T zhes bya ba ^m P gi ⁿ T pa ^o B lo

⁶⁸ HT, p. 118, l. 2: *viramādaḥ*^a *lakṣyet tac ca^a ānandatrāyavarjitaḥ*^b //

^a The edition has *sa lakṣyata*. ^b The edition has *-aḥ*.

⁶⁹ CMAṬ (B 269b5–6, P 331a4–5, T 136a2): *de la gsum pa dga' bral yin la / lhan cig skyes pa la ltos pa'i^a dang b^b po ste^b / mchog gi^c mtha'o zhe na / ma yin te dga' bral^d dang por^e mtshon par bya^f / | de ni dga' ba gsum bral nyid / ces^g bya bas gsal^h to /*

^a B pa ^b T dang te ^c T gis ^d P bral gyi ^e BP po ^f T bya'o ^g T zhes ^h lo

⁷⁰ The *zhes bya ba ni snga ma bzhin no* / | *de lta na'ang* / *rnam par nyed pa* ...

⁷¹ HT, p. 156, l. 3: *vimardam ālocanam proktaṃ sukhaṃ bhuktaṃ mayeti ca* /

⁷² HT, p. 156, ll. 5–6: *vicitre prathamānandaḥ paramānando vipākake / virāmānando vimarde ca saajānando vilakṣaṇe* //

Moreover, the [joy of] no joy is worldly, since in [HT I.10.15] it is taught so:

The first joy is worldly, so is supreme joy, as well as the joy of no joy.

The co-emergent one does not exist in any of these three.^{73,74}

Otherwise, if [the joy of] no joy is the third, it contradicts thetantras which teach that the co-emergent is non-conceptual, and the statement in [HT II.2.40ab]:

My nature is co-emergent joy [experienced] at the end of supreme joy and at the beginning of no joy.⁷⁵

would not be appropriate. Thus [Maitrīpa] said [in SN 3c–4d]:

Because at this time there is no consideration, [and] awareness should be without defining characteristics [at this stage],

It is therefore appropriate that the moment of freedom from defining characteristics is known as the third one.

This [can] be established in terms of one's own experience, and even the meaning of scriptures is suitable [here].⁷⁶

The co-emergent should thus be realized as the third [joy].⁷⁷

Therefore inferior [empowerment] means not to have realization. Even though [yogins] abide by the [correct] sequence [in an inferior empowerment, their realization] is wrong. [And in the *Caturmudrānvaya*] it is said: “It should be understood that in forceful (*hatḥayoga*) empowerment freedom from defining characteristics and co-emergent joy are put at the end.”

“Inferior” means bad [empowerment]. Because of not being sealed [by the seal of emptiness], from experience alone they do not possess the realization of non-duality. Even though they abide by the [correct] sequence of moments and joys,

⁷³ HT, p. 116, ll. 5–6: *prathamānandaṃ jagadrūpaṃ paramānandaṃ jagat tathā / viramānandaṃ jagac caiva na vidyate sahaṃ triṣu* //

⁷⁴ CMAṬ (B 269b6–270a3, P 331a5–8, T 136a2–5): *de'ang^a snga ma bzbin no zhe^b na ma^b yin te / rnam pa nyed pa bskyod^c par brjod / / rang gi^d bde ba za^c ba nyid / ces^f bya bas gsal to^g / / de bas na rtog pa mi rtog^h par ji ltar 'gyur te mi^h 'gyur ro / / de bas na 'jig rtenⁱ pa'i grags paⁱ kyang gnod la / nges par 'byed^j pa dang yang 'gal ba yin no / gzhan yang dga' ba dang po sna tshogs nyid / / mchog tu dga' ba rnam par smin / / dga' bral dga' ba rnam^k nyed de^k / / lhan cig skyes pa^l mtshan nyid bral / zhes bya bas dga' bral ni rnam nyed^m do / / gzhan yang / dga' ba dang poⁿ gro ba nyid / / de bzbin mchog dga' 'gro ba nyid / / dga' bral dga' ba^o gro ba nyid / / lhan cig skyes dga' gsum mi dmigs zhes bya bas dga' bral 'khor bar bstan to /*

^a BT de yang ^b T om. ^c PT spyod ^d T gis ^e T bza' ^f T zhes ^g B gsal lo ^h T pa ci ltar ⁱ T gyi grags pa ^j PT byed ^k P par nyed ^l T pa med ^m B dga' ⁿ T med ^o B por P po'i ^o BT bas

⁷⁵ HT, p. 146, l. 3: *sahajānandasvabhāvo 'haṃ paramāntaṃ viramādikam*

⁷⁶ SN, p. 48, ll. 8–10: *yat tatrālocanaṃ naiṃ bhaved vittir alakṣaṇā / vilakṣaṇam ato yuktam [hanta boddhum?]a trītiyake / svasaṃvitter^b bhavet siddhir āgamārtho 'pi saṃgataḥ / /* ^a Missing in J. ^b J -vittir

⁷⁷ CMAṬ (B 270a3–6, P 331a8–b3, T 136a5–b1): *'on te dga' bral gsum pa yin na / lhan cig skyes pa mi rtog par^a bstan pa'i rgyud^b dang 'gal te / lhan cig skyes dga'i ngo bo nga^c / / mchog mtha' dga' bral dang po can zhes bya ba dang 'thad par mi 'gyur ro / / de bas na / gang^d phyir de tshes bskyod^e med de / mtshan nyid med^f par rig par^f gyur / / de phyir^g mtshan nyid med par rigs^h / / bde ba gsum pa de nyid yin / / rang rig nyid de dngos grub 'gyur / / lung giⁱ don dang 'tsham^j pa yin^k zhes^l bya bas lhan cig skyes pa gsum par rtogs^m par bya'o /*

^a P pa ^b T rgyu ^c B dang T om. ^d P dga' ^e BPT spyod ^f T pas rang gi bar ^g T nyid : ^h T rig ⁱ T gis ^j P mtshams T 'tshams ^k P ma yin ^l T om. ^m T rtog

they do not grasp [their] meaning. They are wrong in the same way as [it is wrong to] call an outcaste a “king.” “Forceful” means to be produced by force. Because in [forceful] empowerment freedom from defining characteristics and co-emergent joy are taken to be at the end, even the sequence is wrong. Realization is as in the former. It is simply not right.⁷⁸

Assertions which are different from this must be refuted by us. They are negated because of [SN 21]:

Some decide the middle path to be Sākāra inside the penis
And Nirākāra at its tip. This is not the view of our guru.⁷⁹

Why? Because [for] them the mere clinging [to blue and the like] is the main thing, and going beyond that means to fall into the extreme of annihilation.⁸⁰
As to [SN 22]:

Reality is not held to be inside the *vajra* or at its tip,
nor fallen into the *kapāla*.
Or moving in between.
As for realizing [reality], it is from the mouth of the guru.⁸¹

This [refers to the] illustrious one who holds the drop of sixteen halved twice.⁸²
This must be realized from the mouth of the guru, too:

⁷⁸ CMAṬ (B 270a6–b3, P 331b3–7, T 136b1–3): *de bas na^a dman pa ni rtogs^a pa dang mi ldan pa te / go rim^b gnas kyang^c yang dag par^c ma yin no / / drag poⁱ dbang la ni mtshan nyid dang bral ba dang / lhan cig skyes paⁱ dga^a ba^d mthar^e dod do / / zhes bya ba la^f dman pa^g ni ngan pa ste / rgyas 'debs pa med paⁱ phyir nyams su myong ba tsam las gnyis med kyif^f rtogs^h pa dang mi ldan pas / skad cigⁱ dang dga^a baⁱ go^j rim gyis^j gnas^k kyang^l / / don dang^m mi ldan te / gdol ba la rgyal^m por brjod pa bzbin du yang dag par^o ma yin no / / drag^p po ni stobs^p kyis byas pa ste / dbang laⁿ ni mtshan nyid dang^f bral ba^r skad cig ma dang / lhan cig skyes paⁱ dga^a ba mthar 'dod^s paⁱ phyir^s / / go^t rim kyang^t kbrul la^u v^v rtogs pa yang^v gong lta bu ste / bzang po ma yin pa nyid do^w / ^a T sman pa ni rtog^b P rims T ris^c P yang dag pa T dag^d P bas^e T mtha^a ba mthar^f T om. ^g T pa la^h P rtogⁱ BT cig ma^j P rims kyi^k BPT mi gnas^l B shing^m B dang yangⁿ T rgya^o PT pa^p T poⁱ srib^q PT om. ^r T ba^s T pa ste^t P rims kyang^u T lo / / ^v B rtog pa^a ang^w P om.*

⁷⁹ SN, p. 54, ll. 8–9: *bolagarbhe ca sākāraṃ nirākāraṃ tadagrataḥ / madhyamā varṇayanty eke neti no guru-darśanam*

⁸⁰ CMAṬ (B 270b3–4, P 331b7–8, T 136b3–5): *de las gzhan paⁱ 'dod pa yang^a / / kho^b bos dgag^b par bya ba nyid do / / rdo rje nang^c gi rnam bcas te^c / / de yi rtse mor rnam^d med nyid / / dbu mar gnas^e zhes^f gang smra^g ba / / kho boⁱ bla ma de mi 'dod / / ces^h bya bas bsal toⁱ / / de ciⁱ phyir zhe na / de dag ni mngon du zhen pa 'ba^j zbig gtso bor^j gyur paⁱ phyir dang / de las 'das pa^k ni chad paⁱ mtha^a la lhung baⁱ phyir /*

^a B 'ang^b T boⁱ bag chag sad^c T gis rnam bcas ste^d T rnam^e T dbus^f P shes^g T smas^h T zhesⁱ B lo^j T boⁱ k^k P paⁱ
⁸¹ SN, p. 54, ll. 10–11: *vajragarbhe tadagre vā patitaṃ vā kapālake / na ceṣṭam antarāle 'pi tattvaṃ vittaau guror mukhāt / /*

⁸² MNS, p.107: *ṣoḍasārdhārdhabindudhrk /*. In his commentary on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* (AKT, p. 90), Raviśrījñāna explains this compound as follows: “The Tathāgatas say that “who holds the drop of sixteen halved twice” [refers to] the great wisdom based on a *prajñā*. . . . The half of sixteen parts is eight [parts]. The half of these is the four drops whose defining characteristics are body, speech, mind, and wisdom. They create the states of waking, dream, deep sleep, and the fourth (i.e., sexual union). He holds them, so he is holding the drop of sixteen halved twice. This means he is the protector of the four *samayas* (see below), Vajrasattva, the great passionate one.” (*ṣoḍasārdhārdhabindudhrk mahāprajñā nānam ity ucyate tathāgataiḥ . . . ṣoḍasānāṃ kalānām arddham aṣṭau tadarddham catvāro bindavaḥ kāyavākcittaj nānalakṣaṇāḥ / jāgratsvapnasuṣuptituryāvasthājanakāḥ / tān dhārayatīti ṣoḍasārdhārdhabindudhrk / samayacatuṣṭayapālakaḥ vajrasattvo mahārāga ity arthaḥ /*)

Two (i.e., joy and supreme joy) have passed and the [remaining] two (i.e., co-emergent joy and joy of no joy)⁸³ are the same.

Setting out from the *vajra* and fallen into the *padma*.

What has set out from the *vajra* is Akṣobhya.

And when it is fallen into the *padma* it is Vajra[sattva].

The cause is sealed by the fruit.⁸⁴

The fruit is sealed by the cause.⁸⁵

He is the king of great bliss.⁸⁶

Through this [instruction] one should find the reality which is like a jewel.⁸⁷

The insertion into Karopa's commentary⁸⁸ contains further interesting material on the distinction of a correct empowerment from a bad empowerment and an empowerment of *haṭhayoga*:

Rejecting both inferior and forceful [empowerments], the correct [third] empowerment must be presented as an exemplifying [wisdom]. In a forceful empowerment there is confusion of [all] three, the sequence, the foundation, and realization. As to the confusion of the sequence, the moment of freedom from defining characteristics and co-emergent joy are taken to be at the end, the moment of relaxation and [the joy of] no joy being taken as the third. As to the confusion of the foundation, the pervasion of the jewel in the *vajra* by *bodhicitta*

In his subcommentary (AKUN, p. 198), Vibhūticandra further elaborates: "Through the pervasion of the four cakras he holds the four drops. . . As to body and so forth, at the forehead, there is the drop of the body. It creates the waking state. At the throat, there is the drop of speech. It creates the state of dream. At the heart, there is the drop of mind. It creates the state of deep sleep. At the navel, there is the drop of wisdom. It creates the fourth state. The fourfold *samaya*^a is united, and through these [four *samayas*] you are said [to hold] the fourfold drop." (*catuscakravāpyā caturbindudbrk / . . . kāyetyādi lalāṭe kāyabindu[r] jārgradavasthājanakāḥ / kaṅthe vāgbinduh svapṇajanakāḥ / hr̥ḍi cittabinduh susuptasya / nabhau jñānabindus turyājanakāḥ / samayatustayam samīyate tvam ebbir binducatustayam ucyate /*)^a All Tantric commitments (*samaya*) can be subsumed under four categories: the commitments of body, speech, mind, and the four joys (according to Khenpo Phuntsok (abbot of Lekshey Ling in Kathmandu and disciple of the late Pad ma rgyal mtshan from Dil yag Monastery in Nang chen, Khams).

⁸³ When the descending drop has reached the section between the navel and the secret place, the four joys must be experienced again in sequential order. "Two have passed" thus means that the drop has passed the positions where joy and supreme joy must be identified (according to Khenpo Phuntsok).

⁸⁴ This line is missing in the Indian original of the *Sekanirdesapañjikā*.

⁸⁵ These two lines mean that bliss and emptiness are experienced as being united as a pair (see below).

⁸⁶ SNP_(C), fol. 12b5–13a1; SNP_(Pe), fol. 12a2–3: *venṇi^a vigaillai^b venṇi^c vitulle^d vājja^e pautta^f paṃmu^g acchua^h ttoⁱ / vājja^j pautta^k akkhobhadā^l paṃmu^m acchuⁿ ettā^o vājja^p kājja^q kāraṇam uddiā^r ehu so^s mahāsuba-rājja / /*

^a Pe *venṇu* ^b Pe *vigalle* ^c Pe *venṇu* ^d Pe *vitulle* ^e Pe *vāja* ^f Pe *pauntrem* ^g Pe *pambu* ^h Pe *-cchu-* ⁱ Pe *ntem* ^j Pe *gaja* ^k Pe *paunnā* (followed by an empty space for one or two *akṣaras*) ^l C *akkhovradā* Pe *akṣobhadā* ^m C *pamu* ⁿ Pe *ccha* ^o Pe *antrā* ^p Pe *kājjem* ^q Pe *uddi?* (the last *akṣara* has been erased) ^r C om.

⁸⁷ CMAṬ (B 270b5–271a1, P 331b8–332a3, T 136b5–137a1): *rdo rje'i nang du^a de'i rtse dang^a / / thod pa'i nang du lhung ba dang / / bar^b du 'dug pa'ang^b mi 'dod la / / de nyid bla ma'i kha las^c rig / ces^d bya ba ni / bcu drug phyed phyed thig le 'chang ba'i^e bcom ldan 'das so / / de'ang^f bla ma'i zhal nas rtogs par bya ba ni / gnyis 'das nas ni gnyis^g mnyam pa^g / / rdo rje nas lhung padmar reg^h / mi bskyodⁱ rdo rje nas lhung ba / / rdo rje padma la reg^j pa / / rgyu la 'bras bus^k rgyas gdab cing / / 'bras bu la yang rgyus^l rgyas gdab / / 'di ni bde chen rgyal po yin zhes bya bas nor bu lta bu'i don rnyed par^m rig par^m bya'o /*

^a B *de'i rtse mo* T *rtse mo dang* ^b P *du 'dug pa* T *na 'dug dog pa'ang* ^c P *la* ^d T *zhes* ^e P *gi* T *gis* ^f BT *yang* ^g T *pa'i* ^h T *rdeg* ⁱ T *skyod* ^j T *dreg* ^k B *bu'i* T *bu* ^l B *rgyu'i* T *rgyu* ^m T om.

⁸⁸ B 296a6–314b6, P 352a5–366a4.

is wrongly determined as the co-emergent. As to the confusion of realization, [this] pervasion of the jewel in the *vajra* by *bodhicitta* [is taken as] the wisdom of supreme joy, the realization of mere self-awareness. Thinking that this is the essence of things, they are confused.⁸⁹

[In] a bad (i.e., inferior) empowerment the sequence is not wrong, but the foundation and realization. As to the realization, the pervasion by *bodhicitta* inside the jewel is taken as the realization of the essence of things. As to the foundation, it is determined as the penetration of the *vajra* into the vase. Therefore these two (i.e., inferior and forceful empowerments) are not acceptable as exemplifying [wisdom].⁹⁰

As to the presentation of correct empowerment as exemplifying wisdom, [the identification of the stations of] *bodhicitta* is not mistaken [here]. First, beginning with kissing and embracing up to the pervasion [of *bodhicitta*] till the middle of the *vajra* is joy. Pervasion inside the jewel is supreme joy. Two (i.e., joy and supreme joy) have passed and two (i.e., co-emergent joy and no joy) remain (or: “are the same”)⁹¹ — this is co-emergent joy. Because the [first] two [joys] have passed, any whiff of attachment evaporates. With regard to the remaining two [joys], what abides inside the lord of the family is the “[real] drop” (*[don gyi] thig le*) of Vajradhara. It is empti[ness]. What abides at the crown of the beautiful is the “[material] drop” (*[rdzas kyi] thig le*) of Akṣobhya.⁹² It is bliss.

Taking these two as cause and fruit, the drop of Vajradhara removes the extreme of permanence, this by taking [bliss] as essencelessness. Since the [real] drop of Vajradhara is sealed by the [material] drop of Akṣobhya [this] essencelessness will be [also] experienced and the extreme of annihilation is removed. Being beyond both permanence and annihilation [this is] the co-emergent. This [has been taught] in the following lines: “The cause is sealed by the fruit and the fruit is sealed by the cause. This is the king of great bliss.”⁹³

⁸⁹ CMAT (B 297b6–298a3, P 353a6–b1): *dman drag gnyis sun phyung ba[s?, phyung nas?] yang dag pa'i dbang bskur^a ba dper gzbag par bya ste / de'ang^b drag po'i dbang ni rim^c dang / gnas dang / rtogs pa gsum la^d kbrul te / de'ang^b go^e rim la^e kbrul pa ni / mtsban nyid dang bral ba'i skad cig ma dang / lhan cig skyes pa'i dga' ba mthar 'dod la / | rnam pa nyed pa'i skad cig pa^f dang / dga' bral gyi ye shes gsum par 'dod pa'o^g / | gnas la^h kbrul pa ni rdo rje nor bur byang chub kyi sems kyi khyab pa la lhan cig skyes par ngos 'dzin pas 'kbrul pa'o' / | rtogs pa la 'kbrul pa ni rdo rje nor bu la byang chub sems kyi khyab pa ni mchog dga'i ye shes te / rang rig pa tsam rtogs pa ste / de la dngos po'i gshis yin zer bas 'kbrul pa'o'ⁱ /*

^a P skur ^b P de yang ^c P rims ^d P las ^e P rims las ^f B ma ^g P om. ^h P las ⁱ P lo

⁹⁰ CMAT (B 298a3–4, P 353b1–2): *dbang bskur^a ngan pa ni go rim^b mi 'kbrul yang / gnas dang rtogs pa la^c kbrul te / rtogs pa ni nor bu'i nang du byang sems kyi khyab pa la dngos po'i gshis rtogs par 'dod pa'o' / | gnas ni rdo rje bum pa la khyab pa la ngos 'dzin pa'o'^d / | des na de gnyis ni dper mi rigs so / ^a P skur ^b P rims ^c P las ^d P pas so*

⁹¹ See above.

⁹² The distinction between a real and a material drop is according to Khenpo Phuntsok.

⁹³ CMAT (B 298a4–b3, P 353b2–6): *yang dag pa'i dbang dpe'i ye shes su gzbag pa ni / byang chub kyi sems ma nor ba ste / dang po 'o byed^a pa dang^a 'khyud pa nas brtsams nas rdo rje'i mgrin pa man chad du khyab pa la dga' ba / nor bu'i nang du khyab pa la mchog dga' / gnyis shor gnyis gnas pa de ni lhan cig skyes pa'i dga' ba ste / gnyis^b shor bas 'dod chags kyi ngad yal / gnyis gnas pa de la rigs kyi bdag po'i kha na gnas pa de ni rdo rje 'chang gi thig le^a ste / | ^a stong pa / mdzes ma'i^c spyi bo na gnas pa de ni mi bskyod pa'i thig le ste / bde ba / de gnyis kyang rgyu 'bras su byas na rdo rje 'chang gi thig le des ni rang bzbin med par byas pas rtag pa'i mtha' bsal^d / | mi bskyod pa'i thig les rdo rje 'chang gi thig le rgyas btab pas rang bzbin med pa nyams su myong bar bya ste / chad pa'i mtha' bsal^d lo / | rtag chad gnyis las 'das*

3.2 *Karmamudrā* as the Reflection of the Real co-emergent

3.2.1 Translation of the Root Text

All this co-emergent is called co-emergent because it is an imitation of the [real] co-emergent.⁹⁴ The co-emergent is the wisdom based on a *prajñā* because it makes one realize the image of the co-emergent, i.e., a wisdom which is similar to the co-emergent. Therefore, there is no arising of the [real] co-emergent in (Tib. “from”) the wisdom based on a *prajñā*. Because just as much as the nature of all phenomena which is the so-called co-emergent is the defining characteristic of the uncontrived, a fruit similar [to the real co-emergent] is produced after having relied on a *karmamudrā*.⁹⁵

As to being similar, occurring as something similar to [its] cause, it is similar.⁹⁶ Just as a reflection of a face which appears in (lit. “has been cast into”) the mirror is not the [real] face — it has not existed before, nor does it exist now — [just as] this [mirror] creates a reflection of the face, which only resembles it, and people are still satisfied with the delusion of thinking that they have seen their own face [and not only the reflection], so too masters of inferior intellect accomplish the wisdom which is based on a *prajñā*, and are satisfied thinking that they have experienced the [real] co-emergent. Being satisfied [with what they found] they have not even heard of the *dharmamudrā*.⁹⁷

3.2.2 Karopa on *Karmamudrā* as a Reflection

The exemplifying wisdom of the *karmamudrā* is said to be an imitation of the real co-emergent wisdom. It is like the knowledge of the moon gained from its reflection in the water, which only resembles, but also leads, to the real knowledge of the moon in the sky:

[It] is made known, [it] is experienced, and because the goal can be marked [this is also called] co-emergent. Because it only resembles it and is thus not the real one, wisdom is not found. [It is] the image of the *dharmamudrā*. One may think that [the co-emergent] cannot be marked through something which only resembles it. [No. This is] because the image[-like] co-emergent causes the experience of a wisdom which resembles the co-emergent [wisdom]. Moreover, one can mark the real co-emergent, which is like the moon in the sky, by experiencing the image[-like] exemplifying co-emergent, which is like the reflection of the moon in the water.

*pa ste / lhan cig skyes pa'o / /^c de'ang / /^c rgyu la 'bras bus^f rgyas gdab cing / 'bras bu la yang rgyus^g rgyas gdab / /
'di ni bde chen rgyal po yin zbes pa dang /*

^a P om. ^b P gnyis su ^c B pa'i ^d P gsal ^e P de yang ^f B bu'i ^g B rgyu'i

⁹⁴ Lit. “because it imitates the image of the [real] co-emergent”.

⁹⁵ CMA, p. 94, ll. 10–16: *sahajam tat^a sarvaṃ sahajacchāyānukāritvāt sahajam ity abhidhiyate / sahajacchāyā sahajadr̥ṣaṃ jñānaṃ pratipādayatīti sahajam prajñājñānam / ata eva prajñājñāne sahajasyotpattir nāsti / yasmāt sahajam nāma svarūpaṃ sarvadharmānām akṛtrimalakṣaṇam iti yāvāt / tasmāt karmamudrāṃ prāpya nisyandaphalam utpadyate* ^a J sat

⁹⁶ The translation follows the Tibetan here: *'dra ba ni rgyu dang 'dra bar 'byung bas na 'dra ba ste /* (see appendix).

⁹⁷ CMA, p. 96, ll. 1–7: *sadr̥śasyando nisyandaḥ / / sādṛśyaṃ yathā darpaṇārpitaṃ mukhasya pratibimbaṃ mukhaṃ na bhavati / na pūrvasiddhaṃ nāpy adhunā siddham / tad eva mukhapratibimbaṃ sādṛśyamātram āpādayati tathāpi lokāḥ svamukhaṃ dr̥ṣṭam iti kṛtvā bhr̥ntīyā samtuṣṭā bhavanti / tathaiṅvacāryāḥ kumatayaḥ prajñājñānam āsādyā sahajam anubhūtam iti kṛtvā samtoṣam utpādayanti / samtuṣṭās ca santo dharmamudrāyā vārttām api na jānanti*

What is the reason for presenting the exemplifying wisdom of a *karmamudrā* as an image? What is [here] called the image of the co-emergent is a *prajñā*. A *prajñā* is a *karmamudrā*. This is justified because the wisdom arisen from it has arisen from other conditions; it is close to the razor of attachment and fabricated for a purpose, and it has come about because of an actual woman. This has been taught by the passage “therefore a *prajñā* wisdom is a wisdom which is based on a *prajñā*. One may ask: “Is it possible to mark the real wisdom through this? How can the real wisdom, the *dharmamudrā*, be marked? How is the real wisdom?” Therefore an answer must be given. The co-emergent wisdom laid bare by the wisdom based on a *prajñā* is without arising. For which reason is the *dharmamudrā* called co-emergent?⁹⁸

The answer is given by quoting the root text which differs slightly from the *Advayavajrasamgraha*, but corresponds to:

Because just as much as the nature of all phenomena which is the so-called co-emergent, is the defining characteristic of the uncontrived, a fruit similar [to the real co-emergent] is produced after having relied on a *karmamudrā*.⁹⁹

3.3 *Karmamudrā* as a Basis of *Mahāmudrā*

3.3.1 Translation of the Root Text

How does the uncontrived [wisdom] called co-emergent arise for those who do not know [the teachings of] the *dharmamudrā* [that is,] only through the contrived [practice of uniting with a] *karmamudrā*? From a cause of a specific kind a fruit of this specific kind arises, and not from another kind. Just as the sprout of a *sālī* [-tree] and not a *kodrava* [-plant] arises from a *sālī*-seed, the uncontrived co-emergent arises from a combination of [a *karmamudrā* with] the uncontrived *dharmamudrā*. Therefore¹⁰⁰ only the *dharmamudrā* is the cause of

⁹⁸ CMAṬ (271a6–b4, P 332a8–b7, T 137a4–b2): *mtshon byed nyams su myong ba* ^a *la* / ^a *mtshon bya mtshon par nus* ^b *pa'i phyir* ^b *lhan cig skyes pa ste* / *'dra ba tsam nyid kyi* ^c *phyir dngos ma yin pas ye shes ma snyed pa ste* / *chos kyi* ^c *phyag rgya* ^d *'grib ma'o* // *'dra ba tsam gyis mtshon par mi nus snyam* ^e *pa la* / *'grib ma'i lhan cig skyes pa ni* / *lhan cig skyes pa dang 'dra ba'i* ^g *ye shes khong du chud par byed pa'i phyir ro* / *de'ang* ^h *'grib ma'i* ⁱ *lhan cig skyes pa'i* ^j *chu'i zla ba lta* ^k *bur khong du chud pas* / *don gyi* ^k *lhan cig skyes pa nam mkha'i zla ba lta bu mtshon par nus pa'i phyir ro* / *de'ang* ^h *dpe las kyi* ^c *phyag rgya* ⁱ *'ye shes la grib mar* ^l *bzbag pa'i rgyu mtshan gang zhe na* / *de bas na lhan cig skyes pa* ⁱ *'grib mar* ^m *smra ba ni shes rab bo* / *zhes bya bas* ⁿ *bstan te* / *shes rab ni* ^o *las kyi phyag rgya ste* / *de las* ^p *skyes pa'i ye shes ni rkyen gzhan las skyes pa dang* / *'dod chags kyi* ^c *spu gri dang khad nye ba dang* / *ched* ^q *du bcos pa yin pa dang* / *mi'i bu mo* ^r *las byung ba'i phyir* ^s *rigs so* / *de bas na shes rab la brten pa'i ye* ^t *shes ni* ^t *shes rab ye shes so* / *zhes bya bas bstan* ^t *te* / *des don gyi* ^u *'ye shes mtshon par nus sam zhe na* / *don gyi ye shes chos* ^t *kyi phyag rgya* ^v *'ji lta bar* ^v *mtshon par nus so* / *don gyi* ^u *'ye shes* ^w *'ji lta bu* ^w *zhe na* / *de'i phyir na* ^s *bstan par bya ste* / *shes rab ye shes kyiis bstan pa'i lhan cig skyes pa'i ye shes ni skye* ^x *ba med pa nyid do* / *gang gi* ^y *phyir chos kyi* ^c *phyag rgya la* ^f *lhan cig skyes par gdags she na* /

^a B las T las / ^b T pa la ^c T kyis ^d BP rgya ^e T ba'o ^f T snyams ^g B bas ^h T de yang ⁱ P mtshon par ^j BT pa ^k T bu khong du chud par don gyis ^l T las la grib bar ^m T bar ⁿ B bar ^o P kyi ^p P la lhan cig ^q T phyed ^r T om. ^s P om. ^t T ston ^u T gyis ^v P ji lta bu ^w T ci ltar ^x T ci lta ^y T skyed ^z T gis

⁹⁹ See above.

¹⁰⁰ The Tibetan translation of this sentence differs: “Therefore the fruit, i.e., *mahāmudrā*, occurs when one practices without making divisions [thanks to the equal taste of indivisible bliss and emptiness] on [the level of] the very *dharmamudrā* [as a cause].” (See appendix, *karmamudrā*: *de'i phyir chos kyi phyag rgya nyid la mi phyed par spyad pa nyid na* / *'bras bu phyag rgya chen po 'byung bar 'gyur ro*)

mahāmudrā — it is put this way through dividing the indivisible [into a cause and a fruit].¹⁰¹

Why then did the illustrious one teach [the following in HT II.3.4]?

The divine reality, which has the form of the letter *e*
and is ornamented with the letter *vaṃ* in [its] middle,
Is the basis of everything blissful,
the box of the buddha-jewel.

[As to the box of the buddha-jewel,]¹⁰² because it is an imitation of the Buddha,¹⁰³ the box is a basis, a foundation. Therefore [there is] a lotus which is the source of abundant jewels, the joy from a woman as a *karmamudrā*.¹⁰⁴ When the relative *bodhicitta* has entered from the *avadhūti* into the jewel through the friction¹⁰⁵ of the penis and the vagina in union, then the wisdom which is called the lower (or the image of the) co-emergent, [also] named “momentary,” arises [only for a moment].¹⁰⁶ But this is not the [real] co-emergent, it is [only] similar [to it]. By its nature it is endowed with the wisdom based on a *prajñā*, the three joys and the four moments. In [the context of] empowerment and *hathayoga* it is called the similar fruit of the *karmamudrā*. [This concludes] the first [chapter], the presentation of *karmamudrā* as a similar fruit.¹⁰⁷

3.3.2 Karopa on *Karmamudrā* as a Basis of *Mahāmudrā*

Objection: Because both *dharmamudrā* and *mahāmudrā* are uncontrived, path and fruit are not possible as two [different categories], and thus one. [Reply:] No. As real wisdom they are one, but as experience one [of them] is analyzed. They are one as real [wisdom]. Through inseparable appearance and emptiness there is inseparable bliss and emptiness. As for experience, it is reasonable to present a distinction in terms of general and specific characteristics. What is the reason for such a presentation? Because uncontrived *dharmamudrā* is uncontrived in terms of [only] possessing [the analytical understanding that everything is of] equal taste. It is a general characteristic. The co-emergent wisdom

¹⁰¹ CMA, p. 96, ll. 7–14: *dharmamudrām ajānatām kevalayā karmamudrayā kṛtrimayā katham akṛtrimabhūtaṃ sahaḥajakhyam utpadyate / svajātiyāt kāraṇāt svajātiyasyaiva kāryasyotpattir bhavati na tu vijātiyāt / yathā śālibijāt sālyanikurotpattir bhavati na tu kodravasya / tathā dharmamudrāyā akṛtrimāyāḥ sakāśād akṛtrimam sahaḥajam utpadyate / tasmād dharmamudraiva kāraṇam abhede bhedopacāreṇa mahāmudrāyāḥ /*

¹⁰² Tib. *sangs rgyas rin chen za ma tog zhes pa ni* has no equivalent in the Sanskrit.

¹⁰³ Lit. “because it imitates the image of the Buddha.”

¹⁰⁴ According to the Tibetan: “Therefore the joy from a woman as a *karmamudrā* [arises] through the “source of the wonderful [buddha-]jewel” (i.e., the penis) and the lotus (vagina).

¹⁰⁵ Skt. *manthamanthāna* literally means “the rubbing stick and the rubbing block”.

¹⁰⁶ The Tibetan *skad cig tsum* has no equivalent in the Sanskrit.

¹⁰⁷ CMA, p. 98, ll. 1–12: *kasmāt vaṃkārabhūṣitam / ālayam sarvasaukhyānām buddharatnakaraṇḍakam // iti / buddhacchāyānukāritvāt karaṇḍakam sthānam ādhārah / tasmāt karmāṅganāyā ānandasandoharatnākaram sarorubam / tatra manthamanthānabolakakkolarasasamyogenāvadhūtyāḥ^a samvṛtibodhicittamaṅyantargatam yadā bhavet tadā kṣaṇikanāmāparasahaḥajakhyam jñānam utpadyate / na tat^b sahaḥajam nisyandam eva^b / tatsvarūpeṇa prajñājñānānandatrayakṣaṇacatuṣṭayānvitam seke hathayoge ca karmamudrāyā nisyandaphalam uktam // karma-mudrānīsyandaphalanirdeśaḥ prathamah //*

^a J -*tyā* (the Tibetan has an ablative) ^b Emended on the basis of the Tibetan (see appendix, *karmamudrā: de ni lhan cig skyes pa ni ma yin te / rgyu mtshun pa'o* /). The Japanese edition has *sahajanisyandah*.

of uncontrived *mahāmudrā* which arises from it has the specific characteristic [of a direct realization] beyond [the thought of] equal taste.¹⁰⁸

To those who think that *mahāmudrā* will not occur however much one has practiced *dharmamudrā*, it must be explained. [In the root text] it has been said: “Therefore the fruit, which is *mahāmudrā*, occurs when one practices without making divisions [thanks to the equal taste of indivisible bliss and emptiness] on the level of *dharmamudrā* [as a cause].” As to “practice without making divisions on the level of *dharmamudrā*,” given one’s experience through the pith-instructions related to the four joys, one has not made divisions thanks to the equal taste of indivisible bliss and emptiness, and when one practices without distraction, the naturally present fruit, which is *mahāmudrā*, occurs and becomes manifest.¹⁰⁹

In his commentary on the sentence “When the relative *bodhicitta* has entered from the *ava-dhūtī* into the jewel through the friction of the penis and the vagina in union, then the wisdom which is called the lower (or the image of the) co-emergent, [also] named “momentary,” arises [only for a moment].” Karopa defines again the four times of the moments:

Manifold, maturation, freedom from defining characteristics, and relaxation. As to the times [of these four moments], [the first one] starts with outer [activities such as] kissing and goes until [the drop] reaches the neck (i.e., the middle part) of the penis, [the second is when the drop] pervades the interior of the jewel till the final [tip], [the third is when] through the passing of the two (i.e., joy and supreme joy) the aroma of attachment has evaporated and [when there is] the union [of bliss and emptiness] as a pair through the two remaining [joys], and [the fourth is when the drop] has completely come out.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ CMAṬ (B 274b5–275a2, P 335a8–b4, T 138b5–139a2): *gal te chos dang chen^a po gnyis ma bcos pa'i phyir lam dang 'bras bu gnyis mi^b rigs te / gcig^b nyid do zhe na / ma yin te / don gyi^c ye shes^d su gcig pa'am // ^d nyams su myong ba la gcig^e brtag^f go / don du gcig^e pa ni bden te^g // snang stong dbyer med pa nyid kyi^s bde stong dbyer med pa nyid do // nyams su myong ba ni / spyi dang rang gi mtshan nyid kyi^s khyad^h par gzbag par rigs so // de nyid du bzbag pa'i rgyu mtshan gang yinⁱ zhe na / de'i phyir^j chos kyi phyag rgya ma bcos pa ni ro mnyam pa ldan pa'i ma bcos pa ste / spyi^k mtshan nyid do // de^k las phyag rgya chen po^l ma bcos pa'i lhan cig skyes pa'i ye shes skye ba ni ro mnyam pa dang^m bral ba'i rang giⁱ mtshan nyid do /*

^a T chos chen ^b T rig ste cig ^c T gyis ^d T cig pa ^e T cig ^f P rtag ^g P de T ste ^h P khyab ⁱ T om. ^j T rig ^k T da ^l P po'i ^m P om.

¹⁰⁹ CMAṬ (B 275a2–5, P 335b4–7, T 139a2–4): *gal te chos kyi^a phyag rgya la ji ltar sbyangs pas phyag rgya chen po mi 'byung snyam pa dag la / bstan par bya ste / de'i phyir chos kyi phyag rgya nyid^b c la mi phyed par^c spyad na^d 'bras bu phyag rgya chen po 'byung bar 'gyur ro // zhes bya ba la / chos kyi phyag rgya nyid^b c la mi phyed^c par spyad pa ni dga' ba bzhi^f man ngag gis^g nyams su myong ba'i phyir / bde ba dang^h stong pa nyid la^s gnyis med kyi^s ro mnyam gyis mi phyedⁱ par byas shing / ma yengs pa nyid kyi^s spyad na / 'bras bu phyag rgya chen po rang chas su 'byung zhing 'char bar 'gyur ro /*

^a T kyi^s ^b BT om. ^c T yid las mi bye bar ^d B pa ni ^e T dbyer med ^f PT bzhi pa'i ^g P kyi / T om. ^h P om. ⁱ T byed ^j T kyi

¹¹⁰ CMAṬ (B 276b4–5, P 337a2–4, T 140a5–b1): *rnam pa sna tshogs pa^a dang / rnam par smin pa dang / mtshan nyid dang bral ba dang / rnam pa nyed^b pa'o // dus ni phyi rol gyi 'o^c bya ba nas^d brtsams te^d // ^c nor bu'i mgrin pa'i bar dang // ^e nor bu'i nang du khyab cing mthar thug^f pa dang / gnyis shor bas^g 'dod chags kyi ngad yal zhing gnyis gnas pas^h zung du jug pa dang / ma lus parⁱ 'phos^j pa'i dus^k ...*

^a P om. ^b BP med ^c T 'o zhes ^d T brtsam ste ^e T om. ^f P thugs ^g T ba ^h B pa las T pa la ⁱ P pa'i T pa ^j PT 'phros ^k T don dus. The additions in square brackets are in accordance with Khenpo Phuntsok.

4 The Chapter on *Dharmamudrā*

4.1 Translation of the Root Text

Oṃ, *dharmamudrā*, it has the nature of the *dharmadhātu*, is free from mental fabrications, non-conceptual, uncontrived and without arising. It is compassionate by nature and through supreme realization¹¹¹ it has turned into the skillful means of unique beauty. In its permanence of being a continuous flow and in terms of its co-emergent nature, it is not different from the occurrence of the co-emergent from a *prajñā* (i.e., a *karmamudrā*).¹¹² [All] this is called *dharmamudrā*.¹¹³

Another defining characteristic of it should be known as the abandonment of the affliction of delusion which consists of mere grass and chaff. [This is achieved] through the pith-instructions of the guru, which are like sun-rays in the darkness of intense ignorance. [*Dharmamudrā*] is the unique nature of the triple world, which is possessed of the great elements, all the earth, water, wind and fire. It should be also known as being inseparable wisdom and compassion without the waves [of afflictions].¹¹⁴

Moreover, the illustrious one said [in HT I.1.14]:

Lalanā has the nature of *prajñā*,
and *rasanā* [the nature] of skillful means.
In the middle part is *avadhūti*,
without [the duality of a] perceived and perceiver.

To make sure, the path should be understood as being the immediate cause in the form of suchness. Knowing the path, one attentively and constantly practices it, and cessation which has the nature of the co-emergent is actualized.¹¹⁵

In like manner, [the following *dharmamudrā*] has been taught [in *Abhisamayālamkāra* V.21¹¹⁶]:

¹¹¹ Corrected according to Karopa's commentary, which reads *mchog tu rtogs pa* (CMAṬ, B 279b6–280a1, P 339b5, T 142b6). "Supreme joy" (*paramānanda*) does not fit the context.

¹¹² According to the Tibetan (see appendix): "...different from what is arising together with a *prajñā*."
CMAṬ, B 280b3, P 340a6–7, T 143b1: *shes rab ni las kyi phyag rgya*.

¹¹³ CMA, p. 100, ll. 1–4: *oṃ dharmamudrā / dharmadhātusvarūpā nisprapañcā nirvikalpākṛtrimotpādarahitā karuṇāsvabhāvē paramānandaikasundaropāyabhūtā pravāhanityatvena sahasvasabhāveyā^a prajñāyāḥ sahasajodaya-tvenābhinnāyā sā dharmamudrety abhidhīyate /*

^a The reading of N₁ and I are supported by the Tibetan (*lhan cig skyes pa'i rang bzhin gyis*).

¹¹⁴ CMA, p. 100, ll. 5–8: *anyal lakṣaṇaṃ tasyāḥ saṃkulājñānāndhakāre taraṇikiraṇasadrśaṃ gurūpa-deśataḥ trṇatusaṃātrabhrāntiśalyavarjitam boddhavyam / sakalakṣitijalapavanabūtāsanair mahā[bbūta]saṃvalitam trailokyaikasvabhāvam / nistarangaśūnyatākaruṇābhinnam ca boddhavyam /*

¹¹⁵ CMA, p. 100, ll. 9–14: *uktam ca bhagavatā /*

*lalanā prajñāsvabhāvena rasanopāyasamsthitā /
avadhūti madhyadeśe tu grāhyagrāhakarvarjitā / /*

etannipuṇē^a nāpi tathatākāreṇa sammikṛṣṭakāraṇatvena mārgo jñātavyaḥ / mārgajñāne sādaranirantaram mārgābhyāsān nirodhasya sahasvasabhāvasya sāksātkṛtitvam bhavati / ^a J - ne-

¹¹⁶ The reading *prakṣeptavyam* (as opposed to *upaneyam*) in the *Ratnagotravibhāga* (RGVV, p. 67, l. 1) is in accordance with the *Abhisamayālamkāra* (AA, p. 32, ll. 15–16). For a list of Mahāyāna works in which this stanza occurs, see Takasaki 1966:300.

There is nothing to be removed from it and nothing to be added.
The real should be seen as real, and seeing the real, one becomes liberated.

The *avadhūti* dwells in the middle of the two, *lalanā* and *rasanā*. This is realized through the one-pointed meditation that everything has the nature of the co-emergent and because of the pith-instructions of a genuine guru. Without [really] being different from it, the *dharmamudrā* is the cause of *mahāmudrā*. [This concludes] the second [chapter], the explanation of the *dharmamudrā* as the fruit of maturation.¹¹⁷

4.2 Karopa's Commentary on *Dharmamudrā*

Karopa starts this chapter by informing us that the *om* before *dharmamudrā* stands for the five types of wisdom.¹¹⁸ *Dharmamudrā* is then explained as the co-emergent wisdom which seals all phenomena:

Dharma[s] are the *skandhas*, elements, *āyatanas*, dependent arising, and the four elements. As to the *mudrā* which seals them, it is the co-emergent wisdom realized [through instructions] from the mouth of the guru. As to its (i.e., *dharmamudrā*'s) defining characteristic, it is taught by “has the nature of the *dharmadhātu*,” and the *dharmadhātu* is non-dual bliss and emptiness, and has the defining characteristic of being all-pervasive.¹¹⁹

This *dharmamudrā*, *dharmadhātu*, or bliss and emptiness is said to be realized through the four joys, which are now experienced on the level of *dharmamudrā* with regard to the manifold world, freedom from dualistic thought, and so forth:

Through what will they (i.e., bliss and emptiness) be realized? Through the four joys. As to “mental fabrication” in the passage “. . . is free from mental fabrications, non-conceptual, uncontrived and without arising. It is compassionate by nature and through supreme realization. . .”, the manifestation of the manifold in the co-emergent is the moment of the manifold. It is joy. As to “free from,” it is the freedom from dualistic thought, the manifestation as the manifold being [nothing else than] the co-emergent. To know it as being non-conceptual is the moment of maturation. It is supreme joy. As to “uncontrived,” because dualistic appearances have ceased, one experiences it as non-duality. Not to apprehend even experience only is the moment of freedom from defining characteristics. It is co-emergent joy. [As to “it is compassionate by nature,”] the object of compassion is the threefold world. This is for the following reason.

¹¹⁷ CMA, p.102, ll.1–7: *tathā cōktam / nāpaneyam ataḥ kiñcit prakṣeptavyam na kiñcana // draṣṭavyam bhūtato bhūtam bhūtadarśi vimucyate // lalanā rasanā tayor madhyadēse nivāsiny avadhūti / saivādhigatā sakalapadārthasahajasvabhāvavaikacittavrtteḥ sadgurūpadeśa^b taś ca^b // dharmamudrā mahāmudrāyā abhedena hetubhūta // dharmamudrāvīpākaphalanirdeśo dvitīyah //* ^a J -ta- ^b J -to

¹¹⁸ CMAṬ (B 278b6, P 338b6, T 142a2): *om ni ye shes^a rnam pa^a lnga ste* ^a P om.
¹¹⁹ CMAṬ (B 279a5–b1, P 339a4–6, T 142a6–b2): *chos ni^a phung po dang / khams dang / skye mched^b dang //^b rten cing 'brel bar 'byung ba dang / 'byung ba bzhi ste / de dag la^c rgyas 'debs pa'i phyag rgya ni bla ma'i zhal las rtogs^c pa'i lhan cig skyes pa'i ye shes so // de'i mtshan nyid kyang chos kyi^c dbyings kyi^d rang bzhin zhes bya bas bstan te / chos kyi^d e dbyings ni^c bde ba dang stong pa gnyis su med pa ste / kun tu 'gro ba'i mtshan nyid can no /*

^a P kyi ^b P om. ^c P las ^e T om. ^d T kyi ^e T phyag rgya kyi

Even though the co-emergent naturally abides in this [threefold world, sentient beings] get confused with regard to the appearance [of the co-emergent] as the manifold. Due to [their] confusion of not realizing [this] one develops compassion. “By nature” means that the appearance of the manifold which is obtained after [meditation] is the appearance of the co-emergent. It is the moment of relaxation, the [joy of] no joy. Supreme realization means to realize through the pith instructions of the fourth [empowerment] that the supreme co-emergent joy is not different from the [remaining] three joys.¹²⁰

With regard to the phrase “[*dharmamudrā*] is not different from what is arising together with a *prajñā*”,¹²¹ Karopa refers to the passage “what has arisen from the union with a *prajñā*,” and explains:

As to *prajñā*, it is a *karmamudrā* [here]. Union is [the one of] penis and vagina. “What has arisen from it” means the goal which is marked through [this act of] making known. As to what points out that [the *dharmamudrā*] is not different from this [goal], they are general terms in the form of pith instructions by the guru which teach bliss and emptiness. The realization [gained] from this — whatever [realization of] bliss and emptiness as a general image there is — this is the *dharmamudrā*.¹²²

The stanza from the *Hevajratantra* (I.1.14) is explained as follows:

Lalanā is a channel, a bearer of ova (*rakta*). All this is produced by the sharp *karman* winds of a channel whose nature is distinguishing insight (*prajñā*). The power of the sixteen vowels abides [in it]. It is located on the left side. As to the experiences of blissful wisdom from a consort (*rig ma*), since these are the main thing [she is called] insight (*prajñā*). “Has the nature [of *prajñā*]” means “together with the power [of *prajñā*].” *Rasanā* is the bearer of semen. The method (i.e., the semen) really moves and is experienced in a strong way.

¹²⁰ CMAṬ (B 279b2–280a1, P 339a8–b5, T 142b3–143a1): *de dag*^a *kyang gang*^a *gis rtogs par bya zbe na / dga' ba bzhis*^b *rtogs par bya ste / spros pa dang bral ba / mi rtog pa / ma bcos pa / snying rje'i rang bzhin mchog tu rtogs pa zhes bya la / spros*^c *pa dang zhes pa ni lhan cig skyes pa la sna tshogs su shar ba ni*^d *rnam pa sna tshogs pa'i skad cig ma ste / dga' ba'o / bral ba ni gnyis su rtog*^e *pa dang bral*^f *ba ste*^f *// sna tshogs su shar*^g *ba ni*^g *lhan cig skyes*^h *pa // mi rtog*^h *pa nyid du shes pa ni rnam par smin pa'i skad cig ma ste / mchog tu dga' ba'o // ma bcos pa ni gnyis snang*ⁱ *'gags*ⁱ *pa las gnyis med du nyams su myong ba*^j *la / myong ba tsam du'ang*^k *mi 'dzin pa*^j *ni mtshan nyid dang bral ba'i skad cig ma ste / lhan cig skyes pa'i dga' ba'o / snying rje'i yul*^m *ni*ⁿ *kham gsum po*^o *ste / de dag la lhan cig skyes pa*^p *gnyug mar gnas kyang / sna tshogs su snang ba la 'khrul te ma rtogs par 'khrul pa nyid*^q *kyis snying rje ba'i*^q *phyir ro // rang bzhin ni rjes thob sna tshogs su snang ba*^r *lhan cig skyes par snang ba ste / rnam par nyed*^s *pa'i skad cig ma ste / dga' bral lo // mchog tu rtogs pa ni bzhi pa'i man ngag gis mchog*^t *tu*^u *lhan cig skyes pa'i*^v *dga' ba gsum tha mi dad par rtogs*^w *pa ste /*

^a T om. ^b T *bzhi* ^c T *sgros* ^d P inserts *rnam pa ni* / ^e P *brtags* T *brtag* ^f T *ba'o* ^g P *ba'i* ^h T *pa'i ma rtag* ⁱ T *'gag* ^j PT om. ^k PT *du yang* ^l T *la* ^m T *yug* ⁿ PT om. ^o PT *pa* ^p T *pa'i* ^q P *kyi snying rje'i* ^r P *ba /* ^s P *med* ^t T om. ^u PT om. ^v P *par* ^w T *rtog*

¹²¹ This, according to the Tibetan translation of the root text.

¹²² CMAṬ (B 280b3–4, P 340a6–8, T 143b1–2): *shes rab ni las kyi phyag rgya ste / sbyor ba ni bo la dang ka kko*^a *la'o // de las byung ba ni mtshon byed kyis*^b *mtshon pa'i*^b *mtshon*^c *par bya ba'i*^c *don no // don de dang tha mi dad par ston par byed pa ni bla ma'i*^d *man ngag gis*^d *bde stong ston*^e *par byed pa'i*^e *sgra spyi'i rnam pa'o // de*^f *las rtogs*^f *pa bde stong don spyi rnam pa gang yin pa de ni chos kyis*^g *phyag rgya'o /*

^a PT *ko* ^b T om. ^c P *bya'i* ^d B *gdams ngag* T *gdam ngag* ^e T *pa* ^f T *la rtog* ^g T *kyis*

The power of the forty consonants abides [in this channel], and it moves on the right side. It is mainly experienced through the [four?] joys, which are like [the joy of] the relative “semen [bodhicitta]” (*kunda*). That means that it depends on a hero [Bodhisattva]. “Abides” means that [the channels] support [the experience of] bliss and emptiness. “Sin” means extreme. “Shaken off” means to be free from extremes. “She” refers to the source of all qualities. “[In the] middle” [refers to] “she whose sins are shaken off” (*avadbūti*), and “part” [to the] wind of the inseparable. The perceived is the outside, the perceiver the inner. “Without” means free from duality. This freedom is the non-duality of bliss and emptiness. It is also not without [these] two. Since [bliss and emptiness] are inseparable, they are similar. Not clinging [to them] even as only being this much, [one becomes] free from superimposition and denial and because of that [there will be] *mahāmudrā* which cannot be ascertained through any verbal communication. [*Dharmamudrā*] is the ultimate cause and path of ripening.¹²³

The phrase from the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* (“there is nothing to be removed from it and nothing to be added”) is explained in the following way:

“From it” refers to the *dharmamudrā*. “[Nothing to be] removed” means that appearances are the *dharmakāya*, the guru, instructions, texts. And when destroying [that part of them which] does not exist, nothing needs to be removed.¹²⁴

“[To be] added” refers to meditation. If duality existed, it would make sense to meditate for the purpose [of removing it], but since duality does not exist, there is not the slightest necessity to meditate.¹²⁵

¹²³ CMAṬ (B 282b6–283a5, P 342a5–b3, T 145b1–5): *rkyang ma^a ni rtsa^b ste / kbrag 'bab^c pa'o / de dag ni shes rab 'byed pa'i bdag nyid kyi^d rtsa ba'i las rno ba'i rlung gi^e byed^f pa'o / / ā li bcu drug gi^g nus pa gnas pa dang / g.yon na^h gnas pa dang / rig ma lasⁱ bde ba'i ye shes myong ba ni 'di dag^j gtso bor gyur pa'i phyir shes^k rab bo / rang bzbin ni^l nus pa dang bcas pa'o / / ro ma ni khu ba 'bab^c pa'o / thabs ni mngon du rgyu zhing rags^l pa'i tshul gyis nyams su myong ba'o / / kā li bzhi bcu'i nus pa gnas pa dang / g.yas su rgyu ba dang kun rdzob ku nda^m lta bu'i bde ba de dag giⁿ gtso borⁿ myong^o ba dang / dpa' bo la rag las pa'i^p don gyis na'o / / yang dag gnas^q pa ni bde stong gi^r rten byed pa'o / / sdig ni mtha'o / / spangs pa ni mtha' dang bral ba'o / ma ni yon tan gyi^t 'byung gnas so' / / dbus ni^s a va dhū ti'o' / / nyid ni dbyer mi phyed pa'i rlung ngo / / gzung ba ni phyi'o / / 'dzin pa ni nang ngo / / rnam par spangs pa ni gnyis las grol ba'o / / grol ba de^l ni bde ba dang stong pa gnyis su min no / / gnyis spangs pa'ang^u ma yin te / dbyer mi phyed pa'i phyir mtshungs pa'o / de tsam du'ang^v mi 'dzin pas na sgro skur dang bral ba'i phyir smra ba'i brdas^w gtan la dbab^x par mi^d nus pa'i phyag rgya chen po ste / de don dam^y du grub pa'i rnam par smin pa'i rgyu dang lam mo /*

^a P ba ^b T ca ^c B 'babs ^d P om. ^e T kyis ^f P gi ^g PT 'byed ^h T gi^s ⁱ P ni ^j T la ^k T om. ^l T 'di shes ^m P rig ⁿ T ndba ^o P gtsor ^p T nyams su myong ^q T bas ^r T nas ^s T na ^t P a ba dhu ti'o' ^u T a va dhū ti'o' ^v PT pa yang ^w PT du yang ^x T brda ^y T bab ^z PT om.

¹²⁴ CMAṬ (B 283b6–284a1, P 343a3–4, T 146a6): *'di las^a ni chos kyi^b phyag rgya'o / / bsal ba ni snang ba chos kyi^c sku yin pa dang / bla ma yin pa dang / gdams pa yin pa dang / glegs bam yin pa dang / med pa zbig na^d bsal^e yang mi dgos la^f /*

^a BPT la ^b T kyis ^c T om. ^d P la ^e P gsal ^f T bsal ba ^g P om.

¹²⁵ CMAṬ (B 284a3–4, P 343b6, T 146b2): *gzha^a pa ni bsgom pa^b ste / / de'ang^c gnyis yod na^b de'i phyir bsgom par rigs^d pa las / gnyis med pa'i phyir bsgom par bya ba cung zad kyang med do / ^a T bzbag ^b T pas ^c PT de yang ^d T rig*

5 The Chapter on *Mahāmudrā*

5.1 Translation of the Root Text

Āḥ, as to *mahāmudrā*, it is both big and a seal, so we get “big seal” (*mahāmudrā*). It lacks an own-being, is free from the hindrances of the knowable and so forth. It resembles the day-sky in the middle of autumn, stainless, and is the basis of everything perfect. It has the identity of [cyclic] existence and *nirvāṇa* as nature, consists of universal compassion, and has the unique form of great bliss.

Moreover, we have [in the *Jñānālokālamkāra*]:

The mental factors of becoming mentally disengaged are virtuous.
Those of becoming mentally engaged are not virtuous.¹²⁶

In the [same] text [it has been said]:

Homage to You, who is without imagined thoughts, whose intellect is not based [on anything], who is without recollection, who becomes mentally disengaged, and who is without any cognitive object.¹²⁷

This[, too,] is called *mahāmudrā*. Through this *mahāmudrā*, which is inconceivable by nature, the fruit called *samayamudrā* arises. [This concludes] the third [chapter], the presentation of *mahāmudrā* as the fruit which is stainlessness.¹²⁸

5.2 Karopa’s Commentary on *Mahāmudrā*

With regard to the initial *āḥ!* and the *karmadhāraya* analysis of *mahāmudrā* Karopa says:

[*Mahāmudrā*] does not arise in terms of [any of the] three: cause, path, or fruit. It is what has arisen in dependence, what has [thus] not arisen [in reality], and [these two] inseparable.¹²⁹

In terms of being great bliss, Karopa equates *mahāmudrā* with the “*kāya* of *amanasikāra*,” understood as freedom from superimposition and denial.¹³⁰

In discussing the quotation from the *Jñānālamkāraloka* which has it that mental factors of becoming mentally disengaged are virtuous, Karopa follows the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā*:

¹²⁶ CMA, p.102, ll. 8–12: *āḥ mahāmudreti / mahatī cāsau mudrā ceti mahāmudrā / mahāmudrā niḥsvabhāvā jñeyādyaṅvarāṇavivarjitā śaradamalamadhyāhṇagaganasamkāsā sakalasamṣadādhārābhūtā bhava-nirvāṇaikasvarūpānālambanakaruṇāśārīrā mahāsukhaikarūpā / tathā ca / amanasikārā dharmāḥ kuśalā manasikārā dharmā akuśalāḥ*

¹²⁷ CMA, p.102, ll. 13–15: *pravacane ca / avikalpitasāṅkalpa apratiṣṭhitamānasa / asmṛty amanasikārā^a nirālamba namo ’stu te //* ^a J -raḥ

¹²⁸ CMA, p.102, ll.16–18: *iti yat^a sā mahāmudreti abhidhīyate / tayā mahāmudrayacintyasvarūpāyā samayamudrāḥkhyaphalam jāyate // mahāmudrāvaimalyaphalanirdeśas trṭīyah //* ^a J yā

¹²⁹ CMAṬ (B 286a4, P 345a3, T 148a5): *rgyu lam ’bras bu gsum du skye ba med pa’o / de’ang^a rten ’brel las skyes pa dang / ma skyes pa dang / tha mi dad pa’o /* ^a PT de yang

¹³⁰ CMAṬ (B 288b6, P 347a2–3, T 150b1–2): *bde ba chen po^a ni^b sgro skur dang bral ba la yid la mi byed pa nyid kyī^c sku’o /* ^a P po’i ^b T om. ^c T kyis

Is it [possible] that [this *amanasikāra* from the *Jñānālamkāra*]¹³¹ cannot be practised, just as in the case of the crown ornament of the *nāga* [called] Takṣaka? This is not the case, for by the kindness of [one’s] venerable guru, [*mahāmudrā*,] which has the defining characteristic of being endowed with all supreme qualities, can be experienced. Why is *mahāmudrā* then not presented in terms of the four moments? [In *Sekanirdeśa* 29c it is stated:] “Because it is stainless and self-awareness.”¹³² Well then, is it then inappropriate to think, because when one thinks stains occur? [*Mahāmudrā*] is without abiding, it is inconceivable wisdom without effort, and cultivated without occurring from analysis.^{133,134}

The second quotation from the *Jñānālokālamkāra* (Homage to You, who is without imagined thoughts...) is taken as follows:

These [lines] should be understood as [presenting] view, meditation, and conduct as three inseparable [aspects]. Freedom from duality, [which is] conceptual analysis, is the conduct. Not to abide in bliss or emptiness, the freedom from the duality, [which is] attachment, is the body of great bliss. It is the view. Becoming mentally disengaged without recollection in terms of the sequence of preparation, main part, and conclusion is meditation. Not to separate through the imagination of three [distinct cognitive aspects] means to be without a cognitive object. Making oneself familiar with them (view, etc.) means to pay homage. This should be understood as *mahāmudrā*.¹³⁵

¹³¹ In the preceding part of the commentary, Rāmapāla refers to the relevant passages from the *Jñānālokālamkāra* (see Mathes 2007:555).

¹³² See *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* on SN 29: “Here, one should not think that [*amanasikāra*] cannot be practised, just as in the case of the instructions on [getting] the disease curing crown ornament of Takṣaka, for by the kindness of [one’s] venerable guru, *mahāmudrā*, which has the defining characteristic of being endowed with all supreme qualities, can certainly be made directly manifest. How is it then that [*mahāmudrā*] does not have the nature of the four moments? [In 29c] it is stated: “Because self-awareness [i.e., *mahāmudrā*] is stainless.” Being stainless, the three [impure] moments of the manifold and the others, along with [their] stains, do not occur in it. Therefore the three [impure] joys do not arise in it either.” (SN_{S(C)}, fol. 18a5–b3; SN_{S(P)}, fol. 15b9–16a3: *atra jvaraharataksakacū^a dālanikāropadeśavad asakyā^a nuṣṭhānatā ca na^b mantavyā / sadgurupāda-prasādenāvāśyam sarvākāravāropetalakṣaṇamahāmudrāyāḥ pratyakṣikartum^c śakyatvāt / ^dnanv atra katham na catuhkṣaṇarūpatā / ^dāha / ^dvimalatvāt svasam^e-vitter^f / ^gnirmalatayā vicitrādeḥ kṣaṇatrayasya samalasya nātra sambhavaḥ / ^dtato nānandatrayasambhavaḥ /)*

^a P -*daratnālamkāropadeśakā*- ^b P omits ^c P -*kartur* ^d P // ^e P -*san*- ^f C -*vitti* P -*vitter* ^g CP omit

¹³³ See *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* on SN 29: “It is non-abiding, inconceivable wisdom, not arrived at through analysis. How [is it obtained] then? It is effortless, and occurs from within its own sphere.” (SN_{S(C)}, fol. 18b3–4; SPN_{S(PE)}, fol. 16a4–5: *tac cāpratiṣṭhānam acintya^a jñānam na tad vicāragataḥ / ^bc kim tarhi^c / ^danābhogaḥ svarasābhyaḡatam^e / ^d*

¹³⁴ CMAṬ (B 289a4–6, T 347a6–8, T 150a5–6): *gal te klu takṣaka’rā^a spyi^b gtsug gi^c nor bu bzhin du bsgrub^d par mi nus so^b zbe na^b // ma yin te / bla ma dam pa’i zhabz kyi^c bka’ drin gyis rnam pa thams cad kyi^c mchog bka’ drin nyams su myong bar nus so // gal te phyag rgya chen po la skād cig ma bzbir mi gzbag pa ci’i phyir zhe na / dri ma med pa dang / rang gi^b rig pa yin pa’i phyir^f // / ’o na / bsams^g na dri mar ’byung^h ba’i phyir bsam par mi rigs so zhe na / gnas pa med pa // bad pa dang bral ba’i ye shes bsam gyis mi khyab pa ste / dpyadⁱ pa las ma byung bar bsgom mo /*

^a BP *dag sha ka’i* T *bdag sha ka* ^b P om. T *phyi* ^c T *gis* ^d B *sgrub* P *bstan* ^e T *kyis* ^f P *phyir ro* ^g T *bsam* ^h P *gyur* T *gyur* ⁱ T *shyang*

¹³⁵ CMAṬ (B 290a3–5, P 347b8–348a3, T 151b2–4): *de dag^a ni lta ba^b dang / sgom^c pa dang / spyod pa dang / dbyer mi phyed pa gum du shes par bya’o // de’ang^d e kun tu^e rlog pas ma brtag^f pa’i dpyad pa gnyis dang bral ba ni*

6 The Chapter on *Samayamudrā*

6.1 Translation of the Root Text

Hūṃ, as to the *samayamudrā*, the manifestation of Vajradhara in the form of Heruka for the sake of sentient beings is taught to be the *samayamudrā*. [This manifestation] is by its nature the aspect of the *sambhoga*- and *nirmāṇakāya* and [appears] clearly. As to the fivefold wisdom in the form of a circle, [i.e.,] the performance of the fivefold ritual activity (*pañcavidhiparikalpa*)¹³⁶ after having adopted [the practice of] the *samayamudrā*,¹³⁷ the masters cultivate the circle of the *samayamudrā* through the mirror-like [wisdom], [the wisdom of] equality, [the wisdom of] discrimination, [the wisdom of] activity, and [the wisdom which is] the pure *dharmadhātu*. [They do this] through initial yoga, [the yoga of] the supreme king of the *maṇḍala* (i.e., Ati Yoga), [the yoga of] the supreme king of activity (i.e., great Ati Yoga), the yoga of drops, and the subtle yoga.¹³⁸ By this their merit is accumulated.¹³⁹

Because of this [alone], however, they do not attain the fruit of the *dharmamudrā*, because it has been said:

From a certain cause a certain fruit arises.¹⁴⁰

Therefore, it is [only] because of the taste effected by the co-emergent, by [its] penetration, that the immovable and movable things, which are imagined by

spyod pa'o / / *bde ba dang stong par*^g *rab tu mi gnas shing 'dod pa gnyis dang bral*^h *ba ni*^h *bde ba chen po*ⁱ *sku ste* / *lta ba'o* / / *sbyor ba dang* / *dngos gzhi dang* / / *mjug*^j *gi go*^k *rim gyis*^k *dran pa med*^l *pas yid la byed pa ni sgom*^c *pa'o*¹ / / ^m *gsum du brtags*^f *pas dbyer mi phyed pa ni dmigs pa med pa ste* / *de dag la goms par byed*^m *pa ni*^m *phyag 'tshal ba'o* / / *zhes bya ba*^o *gang yin pa*^o *de nyid*^p *phyag rgya chen por*^r *rig par bya'o* /

^a T dag gis ^b P bu ^c P bsgom ^d PT de yang ^e T om. ^f T brtag ^g P pa ^h T ba'i ⁱ P po ni ^j T 'jug ^k P rims kyi ^l T yid la byed ^m T dmigs pa med la ⁿ P med ^o T la ^p P dag gi ^q P po

¹³⁶ Karopa (CMAṬ (B 293b4, P 350a7, T 154b3) equates *cho ga lngar btags*^a *pa* with *mngon par byang chub pa lnga*, which are described in the *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v.) as: “Chanting the ritual melodies, visualizing during the mantra recitation, assuming different hand gestures, playing the drum, dancing.” ^a T rtogs

¹³⁷ I.e., the *vajrācārya* empowerment (CMAṬ (B 291b5–6, P 349a3, T 153a2): *dam tshig gi*^a *phyag rgya rdo rje slob dpon gyi*^b *dbang*^c *blangs te*^c / /). ^a T gis ^b T gyis ^c T blang ste

¹³⁸ Karopa explains “initial yoga” as “yoga” and “yoga attained after [meditation]”; “supreme king of the *maṇḍala*” as “ati yoga”; and “supreme king of activity” as great Ati Yoga; “drop” as the “semen of *bodhicitta*”; and “subtle” as “wind” and “channel.” See CMAṬ (B 294a2–5, P 350b3–6, T 155a1–3): *de'ang*^a *sbyor ba dang po ni rnal 'byor dang* / *rjes thob kyi rnal 'byor ro* / / *dkyil 'khor rgyal po mchog ni shin tu rnal 'byor ro* / / *las rgyal po mchog ni*^b *shin tu*^b *rnal 'byor chen po'o* / ... / *thig le ni byang chub kyi sems kyi khu ba ste* / ... / *phra mo ni rlung dang rtsa'o* / / ^a P yang ^T *de yang* ^b T om.

¹³⁹ CMA, p. 104, ll. 1–8: *hūṃ samayamudreti* / *sambhoganirmāṇakāyākārasvabhāvena svacchākāreṇa ca sattvārthāya vajradharasya herukākāreṇa visphuraṇam yat sā samayamudreti vyapadiśyate* / *tām ca samayamudrām grhītvā cakrākāreṇa pañcavidham jñānam*^a *pañcavidhiparikalpa ity ādarsasamatā-pratyavekṣaṇākṛtyānuṣṭhānasviśuddhadharmadhātubhir ādiyogamaṇḍalarājāgrikarmarājāgribinduyogasūksmayogaiḥ samayamudrācakram bhāvayanty ācāryāḥ* / *tena te kṛtapunyā bhavanti*

^a J *pañcavidhamparikalpyā*- (corrected according to the Tibetan; see appendix.)

¹⁴⁰ The commentary (CMAṬ (B 294b3–4, P 351a1–2, T 155a6–b1) informs us that “the *samayamudrā* [alone] is a manifold fabrication, the experiential object of the conceptual accompanied by clinging, the cause of *samsāra* and contrived” (*dam tshig gi*^a *phyag rgya spros pa sna tshogs pa*^b / *rtog*^c *pa can gyi*^b *spyod yul* / *zhen pa dang bcas*^d *pa* / ^d *'khor ba'i rgyu*^e *ste* / / ^e *bcos ma'o*). ^a T gis ^b T kyi ^c P rtogs ^d T par ^e T de

fools, become the cause of perfect enlightenment¹⁴¹ [Through this [realization] the triple world is perfectly cultivated in the form of the circle.]¹⁴²

[This has been taught in the following:

This divine palace is not the three-fold world. These are not living beings, but victorious ones. In this [palace] there is a lord of the *maṇḍala*, and not an [ordinary] human being. [These are not] experiential objects, sense faculties, and so forth, nor are they form and the other [*skandhas*]. In terms of their identity with the true nature of phenomena, they belong to the *maṇḍala*. For you who know the manifold [world] as the circle of the *maṇḍala*,¹⁴³ how could this confuse your mind?]¹⁴⁴

This has been stated by the illustrious one in [in HT I.10.43]:

[There] is neither recitation of *mantras*, nor [prescribed] observances, nor fire offering,
Neither the retinue of the *maṇḍala* nor the *maṇḍala* [itself].
The recitation of *mantras* is this, hardship this, and fire offering this,
[The enlightened mind] is the recitation of *mantras*, [prescribed] observances, fire offering, the retinue of the *maṇḍala*, and the *maṇḍala*.

[The illustrious one further said in HT I.10.44]:

In short, the [enlightened] mind possesses the forms of the assembly.

“In short” refers to the unique form of all phenomena, that is to say, the form of great bliss. Mind is [here] the enlightened mind. As to “has nature of the assembly,” the wisdom whose nature is the empowerment of the *dharmamudrā* and *mahāmudrā*¹⁴⁵ is called the true assembly. [This concludes] the fourth [chapter], the presentation of the *samayamudrā* as a man-made fruit [for the sake of others].^{146,147}

¹⁴¹ According to the Tibetan: “... become the gold of *bodhicitta*, which emerges together with these [things].” (See appendix.)

CMA, p.104, ll.8–13: *tataś ca na dharmamudrāphalābhino bhavanti / niyātārthakāraṇāt niyatasyaiva kāryasyotpattir // iti vacanāt / tasmāt sahasiddharasād vedhena sthiracalādayo bhāvā bālaparikalpītās te sam-bodhikāraṇatām upayānti /*

¹⁴² This sentence is not found in the Sanskrit and is supplied from the Tibetan translation (see appendix).

¹⁴³ See CMAṬ (B 295a6–b1, P 351b2–3, T 156a2–3): *lam^a’dis ni ’dod pa dang / gzugs dang / gzugs med pa’i jig rten chos dang / longs spyod rāzogs pa dang / sprul pa gsum gyi^b khor lo dbyer mi phyed par yang dag par bsgom^c par d^ggyur ro^d /*

¹⁴⁴ This passage is not found in the Sanskrit and is supplied from the Tibetan translation (see appendix).

¹⁴⁵ I.e., the fourth empowerment (CMAṬ (B 316a2, P 367a2, T 157b6)): *’dus pa’i bdag nyid ni^a chos kyi phyag rgya dang / phyag rgya chen^b po ni^b dbang^c bzhi pa’i^c dus kyi ye shes su^d’dus pas so /*

^a P om. ^b PT *po’i* ^c T *bzhi’i* ^d BP *gsum*

¹⁴⁶ CMAṬ (B 316a3, P 367a4, T 158a1): *’bras bu ni gzhan gyi^a don no /* ^a T *gyis*

¹⁴⁷ CMA, p.106, ll.1–10: *tathā coktaṃ bhagavatā / na mantrajāpo na tapo na homo na māṇḍaleyaṃ na ca maṇḍalaṃ ca / sa mantrajāpaḥ sa tapaḥ sa homas tan māṇḍaleyaṃ^a tan maṇḍalaṃ ca // samāsataś cittasamājarūpī // ity [uk-tam?] / samāsataḥ sarvadharmāṇām ekākārato yad uta mahāsukhākārataḥ / cittam iti bodhicittam / samājarūpīti dharmamudrāmahāmudrābhiṣekarūpaṃ jñānaṃ satsamājety abhidhīyate // samayamudrāpuruṣakārāphalanirdeśās caturthaḥ samāptaḥ //* ^a J -*evam*

[This concludes the teaching on the four seals, a manual in four steps, as taught by the master Nāgārjuna.]¹⁴⁸

6.2 Karopa's Commentary on *Samayamudrā*

The five yogas are:

1. “Initial yoga” is yoga [practice itself] and the yoga attained afterwards.
2. “[Yoga of the] supreme king of the *maṇḍala*” is perfect yoga (Ati Yoga).
3. “[Yoga of the] supreme king of activity” is great perfect yoga. Such paths, too, should be known in the following way: “Friends, [the reflection of] the moon in the water is neither true nor false. This [example] illustrates that the circle of the *maṇḍala*, too, [consists of] bodies without own-being.” Thus it has been said in the scriptures. Because they are imagined, [all this] is the creation stage.

Now it must be clearly taught what exists. “Completion” is in oneself. “Stage” refers to the stages of the four *cakras*. The imagined is *e vaṃ ma yā*.

4. “[Yoga of the] drop” is the semen of *bodhicitta*. It has colour and shape. Uniting bliss and mind is *yoga*.
5. “Subtle [yoga]” refers to the winds and channels. The channels are the four *cakras*. Connecting the mind with them is *yoga*. Being free from the extremes of mental fabrications, they are the *samayamudrā*.¹⁴⁹

With regard to the visualization of the world as the divine palace (which is only contained in the Tibetan translation of the *Caturmudrānvaya*) the following is said:

[All] these [wrongly] imagined [things of the world] are the palace. Because it is only great bliss which appears as the palace, one must know it as *mahāmudrā* by realizing [that the imagined world is the] palace. It is not that the palace must be removed and great bliss must be accomplished. The bodies of oneself and others are like this. Eyes, ears, the nose, the tongue, the body and the mind are not different. It is like above. The elements, earth, water, fire,

¹⁴⁸ This sentence is not found in the Sanskrit and is supplied from Maitrīpa's *Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivarāṇa* (PTMV, p. 56, ll. 3–5): *kūtāgāram idam na yat tribhuvanam na prāṇino 'mī jināḥ^a cakreṣo 'smin na mānuṣo na viṣayā nāksāni na hyādayaḥ / rūpādya na ca dharmatātmakatayā te māṇḍalayā ime viśvaṃ maṇḍalacakram ākalayataś cetaḥ kim udbrāmyasi //* ^a J janāḥ

¹⁴⁹ CMAT (B 294a2–6, P 350b3–7, T 155a1–4): *de'ang^a sbyor ba dang po ni rnal 'byor dang / rjes thob^b kyi^c rnal 'byor ro / / dkyil 'khor rgyal po mchog ni shin tu rnal 'byor ro / / las rgyal po mchog ni^b shin tu^b rnal 'byor chen po'o / / de lta bu'i lam de dag kyang 'di lta shes par bya ste / grogs dag chu yi zla ba ni / / bden pa ma yin rdzun pa min / / de ni^d dkyil 'khor 'khor lo yang / rang bzbin med lus gsal ba nyid / / ces bya ba gsung rab las so / / de dag ni^c kun tu rtoḡ^f pa'i phyir bskyed pa'i rim pa'o / / da^g ni yod pa gsal bar byed pa bstan par bya ste / rdzogs pa ni rang la'o / / rim pa^b ni 'khor lo bzhi'i rim pa'o / / rnam par brtags^h pa ni e vaṃ ma ya'o / / thig le ni byang chub sems kyi khu ba ste / kha dogⁱ dang dbyibs so / / bde ba dang yid^j tha mi dad par^j byed pa ni rnal 'byor^{b ro} /^b phra mo ni lung dang rtsa'o / / rtsa ni 'khor lo rnam pa bzhi'o / de dag la^k yid sbyor bar byed pa ni rnal 'byor te^l // spros pa'i mtha' dang bral ba'i phyir dam tshig gi phyang rgya'o //*

^a P yang T de yang ^b T om. ^c T kyi ^d P bzbin ^e P om. ^f P brtags T brtag ^g P de ^h P btags T rtag ⁱ P tog ^j T la mi ^k P om. T dang ^l T ste

wind, and so forth, are the twelve [limbs] of dependent arising. They are not different [either]... The circle of deities and the lord of the *maṇḍala* including the yogin himself are the *dharmakāya*. Therefore, the *maṇḍala* of the basis, the practitioner, the deities, the entire three realms, and the manifold appearances are nothing other [than the *dharmakāya*]. Because they are not at all different when realized as the circle of non-duality there is nothing to be deluded nor does delusion occur. In this case [the *dharmakāya*] is not different from delusion, nor does it turn into delusion.¹⁵⁰

What are these two? They must be explained. When realizing without effort that delusion and non-delusion are not two, that there is not the slightest [difference], there is bliss. This does not need to be investigated, thus one does not need to think of any action to be undertaken. When one lets go of everything it is called *mahāmudrā*. “Delusion” is defilement, [but] it does not need to be abandoned. “Non-delusion” is wisdom, it cannot be demonstrated. Non-duality is [simply] experienced, one should not become mentally engaged. The realization that it is nothing whatsoever is the fruit. There is no hope [of attaining something]. All this is “in terms of spontaneously present bliss.” The pith-instruction is that in *mahāmudrā* nothing whatsoever needs to be investigated. In particular, it is without the causes of virtuous and sinful deeds, and [their] maturation. The means are free from action, they simply consist of not thinking. Having abandoned all obstinate clinging to a fruit and dualistic investigation, there is *mahāmudrā*.¹⁵¹

The stanza starting with “[There] is neither recitation of *mantras*, nor [prescribed] observances, nor fire offering” is taken as follows:

This has already been explained above. It has the meaning of being contained [in *mahāmudrā*]. *Mahāmudrā* is these deities, mantras, [prescribed] observances.

¹⁵⁰ CMAṬ (B 295b5–296a6, P 351b7–352a5, T 156a6–b6): *brtags pa 'di ni gzhal yas^a khang yin te^a // bde ba chen po nyid gzhal yas khang du shar ba'i phyir gzhal yas khang^b rtogs pa^b phyag rgya chen por rig par bya ste / gzhal yas khang bsal bar bya ba'am / bde chen bsgrub par bya ba ni med do // bdag dang gzhan gyi^c lus kyang de^d bzbin te^d // mig dang / rna ba dang / sna dang / lee dang / lus dang / yid rnams kyang dbang po gzhan min te / gong bzbin no / 'byung ba sa dang / chu dang / me dang / rlung dang / de dag^e la sogs pa ni rten 'brel bcu gnyis^f te // f^f gzhan min no / ... lha'i 'khor lo^g dang // h^h dkyil 'khor gyi^c gtso bo / rnal 'byor pa bdag nyid kyang chos kyiⁱ sku yin te / de bas na rten gyi^c dkyil 'khor dang / sgrub pa po dang / lha dag^e dang / khams gsum 'di dag thams cad^j sna tshogs su snang ba de dag gzhan ma yin te / gnyis med kyi 'khor^k lor rtogs^k na ji^l ltar yang gzhan med pa'i phyir 'kbrul par^m bya ba^m med cing / 'kbrul par yang mi 'gyur na // 'kbrul pa las gzhan ma yin zhing / 'kbrul par mi 'gyur [BP insertion of 18 folios] /*

^a P khang ste T min te ^b T rtog pa ^c T gyis ^d P yin no T bzbin te min no ^e T om. ^f P om. ^g T pa ^h PT om. ⁱ T kyi^s ^j P cad dang ^k T lo rtog ^l T ci ^m PT byed pa

¹⁵¹ CMAṬ (B 314b6–315a5, P 366a4–b1, T 156b6–157a4): *de dag^a gang yin zhe na / bstan par bya ste / 'kbrul^b dang ma 'kbrul^b gnyis med cir yang min pa'i rtogs pa lhun gyis grub na bde / 'di la brtag^c mi dgos pas^d las dang bya bar ma^e sems // ^c thams cad btang^f na phyag rgya che zhes bya ba la^g // 'kbrul dang zhes^h pa ni^h nyon mongs pa ste / spang du med pa'o / ma 'kbrul zhes paⁱ ni ye shes te / bstan^j du med pa'o // gnyis med^k ni nyams su myong ba ste / yid la byar med pa'o // ^l cir yang min pa'i rtogs^l pa ni 'bras bu ste / re ba dang bral ba'o // de dag thams cad kyang lhun gyis grub pa'i bde ba nyid kyi^m zhes so^m // / man ngag ni phyag rgya chen po 'di la gang du'angⁿ brtag pa mi dgos pa'o // khyad^o par ni dge ba'i las dang / sdig pa'i las kyi^p rgyu dang rnam par smin pa dang bral ba'o // thabs ni bya ba dang bral ba ste / ma sems shig^q pa'o // 'bras bu^r mngon par zhen pa dang gnyis brtags^s thams cad btang na phyag rgya chen po ste /*

^a T om. ^b T 'kbrul pa ^c T rtag ^d T pa ^e P sems can ^f T gtong ^g T las ^h T bya ba ⁱ T bya ba ^j T rten ^k T de ^l T ci yang mi yin pa'i rtags ^m P so T om. ⁿ PT du yang ^o P byad ^p T kyi^s ^q T cig ^r T ni ^s P pa brtags T su rtog pa

Fire offering, the *maṇḍala* and its lord are this [*mahāmudrā*], too.¹⁵²

Karopa concludes, in line with the *Sekanirdeśa*,¹⁵³ that the four seals are related to the four moments, four joys, and four empowerments:

The divisions of four seals should be connected with the four moments, four joys, and four empowerments. Each of the three, but not *mahāmudrā*, should be known in terms of the four moments. They are not causes and fruits in terms of generation, but should be understood as causes and fruits of relation.¹⁵⁴

In his *Guruparamparākramopadeśa* Vajrapāṇi explains that it is only the third moment (freedom from defining characteristics) and the corresponding co-emergent joy which are considered to be pure.¹⁵⁵ Thus *mahāmudrā* is not explained in terms of the four joys, it being beyond, and thus independent of, the impurities of the other joys. In other words, *mahāmudrā* can be cultivated on the basis of a *karmamudrā*, causal *samayamudrā* and the *dharmamudrā*, but it does not need to be.¹⁵⁶ This is corroborated by the *Tattvavimśikā*, in which Maitrīpa distinguishes different types of skillful means for those with inferior, average, and sharp faculties. While inferior practitioners rely on a *karmamudrā* and (causal) *samayamudrā*, a direct approach to *mahāmudrā* is open for those with sharp faculties:

Those with inferior capacities have produced [and] cultivated the circle (i.e., the *maṇḍala* etc.) with the help of the *karma*- and *samayamudrās*.

Having [thus] turned away from [directly engaging in] pure reality, they meditate on enlightenment.¹⁵⁷ (TV 7)

The yogin who has seen reality, however, is wholly devoted to *mahāmudrā*;
His [spiritual] faculties being of the highest kind, he abides with [the realization of the] nature of all entities.¹⁵⁸ (TV 11)

7 Conclusion

It has become clear that Karopa interprets the *Caturmudrānvaya* fully in line with Maitrīpa's *Sekanirdeśa* und Rāmapāla's *pañjikā*, and it is thus fully understandable that our "Sucession of

¹⁵² CMAṬ (B 315a6–b1, P 366b2–3, T 157a5–6): *gong du bshad par zad la / ldan pa'i don to / / phyag rgya chen po de dag lha dang sngags dang bka' thub ste / / sbyin sreg dkyil 'khor dkyil 'khor pa^a yang de^b nyid do /*

^a P ba T om. ^b T dag 'di

¹⁵³ Mathes 2007:553–555.

¹⁵⁴ CMAṬ (B 316a5–6, P 367a5–7, T 158a3–4): *de ltar phyag rgya bzhi'i bye brag de dag skad cig^a bzhi dang / dga' ba bzhi dang / dbang bzhi sbyar^b bar bya'o / / phyag rgya chen po ma yin pa^c gsum gyi^d re re zhing skad cig ma bzhi bzhi shes par bya'o / / de bskyed pa'i rgyu 'bras ni ma yin la / / ltos pa'i rgyu 'bras su shes par bya'o /*

^a T cig ma ^b P sbyor ^c P om. T ba ^d T gyis

¹⁵⁵ GPKU, fol. 319a5–6: "Such a *mahāmudrā* is the fruit without stains... It is the co-emergent joy at the moment of freedom from defining characteristics" (*de lta bu'i phyag rgya chen po ni dri ma dang bral ba'i 'bras bu'o / ... mtshan nyid dangral ba'i skad cig ma la lhan cig skyes pa'i dga' ba'o /*).

¹⁵⁶ See SN 27ab (SN, p. 56, l. 7): "The [four] joys can be [maintained] with regard to each of the *mudrās*, except *mahāmudrā*. This [can be known] through the scriptures, [one's] self-awareness, and the pith instructions of the genuine guru" (*ānandāḥ pratimudraṃ syuḥ mahāmudrāṃ vinā punaḥ / āgamāc ca svasamviteḥ sadguror upadeśataḥ /*).

¹⁵⁷ TV, p. 68, ll. 5–6: *karmasamayamudrābhyāṃ cakraṃ niṣpādyā bhāvītāḥ / dhyāyanti mṛdavo bodhiṃ suddhatattvabhirmukhāḥ /*

¹⁵⁸ TV, p. 70, ll. 1–2: *drṣṭatattvaḥ punar yogi mahāmudrāparāyaṇaḥ / sarvabhāvasvabhāvena vihared uttamendriyaḥ /*

Four Seals” was included in the *Advaya vajrasaṃgraha*. Whether composed by Maitrīpa, or the Tantric Nāgārjuna, the treatise on the four seals plays an important role in Maitrīpa’s and his disciples’ understanding of *mahāmudrā*. In both works, the *Sekanirdeśa* and the *Caturmudrānvaya*, the fruit and practice of *mahāmudrā* enjoy a privileged position among the four seals, and one is left wondering whether an originally independent *mahāmudrā* has been integrated into the setting of the Yoginītantras. It is at least noteworthy that in his *Dobākośā-nāmamahāmudropadeśa*, for example, Saraha uses the term *mahāmudrā* independent of the other seals, equating *mahāmudrā* with the true nature of mind¹⁵⁹ and the practice of not becoming mentally engaged.¹⁶⁰ In other words, for Saraha *mahāmudrā* is not only a label for the level of the fruit, but also for a direct approach to the true nature of mind.¹⁶¹

In the *mahāmudrā* chapter of the *Caturmudrānvaya* and the *Sekanirdeśa* the influence of Saraha’s approach to *mahāmudrā* can be clearly noticed: here it is also taken as a practice of non-abiding, which involves not becoming mentally engaged. As the only scriptural support, a *sūtra*, namely the *Jñānālokālaṃkāra*, is adduced. In his chapter on *mahāmudrā*, Karopa follows Rāmapāla’s commentary on SN 29 where *mahāmudrā* is said to be made directly manifest through the kindness of one’s guru.¹⁶² The sequence of the four seals should thus not be understood as a causal relationship in the sense that the first seal (i.e., *karmamudrā*) is an absolutely necessary cause for the following seals. This is also clear from Karopa’s initial explanations of *evam* as the acoustic reality of the *dharmamudrā*: “Those persons who cannot comprehend such a *dharmamudrā* must rely on a *karmamudrā*.”¹⁶³ According to Maitrīpa’s *Tattvaṣiṃṣikā* this holds also true for the (causal) *samayamudrā*: Practices undertaken with the help of *karma-* and *samaya-**mudrās* are only meant for those with inferior capacities (see above). In other words, marking the goal during sexual union, and the Tantric practices of visualizing deities, *maṇḍalas* and the like are only optional and not a necessary cause for attaining *mahāmudrā*.

In this context it is interesting to note that in the chapter on *dharmamudrā*, the path is described as the immediate cause in the form of suchness which means that suchness must be meditated upon by overcoming duality. This is either achieved through the means of Tantra, as indicated by quoting the stanza on the right, left, and central channel from the *Hevajratantra* [HT I.1.14], or simply performed in a more general Mahāyāna context of not removing or adding anything, according to the famous formula quoted from the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* [AA V.21]. It goes without saying that this latter approach still requires a direct access to the goal “through the kindness of the guru,” or else enlightenment in Pāramitāyāna will take three eons.

The relation between HT I.1.14 and AA V.21 (as indicated in the *Caturmudrānvaya*) must be also seen against the backdrop of Maitrīpa’s (or Nāgārjuna’s?) effort to integrate the new teachings and practices of the mahāsiddhas into mainstream Buddhism by showing

¹⁵⁹ DKMU, fol. 74b6–75a1: “Watch your own [mind] without distraction! When you realize the true nature of your own [mind] by yourself, even the distracted mind appears as *mahāmudrā*” (*ma yengs sems kyis rang gis rang la ltos / / rang gi de nyid rang gis rtogs gyur na / / yengs pa’i sems kyang phyag rgya chen por ’char / /*).

¹⁶⁰ DKMU, fol. 75b5–6: “In *mahāmudrā*, [i.e., the practice of] not becoming mentally engaged, one does not meditate because there is not the slightest reason to do so” (*vid la mi byed phyag rgya chen po la / bsgom rgyu rdul tsam med pas mi sgom ste / /*).

¹⁶¹ See Mathes 2006:207–208.

¹⁶² See “5.2 Karopa’s Commentary on *Mahāmudrā*.”

¹⁶³ See “1. Karopa’s Introduction to his Commentary.”

that the latter are in line with the view, conduct, and practice of traditional Mahāyāna.¹⁶⁴ In doing so, Tantric terms are explained in a more general Mahāyāna context, with the intention to demonstrate that their meaning was already latent in more traditional forms of Buddhism.

Appendix: Edition of the Tibetan Translation of the *Caturmudrānvaya*

Sigla

- B The *Phyag rgya bzhi rjes su bstan pa* from the Dpal spungs block print of the *Phyag rgya chen po'i rgya gzhung*, vol. *om*, 151a5–154b5
- P The *Phyag rgya bzhi gtan la dbab pa* from the Peking Bstan 'gyur, no. 3069, *rgyud 'grel*, vol. *mi*, 82a1–84b5
- T The *Phyag rgya bzhi rjes su bstan pa* from the 'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod, vol. *ka*, 146a6–149a6

Introduction

(B 151a5–b2, P 82a1–4, T 146a6–b2) bod skad du / phyag rgya bzhi¹ rjes su bstan pa zhes bya ba¹ // ²dpal rdo rje sems dpa' la² phyag 'tshal lo // rnam dag³ ye shes de bdag nyid³ // ⁴dang por rdor sems phyag 'tshal nas⁴ // / phyag⁵ rgya'i rim⁵ pa mdor bsdu pa // bdag nyid go bya'i don du bya⁶ // / 'dir⁷ phyag rgya⁸ dgod pa la ⁹khru' zhing yid rmongs⁹ pas srid pa'i rgya mtshor¹⁰ khyams shing shin tu sdug bsngal ba¹⁰ de dag gis bde blag tu phyag rgya bzhi'i don rtogs¹¹ par bya'i phyir¹² rgyud kyi¹³ rjes su 'brangs nas¹⁴ bde ba chen po'i ¹⁵dngos grub myur du sgrub pa'i thabs don rab dang ldan brtsam¹⁵ par bya'o // / phyag rgya bzhi zhes bya ba ni¹⁶ las kyi phyag rgya dang / chos kyi phyag rgya dang / phyag rgya chen po dang / dam tshig gi phyag rgya'o /

¹ P gtan la dbab pa T rjes su bstan pa ² PT bcom ldan 'das 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyur pa la ³ B rang bzhin de rang bzhin T shes pa de dag nyid ⁴ P rdo rje sems dpa' phyad byas nas T thog mar rdo rje sems phyag byas nas ⁵ BP phyag dgod ⁶ P 'bri ⁷ P 'di na ⁸ B rgya bzhi T rgya'i ⁹ P yid rnam par 'khru' shing rmongs ¹⁰ PT sdug bsngal shing 'khyams pa ¹¹ PT khong du chud ¹² P phyir // ¹³ T kyi ¹⁴ P nas / ¹⁵ P sgrub pa'i thabs rab tu bsgrub T bsgrubs pa'i thabs rab tu rtsam ¹⁶ ni //

Karmamudrā

(B 151b2–4, P 82a4–7, T 146b2–4) / de la las kyi phyag¹ rgya'i rang gi ngo bo dpyad¹ par bya ste / las ni² lus dang // ³ ngag dang // ⁴ yid⁵ kyi bsam pa ste / gtso bo'o // / ⁵ phyag rgya ni ⁶brtag pa'i rang bzhin no ⁶ // / ⁷ las kyi⁸ phyag rgya de las⁹ skad cig ma'i dbye¹⁰ bas phy¹⁰ ba'i dga' ba dag¹¹ skye bar 'gyur ro /

/ skad cig shes pas^{11a} ¹²bde ye shes // / e vaṃ rnam par rab tu gnas // ¹²

^{12a} / zhes so // ^{12a} // dga' ba ¹³ni bzhi ste / dga'¹³ ba dang / mchog tu¹⁴ dga' ba dang / lhan cig skyes pa'i dga' ba dang / ¹⁵dga' bral gyi dga' ba'o¹⁵ // / gzhan du na // ¹⁶ mchog dang dga' bral¹⁷ dag gi dbus¹⁷ // / ¹⁸mtshon zhing ltos la bstan par gyis / / zhes ji skad du bstan pa¹⁸ de ¹⁹thad par mi 'gyur¹⁹ ro // / ²⁰zhes pa'o // ²⁰

¹⁶⁴ This finds expression in the *Tattvaratnāvalī*, where Maitrīpa divides Mahāyāna into the traditions of *pāramitās* and mantras, Tantra thus being a particular form of Mahāyāna (see Mathes 2007:548).

¹ B rgya ni rang gi (T gis) ngo bor dpyad P rgya brtag ² P kyi ³ T om. ⁴ PT om. ⁵ T kyis te bsam pa gtso bo BP ⁶ BT rang gi ngo bo brtag pa'o ⁷ B inserts de ni T inserts de'i phyir ⁸ T kyis ⁹ T om. ¹⁰ T om. ¹¹ T om. ^{11a} P pa'i ¹² P de ye shes / e vam la ni rab tu gnas / T bde yi e vam la ni rab tu gnas / ^{12a} P om. ¹³ P bzhi ni dga' T bzhi ni // dga' ¹⁴ T om. ¹⁵ PT dga' bral lo ¹⁶ PT om. ¹⁷ B dbus dag tu T dag ni dbus so ¹⁸ P mtshon byar brtags pas brtan par bya // zhes gsungs pa T mtshon cing stos la brten par gyis // zhes gsungs pa ¹⁹ T yang 'thad par 'gyur ro ²⁰ PT om.

(B 151b4–152a2, P 82a7–b3, T 146b4–147a2) skad cig ma bzhi ni rnam pa sna tshogs pa dang / rnam par smin pa dang / mtshan nyid dang¹ bral ba dang / rnam par nyed pa'o // mtshan nyid dang bral ba dbus su bstan pa ni² dbang las shes par bya'o // ³ yang drag po³ btsan thabs kyi sbyor ba ni mtshan nyid dang bral ba dang / lhan cig skyes ^{3a} pa'i dga' ba^{3a} tha mar gnas par ⁴ rtogs par bya'o⁴ // ⁵ zhes dbang dang drag po'i sbyor ba ni 'dir bcom ldan 'das kyis rgyas par bstan to⁵ // ⁶ lhan cig skyes pa ni de thams cad du lhan cig skyes pa'i grib ma'i rjes su byed pa'i phyir / lhan cig skyes pa zhes brjod do⁶ // // lhan cig skyes pa'i grib ma ni lhan cig skyes ⁷ pa dang 'dra ba'i⁷ ye shes khong du chud par ⁸ byed pas⁸ shes rab ye shes ni lhan cig skyes pa'o // de'i phyir ⁹ shes rab⁹ ye shes ¹⁰ las lhan cig skyes pa skye ba med do¹⁰ // // gang gi phyir lhan cig skyes pa zhes bya ba'i rang bzhin ni¹¹ chos thams cad [kyi] ma bcos ¹² par rang gi¹² mtshan nyid ces bya ba'i bar du'o // de'i phyir las kyi phyag rgya la brten nas rgyu mthun pa'i 'bras bu skyed¹³ par byed do /

¹ P om. ² T ni // ³ P dbang ^{3a} P pa ⁴ PT rtogs so ⁵ P bcom ldan 'das kyi dbang btsan thabs kyi sbyor bas bstan to T dbang dang drag po'i sbyor ba ni bcom ldan 'das kyis rgyas par bshad do ⁶ P de thams cad ni lhan cig skyes pa ste / lhan cig skyes pa'i grib ma'i rjes su byed pa la lhan cig skyes pa shes bya'o ⁷ P pa'i rgyu mthun pa'i ⁸ P byed pas / T byed par byed pas ⁹ PT nges par shes rab ¹⁰ P las / lhan cig skyes pa 'byung ba ma yin te T lhan cig skyes byung ba ma yin ¹¹ T ni // ¹² P pa'i rang gi T pa'i rang bzhin gyis ¹³ PT thob

(B 152a3–5, P 82b3–6, T 147a2–4) / ¹ dra ba¹ ni rgyu dang 'dra bar 'byung bas na ¹ dra ba¹ ste² // ji ltar me long ³ dang bzhin³ la brten⁴ nas bzhin⁵ gyi gzugs brnyan⁶ byung ba ⁷ ni bzhin nyid ma yin te⁷ // ⁸ sngon yang ma grub⁸ la / da ltar yang ⁹ ma grub pa'i⁹ phyir ro // ¹⁰ de ni¹⁰ bzhin¹¹ gyi¹² ¹³ gzugs bryan¹³ ¹⁴ dra ba tsam du rtogs [par byed?] pa'o // // ¹⁴ on kyang 'jig rten pa rnam rang gi¹⁵ bzhin mthong ngo¹⁶ zhes 'khrul pas¹⁷ dga' bar 'gyur ro // de bzhin du¹⁸ slob dpon blo gros¹⁹ dman pa rnam²⁰ shes rab ye shes bsgrubs²¹ nas^{21a} lhan cig skyes ²² pa'i ye shes²² nyams su myong zhes ²³ zer nas²³ dga' ba skye bar 'gyur ro // de la dga' zhing mgu bas ni²⁴ chos kyi phyag rgya'i gnam yang mi shes so /

¹ PT rgyu mthun pa ² T pa'o ³ B om. ⁴ T bsten ⁵ P byad bzhin ⁶ T can ⁷ B de ni bzhin du mi 'gyur te P T ni bzhin ma yin te ⁸ P sngon du grub pa ma yin ⁹ P grub pa ma yin pa'i ¹⁰ B da ltar T de ltar ¹¹ PT nges par bzhin ¹² T gyis ¹³ B gzugs ni T ni ¹⁴ P rgyu mthun tsam mthong la T 'dra ba rtogs la // ¹⁵ B om. gi T om. rang gi ¹⁶ P om. ¹⁷ T om. 'khrul pas ¹⁸ P om. ¹⁹ T om. ²⁰ BP rnam kyang ²¹ T bsgrub ^{21a} P na ²² P pa'i rang bzhin T pa ²³ P brjod cing / T brjod cing ²⁴ T om.

(B 152a5–b2, P 82b6–83a2, T 147a4–b1) / chos kyi phyag rgya ma¹ shes par² las kyi phyag rgya bcos ma 'ba³ zhis las ⁴ ma bcos pa'i⁴ lhan cig skyes pa'i ⁵ rang bzhin⁵ ⁶ ji ltar⁶ byung zhing skye bar 'gyur / rigs mthun pa'i rgyu las rigs mthun pa'i 'bras bu skye bar 'gyur gyi // ⁷ rigs mi mthun pa las ni ma yin no // // ji ltar sa⁸ lu'i sa bon las sa⁸ lu'i myu gu skye bar 'gyur gyi // ⁹ ¹⁰ ko dra las ni¹⁰ ma yin no // // de bzhin du ¹¹ chos kyi phyag rgya ma bcos pa'i¹¹ rang bzhin las ma bcos pa'i lhan cig skyes ¹² pa'i rang bzhin skye'o¹² // // de'i phyir ¹³ chos kyi phyag rgya nyid la mi phyed par spyad pa nyid na / 'bras bu phyag rgya chen po 'byung bar 'gyur ro¹³ // // de ltar na gang gi¹⁴ phyir bcom ldan 'das kyis gsungs pa / e yi cha byad bzang po gang¹⁵ // / dbus su bam gyis¹⁶ rnam par brgyan /

17/ sangs rgyas rin chen za ma tog
// bde ba thams cad kyi ni gnas / 17/ 18zhes pa'o // 18

¹ T mi ² PT pas ³ T 'ga' ⁴ P om. ⁵ P rang bzhin bcos ma ma yin pa ⁶ T om. ⁷ T gyis // ⁸ T sa ⁹ T gyis // ¹⁰ B khre dang hu tse las ni P drug cu pa las T ¹¹ P ma bcos pa'i chos kyi phyag rgya'i T bcas pa'i chos kyi phyag rgya'i ¹² PT pa 'byung go ¹³ B chos kyi phyag rgya de nyid las mi phyed pa'i phyag rgya chen po skye bar 'gyur ro P chos kyi phyag rgya'i rgyu nyid la dbyer med par spyod pas phyag rgya chen po'i rgyur 'gyur ro / T chos kyi phyag rgya'i rgyu las mi phyed pa'i phyag rgya chen po skye bar 'gyur / (according to CMT_T, fol. 275a3) ¹⁴ T gis ¹⁵ PT la ¹⁶ T om. ¹⁷ PT / bde ba thams cad kyi ni gnas // sangs rgyas rin chen za ma tog ¹⁸ P ces pa ni T zhes pa'o

(B 152b2–6, P 83a2–6, T 147b1–4) ¹sangs rgyas rin chen za ma tog zhes pa ni¹ sangs rgyas ²kyi grib² ma'i rjes su byed ³pa'i phyr³ za ma tog ⁴ces pa ni gnas dang gzhi'o⁴ // // de'i phyr las kyi phyag rgya⁵ yan lag can las⁶ ⁷dga' ba ni yid du 'ong ba'i rin po che'i 'byung gnas dang mtsho skyes kyi te // // de la bo la dang ka kko la⁷ srub⁸ cing bsrubs⁸ pa⁹ yang dag pa'i¹⁰ sbyor bas ¹¹kun rdzob byang chub kyi sems ^{11a}a va dhū tī^{11a} nas ji srid nor bu'i nang du song ba de ni // ¹¹ de yi¹² skad cig ¹³ma'i ming gi mchog¹³ lhan cig skyes pa zhes bya ba'i ye shes skad cig tsam skye bar 'gyur gyi // ¹⁴ de ni¹⁵ lhan cig skyes pa ni ma yin te / rgyu¹⁶ mthun pa'o // // ¹⁷ de ni¹⁷ rang bzhin shes rab ye shes ¹⁸dang // ¹⁸ dga' ba gsum dang / skad cig ma bzhi ¹⁹dang ldan pa'o // ¹⁹ dbang ²⁰dang // drag po btsan thabs kyi sbyor ba ni²⁰ las kyi phyag rgya'i²¹ rgyu dang^{21a} mthun pa'i 'bras ²²bu skye bar 'gyur ro²² // // ²³las kyi phyag rgya dang rgyu mthun pa'i 'bras²⁴ bu rgyas par bstan pa ste / dang po'o²³ // //

¹ B sangs rgyas rin chen zhes pa ni P om. T sangs rgyas rin chen za ma tog zhes pa'o sangs rgyas rin chen za ma tog zhes bya ba ni ² T kyi dri ³ B pa'o // PT pa'i phyr ro // ⁴ P ni gnas sam gzhi'o T ni gzhi ma'am gnas so ⁵ T rgya'i ⁶ BT om. ⁷ BT rin po che'i 'byung gnas dang mtsho skyes las dga' ba yid du 'ong ba'i padma'i rgyun skye ba'o // // de la bo la dang ka kko la P dga' ba yid du 'ong ba ni rin chen 'byung gnas dang mtsho skyes kyi te / de ni rdo rje dang padma T rin po chen 'byung gnas mtsho skyes las dga' ba'i tshogs skye'o // // rdo rje padma'i ⁸ T srub ⁹ P pa'i T om. ¹⁰ T om. yang dag pa'i ¹¹ B a va dhū ti nas kun rdzob byang chub kyi sems nor bu'i nang du son pa las skye bar 'gyur ro T a va dhu ti nas kun rdzob byang chub kyi sems nor bu'i nang du song bas ^{11a} P a ba dhu te ¹² BT ni ¹³ P ma zhes bya ste / de T om. de ni skad cig ma'i ming gi mchog ¹⁴ T te // // ¹⁵ P om. ni T om. de ni ¹⁶ BP rgyu mi ¹⁷ B rgyu mthun pa'i PT de'i ¹⁸ P kyi T kyi ¹⁹ B dang / T dang ldan pa'i ²⁰ P btsan thabs kyi sbyor ba las ni T drag po'i sbyor ba ni ²¹ BT rgya la brten nas ^{21a} P om. ²² P bur gsungs so T bur bstan to ²³ P las kyi phyag rgya'i dbang nges par bstan pa ste dang po'o T las kyi phyag rgya mi mthun pa'i 'bras bur bstan te // // le'u dang po'o / ²⁴ B gras

Dharmamudrā

(B 152b6–153a2, P 83a6–8, T 147b4–6) // // om chos kyi phyag rgya ni chos kyi dbyings kyi rang bzhin ¹te // spros pa dang bral ba // // ¹ rtog pa med pa // // ² ma bcod pa // // ³ skye ba dang bral ba // // ⁴ snying rje'i rang bzhin ⁵mchog gi⁵ dga' bas gcig⁶ tu mdzes ⁷pa // // thabs kyi ngo bor gyur pa⁷ // // rgyun ⁸gyis rtag pa nyid // // ⁸ lhan cig skyes pa'i rang bzhin ⁹gyis shes rab dang lhan cig pa las 'byung ba / dbyer med pa ⁹ gang yin pa de ni chos kyi phyag ¹⁰rgya zhes bya'o¹⁰ // //

¹ T te spros pa dang // // bral ba ² P rnam par mi rtog pa T rnam par mi rtog pa // // ³ pa / ⁴ T om. ⁵ P mchog tu T du ⁶ T cig ⁷ P pa'i thabs su 'gyur ba (T gyur pa) ⁸ P gyi rtag pa T gyis brtag pa nyid / ⁹ B gyis shes rab kyi lhan cig skyes pa phyag rgya chen por 'char ba dang tha mi dad pa T shes rab kyi pa'i phyag rgya chen por 'chang ba dang // // tha mi dad pa ¹⁰ P rgyar rig par bya'o T zhes brjod do

(B 153a2–3, P 83a8–b2, T 147b6–148a1) // // de'i mtshan nyid ni gzhan no¹ // // ² ³mi shes pa'i³ mun pas kun nas dkrugs ⁴pa la⁴ nyi ma'i 'od zer dang 'dra ba'i⁵ bla ma'i man ngag nyid⁶

kyis⁷ 'khrul pa rtsva^{7a} rdul tsam gyi zug rngu rnam par spangs nas⁸ rtogs pa'o // ⁸ ⁹ / sa dang / chu dang / me dang // rlung ste / ⁹ khams bzhi'i nus pas bcings pa'i 'jig rten gsum po ma lus pa¹⁰ gcig pa'i¹⁰ rang bzhin¹¹ rba rlabs med pa stong pa nyid dang snying¹¹ rje dbyer med par shes par bya'o /

¹ P gzhan yang de'i mtshan nyid ni ² P om. // ³ P dper na ⁴ P pa la / T pas yang ⁵ P bar ⁶ T om. ⁷ P kyi mi shes pa'i mun pas kun nas 'khrugs pa'i ^{7a} PT rtsa ⁸ B / log rtog ⁹ B / chu dang / me dang / rlung ste / P sa dang chu dang me dang rlung ste / ¹⁰ P gcig gi T cig pa'i ¹¹ P / rba rlabs med pa'i stong pa nyid dang snying T bla glag med pa'i stong pa nyid rje

(B 153a3–5, P 83b2–4, T 148a1–3) bcom ldan 'das kyis kyang gsungs pa / rkyang¹ ma shes rab rang bzhin dang² // // ³ ro ma thabs kyis⁴ yang dag⁵ gnas // sdig spangs ma ni dbus ⁶ gnas dang⁶ // / gzung dang 'dzin pa rnam par spangs // ⁷ di la nan tu byas par gyur pas⁷ ⁸ de bzhin nyid kyi⁸ rnam pa nye ba'i rgyur gyur pa ⁹ de ni⁹ lam du shes par bya'o // ¹⁰ lam du shes par rtag tu gus pas rgyun mi 'chad par lam goms par byas pas 'gogs pa¹⁰ lhan¹¹ cig skyes pa'i rang bzhin mngon du byed par 'gyur ro /

¹ PT mdzes ² PT la ³ T om // ⁴ P kyi ⁵ T rang bzhin ⁶ P nyid du T nyid do ⁷ PT de ltar (T la) rab tu 'bad pas kyang / ⁸ T de'i ⁹ T om. ¹⁰ P lam du shes pas gus pas rgyun mi 'chad pa ni lam mo // 'gog pa ni T lam shes pa gus pa dang bcas pa rgyun mi 'chad par lam gom par byas pas 'gog pa ni ¹¹ B dang lhan

(B 153a5–b2, P 83b4–7, T 148a3–5) de bzhin du¹ gsungs pa // ² di la[s] bsal bya ci yang med // bsnan³ par bya ba cung zad med // yang dag nyid la yang dag blta^{3a} // / yang dag mthong na^{3b} rnam par grol // ² ⁴ zhes bstan to // ⁴ // rkyang⁵ ma ⁶ dang ro ma de gnyis kyi⁶ dbus su gnas pa de⁷ ni sdig spangs ma'o // de nyid la⁸ ⁹ don thams cad lhan cig skyes pa'i bdag nyid du⁹ sems rtse gcig¹⁰ tu 'jug pa dang¹⁰ bla ma dam pa'i man ngag¹¹ nyid las rtogs par 'gyur ro¹¹ // / chos kyi phyag rgya ni phyag rgya chen po¹² dbyer med pa'i rgyur gyur pa'o // chos kyi phyag rgya ni¹³ rnam par smin pa'i 'bras bur¹⁴ nges par bstan pa ste // ¹⁵ gnyis pa'o //

¹ B om. ² P gzhas ³ T om. ^{3a} P lta ^{3b} P nas ⁴ P om. T zhes bstan pa'o / ⁵ P mdzes ⁶ P ro ma dag gi T ro ma gnyis kyis ⁷ PT om. ⁸ B rtogs pa las T rtogs pas ⁹ B lhag par mos pas ni lhan cig skyes pa'i rang bzhin gyi don thams cad khong du chud par P lhag par mos pas lhan cig skyes pa'i rang bzhin gyi don go 'phangs ma lus par ¹⁰ P pa dang / T tu 'jug pa ni ¹¹ P gis rtogs par 'gyur ro T nyid lags so ¹² po'i ¹³ PT om. ¹⁴ T om. ¹⁵ PT om.

Mahāmudrā

(B 153b2–6, P 83b7–84a3, T 148a5–b3) // āh¹ phyag rgya chen po zhes bya ba ni² phyag rgya'ang³ yin la⁴ chen po'ang⁵ yin pas phyag rgya chen ⁶ po ste // ⁶ rang bzhin med pa nyid⁷ shes ^{7a} bya ba la sogs pa'i sgrib pa^{7a} spangs ⁸ pa // ⁸ ston ka'i⁹ nyi ma phyed kyi¹⁰ nam mkha' ltar dri ma med ¹¹ pa // ¹¹ phun sum tshogs pa mtha' dag ¹² dzin pa'i¹² gzhir gyur pa // ¹³ khor ba dang mya ngan ¹⁴ kyi mtha' las 'das pa gcig pa'i rang bzhin // ¹⁴ ¹⁵ dmigs pa med pa'i lus / snying rje chen po'i lus / bde da chen po gcig pu'i gzugs so¹⁵ // / ¹⁶ de ltar yang¹⁶ yid la ¹⁷ mi byed¹⁷ pa'i chos ni dge ba'o / ¹⁸ / yid la byed pa'i chos ni^{18a} mi dge ba'o^{18b} // ¹⁸ zhes gsungs pa dang ¹⁹ / gsung rab las kyang // ¹⁹ kun tu rtog pas^{19a} ma brtags²⁰ pa // rab tu mi gnas ²¹ pa yi yid²¹ // / dran pa med ²² cing yid byed med²² // / dmigs pa med ²³ la phyag 'tshal bstod²³ // / ²⁴ ces bya ba²⁴ gang yin pa de phyag rgya chen po yin par rig par bya'o // / ²⁵ de'i phyr²⁵ phyag rgya chen po bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i rang bzhin las²⁶ dam tshig gi²⁷ phyag rgya ²⁸ zhes bya bas mchog gi^{28a} bras bu skye bar 'gyur ro // / phyag rgya chen po dri ma med pa'i 'bras bu²⁹ ³⁰ nges par³⁰ bstan pa ste // ³¹ gsum pa'o //

¹ T om. ² T om. ³ PT rgya yang ⁴ P / ⁵ PT po yang ⁶ T po'o // ⁷ T om. ^{7a} BT bya'i sgrub pa la sogs pa ⁸ T pa'o // ⁹ B kha'i ¹⁰ T kyis ¹¹ P pa // T pa ¹² P gi T gis ¹³ T om. ¹⁴ P gyi mtha' las 'das pa gcig pa'i rang bzhin / T las 'das pa'i rang bzhin ¹⁵ P dmigs pa med pa snying rje'i lus bde ba chen po'i rang bzhin no T dmigs pa med pa'i snying rje chen po'i lus bde ba chen po cig pa'i ngo bo nyid ¹⁶ P de bzhin du T de yang ¹⁷ P byed pa med ¹⁸ T om. ^{18a} P om. ni ^{18b} P ba'i ¹⁹ P om. T // yang gsung rab las kyang // ^{19a} P pa ²⁰ T brtag ²¹ T pa'i yin ²² P cing yid byed min T pa yid byed pa ²³ P la phyag 'tshal 'dud T pa la phyag 'tshal 'dud ²⁴ T zhes bya ba de ²⁵ T de ni ²⁶ P / T // ²⁷ T gis ²⁸ P mchog gi T zhes bya ba'i ²⁹ B bur ³⁰ T om. ³¹ PT om.

Samayamudrā

(B 153b6–154a3, P 84a3–7, T 148b3–6) // hūm¹ dam tshig gi phyag rgya ¹zhes bya ba¹ ni longspyod rdzogs pa dang² sprul pa'i sku'i³ rnam pa'i³ rang bzhin ⁴dang ba'i⁴ ⁵ngo bo nyid⁵ sems can gyi⁶ don gyi⁶ phyir⁷ rdo rje 'dzin pa⁸ he ru ka'i⁹ rnam par spros pa ¹⁰de ni¹⁰ dam tshig gi phyag rgyar 'dod do // dam tshig gi phyag rgya ¹¹de blangs nas¹¹ 'khor ba'i rnam pa ye shes lnga'i¹² cho ga ¹³rnam pa lngar¹³ ¹⁴yongs su brtag pa ni¹⁴ me long lta bu dang / mnyam pa¹⁵ nyid dang / so sor rtog¹⁶ pa dang / bya ba nan tan dang / chos kyid byings shin tu rnam par dag ¹⁷pa rnam dang // ¹⁷ sbyor ba dang po dang / dkyil 'khor rgyal mchog dang / las rgyal mchog dang / thig le'i rnal 'byor dang / phra mo'i rnal 'byor gyis¹⁸ ni¹⁹ dam tshig gi phyag rgya'i 'khor lo bsgom²⁰ pa'i slob dpon des ni bsod nams tsam²¹ byas par 'gyur ro /

¹ T om. ² T dang // ³ T om. ⁴ BP dang po'i T 'das pa'i ⁵ T rnam pa ⁶ T gyis ⁷ T phyir // ⁸ B la dang T pa dang ⁹ B ka la sogs pa'i ¹⁰ T ni // ¹¹ P blangs te zhes bya ba ni T blos blangs nas ¹² B rnam pa lnga dang T rnam pa lnga dang / ¹³ P om. T lnga ¹⁴ T bstan pa ni ¹⁵ T om. ¹⁶ T rtogs ¹⁷ T pa'o // ¹⁸ B pas T bsgoms pa ¹⁹ P om. T ni / ²⁰ B ste / de sgom T ste / de bsgoms ²¹ P om. T kyis tshogs

(B 154a3–b1, P 84a7–b1, T 148b6–149a3) // des kyang ni¹ chos kyid² phyag rgya'i 'bras bu³ 'thob par mi 'gyur ro // nges pa'i don gyi⁴ rgyu las nges pa'i 'bras bu de nyid⁵ skye bar 'gyur ro / zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go⁶ // ⁷ de lta bas na⁷ ⁸lhan cig skyes pa grub pa'i⁹ ros rjes su phug ¹⁰nas brtan¹⁰ pa dang g.yo ba'i dngos po gang¹¹ byis pas¹² yongs su brtags¹³ pa ¹⁴de'ang de dag lhan cig skyes pa'i¹⁴ byang chub kyid sems gser du 'gyur // ⁸ // 'dis¹⁵ ni 'jig rten gsum¹⁶ 'khor ¹⁷lo'i rnam par shin tu bsgom par 'gyur ro¹⁷ // ¹⁸ / gang gsung ba¹⁹ // 'di ni gnas gsum ma yin gzhal yas khang²⁰ yin // srog chags ma yin 'di ni rgyal ba yin // 'khor lo'i bdag po nga yin mi min ²¹yul min dbang po ma yin²¹ te // sa ²²la sogs pa'ang²² ma yin gzugs la sogs pa'ang²³ min // chos nyid ²⁴bdag nyid de nyid dkyil 'khor yin te dkyil 'khor ba yang yin²⁴ // / sna tshogs dkyil 'khor ²⁵'khor lor shes na²⁵ sems ni ci ste²⁶ 'khrul bar byed // ces²⁷ bstan to /¹⁸

¹ P om. ² T kyis ³ T om. 'bras bu ⁴ T om. don gyi ⁵ T om. de nyid ⁶ BT go / ⁷ P de'i phyir T de ni ⁸ P brtan pa dang g.yo ba'i dngos po gang byis pas kun tu brtags pa de dag lhan cig skyes pa'i ros phug na de byang chub kyid gser du 'gyur ro / ⁹ T om. grub pa'i ¹⁰ T na // bsten ¹¹ T om. ¹² T pa ¹³ T brtag ¹⁴ T yang dag pa'i ¹⁵ P 'dir T 'di ¹⁶ P gsum gyi T gsum po ¹⁷ P lo yang dag par bsgoms par 'gyur te T lo'i dngos po kun tu bsgom par 'gyur ¹⁸ P om. ¹⁹ T om. gang gsung ba ²⁰ BT khang pa ²¹ T dbang min ²² T dang la sogs ²³ T pa ²⁴ T de'i bdag nyid dkyil 'khor pa'ang min ²⁵ T shes nas // ²⁶ T ltar ²⁷ T zhes

(B 154b1–5, P 84b1, T 149a3) // de skad ¹du // bcom ldan 'das kyis gsungs pa² // ¹ ³sngags zlos³ med cing dka' thub⁴ sbyin sreg med // dkyil 'khor med cing⁵ dkyil 'khor pa yang med⁶ // ⁷ sngags zlos de yin⁷ dka' thub⁸ sbyin sreg de⁹ // / de ni dkyil 'khor ¹⁰yin te¹⁰ dkyil 'khor ¹¹pa yang de'o¹¹ // ¹² / zhes gsungs so¹² // mdor bsdus ¹³na ni sems su 'dus pa'i¹³ tshul can no // ¹⁴ ¹⁵zhes bcom ldan 'das kyis gsungs pa'o¹⁶ // // ¹⁵ mdor bsdus ¹⁷zhes pa

ni¹⁷ chos thams cad kyi¹⁸ 19 rnam pa ste / gang zhe na bde ba chen po'i rang bzhi no¹⁹ // // sems²⁰ zhes bya ba²⁰ ni byang chub kyi sems so // / 'dus²¹ pa'i tshul zhes pa²¹ ni chos kyi phyag rgya dang²² phyag rgya chen po'i dbang²³ 24 gyi tshul gyis²⁴ ye shes gang yin pa de ni²⁵ 'dus pa'i tshul du^{25a} mngon par brjod do // / dam tshig gi²⁶ phyag rgya²⁷ skeyes bu byed pa'i 'bras bur²⁸ nges par bstan pa ste // / 29 bzhi pa'o // / 30 // / phyag rgya bzhi³¹ rjes su bstan pa zhes bya ba³¹ slob dpon³² klu sgrub kyi zhal snga nas mdzad pa rim pa bzhi'i no pi ka³² rdzogs so // /³⁰

¹ P du yang ² T pa la ³ P bsngags bzlas T sngags kyis bzlas pa ⁴ P thub med cing ⁵ P de ⁶ P yod ma yin ⁷ P de ni sngags bzlas de ni T de'i sngags bzlas dang ⁸ T thub med cing ⁹ P de'o T med ¹⁰ B de yin T can dang ¹¹ T nyid kyang de ¹² PT om. ¹³ T cig pu 'dul pa'i ¹⁴ P om. // ¹⁵ T om. ¹⁶ P so ¹⁷ P pa ni T zhes bya ba ni ¹⁸ BT om. P gis ¹⁹ B bde ba chen po'i rnam par gcig pa nyid do T bde ba chen po'o ²⁰ P om. ²¹ B pa zhes pa P pa'i tshul T pa'i tshul zhes bya ba ²² PT dang / ²³ B om. ²⁴ B tshul gyis P gis / T gis tshul gyis ²⁵ P nyid T om. ^{25a} P om. ²⁶ T gis ²⁷ T rgya las ²⁸ T bu ²⁹ PT om. ³⁰ T slob dpon chen po 'phags pa klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa'i phyag rgya bzhi ma rdzogs sho // / ³¹ P gtan la dbab pa ³² P chen po klu sgrub snying pos mdzad pa

Abbreviations and Bibliography

Primary Sources (Indian)

AA: *Abhisamayālamkāra*

Ed. by Ramshankar Tripathi (together with the *Abhisamayālamkāravṛttiḥ Sphutārthā*) (Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica Series 2). Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1993.

AKṬ: *Amṛtakaṇikāṭippanī* — See AKUN.

AKUN: *Amṛtakaṇikoddyotanibandha*

Ed. by Banarsi Lal in: *Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgiti with Amṛtakaṇikāṭippanī by Bhikṣu Raviśrījñāna and Amṛtakaṇikodyota-nibandha (sic) of Vibhūticandra* (Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica 30). Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1994.

GP KU: *Guruparamparakrama-Upadeśa* (Tibetan translation)

“Bla ma brgyud pa'i rim pa'i man ngag”. *Phyag rgya chen po'i rgya gzhung*, vol. *hūm*, fol. 290b–320b. dPal spungs block print.

CMA: *Caturmudrānvaya*

— In *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*. Ed. by Haraprasad Shastri (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 40), pp. 32–35. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1927.

— In *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*. Ed. by the Study Group on Sacred Tantric Texts. *Annual of the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taishō University* 11 (March 1989), pp. 253–238 (=92–107).

— Tibetan translation of the *Caturmudrānvaya*; see appendix

CMAT: **Caturmudrānvayaṭikā* (Tibetan translation)

— B: “Phyag rgya bzhi'i rgya cher 'grel pa rin po che'i snying po.” *Phyag rgya chen po'i rgya gzhung*, vol. *om*, fols. 255a–317a. Dpal spungs block print.

— P: “Phyag rgya bzhi'i rgya cher 'grel pa rin po che'i snying po.” *Peking Tengyur*, no. 3104, *rgyud 'grel*, vol. *mi*, fols. 317b8–367b6.

— T: “Phyag rgya bzhi'i rgya cher 'grel pa rin po che snying po.” ‘Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod, vol. *kha*, fols. 123b3–158b4.

J: Japanese edition of the *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha* (by the Study Group on Sacred Tantric Texts, Taishō University)

TRĀ: *Tattvaratnāvalī*

In *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*. Ed. by Haraprasad Shastri (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 40), pp. 14–22. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1927.

- CMU: *Caturmudropadeśa* (Tibetan translation)
 “Phyag rgya bzhi’i man ngag”. *Phyag rgya chen po’i rgya gzhung*, vol. *hūm*, fols. 9a–13b. Dpal spungs block print.
- TV: *Tattvavimśikā*
 In *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*. Ed. by the Study Group on Sacred Tantric Texts. *Annual of the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taishō University* 12 (March 1990), pp. 299–293 (=66–72).
- DKMU: *Dohākośanāmamahāmudropadeśa* (Tibetan translation)
 “Do ha mdzod phyag rgya chen po’i man ngag.” *Phyag rgya chen po’i rgya gzhung* (Dpal spungs edition), vol. *āh*, 73b2–76b2.
- MNS: *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*
 Ed. by A. Wayman in *Chanting the Names of Mañjuśrī*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2006.
- PTMV: *Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivarāṇa*
 In *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*. Ed. by the Study Group on Sacred Tantric Texts. *Annual of the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taishō University* 10 (March 1988), pp. 189–179 (=46–56).
- RGV: *Ratnagotravibhāga Mahāyānottaratantrasāstra*
 Ed. by Edward H. Johnston. Patna: Bihar Research Society, 1950.
- SN: *Sekanirdeśa* (also: *Sekanirṇaya*)
 — In *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*. Ed. by Haraprasad Shastri (Gækwad’s Oriental Series 40), pp. 28–31. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1927.
 — In *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*. Ed. by the Study Group on Sacred Tantric Texts. *Annual of the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taishō University* 13 (March 1991), pp. 289–271 (=48–66).
- SNP_{S(C)}: *Sekanirdeśapañjikā*
 Sanskrit manuscript from Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Or. 149.
- SNP_{S(PE)}: *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* Sanskrit manuscript from St. Petersburg, Gosvdarstvennaja Publicnaja Biblioteka im. M.E. Saltykova-Ščecdrina, MS. 283.
- SNP_{T(B)}: *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* (Tibetan translation)
 “Dbang bskur nges par bstan pa’i dka’ ’grel bzhugs so.” *Phyag rgya chen po’i rgya gzhung*, vol. textitom, fols. 317a–343a, Dpal spungs block print.
- HT: *Hevajatantra*
 Ed. by Ram Shankar Tripathi and Thakur Sain Negi (Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica 48). Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 2001.

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 — *’Phags yul bka’ brgyud grub chen gong ma’i do ha’i skor bzhugs so* (‘Bri gung bka’ brgyud chos mdzod, vol. *kha*). No place, no date.
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’Bri gung gdan rabs: Nges don bstan pa’i snying po mgon po ’bri gung pa chen po’i gdan rabs chos kyi byung tshul gser gyi phreng ba zhes bya ba bzhugs so (‘Bri gung bka’ brgyud 6). Dehra Dun: Drikung Kagyu Institute, 2000.
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 — See also Zhva dmar pa Mi pham chos kyi blo gros.
- Bu ston Rin chen grub

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The *Homa* System of the *Vajradākatantra* A Critical Edition and a Preliminary Analysis of its *Homa* System*

Tsunehiko SUGIKI

This paper provides the first critical edition of the forty-fourth and forty-eighth chapters (*paṭala*) of the *Vajradākamahātantrarāja* (abbr. *Vajradākatantra*), one of the scriptures belonging to the Buddhist Saṃvara cycle, as well as a preliminary analysis of the contents of these chapters.¹ Both chapters deal with *homa* (fire oblation). The compilation of the *Vajradākatantra* can be dated to around the tenth century.²

1 Manuscripts and Methodology Employed in the Edition

There are two Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Vajradākatantra* that are available. My edition of the two chapters is based on these two manuscripts:

- C: The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Kolkata (Calcutta), Śāstrī catalogue (A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.1, 1917, Calcutta) no 72. Palm leaf.
Chap. 44: 93a3–94a2, Chap. 48: 100b4–104b6.
- T: The library of the University of Tokyo, Tokyo, Matsunami catalogue (A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library, 1965, Tokyo) no 343. Palm leaf.
Chap. 44: 82b5–83b3, Chap. 48: 89b4–93a5.

* I am responsible for any mistakes in this paper. However, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to Professor Harunaga Isaacson and the reviewers of this journal for their suggestions, and to Mr. Erik Schick-etanz for having assisted me with the English.

¹ I have published editions of chapters 1, 7, 8, 14, 18, 22, 36, 38 and 42 of the Sanskrit *Vajradākatantra* in 2002 and 2003.

² For the details, see Sugiki 2007: 12–21, 104–107. Judging from the borrowing and lending relations between Sanskrit scriptures, the *Vajradākatantra* could be supposed to come after the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* (around the 9th century), the rise of the Ārya school of the Guhyasamāja cycle (the 9th century), and the instruction of the Kaula system of holy sites (the 22nd chapter) of the *Kubjikāmatatantra* (around the 9th century), and be safely stated to come before the *Muktāvalī* of Ratnākaraśānti (the 11th century), and the *Ḍākārṇavatatantra* (belonging to the latest stage of the Saṃvara cycle). The former quotes a passage from the *Vajradākatantra* with its name and the latter refers to its name and has many passages in common, especially in its fifteenth chapter.

The two chapters on *homa* included in these two manuscripts contain many corruptions and some instances of irregular usage of terminology. There are also many instances of irregular meter. The explanations which the *Vivṛti*, by Bhavavajra, a commentary on the *Vajradākatantra*, gives are quite brief.³ For these reasons, it is difficult to reconstruct the text in a fully satisfactory manner. However, fortunately, the instructions concerning *homa* found in the *Vajradākatantra* closely resemble those found in other scriptures and manuals of esoteric Buddhism. Hence, in order to restore a readable version of the text, I draw not only on the Sanskrit manuscripts and the Tibetan translation (Otani no 18) but also on Sanskrit manuscripts and texts or Tibetan translations of other *homa* manuals and scriptures that give instructions on *homa* which contain passages closely related to those in the *Vajradākatantra*. (I list these manuscripts/texts and Tibetan translations in the abbreviations and sources section of this paper.)

In the text, a word or phrase marked by an asterisk followed directly by a word in brackets marked by an arrow signifies that the former (the reading both manuscripts have in common) should be changed to the latter (e.g. *caila [-→ cailam] (44.3b) means that while both manuscripts give caila, this should be corrected to cailam). A word or phrase marked by an asterisk followed by a term in brackets marked with an equals symbol signifies that the former term, although its reading is irregular, does not have to be corrected, as the irregular usage is deemed acceptable in the context of this scripture or for metrical reasons. However, it should be regarded as equivalent to the term given in brackets (e.g. *gṛhya[=gṛhītvā] (44.2c) means that gṛhya does not have to be changed because this usage is frequently found in the scripture in question, but that it should still be read as gṛhītvā).

2 Prescriptions Concerning *Homa* as Given in the 44th and 48th Chapters of the *Vajradākatantra*

The 44th and 48th chapters of the *Vajradākatantra* introduce three types of *homa* rite: (i) a form of the *vetālasādhana* that is regarded as a *homa*, (ii) the *ādhyātmika-ladhyātmahoma*, and (iii) a type of *homa* that the *Jyotirmañjarī* and some other texts classify as the external (*bāhya*) *homa*.

2.1 The 44th Chapter

2.1.1 Two kinds of *vetālasādhana*

This chapter starts by giving instructions on the performance of the *vetālasādhana* as a *homa*. Having obtained a well-preserved corpse and having evoked (*saṃnidhānam*) a *vetāla* by burning incense made from cloth soiled with the blood of a menstruating woman and feces of a wild cat (according to the *Vivṛti*, the *pañcāmṛta* or ambrosia made from five materials is also used for the incense), the ritual practitioner presents oblations of rice boiled in milk made from foodstuffs such as rice, beans, and the milk of a black cow (or dog) to the corpse by inserting them into its mouth. The mouth of the corpse is regarded as a hearth in this context. Through the performance of these acts, the corpse is reanimated and bestows one of the eight mundane accomplishments on the practitioner. [line nos. 1–6]

A similar ritual is described in the *Harsacarita*, the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, some Buddhist works that are extant in Chinese translations [Yamano 2005: (192)–(201)], the Śaiva *Brah-*

³ Tib Otani 2131: Chap. 44 = 211a2–a6, Chap. 48 = 222a3–a6.

mayāmala alias *Picumata* [Skt ms: 72a5–73b4], the Śaiva *Vīṇāsīkhatantra*, the Buddhist *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* (alias *Herukābbidhānatantra*) [Skt ms: 25a1–a3], and the Buddhist *Herukābhyudayantra* [Tib Otani 21: 196a1–a4]. Among these works, the versions in the *Vīṇāsīkhatantra*, the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, and the *Herukābhyudayantra* are the most similar to that in the *Vajradākatantra* in question.

Next, the text discusses another *vetālasādhana* as a *homa*, the *mahāvetālasādhana* (the great *sādhana* of the *vetāla*), which was thought to have even greater efficacy than the one mentioned above. At midnight, having transformed himself through meditation into Heruka, the practitioner performs a hundred and eight oblations of fat and flesh of a well-preserved corpse. Through these oblations, the goddess Vajravārāhī, the female chief of the *vetālas* and other fierce beings in this context, manifests herself in front of the practitioner, turning the place of ritual into a fearful scene. If the practitioner faces her fearlessly, she praises him and grants him various kinds of mundane accomplishments. [line nos. 7–13]

The instruction of *homa* in which one presents oblations of a corpse in order to summon a goddess of fierce appearance and of great power is observed widely both in Buddhist and in non-Buddhist texts. Among them, the instruction titled *mahāvetālasādhanavidhi* (*ro laris chen po'i sgrub thabs kyi cho ga*) given in the *Herukābhyudayantra* [Tib Otani 21: 199a1–a6] is the most similar to that in the *Vajradākatantra* in question.

2.1.2 Two kinds of internal *homa*

The text proceeds to explain another type of *homa*, one which produces ultramundane effects. This type of *homa* is referred to as the internal or self-related (*ādhyātmikal adhyātma*) *homa* in the *Vajradākatantra*. Although the details of this *homa* may vary, it falls into the two categories of the internal (*nang gi bdag nyid*) *homa* of Jñānapāda's *Mukhāgama* [Tib Otani 2717: 32b1] and of the mental (*mānasa*) *homa* of the *Jyotirmañjarī* [Tib Otani 3963: 198a2–b1] and the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* [Skt ms: 22b3] as it is performed solely by visualization. Having transformed himself into a fierce manifestation of his “lord” (i.e. one's chosen deity), residing in the center of a moon-disk and radiating rays, the practitioner summons innumerable deities (*jina*) appearing in white and other colors from all directions and makes them enter his body. This is the so-called *sānti* or “pacifying” variant of the internal *homa*, the purpose of which is to calm the worldly desires and the like which arise in the mind of the practitioner. In the variant of this ritual called *puṣṭi* or “prospering,” the purpose of which is to assist the practitioner in his meditation and help him attain higher states of meditation, the deities (*bodhisattva*) take on the form of rejoicing Bodhisattvas. In the *abhicāra* or “subjugating” rite, whose purpose is to extinguish the limitless worldly desires of the practitioner, the deities take on a fierce-looking guise. In the *vaśya* or “bewitching” variant, whose purpose seems to be to develop the practitioner's affection for others, the deities appear as beautiful women. In this psychic *homa*, it seems that the rays radiated by the body of the practitioner and the host of deities entering it correspond respectively to the fire blazing in the hearth-pit and the offerings. [line nos. 14–18]

The above instruction may be regarded as an extended or detailed version of the kind of *homa* which is performed mentally (*sems kyi*) in Kṛṣṇa's *Hevajrahomavidhi* [Tib Otani 2385: 338b7–b8], Saroruhavajra's *Homavidhi* [Tib Otani 2352: 27b5], and Kṛṣṇapāda's *Cakrasaṃvarahomavidhi* [Tib Otani 2165: 365a3–a4].

The text also introduces a further type of internal *homa*. This *homa* is a psycho-somatic one based on the theories of inner channels (*nāḍī*) and inner circles (*cakra* or the like). It is of the same type as the *homa* that is described in the *Jyotirmañjarī* as belonging to a category called “internal *homa* with no recourse to external matter” (*phyi rol gyi rdzas la ma ltos pa’i nang gi sbyin bsreg*) [Tib Otani: 198b4–b5] and whose details are given in his *Āmnāyamañjarī* [Tib Otani 2328: 234b3–235a8] [Okuyama 1984: (106)]. The *Jyotirmañjarī* states that this type of *homa* brings the attainment of supreme pleasure. The *Vajradākatantra* states that this is the highest (*niruttara*) form of *homa* and that it strengthens one’s meditation. Various versions of the psycho-somatic *homa* are widely taught, both in Buddhist and in non-Buddhist texts. Among them, the version which is closest to the instruction in the *Vajradākatantra* in question appears in the *Samputodbhāvatāntra* [Skt ms: 45b4–46a1 (Matsunami no 427)], the *Vasantatilakā* [Skt ed: 8.20c–24], and the *Herukādya-vajravārāhīyogārājottamottama* [Skt ms: 18a5–b3].

The practitioner controls the movement of the vital “wind of karman” (*karmamāruta*) in his body. Using this wind, he kindles an inner fire called “fire of wisdom” (*jñānāgni*) or “fire of Brahman” (*brahmāgni*) at the center of the inner circle located in his navel area where three principal inner channels cross each other (*trikaṭi*). The inner fire and the inner circle of the navel area correspond to the fire and the hearth in the external *homa*. Five of the items used in the ritual — the fuels (*indhana*) for this inner fire, a big ladle (*pātrī*), the mouth of a small ladle (*sruvānana*), a bejeweled *vajra* (*ratnavajra*) attached to the lower ends of the handle of the ladles, and a receptacle for offerings (*havirbhājana*) — are identified with the five components of the individual being and other categories (*skandhādi*), the inner channel called *lalanā*, the inner channel called *rasanā*, the *kulīśa* (presumably referring to the male genitals), and the cranial bone (i.e. the inner circle in the skull bone), respectively. [line nos. 19–22]

2.2 The 48th Chapter

Compared to the yogic, internal *homa* described above, the 48th chapter of the *Vajradākatantra* expounds on the external, standard ritual form of *homa*. It is divided into the following subsections: an opening question by the goddess Mahāmāyā [line no. 1], prescriptions concerning the ritual hearths (*kuṇḍavidhi*) [line nos. 2–26], prescriptions concerning the kind of wood to be used, rice and other offerings, and fuels (*samidhavrihavyendhanavidhi*) [line nos. 27–40], prescriptions regarding the scented water used to welcome the deity (*arghavidhi*) [line nos. 41–47], prescriptions concerning the practice of the targets (i.e. clients / victims) (*sādhyakarmavidhi*) [line nos. 48–60], prescriptions regarding the ritual sequence of the *homa* (*homavidhi*) [line nos. 61–84], prescriptions concerning the big ritual ladle and the small ritual ladle (*pātrisruvavidhi*) [line nos. 85–91], prescriptions concerning the manner of making oblations [line no. 92], and concluding words [line nos. 93–94].

The elements of the *Vajradākatantra* that have been the most influential in regard to the performance of *homa* are its instructions concerning ritual hearths (= the above *kuṇḍavidhi*) and those on woods, offerings, and fuels used in the ritual (= the above *samidhavrihavyendhanavidhi*). Both of or either of these two sets of instructions have much in com-

mon with the *Jyotirmañjarī* of Abhayākaragupta (dating to the eleventh to twelfth century) [Skt ed: 2.1.a)–c)]⁴

However, none of these scholars pointed out the relation between the *Jyotirmañjarī* and the *Vajradākatantra* concerning the above instructions. and some other texts that are deemed to have been composed in roughly the same period such as the section on *homa* in Jagaddarpaṇa's *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* [Skt ms: 16b4–17a4, 17a7–18a3], Jayasena's *Dākārṇavahomavidhi* of the Saṃvara cycle [Tib Otani 2236: 85a2–87b2], the *homa* section of Divākaracandra's *Herukabhūta* of the Hevajra cycle [Tib Otani 2390: 374b1–b8, 378a6–b7], Samantaśrī's *Jñānāgnijvālāhomavidhi* of the Mahākāla cycle [Tib Otani 2626: 267a6–268b3], and Subhūtipāli's *Homavidhi* of the Yogatantra stream [Tib Otani 2525: 185a2–b6, 186a3–187a7]. It should also be noted that Abhayākaragupta, in his *Āmnāyamañjarī*, quotes passages from the *Vajradākatantra* regarding the hearth used in the *sānti* or pacification rite in order to clarify the instructions on hearths found in the *Sampūṭodbhavantātra*.⁵

2.2.1 Prescriptions concerning the ritual hearths

The text expounds the ten kinds of hearths: The principal four kinds are (i) the *sānti* hearth, (ii) the *puṣṭi* hearth, (iii) the *vaśya* hearth, and (iv) the *abhicāra/krūra* hearth. The subordinate five types of hearths are (v) the *ākaraṣaṇa* or “attracting” belonging to the *vaśya* type, (vi) the *uccāṭana* or “expelling” and (vii) the *vidveṣa* or “estranging,” which belong to the *krūra* type,

(viii) the *stambhana* or “paralyzing” and (ix) the *ripumohana* or “the stupefying of enemies,” which belong to the *puṣṭi* type, as well as the hearth of (x) the *sārvaśarmika* or “of all rites,” which is effective for all kinds of purposes.

The structure which all of these hearths have in common is as follows. First, they all have a hearth-pit at their center, which is made by digging into the ground. The pit is surrounded by an altar, *vedī/vedikā*, formed by elevated ground and of the same shape as the contour of the pit. The distance from the rim of the hearth-pit to the altar as well as the height and width of the altar are all identical. Both the hearth-pit and the altar are marked with different symbols depending on the ritual in question.

TABLE 1 summarizes the prescriptions concerning these hearths. A long dash signifies that no information is given in that particular case. The numbers in brackets represent the following: [1] the shapes of the hearth-pit and the altar, [2] the width of the hearth-pit, [3] the depth of the hearth-pit, [4] the size of the altar, i.e. its distance from the hearth-pit, its height, and its width, which are all identical, [5] the color connected with the rite, i.e. that of the ground where the hearth is created, of the smearing materials, and of the flowers that are presented as offerings, [6] the location where the hearth is created, [7] the mark to be made on the bottom of the hearth-pit, and [8] the mark to be made on the altar.

⁴ The contents of the instruction concerning ritual hearths in the *Jyotirmañjarī* have been discussed by Mori [Mori 1993]. An English translation of the whole text of the *Jyotirmañjarī* has been published by Skorupski [Skorupski 1994]. Okuyama, the editor of the Sanskrit *Jyotirmañjarī*, summarized all instructions given in this text [Okuyama 1999].

⁵ The *Āmnāyamañjarī*, Tib Otani 2328: 265b4–b5, *de skad du yang rdo rje mkha' 'gro'i rgyud du gsung pa ...* (=48.3 of the *Vajradākatantra*), and 265b6–b7, *de rdo rje mkha' 'gror gsuñs pa ...* (=48.6 of the *Vajradākatantra*).

TABLE 1

	<i>Śānti</i>	<i>Puṣṭi</i>	<i>Vaśya</i>	<i>Abhicāra</i>
[1]	Round	Jewel/Square	Womb/Half-moon	Triangle
[2]	1 <i>hasta</i>	2 <i>hasta</i>	1 <i>hasta</i>	20 <i>anṅula</i>
[3]	½ of the width of the hearth-pit.			
[4]	¼ of the width of the hearth-pit.			3 <i>anṅula</i>
[5]	White	Yellow	Red	Black
[6]	East	North	West	South
[7]	A <i>vajra</i> of 8 <i>anṅulas</i> on a lotus.	A <i>vajra</i> -marked octagonal jewel of 6 <i>anṅula</i> at the center of an eight-spoked wheel.	A <i>vajra</i> on a lotus.	A trident marked with a <i>krodhāvajra</i> of 8 <i>anṅula</i> , filled with flames.
[8]	Three-pronged <i>vajras</i> at the corners.	A row of jewels.	—————	

	<i>Ākarṣaṇa</i> (belonging to the <i>vaśya</i>)	<i>Uccāṭana</i> (belonging to the <i>krūra</i>)	<i>Vidveṣa</i>	<i>Stambhana</i> (belonging to the <i>puṣṭi</i>)	<i>Ripumohana</i>
[1]	One-pronged <i>vajra</i>	—————		Square	
[5]	—————			Yellowish white	
[6]	—————	Northwest	—————	Northeast	
[7]	A <i>vajra</i> -marked lotus encircled by <i>vajra</i> -hooks.	—————			

	<i>Sārvakarmika</i>
[1]	Round lotus that is full-blown.
[2]	1 <i>hasta</i>
[3]	½ of the width of the hearth-pit.
[4]	¼ of the width of the hearth-pit.
[5]	The color depends on the ritual in question.
[7]	A <i>vajra</i> of 8 <i>anṅula</i> in length and 1 <i>anṅula</i> in height surrounded by a disk, a jewel, a lotus, and a sword and encircled by a row of <i>vajras</i> .
[8]	<i>Vajras</i> at the corners of the four directions.

2.2.2 Prescriptions concerning the kind of wood to be used, rice and other offerings, and fuels

The text specifies the types of items to be used in the four principal rites. A summary of these prescriptions can be found in TABLE 2. There are no explanations concerning the types of fuel used in the *abhicāra/krūra* rite. The text also includes the following rules regarding which types of wood are inappropriate for auspicious (*śubha*) rites such as the *śānti*, the *puṣṭi*, and the *vaśya* rites. Inappropriate for use in these rites are pieces of wood whose upper end is leafless, that are withered, that have had their bark removed, that are broken, that are black, that are heavy, that are short, that are crooked, that are long, that are thick, that are frayed, that have an upper end which is split in two, and that are not worm-free.

TABLE 2

<i>Śānti</i>	
Woods	The top part (cut to measure 12 <i>anigula</i> in length) of trees that give milky juice such as the <i>palāśa</i> , <i>udumbara</i> , <i>āmra</i> , <i>nyagrodha</i> , <i>plakṣa</i> , and <i>kadamba</i> . They should be complete with leaves and not be dried.
Offerings	Barley, sesame, coagulated milk, milk, boiled rice, green <i>kuśa</i> , mustard seed, leaves of the <i>cūta</i> tree, white blossoms of the sandal tree, honey, fried rice, clarified butter, <i>dūrvā</i> , and fragrant juice taken from various plants.
Fuels	Sacrificial wood shorter than the width of the hearth-pit, and worm-free cow dung collected in the wilderness.
<i>Puṣṭi</i>	
Woods	The middle part (cut to measure 1 <i>hasta</i> in length and 1 <i>muṣṭi</i> in width) of the same kinds of trees as those used in the <i>śānti</i> rite. These should be coated with coagulated milk, milk, and clarified butter on their ends and be sprinkled with perfume water that has been colored yellow.
Offerings	The <i>paramānna</i> soused in three kinds of sweets, rice boiled in coagulated milk, clarified butter and other substances, black sesame and <i>śatapuspa</i> soused in clarified butter, honey, rice grains, lotus flowers, <i>nāgakesara</i> , <i>bilva</i> fruits, and <i>dūrvā</i> .
Fuels	Sacrificial wood shorter than the width of the hearth-pit. The wood used should be that of fruit-bearing trees.
<i>Vaśya</i>	
Woods	Parts (cut to measure 5 <i>anigula</i> in length) of trees such as the <i>campaka</i> , <i>aśoka</i> , <i>punnāga</i> , <i>nāgakesara</i> , and <i>kesara</i> . They should be even and with leaves.
Offerings	Fruits that are of a deep red color, flowers, and other plants that have a sour taste.
Fuels	Wood of flower-bearing trees and sour-tasting trees.
<i>Krūra</i>	
Woods	The lower part (cut to measure 10 <i>anigula</i> in length) of trees that are ill-smelling, thorny, and bitter-tasting or of brands from a funeral pile. Their ends should be sharpened and covered in poison and irritants.
Offerings	Ill-smelling or scentless black flower, chaff of grain, powder made of ground human bone, poison, and other inauspicious offerings.

TABLE 3

<i>Śānti</i>	Barley, milk, and <i>śatapuspa</i> .
<i>Puṣṭi</i>	Yellow, perfumed water or other types of water, sesame, and coagulated milk.
<i>Vaśya</i>	Red, perfumed water or other types of water.
<i>Krūra</i>	Ill-smelling or scentless black water, blood, <i>kodrava</i> , and the urine of a cow, a human, or an ass.

TABLE 4

	<i>Śānti</i>	<i>Puṣṭi</i>	<i>Vaśya</i>	<i>Abhicāra</i>
[1]	Suffering persons	Poor persons	Women	Those who harm the Three Treasures and those who violate their vows.
[2]	Evening	Morning	Night/other times	Midnight/Noon
[3]	East	North	West	South
[4]	Mercy and compassion	Delight	Affection	Anger
[5]	Garland, white clothes etc.	Yellow clothes	Red clothes	Black clothes
[6]	<i>Padma</i>	<i>Bhadra/Nṛpalilā</i>	<i>Sattvaparyāṅka</i>	<i>Krodhaparyāṅka</i>
[7]	Śāśvata	Ratnasambhava	Rāgavajra	Vajrakrodha
[8]	svāhā	oṃ	hoḥ	hūṃ phaṭ
[9]	<i>Śānti</i>	The practitioner visualizes that those to be cured sit quietly on a moon-disk located on a lotus flower, which itself is situated on a lion seat which floats on a water-disk that is produced from the letter OM.		
	<i>Puṣṭi</i>	The practitioner visualizes that those to be enriched ride on the back of an elephant standing on a yellow earth-disk produced from the letter LAM.		
	<i>Vaśya</i>	The practitioner visualizes that those to be bewitched sit on the soft “lotus” of a woman who is herself resting on a wind-disk produced from the letter YAM.		
	<i>Krūra</i>	The practitioner visualizes that those to be subjugated sit on a fire-disk produced from the letter RAM.		

2.2.3 Prescriptions regarding the scented water used to welcome the deity

In all types of rites, the jar of *argha* or scented water used to welcome the deity is made out of either gold, silver, conch shell, pearl shell, or a copper substance such as red or white copper, clay, or leaves, according to one’s financial abilities. TABLE 3 shows the ingredients used in the creation of *argha* water in the different rites. The jar is placed on the left side of the practitioner during the *homa*. However, in the *krūra* variant, it is placed on the right side.

2.2.4 Prescriptions concerning the practice of the targets

TABLE 4 summarizes the regulations which the text gives concerning the targets of the *homa* and the practices regarding them in the four principal types of *homa*. The number in brackets represents the following: [1] the targets (i.e. clients or victims), [2] the time of performance, [3] the direction which the practitioner faces, [4] the emotional attitude of the practitioner, [5] the clothes which the practitioner should wear, [6] the postures which the practitioner should take, [7] the divinities with whom the practitioner should unite, [8] the syllables to be recited at the end of the *mantra*, and [9] the visualizations of the targets which the practitioner should perform.

2.2.5 Prescriptions regarding the ritual sequence of the *homa*

The text gives no explanations, or only brief explanations, on some of the steps constituting the entire process of a *homa*. However, it is possible to reconstruct the outline of the entire process as follows. [1] Having prepared all the necessities, having placed the jars on the left side of the practitioner and the wood, offerings, and fuels on his right side, having purified them, and having strewn *kuśa* grass both on the altar and onto the bottom of the hearth-pit, the practitioner ignites the fire in the hearth-pit. [2] He visualizes first the hearth and fire and then the fire divinity Agni (i.e. Agni as a pledge-being) in the fire. Subsequently, he summons a form of Agni that is surrounded by ancient sages or veiled by rays (*ṛṣibhiḥ parivāritam*) (i.e. Agni as a wisdom-being) and installs him into the former visualization of Agni. Through these meditational steps, the fire in the hearth becomes sanctified as the divinity Agni. Agni, as described in this text, is one-faced and four-armed. He holds a three-pronged *vajra*, a stick, a rosary, and a jar in his two right and two left hands, respectively. [3] Next, the practitioner performs oblations to Agni with his right hand in the auspicious rite, and with left hand in the case of performing an inauspicious (*aśubha*) one. At this time, the practitioner should position his hand between his knees in an auspicious rite, and outside his knees in the case of an inauspicious one. [4] Having satisfied Agni with the oblations, the practitioner in meditation transforms Agni into the form of a flame and visualizes his “lord” (*svādhipa*) wearing ornaments colored in accordance with the rite in question. [5] The practitioner checks the appearances of the fire such as its color, its shape, its smell, and its sound. Positive signs in an auspicious rite are regarded as bad signs in an inauspicious one and vice versa. [6] The practitioner performs oblations in the correct order to the divinity (i.e. his lord) in the fire and begs the deity to fulfill his client’s wishes. [7] The practitioner again performs oblations with his disciples and in meditation sends the lord and Agni in the fire back to their residences. The text states that the desired result will be granted by following this procedure.

2.2.6 Prescriptions concerning the big ritual ladle and the small ritual ladle

The big ritual ladle is either made of gold, silver, copper, or sacrificial wood. The mouth of the ladle is square and 2 *āṅgula* in depth. It is marked with a *vajra* of wisdom (*jñānavajra*). An ornament of the shape of a lotus-petal is attached to the upper side of the mouth. This ornament measures 4 *āṅgula* in width, and has a depression of the same diameter as one’s little finger. The handle of the ladle measures 24 *āṅgula* in length. The lower end of the handle has a jewel with a *vajra* attached to it (*vajraratna*), which is 6 *āṅgula* in length.

The mouth of the small ritual ladle is shaped like a lotus-petal, measures 2 *āṅgula* in width, and is marked by a *vajra* at its center. The text briefly mentions that the other features of the small ritual ladle are analogous to those of the big one.

If the practitioner cannot obtain these two kinds of ritual ladles, he can use his own five fingers as a substitute for the big ladle and three fingers as standing in for the small one. The text also explains how to grip the handles. In the *sānti*, the *puṣṭi*, the *vaśya* or the *ākaraṣaṇa*, and the *krūra* rituals, he takes the handles with his fist shaped in the form of the *bodhyagrī*, the *maṇimuṣṭi*, the *padmamūṣṭi*, and the *krodhamūṣṭi mudrā*, respectively.

2.2.7 Prescriptions concerning the manner of making oblations

The text briefly explains that the practitioner should make offerings such as an oblation with a full ladle (*pūrṇābuti*) to the divinities: through their half-opened mouths in the auspicious rites and fully-opened mouths in the inauspicious ones.

3 A Critical Edition of the Sanskrit Vajraḍākatantra

44. Vetālasādhanaḍhyātmaḥomavidhi

44.1. The *vetālasādhana* as a *homa*

atha

param ḥomavidhānaṃ ca kathyate śṛṇu saṃpratam /¹
bhūtadine śavaṃ prāpya udbaddham anyathā-m api //1//²
pūrvoktavidhānaṃ vai nirvraṇaṃ cāruśobhanaṃ /³
taṃ *grhya[=grhitvā] sādhyed yogī sarvasiddhiprasādhakaḥ //2//⁴
rajasvalāyā raktena digdhaṃ *caila[→cailaṃ] sukuṭṭitam /⁵
mārjāraṣṭhāyā caiva dhūpo deyaḥ siddhikāmataḥ /⁶
saṃnidhānaṃ bhaved āśu dhūpo nānyena sādhaḥ //3//⁷
kṛṣṇagopayasā *sārdha[→sārdhaṃ] māṣataṇḍulānvitam /⁸
pāyasam śavavaktrasthaṃ juhuyād aṣāṅkitaḥ /⁹
yāvad uttiṣṭhate pretaḥ kiṃ karomīti cābravīt //4//¹⁰
gulikāñjanasiddhis tu pādukākhaḍgam eva ca /
vidhānaṃ śatrunāśaṃ vā yakṣāṅganārasāyanaṃ //5//¹¹
prārthanāc caikaṃ dattvā gacchati nānyathā /¹²
kriḍāyukto bhaved vīro nānyathā tu vadāmy aham //6//¹³

¹ atha param] apara — C.

² śavaṃ] sarvaṃ — C./ savam — T.: anyathā-m] anyeṣām — T.

³ vai] omits — T.: nirvraṇaṃ] nirvaṇaṃ — C.: -śobhanaṃ] sobhanaṃ — C.

⁴ taṃ grhya] grhya taṃ — T.: sādhyed] sādhyā — T.: -prasādhakaḥ] prasādhakaḥ — C_{ac}.

⁵ rajasvalāyā] rajasvalāyāṃ — T.: sukuṭṭitam] sukuṭitam — C./ suṭitam — T.

⁶ deyaḥ] deya — C.

⁷ saṃnidhānaṃ bhaved āśu] sannidhānaṃ bhavety āśu — C.: dhūpo nānyena] dhūpenānyena — T./ bdug pa 'di yis — Tib. However, the *Vivṛti*'s comment may support T's reading: man ngag gyis ni rdzas gnyis po de dag (= rajasvalāyā raktena digdhaṃ cailaṃ sukuṭṭitam and mārjāraṣṭhā) bdud tsi lnga dag dang bcas te, rdzas bdun gyi bdug pa bya bar sbyar ro.

⁸ kṛṣṇagopayasā] kṛṣṇāśvānapaya — C./ khyi mo nag mo'i 'o ma — Tib. cf. VŚT (190c), kṛṣṇāgopayasā, CST (25a1), kṛṣṇāśvānapāyasā, and HAT (196a2), ba nag mo'i 'o ma.

⁹ śavavaktrasthaṃ juhuyād] sarva instead of śava — T. cf. VŚT (191a) and CST (25a1), śavavaktre tu, HAT (196a2), ro'i kha ru, and Tib, ro'i khar, for śavavaktrasthaṃ.: aṣāṅkitaḥ] aṣaṅkitaḥ — C./ aṣaṅkitaṃ — T.

¹⁰ uttiṣṭhate] uttiṣṭhet — C.

¹¹ vidhānaṃ] nidhānaṃ — T./ gter — Tib. cf. VŚT (193a) and CST (25a2), vidhānaṃ, and HAT (196a3), sbyin. This vidhānaṃ may have been interpreted as nidhānaṃ as T reads and as Tib and HAT suggest: yakṣāṅganā-] yakṣāṅgana — T.

¹² prārthanāc caikaṃ] prārthayāc caikaṃ — C./ prārthanā caiva kran — T.: gacchati] gacchatiti — C./ 'gro bar 'gyur gyi --- Tib. cf. VŚT (193d) and CST (25a3), gacchati.

¹³ bhaved] bhad — C_{ac}.: vīro] vīra — C.

44.2. The *mahāvetālasādhana* as a *homa*

athānyatamaṃ vaksye mahā*vetāda[=vetāla]sādhanam /
pūrvavallakṣaṇopetaṃ snāpya *gṛhya[=gṛhītvā] suśobhanam //7//¹⁴
ardharātrau tu taṃ dhyātvā mahāyogavyavasthitaḥ /¹⁵
mahātailena tanmāmsam *āhutyā[→āhutyā]ṣṭaśataṃ kuru //8//¹⁶
śrīvajravārāhī tatrāgatya ḍākinīparivāritam /¹⁷
*vetāda[=vetāla]rākṣasākīrṇam aṭṭahāsabhayaṃkaram /¹⁸
śivānekamahā*nādam[→nāda]parivṛtaṃ bhīmagarjitam //9//
tāṃ dr̥ṣṭvā tu na bhetavyaṃ mantrasātopavigrahaḥ /¹⁹
sādhu bho mahāvīra vajracittātmasuvrataḥ //10//²⁰
tasya varaśataṃ dattvā sādhakasya manepsitam /²¹
svasthāne gacchate vīro *yoginyaḥ[=yoginībhiḥ] parivṛtaḥ //11//²²
sa tatksaṇād eva
trailokyacāri bhavati divyadehaś ca jāyate /²³
kāmarūpī mahāvīraḥ subhagas tathāgatavat //12//
sadākāśacaraś caiva jarāmṛtyu*vivarjitāḥ[→vivarjitāḥ] /²⁴
vicared bhuvanaṃ sarvam icchāsiddhiḥ pravartate //13//²⁵

44.3. The internal *homa*

tataḥ kleśādīsāntyarthaṃ samādhipoṣaṇāya ca /²⁶
svādhidaivatayogena sthītvā homaṃ samārabhet //14//²⁷
candramaṇḍalamadhye tu ātmānaṃ cintayet sadā /²⁸
raśmimālākulaṃ raudraṃ prabhāmaṇḍala*māliṇaḥ[→māliṇam] //15//²⁹
tasmin kāyavare saṃhṛtya daśadiksaṃsthitān jinān /³⁰
*svetā[→śvetā]divarṇān saṃhṛtya trisāhasarajopamān /³¹
praveśayet svakāye tu śānti*homa[→homaḥ] sa ucyate //16//³²
pauṣṭike bodhisattvānāṃ hr̥ṣṭarūpādhimokṣataḥ /

¹⁴ -petam] peta — T.: snāpya] srāpaṃ — C.: -śobhanam] sobhanam — C.

¹⁵ tu] omits — T.: taṃ] Presumably, this indicates not a corpse but Him i.e. Heruka. cf. the corresponding line in the HAT (199a2), dpal ldan khrag 'thung rnal 'byor che, 'khor lo kun la rnam par gnas.: -vyavasthitaḥ] vyavasthitaṃ — C.

¹⁶ -tailena] taila — T.: tanmāmsam] mahāmāmsam — C./ de yi sha — Tib and HAT (199a2).

¹⁷ tatrāgatya] tata āgatya — T.

¹⁸ aṭṭa-] aṭṭaṭṭa — C./ adds śivānekabhayaṃkaram after this — T.

¹⁹ tu] omits — C.: bhetavyaṃ] bhetavya — C.

²⁰ bho] bhe — C_{ac}./ bhogī — T.

²¹ -śataṃ] śavaṃ — C.

²² yoginyaḥ(yoginībhiḥ)] sarvayoginyaḥ — C.: parivṛtaḥ] parivṛtam — C.

²³ sa] omits — T.: -dehaś ca] dehasva — C.

²⁴ sadākāśacaraś] sadā ākāśavaraṃ — C./ sadā ākāśacaraṇ — T.: caiva] caivaṇ — C.

²⁵ bhuvanaṃ] bhavanaṃ — T.: -siddhiḥ] siddhi — C.

²⁶ tataḥ] tata — C.: -sāntyarthaṃ] sāmartyaṃ — C./ sādhyartha — T./ zhi bya — Tib. cf. HHV of Kṛṣṇa (338b7), HV of Saroruhavajra (27b5), and CSHV (365a3), nyon mongs sdig pa *zhi byed* cing or the similar phrases.: samādhipoṣaṇāya] samādheḥ ghoṣaṇāya — T.

²⁷ homaṃ] nang gi sbyin bsreg — Tib.

²⁸ ātmānaṃ] sātmana — T.

²⁹ -kulaṃ] kulākulaṃ — C.

³⁰ kāyavare saṃhṛtya] kāyavaro hr̥tya — T.: saṃsthitān jinān] saṃsthitā vajriṇā — C.

³¹ -varṇān] varṇa — C.: -rajopamān] rajopamā — C.

³² svakāye] svāsakāye — C_{ac}./ no word for this — Tib.

atyantakleśanāsārtham kroddharūpā viśeṣataḥ //17//³³
anurāgeṇa vicitrāṇi strīrūpāṇi vicintayet /³⁴
etaḍ ādhyātmikam homaṃ nirdiṣṭam sarvasādhakaiḥ //18//³⁵

44.4. The highest form of the internal *homa*

skandhādīndhanajñānā*gni[→gniḥ] karmamārutanirdhūtā /³⁶
jvalantīha nābhimaṇḍale brahmāgnis trikaṣṭhitaḥ //19//³⁷
lalanā pātrī samuddiṣṭam rasanā *śrūvā[=sruvā]nanam /³⁸
daṇḍadharatnavajras tu sva*kuliśeti[=kuliśa iti] yāvat /³⁹
*havi[=havi]bhājanakapālake //20//
hotavyaḥ sarvadravyaṇām krama *eṣo[=eṣa] vidhīyate /
kathitam *tvayā[=tava] devi homo hy eṣa niruttaraḥ //21//⁴⁰
evaṃ kṛte dṛḍham yāti samādhir na ca hīyate /⁴¹
sāmānyaḥ sarvatantreṣu vidhir eṣa prakīrtitaḥ //22//⁴²

44.5. Concluding words

ity āha bhagavān vajrī vajrasattvas tathāgataḥ /⁴³
sarvaḍākinīsamāyogavajraḍākaḥ paraṃ sukham //23//

iti *vetāḍa[=vetāla]sādhanaḍhyātmahomavidhipāḷaś catuṣcatvāriṣṭattamaḥ //44

48. Sarvakarmaprasararahasyārthahomavidhi

48.1. An opening question by the goddess Mahāmāyā

atha *bhagavān[=bhagavato] devī pūjāṃ kṛtvā praṇipatyaiḥ āha /⁴⁵
homavidhis tvayā khyāto nānakarmaprasādhakāḥ /⁴⁶
kuṇḍamānaṃ na jānāmi āsanāni samidhāni ca //1//⁴⁷

³³ -nāsārtham] nāsārthā — C./ nāsārtha — T.: kroddharūpā viśeṣataḥ] kroddharūpādi śeṣataḥ — C./ kroddharūpādhiśeṣataḥ — T./ khyad par khro bo'i gzugs su bya — Tib.

³⁴ anurāgeṇa] anurāge na — T.

³⁵ ādhyātmikam] ādhyātmikām — C./ ādhyātmakam — T.: -sādhakaiḥ] sādhakai — C. This line can be read as etan (=evaṃ) sarvasādhakaiḥ (kāryam) ādhyātmikam homaṃ nirdiṣṭam.

³⁶ skandhādīndhana-] skandhādīndhina — C./ skandhādīndhana — T.: -māruta-] rutaṃ — T.: -nirdhūtā] nirdhūtāḥ — C./ nirvṛtā — T.: The phrases karmamārutanirdhūtā and jvalantī (or jvalantīha) nābhimaṇḍale in the next line can be found in SpUT (71b4), VT (10.32), and the 15th chapter of the *Vajraḍākatantra* (unpublished Skt ed: 15.23) as phrases modifying the inner fire having the name of a female divinity identical with prajñā or wisdom. This is the reason why these phrases are feminine.

³⁷ jvalantīha] no word for iha — Tib. cf. the 15th chapter of the *Vajraḍākatantra*, jvalantī (C's reading, jvalantīha), SpUT, jvalantīha, and VT, jvalantī.

³⁸ śrūvā(sruvā)nanam] śrūvāhanaṃ — T./ blugs gzar kha — Tib.

³⁹ daṇḍadharatnavajras] daṇḍadharatnavajraṃs — C. cf. 87c of chap 48 (tasyā daṇḍādho dadyād vajraratnaṃ): -kuliśeti(kuliśa iti)] kuliśe tu — T.

⁴⁰ tvayā] khyod la — Tib.: niruttaraḥ] niruruttaraḥ — T.

⁴¹ samādhir] samādhi — C./ samādhin — T.: ca] omits — T.

⁴² sāmānyaḥ] sāmānyam — C./ sāmānya — T.: prakīrtitaḥ] prakīrtitam — T.

⁴³ vajrī] va(one letter damaged) — C.

⁴⁴ catuṣcatvāriṣṭattamaḥ] catuṣcatvāriṣṭatitamaḥ — C./ catvāriṣṭatitamaḥ — T.

⁴⁵ pūjāṃ] pūjā — T.: āha] āhuḥ — T.

⁴⁶ -vidhis] vidhiṃ — C./ vidhi — T.: khyāto] khyātam — C.

⁴⁷ jānāmi] jānāma — T_{ac}.

48.2. Prescriptions concerning the ritual hearths

bhagavān āha /

śrṇu devī mahāmāyā sarvamāyāvīkurvite /⁴⁸
ādau bhūmiparigrahaṃ paścāt kuṇḍaṃ samārabhet //2//⁴⁹
śāntike śvetabhūbhāge hastamātraṃ suvartulam /⁵⁰
khaned vitastimātraṃ tadadhaḥ samyak samāhitaḥ //3//⁵¹
aṣṭāṅgulena vajreṇa padmasyopari cihnitam /⁵²
kuṇḍasyābhyantaraṃ tyaktvā svāṅgulīnāṃ catuṣṭayam //4//
tiryaksamucchrayābhyāṃ ca vedī syāc caturaṅgulā /⁵³
vajrākāraṃ koṇeṣu triśūkakuliśāṅkitā //5//⁵⁴
sitamṛttikayā kuṇḍaṃ lepayed gomayair bhuvam /⁵⁵
sitagandhopalīptaṃ tadubhayaṃ kārayed vratī //6//⁵⁶
sugandhisitapuṣpāgraiḥ pūjayet susamāhitaḥ /⁵⁷
etac cakragṛhādīnāṃ pūrvasyāṃ diśi kārayet //7//⁵⁸
ratnākāraṃ bhavet kuṇḍaṃ caturasram athāpi vā /⁵⁹
hastadvayam adho hastaṃ pauṣṭike pītābhūtale //8//⁶⁰
tasyābhyantarāṣṭāṅgulaṃ tyaktvā tadvedikā sthitā /⁶¹
aṣṭā*ṅgula[→ṅgulā] samantād ratnamālāvibhūṣitā //9//⁶²
kuṇḍamadhye ca pītābham aṣṭāracakranābhijam /⁶³
aṣṭāṃśaṃ tadadhaḥ syād vajraratnaṃ ṣaḍāṅgulaṃ //10//⁶⁴
pītāmṛtitaḥ ca *kuṇḍāni[=kuṇḍe] tu vilepanam /⁶⁵
kartavyam ca yathāyogaṃ pītāpuṣpādipūjanam /⁶⁶
etad eva sadā kāryam grāmasyottarasyāṃ diśi //11//⁶⁷
raktābhūmau bhagākāraṃ vajrābjasamadhiṣṭhitam /

⁴⁸ sarvamāyā-] omits — T.

⁴⁹ -parigrahaṃ] grahaṃ — C_{ac}./ (one letter blurred, but presumably saṃ)grahaṃ — C_{pc}.: paścāt] yasyāt — T.: kuṇḍaṃ] kuṇḍa — T.

⁵⁰ śveta-] sveta — C.: su-] one unreadable letter — C.: -vartulam] vattulam — T.

⁵¹ khaned] khaleta — T.: vitasti-] vitasta — T.: tadadhaḥ] tadaradha — T./ no word for tad — Tib. cf. AM's quotation from the *Vajraḍākatantra* (265b5), de yi 'og.: samyak] saṃmyak — C.

⁵² aṣṭāṅgulena] aṣṭāṃśakena — C.: padmasyo-] padmāsyo — C.: cihnitam] saṃsthitam — T.

⁵³ tiryak-] tathāiva tiryak — C./ tīrya — T.: ca] omits — C.: vedī] devī — T.

⁵⁴ triśūkakuliśā-] triśūkakuliśā — C./ triśūlam kuliśā — T./ rtse gsum rdo rje — Tib.: -ṅkitā] ṅkitam — C.

⁵⁵ kuṇḍaṃ] kuṇḍa — T.: gomayair] gomayer — C.

⁵⁶ sita-] śita — T.: -liptaṃ tadubhayaṃ] liptāṅgaṃ tadubhayaṃ — C./ liptāṅgadubhaya — T.

⁵⁷ susamāhitaḥ] susamohitaḥ — T.

⁵⁸ cakragṛhādīnāṃ] cakram ḡrhīvināṃ — C./ cakragrahādīnāṃ — T.: pūrvasyāṃ] pūrvasyā — C./ pūrvā — T.

⁵⁹ -kāraṃ] kāra — C.

⁶⁰ -hastaṃ] hasta — T.: -bhūtale] maṇḍale — C.

⁶¹ -ṣṭāṅgulaṃ] ṣṭāṅgula — T.: tadvedikā] udvedikā — C.

⁶² -bhūṣitā] bhūṣitā — C.

⁶³ pītābham] pītābha — T.: -nābhijam] lābhijam — T.

⁶⁴ aṣṭāṃśaṃ] aṣṭāśa — T./ cha drug — Tib.: tadadhaḥ] This phrase seems to intend “below the vedikā (explained in the line 9)” and to be synonymous with the phrase kuṇḍamadhye of the line 10a.: -ratnaṃ] ratna — C./ ratnaṃ tu — T.

⁶⁵ -mṛt-] mṛta — C.: vilepanam] vilepanā — C./ lepanam — T.

⁶⁶ -pūjanam] pūjita — C.

⁶⁷ sadā] saha — T.: kāryam] kāyam — C./ kārya — T.: -ttarasyāṃ] ttare — T.

*vasya[→vaśya]kuṇḍam idaṃ jñeyam yathārdhacandravat sthitam //12//⁶⁸
kuṇḍam ca raktamṛdgandhaiḥ puṣpaiś ca pratimaṇḍitam /⁶⁹
śāntivan mānamātrasya vijñeyam *vedikāni[=vedikādi] ca /⁷⁰
paścimasyām mahādevi kuṇḍa eṣa vidhikramaḥ //13//⁷¹
pitṛvane mātṛgr̥he sphuṭitākāśabhūtale /
trikoṇam tu bhavet kuṇḍam viṃśatyaṅgulavistaram /⁷²
adho daśāṅgulaṃ caiva dakṣiṇasyām diśi sthitam //14//⁷³
triśūlam krodhavajreṇa ṣoḍaśārdhāṅgulena ca /⁷⁴
cihnam tasya bhaven madhye jvālāmeghasamākulam //15//⁷⁵
samantāt tryaṅgulā vedī tāvat tyaktvā trikoṇikā /⁷⁶
kṛṣṇamṛccitibhasmādi yathāprāptyopalepayet //16//⁷⁷
karmacatuṣṭayaiḥ śiṣṭam antarbhūtam idaṃ kuṇḍam /⁷⁸
*viśeṣam[→viśeṣas] tu punas teṣāṃ kathyate śṛṇu sāmpratam //17//⁷⁹
ekasūcikavajrābham ākarṣakuṇḍam iṣyate /⁸⁰
vajrāṅkuśaveṣṭitam madhye śiṣṭam vaśyavat sthitam //18//⁸¹
stambhanaṃ caturasre syāt pauṣṭike ripumohanam /⁸²
pītasitabhūmāv iti aiśānyām ca viśeṣataḥ //19//⁸³
krūrā*ntargata[=ntargataṃ] vidyād uccāṭanaṃ samāsataḥ /⁸⁴
tac ca vāyau budhaiḥ kāryam uṣṭrādilaṇḍa*vilepīte //20//⁸⁵
vidveṣam ca duṣṭānām prītināśāya kīrtitam /⁸⁶
tad api krūragataṃ paśyed antarnihite sati //21//⁸⁷
athānyatamaṃ vakṣye sarvakarmasamuccayam /⁸⁸

⁶⁸ -kuṇḍam] tuṇḍam — T.: idaṃ] ida — C.: yathārdhacandravat sthitam] yathāvad vyavasthitaḥ — T./ yang na zla phyed dbyibs lta bu — Tib.

⁶⁹ -gandhaiḥ] gandhai — C.

⁷⁰ śāntivan] śāntikavat — C./ śāntivata — T.: vijñeyam] vijñeya — T.: vedikāni(vedikādi)] kha khyer sogs — Tib. cf. JM (2.1.a).(4), asya [=vaśyasya] ca kuṇḍatrayasya khātavedy-*ādi*-mānaṃ śāntikakuṇḍam vijñeyam and AKS (16b6), vaśye khātakavedy-*ādi*-mānaṃ śāntikakuṇḍavat.

⁷¹ paścimasyām] paścimāsyā — T.: kuṇḍa eṣa] kuṇḍar eṣa — C.

⁷² trikoṇam tu] tṛkoṇa tad — T.: kuṇḍam] kaṇḍam — C./ kuṇḍa — T.

⁷³ adho-] atho — T.: sthitam] samsthitam — T.

⁷⁴ triśūlam] triśūlena — C.: ṣoḍaśārdhāṅgulena] ṣoḍasyarddhāṅgulena — C./ ṣoḍaśārdhāṅgulena — T.

⁷⁵ cihnam] cimhnam — C./ cihna — T.

⁷⁶ samantāt] samantrāt — C.: tryaṅgulā] tryaṅgulād — C./ tryaṅgulā — T.: vedī] devī — T.: tāvat] tāgam — C.: trikoṇikā] trikoṇam — T.

⁷⁷ -mṛcciti-] mṛṣiti — T.: -bhasmādi] bhasmābhi — T./ thal ba sogs — Tib.: -prāptyo-] prāpyo — T.

⁷⁸ -catuṣṭayaiḥ] catujjāpai — T.: śiṣṭam] viśiṣṭam — T.: antarbhūtam] atubhūtam — C.: kuṇḍam] kaṇḍam — C./ omits — T.

⁷⁹ sāmpratam] sādhaḥ — T.

⁸⁰ -sūcika-] sūcika — C./ sūcika — T.

⁸¹ vajrāṅkuśa-] vajraṅkuśa — C./ vajraṅkuśādi — T.: madhye] no word for this — Tib.: śiṣṭam] śiṣṭa — T./ lhag ma dag — Tib.: vaśyavat] vasyavat — C./ vasyava — T.

⁸² stambhanaṃ] stambha(one letter blurred) — C.: caturasre] caturasreṃ — C./ caturaśre — T.: syāt] syā — C._{ac}/ syāta — C._{pc}/ śyāt — T.: ripu-] riṣu — T.

⁸³ -bhūmāv] bhūv — T.: aiśānyām] aiśānyām — C.: ca] omits — T.

⁸⁴ krūrā-] kūrā — C.: vidyād] viṃdyād — C.

⁸⁵ budhaiḥ] buddhaiḥ — C./ buthaiḥ — T.: uṣṭrādilaṇḍavilepīte] uṣṭādilaṇḍavilepīte — C./ uṣṭyādimaṇḍalavilepīte — T./ rnga mo'i lci bas byugs te bya — Tib. cf. JM (Skt ed, 2.1.e).(7)), tathocāte *uṣṭrādilaṇḍalepanam* and AKS (Skt ms, 18b1), *uṣṭrādilaṇḍalepanam*.

⁸⁶ duṣṭānām] duṣṭānā — T.: -nāśāya] nāśāya — C.

⁸⁷ krūra-] kūra — C.: paśyed] pasyed — C.: antarnihite sati] attarnihite sati — C./ antargahite sati — T./ cho ga ji bzhin — Tib.

⁸⁸ athānyatamaṃ] anyathātamaṃ — C.: -karma-] omits — C.

karoty āśayabhedena sarvakarmāṇi tattvataḥ //22//⁸⁹
sārvakarmikakuṇḍaṃ ca karmā*ṇurūpa[→nurūpa]bhūtale /⁹⁰
yathāvan mantriṇā kāryaṃ yatra vā manaso ruciḥ /⁹¹
utphullapadmākāraṃ vartulaṃ hastasammitam //23//⁹²
caturaṅgulasamutphullapadmākāravedikā /⁹³
śāntivad abhyantaraṃ tyaktvā dikṣu vajreṇa *cihñitam[→cihñitā] //24//⁹⁴
adhastād *adha[→ardha]viṣkambhaṃ *kuṇḍa[→kuṇḍaṃ] syāt parimaṇḍalam /⁹⁵
aṅgulyaṣṭakavistāram ekāṅgulasamucchrāyam //25//⁹⁶
cakraratnamahāpadmakhadgāyudhasusambhṛtam /⁹⁷
vajramudrāṃ dadhen madhye vajrāvalipārśvaṃ tathā //26//⁹⁸
kuṇḍavidhiḥ //

48.3. Prescriptions concerning the kind of wood to be used, rice and other offerings, as well as fuels

*palāso[→palāśo]dumbarāmranyagrodhaplakṣakadambakāḥ /⁹⁹
sārdrāḥ patrasamanvitāḥ samidhaḥ kṣīravṛkṣajāḥ /¹⁰⁰
dvādaśāṅgulamānena samacchedās tadagrajāḥ //27//¹⁰¹
*suśirovidalaḥ śīrṇo nistvag bhagnaḥ kṛṣṇo guruḥ /¹⁰²
hrasvo vakras tathā dīrghaḥ sthūlaś ca kṛmibhakṣitaḥ //28//¹⁰³
dvidhagatāgrabhāgāś ca jantubhir yukta eva ca /¹⁰⁴

⁸⁹ āśaya-] ānyaya — T.

⁹⁰ sārvakarmikakuṇḍaṃ ca] sārvakarmikakuṇḍa — C./ sarvakarmakakuṇḍaṃ ca — T.

⁹¹ kāryaṃ] kārya — T.: ruciḥ] ruci — T.

⁹² utphulla-] utphulū — T.: vartulaṃ] vartuṃlaṃ — C.

⁹³ -vedikā] vedikāṃ — C./ vedikāṃ — T.

⁹⁴ abhyantaraṃ] abhyantare — C.: vajreṇa] vajrāṇi — C.: cihñitam(cihñitā)] cihñatam — C_{ac}. The phrase abhyantaraṃ tyaktvā suggests that this line describes features of the veḍī or veḍikā. cf. JM, protphullapadmākārayā *digvidigvajrabāhyāṅkayā ... vedikayā* (kuṇḍaṃ) veṣṭitam.

⁹⁵ For this line, Tib reads hom khung kun nas zlum po la, 'og ni 'khor bar bri bar bya.: -viṣkambhaṃ] viṣkambhaṇaṃ — C./ viṣkabhaṇaṃ — T. The word adhastād suggests that this is an explanation of the depth of the pit. The phrase ardhaviṣkambhaṃ, my reconstruction, means (the depth measuring) ½ of the diameter i.e. ½ of the width (of the hearth-pit).

⁹⁶ aṅgulyaṣṭaka-] aṣṭāṅgulyaṣṭaka — T.

⁹⁷ -padma-] padmaṃ — T.: -khadgā-] śamkhā — T.: -susambhṛtam] susamvṛtam — T./ bskor ba — Tib.

⁹⁸ vajramudrāṃ] vajramudrān — T./ rdo rje mtshan ma — Tib. It may be that the four neutral compounds in this paragraph modify this phrase “vajra-mark” (vajramudrā = vajraciḥnam). cf. JM (2.1.a).(6), (kuṇḍaṃ) madhye vajrāvaliveṣṭitadalapramāṇadalastathāgatacihñābhyantarikṛtatiryagucchrāyāṣṭāṅgulaikāṅgulātmacihnāsamanvitam, KYMU (77a5–b1), RTMU (400b1–b5), SPMU (176b4–b6), HBhMU (374b3–b4) and some other manuals, which state that the central Tathāgata-symbol surrounded by other four Tathāgata-symbols measures 8 *aṅgula* in width and 1 *aṅgula* in height (or simply measures 8 *aṅgula* in width); dadhen] dadhar — C.: vajrāvali-] vajrabali — C.

⁹⁹ -dumbarāmrā-] dumbarāmla — C./ durāmrā — T.

¹⁰⁰ sārdrāḥ] sārddhaḥ — C./ sārddhāḥ — T./ rlon zhing — Tib. cf. JM (2.1.b).(1), sārdrāḥ, AKS (17a6), ārdrāḥ.: patrasamanvitāḥ] samanusanvitā — C./ patrasamuyuktāḥ — T.: samidhaḥ] samidha — T.: -vṛkṣajāḥ] vṛkṣajā — T.

¹⁰¹ dvādaśāṅgula-] dvādaśāgula — C.: samacchedās] samucchedā — C./ samacchedā — T.: tadagrajāḥ] tadāgrajāḥ — C./ grajāḥ — T.

¹⁰² suśirovidalaḥ] susirovidalaḥ — C./ susarovidalaḥ — T_{ac}./ susirovidalaḥ — T_{pc}./ snying dang rtse mo nyams pa dang — Tib.: śīrṇo] śīrṇo — C.: nistvag bhagnaḥ] nistvabhagnaḥ(?) the letter stva is partly damaged) — C./ nistvargagno — T./ śun pa med cing gas pa dang — Tib. cf. JM (Skt ed: 2.1.b).(1), nistvabhagnaḥ.: kṛṣṇo] kṛṣo — C.

¹⁰³ hrasvo vakras] hrasvo vakras — C./ hrasvacakras — T.

¹⁰⁴ dvidhagatāgra-] dvitāgratā agra — T.: yukta] mukta — T.

śubha**karmāṇi*[→*karmaṇi*] sarve 'mī varjanīyāḥ śubhāyataḥ //29//¹⁰⁵
 yavas tilo dadhi kṣīraṃ śālyannaṃ haritaḥ kuśāḥ /¹⁰⁶
 priyaṅgucūtapatrāṇi candanakusumaṃ sitam //30//¹⁰⁷
 madhu lājā ghr̥taṃ dūrvā niryāsāś ca sugandhinām /¹⁰⁸
 yathāprāptyā tu hotavyaṃ śubha**karmāṇi*[→*karmaṇi*] yoginā //31//¹⁰⁹
 yājñikavr̥kṣajaṃ kāṣṭhaṃ kuṇḍād ūnaṃ pramāṇataḥ /¹¹⁰
 arāṇyagomayaṃ caiva jantubhiḥ parivarjitaṃ //32//¹¹¹
 samidhavr̥hihavyendhanavidhiḥ śāntike //¹¹²
 samidhaḥ śāntivad **grāhyaḥ*[→*grāhyāḥ*] śobhanā madhyabhāgajāḥ /¹¹³
 tīryaṃ muṣṭīpramāṇās ca hasta**mātrā*[→*mātrās*] ca dairghataḥ //33//
 dadhikṣīraghr̥tāktāntāḥ pītāgandhāmbusiñcitāḥ /¹¹⁴
 trimadhurā**ktā*[→*ktā*]paramānnaṃ dadhyannaṃ ca ghr̥tādayaḥ //34//¹¹⁵
 kṛṣṇatilaśatapuṣpaṃ ca ghr̥tānviṭaṃ tathā madhu /¹¹⁶
 śālitaṇḍulapadmaṃ tu vṛihayo **nāgakeśaram*[=*nāgakesaram*] //35//¹¹⁷
 bilvasya ca phalaṃ dūrvā hotavyā puṣṭikarmaṇi /
 saphalam indhanaṃ **prāgvid*[→*prāgvid*] arāṇyagomayād bahiḥ //36//¹¹⁸
 campakāśokapunnāga**nāgakeśarakeśarāḥ*[=*nāgakesarakesarāḥ*] /¹¹⁹
 pañcāṅgulāḥ samā dalāḥ samidho **vasya*[→*vaśya*]karmaṇi //37//
 puṣpādīni tathāmlānāṃ suraktāni phalāni ca /¹²⁰
 āmlānāṃ ca vṛkṣāṇāṃ **indhana*[→*indhanaṃ*] kusumānviṭaṃ //38//¹²¹
 durgandhāgandhibhiḥ puṣpaiḥ kṛṣṇair vṛihituṣair api /¹²²
 avakīrṇaṃ samantāc ca narāsthicūrṇair viśādibhiḥ //39//¹²³
 kaṭukaṇṭakitiktānāṃ citijapallavasya vā /¹²⁴
 daśāṅgulās tu samidhaḥ **saṃgrāhyo*[→*saṃgrāhyā*] mūlabhāgajāḥ /¹²⁵
 viśādyaktobhayāntās ca tikṣṇāgrāḥ krūrakarmaṇi jñeyāḥ //40//¹²⁶

¹⁰⁵ śubha-] subha — C.: sarve 'mī] sarve amī — C./ sarvamī — T.: śubhā-] subhā — C.

¹⁰⁶ kṣīraṃ] kṣīra — T.: śālyannaṃ] śālyanyaṃ — C./ śālyanna — T.

¹⁰⁷ -kusumaṃ] kusamaṃ — C.

¹⁰⁸ dūrvā] durvā — C.: sugandhinām] sugandhinā — T.

¹⁰⁹ śubha-] subha — C.: yoginā] yoginām — C.

¹¹⁰ kuṇḍād ūnaṃ] kuṇḍānaṃ — C./ kuṇḍād ūna — T.

¹¹¹ arāṇya-] arāṇyaṃ — C./ arāṇye — T.: jantubhiḥ] jantabhiḥ — C.: [-varjitaṃ] vājitaṃ — T.

¹¹² -ndhana-] tvana — T.: śāntike] śāntide — T.

¹¹³ samidhaḥ] samidha — T.: śobhanā] sobhanā — C.

¹¹⁴ -gandhāmbusiñcitāḥ] garvvācusīñcitān — C./ gandhāmbucintitās — T.

¹¹⁵ tri-] tr̥ — T.: paramānnaṃ] paramanna — C./ paramānta — T.: dadhyannaṃ] dadhyantaṃ — T.

¹¹⁶ -tila-] tilaṃ — C.: ca] omits — C.: ghr̥tānviṭaṃ] śatāccitan — C.

¹¹⁷ śāli-] (one letter damaged)li — C./ śālī — T.: -taṇḍula-] taṇḍulaṃ — T.: vṛihayo] vṛihyo — T.

¹¹⁸ -phalam] phalaṃ — T.: arāṇya-] arāṇā — T.

¹¹⁹ -śoka-] sokā — C.: nāgakeśarakeśarāḥ(nāgakesarakesarāḥ)] keśarakeśarāḥ — T.

¹²⁰ -mlānāṃ] m̐būnāṃ — T.: phalāni ca] ca — C./ phalāni — T.

¹²¹ āmlānāṃ] amlānāṃ — T.: ca] cā — C./ omits — T.

¹²² kṛṣṇair] kṛṣṇai — T.

¹²³ ca] omits — T.: narā-] vitya — T.

¹²⁴ kaṭukaṇṭakitiktānāṃ] kaṭukaṇṭhatiktānāṃ — C./ kaṭukaṇṭakaviktānāṃ — T.: citijapallavasya] vitijahalaṃ vaṃkasya — T./ dur khrod du ni skyes ba'i shing — Tib. According to Monier Williams (Sanskrit-English dictionary), the word pallava means a kind of wood (L.).

¹²⁵ daśāṅgulās tu] daśāṅgulā ta — C_{ac}./ dvādaśāṅgulā ta — C_{pc}./ daśāṅgulāḥ — T.: -bhāgajāḥ] bhāgajā — T.

¹²⁶ viśādyaktobhayāntās] viśādyuktobhayantaś — C./ viśādyaktobhayāntās — T.: krūrakarmaṇi jñeyāḥ] kūrakarma vijñeyāḥ — C.

48.4. Prescriptions regarding the scented water used to welcome the deity

hematāramaye vātha saṃskṛte śaṅkhaśuktau vā /¹²⁷
tāmra*kaṃsa[→kaṃsa]mayadravyaṃ mṛṇmayaparnapuṭe 'pi vā //41//¹²⁸
sarvatra vibhavānurūpataḥ /
arghabhājanaṃ jñeyaṃ purato 'rghabhājanam //42//¹²⁹
sayavakṣīraśatapušpasamyuktaṃ ca pradhūpitam /¹³⁰
saptajaptaṃ svamantreṇa vāme syāt salilabhājanam //43//¹³¹
pītagandhādisalilaṃ satilaṃ dadhibhūṣitam /¹³²
svamantreṇābhimantritam argha*bhājana[=bhājanam] pauṣṭike //44//¹³³
raktagandhādyudakaṃ ca saṃpūrṇakusumam ujivalam /¹³⁴
prītyartham idam evoktaṃ tāmradī arghabhājanam //45//
durgandhāgandhasalilaṃ kṣṇaṃ ca kṣatajānvitam /¹³⁵
kodravaṃ gojalaṃ vātha mānuṣamūtram eva ca //46//¹³⁶
gardabhasyāthavā mūtraṃ phaṭkārābhimantritam /¹³⁷
krūrakarmani *kārya[→kāryaṃ] syāt savyataś ca niveṣitam //47//¹³⁸
arghavidhiḥ //

48.5. Prescriptions concerning the practice of the targets

ārteṣu śāntikaṃ proktaṃ pradoṣe kṛpayānvitam /¹³⁹
*śragvī[→sragvī] pūrvānāno vīraḥ sitavastrādyalaṃkṛtaḥ //48//¹⁴⁰
mṛduviṣṭaramadhyasthaḥ śāntaḥ padmāsanena ca /¹⁴¹
śrīmacchāśvato mantrī ca maunī maitrīkṛpānviṭaḥ //49//¹⁴²
omkāraḥsaraniṣpanne site vāruṇamaṇḍale /¹⁴³
siṃhāsanābjacandrasthaṃ sādhyam ālambya niścalam //50//¹⁴⁴
svāhāntaṃ mantraṃ āvartayan vakṣyamāṇakrameṇa tu /¹⁴⁵
sarvasattvahitārthāya kuryāc chāntikaṃ sadādarāt //51//¹⁴⁶

¹²⁷ vātha] vāthā — C_{ac.}: śaṅkhaśuktau] saṃkhamuktikair — C.

¹²⁸ tāmra*kaṃsa(kaṃsa)mayadravyaṃ] tāmra*kaṃsamadravya — C_{ac.}/ tāmra*kaṃsamadravya — C_{pc.}/
tāgrākaṃsamayaṃ dravyā — T.: -puṭe] puṭo — T.

¹²⁹ arghabhājanaṃ] arghabhājana — C.: purato 'rgha-] purato argha — C.

¹³⁰ sayava-] samaye ca — T.: -śata-] sat — C.: pradhūpitam] prapūritam — C.

¹³¹ -japtaṃ] japta tat — C./ japtaṃ ta — T.: salilabhājanam] salilabhājanam(? damaged) — C.

¹³² satilaṃ] satilā — C.: -bhūṣitam] bhūṣitam — C.

¹³³ pauṣṭike] pauṣṭiko — C.

¹³⁴ -gandhā-] gaṃdhā — C.: saṃpūrṇa-] saptaparṇa — T./ dmar po — Tib. The phrase saṃpūrṇakusumam ujivalam, if this reconstruction is correct, may mean “(this *argha* water is like) menstruating blood, which is perfect and lovely.”

¹³⁵ -salilaṃ] salila — T.: kṣatajānvitam] kṛtajānviṭaḥ — T.

¹³⁶ gojalaṃ] golavaṃ — C./ gojvalam — T./ ba glang gcin — Tib.: vātha] cātha — C.: mānuṣa-] mānuṣam — C.

¹³⁷ gardabhasyāthavā] gardabhasyāṃtha — C.: -kāraḥbhimantritam] kāradimantriṇam — C.

¹³⁸ savyataś] satyataś — T.: niveṣitam] niveṣitam — T.

¹³⁹ arteṣu] arteṣu — C.: śāntikaṃ] śāntikaram — T.: proktaṃ] proktaṃ — C.: -nvitam] nviṭaḥ — T.

¹⁴⁰ -laṃkṛtaḥ] lakṛtaḥ — C.

¹⁴¹ -madhyasthaḥ] madhyastham — T.

¹⁴² -chāśvato] chvāśvato — C./ chāśvato — T.: ca] omits — C.: maunī] saunī — T.: -kṛpā-] cyupayā — T.

¹⁴³ site] śite — C.

¹⁴⁴ siṃhā-] sihā — C./ siṃghā — T.

¹⁴⁵ svāhāntaṃ] svāhānta — T.: āvartayan] āvartaye — C.: vakṣyamāṇa-] vakṣamāṇa — C.

¹⁴⁶ -sattva-] satvā — C.: kuryāc] kṛpayā — T.: chāntikaṃ] śāntikaram — T.

kṣiṇeṣu pauṣṭikam kuryāt pūrvāhṇe pītabhūṣaṇaḥ ^{/147}
 bhadrāsanopaviṣṭāś ca yadi vā nrpalīlayā ^{/148}
 sitānnaṃ dadhisamyuktaṃ bhuktvā pītvā ca tattvataḥ //52//¹⁴⁹
 gajaprsthasthitam sādhyam dr̥ṣtvā māhendramaṇḍale /
 laṃkāṛākṣarāniṣpanne pīte hr̥ṣṭamanovratī //53//¹⁵⁰
 *uttarāsyā[→uttarāsyō] muditavān ratnasambhavayogataḥ ^{/151}
 om-āntam mantram āvartayan tu pauṣṭike vidhivat //54//¹⁵²
 *vasyā[→vaśyā]rtham idam evoktam rakto raktavibhūṣaṇaḥ ^{/153}
 sattvaparyāṅkasamsthāno rāgavajrāgrayogavān //55//¹⁵⁴
 paścimāsyō rajanyādau *ya[→yam]kārād vāyumaṇḍale ^{/155}
 *yoṣita[→yoṣitā]mr̥dupadmastham sādhyam ālambya rāgataḥ //56//¹⁵⁶
 hoḥkārāntam japen mantram raśmicodanayogataḥ ^{/157}
 kuryāt katākṣavikṣepān *mohanajanatābalām[=abalājanatāmohanam] //57//¹⁵⁸
 ratnatrayāpakāriṇam krūram samayalaṅghanam ^{/159}
 kuryāt kṣṇavibhūṣaṇam kruddho yāmyānanaḥ tathā //58//
 krodhāparyāṅkasamsthānaḥ kathināsanāsamsthitaḥ ^{/160}
 ardhārātrau dinā*ddhe[→rdhe] vā vajrakrodhāgrayogavān //59//
 sādhyam cintayitvā ca rephajāgneyamaṇḍale ^{/161}
 meghagarjitahūmkārāphatākārāntam udāharan //60//¹⁶²
 tat kuryād ādimadhyāntasuddhitaḥ //163 sādhyakarmavidhiḥ //164

48.6. Prescriptions regarding the ritual sequence of the *homa*

tataḥ sādhaḥ śrīmān sarvālaṃkārabhūṣitaḥ /
 guhyādvayasamādhistho homakarma samārabhet //61//¹⁶⁵

¹⁴⁷ -bhūṣaṇaḥ] bhūṣaṇam — C.

¹⁴⁸ -līlayā] līlayā — C.

¹⁴⁹ sitānnaṃ] sitānan — T.: bhuktvā] bhaktvā — C.

¹⁵⁰ laṃkāṛā-] lakārā — T.: -niṣpanne pīte] pariniṣpanne pīta — T.: -vratī] bravī — C.

¹⁵¹ -yogataḥ] yoga[one letter deleted]taḥ — C_{ac}.

¹⁵² om-āntam mantram] om ā om māntam — C./ om mām om mātu — T./ snags kyi mthar ni om — Tib. The same idea found in Tib.'s reading appears in JM (2.1.f).(2)), AKS (20a6), HV of Saroruhavajra (Tohoku 2352, 26b1, omitted in Peking version), JAJHV (269b1), DHV (88b8–89a1), HBhMU (378b7–b8), and some other manuals. My emendation is also based on the phrase svāhāntam mantram in the *sānti* rite (line 51): āvartayan tu] āvarttaya tuṃ — C./ varttan tu — T.

¹⁵³ raktavibhūṣaṇaḥ] raktaṃ vibhūṣaṇaḥ — C./ raktavibhūṣitam — T.

¹⁵⁴ rāgavajrāgrayogavān] rājavajrasuyogavān — C./ rāgavajrāgrayogavān — T./ rdo rje chags pa mchog tu bsgom — Tib.

¹⁵⁵ paścimāsyō] paścimānsyām — T.: ya(yam)-] yam las — Tib.

¹⁵⁶ ālambya rāgataḥ] ālambyānurāgataḥ — C.

¹⁵⁷ hoḥkāṛā-] hokārā — T.

¹⁵⁸ -vikṣepān] vimṣepāt — C.: mohanajanatābalām] mohanajagatām arthaḥ — T./ bud med rnam ni rmoṅs par 'gyur — Tib.

¹⁵⁹ This line might be interpreted as follows: The phrases ratnatrayāpakāriṇam and samayalaṅghanam function as bahuvrīhi compounds modifying the word krūram, and the intention is ratnatrayāpakāriṇam samayalaṅghanānam krūram.: krūram] kūram — C.

¹⁶⁰ -paryāṅkasamsthānaḥ] payāṅkasamsthāna — C.

¹⁶¹ sādhyam] sādhyā — T.: rephajā-] rephāyo — T.

¹⁶² hūmkārāphat-] hūm — C.

¹⁶³ tat] tataḥ — C./ no word for this — Tib.: -madhyānta-] madhyātu — T.: -suddhitaḥ] suddhitaḥ — C.

¹⁶⁴ -vidhiḥ] vadhiḥ — T_{ac}.

¹⁶⁵ guhyādvaya-] guhyādaya — T.: -stho] sthā — C./ sthām — T.

vāme abbhājanam nyasya homau* payika[=payikaṃ] savyataḥ /¹⁶⁶
sārva*karmika[=karmikena] japtvā*bhyukṣa[→bhyukṣya] sarvo* pakaraṇa[→pakaraṇam]
budhaḥ //62//¹⁶⁷
tato maṅgalavān mantrī kuśān dadyāt pradakṣiṇam /¹⁶⁸
pratyagranirmalābhinnaharitākhaṇḍapatrakān /¹⁶⁹
nātidīrghān na hrasvān ca vedyāṃ dadyāt pradakṣiṇam //63//¹⁷⁰
pūrvādyagrān tathā nyased yataḥ karmānurūpataḥ /¹⁷¹
digbhedavyavasthayā kuṇḍam chādayet tanmukhaiḥ kuśaiḥ //64//¹⁷²
niṣpādayet tato yogī kuṇḍam vahnim anukramāt /¹⁷³
kuśaviṇḍam tato dadyāt kuṇḍamadhye tu sādhaḥ //65//¹⁷⁴
manthānotthitavahnim vā dvijādi karmānurūpataḥ /¹⁷⁵
svādudugdhendhanādīptaṃ pāvakaṃ vyajanānilaiḥ //66//¹⁷⁶
*dīpta[→dīptam] agniṃ viditvā tato agniṃ *avāhayet[=āvāhayet] /¹⁷⁷
āgneyyāṃ diśi cāyātam ṛṣibhiḥ parivāritam //67//¹⁷⁸
rephākṣaraniryātam cāruśrṅgātakopari /
praṇamodbhavapadmastham dhyānayogasamudbhavam //68//¹⁷⁹
karmānurūpasadvarṇābharaṇavasānādīkam /¹⁸⁰
tejodhātusvabhāvaṃ ca jvālāmālimahodaram //69//
caturbhujam ekavaktraṃ savyāvasavyataḥ kramāt /¹⁸¹
triśūlavajradaṇḍākṣakamaṇḍaluvirājitam /¹⁸²
vajrānalam ca niṣpādyā kuṇḍamadhye nidhāpayet //70//¹⁸³
tato vidhivat saṃpūjya arghādīkaṃ dattvā vidhinā /

¹⁶⁶ abbhājanam] 'bjabhājanam — C./ abjājanam — T./ chu'i snod — Tib. See also the verse 43d.: nyasya] tasya — C.: homaupayika savyataḥ] homoyaipika mavyataḥ — C./ homopayikamanātaḥ — T./ g'yas su bsreg rdzas gzhag par bya — Tib.

¹⁶⁷ sārva-] sarva — C./ sarva — T.: budhaḥ] buddhaḥ — C.

¹⁶⁸ pradakṣiṇam] pradakṣiṇaḥ — C./ prīdakṣiṇaḥ — T.

¹⁶⁹ -patrakān] patrakāna — T.

¹⁷⁰ nātidīrghān na hrasvān] nātidīrgha na hrasvā — C./ nātidīrghā na hasvās — T.: vedyāṃ] vedyād — C.: dadyāt] dadyā — C./ datvā — T.: pradakṣiṇam] pradakṣiṇaḥ — T.

¹⁷¹ pūrvādyagrān] pūrvādyān — T.: tathā nyased] tathāntasya yad — C./ tathāsya yad — T.: yataḥ] ya tat — C./ yata — T.

¹⁷² -vyavasthayā] vyavasthāyā — C.: kuśaiḥ] kuse — C./ kuśai — T.

¹⁷³ tato] taṃ — T.: vahnim] vahnā — T._{ac.}: The words niṣpādayet and yogī suggest that this line intends the visualization of hearth and fire. Hence, it seems better to read this line after the verse numbered 66.

¹⁷⁴ -viṇḍam] viṇḍi — C./ viḍam — T. This is Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit word for piṇḍa or vṛnda according to Edgerton's Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary vol II, p.487.

¹⁷⁵ manthānotthita-] manotthita — C.: dvijādi] dvijāti — C.

¹⁷⁶ svādu-] svādhu — C.: -ndhanādīptaṃ] ndhanādīnām dīptaṃ — C.: pāvakaṃ] pāvaka — C./ pātaḥ — T.: vyajanānilaiḥ] vyañjanānilaiḥ — C./ vyajanānilauḥ — T.

¹⁷⁷ dīpta(dīptam)] cf. JM (Skt ed: 2.1.i.(3)) and AKS (Skt ms: 19a7) dīptam agniṃ viditvā.: agniṃ] 'gnim — C. Metrically, T's reading is better.: avāhayet] anukramāt — T./ dgug par bya — Tib.

¹⁷⁸ āgneyyāṃ] agneyāṃ — C./ agnesyayyā — T.: diśi] diśi — T.: ṛṣibhiḥ] ṛṣi(one letter blurred)ḥ — C.: parivāritam] parivāritaḥ — T.

¹⁷⁹ dhyāna-] dhyāna — C.

¹⁸⁰ -nurūpa-] nurūpa — C./ nurūpe — T.

¹⁸¹ caturbhujam] caturjam — C._{ac.}: ekavaktraṃ] evaktraṃ — C.

¹⁸² tri-] trī — C.: -vajra-] vajrā — T.

¹⁸³ vajrānalam] vajrānanam — T.: ca niṣpādyā] ca niṣpādyam — C./ cāniṣpādyam — T.: -madhye nidhāpayet] madhyo niṣpāpayet — C.

paryukṣyācamaṇaṃ dattvā sārva-karmikavāriṇā /¹⁸⁴
 tasya vaktre pūrṇāhutiṃ dadyād abhīmatasiddhaye //71//¹⁸⁵
 jānvabhyantarāhastena hotavyaṃ śubhakarmaṇi /¹⁸⁶
 aśubhe vāmahastena bāhyābhyantarayogataḥ //72//¹⁸⁷
 oṃ vajrānala mahābhūta jvālaya sarvān daha bhasmikuru sarvaduṣṭān hūṃ phaṭ /¹⁸⁸
 karmānurūpavidarbhaṇāgnimantram //¹⁸⁹
 oṃ sarvasaṃpade svāhā / *ghṛtasya[→dadhyannasya] //¹⁹⁰
 oṃ agnaye svāhā /¹⁹¹ iti *dadhyannasya[→ghṛtasya] //¹⁹²
 oṃ apratihatavajrāya svāhā /¹⁹³ iti kuśānām //¹⁹⁴
 oṃ sarvapāpadahanavajrāya svāhā /¹⁹⁵
 iti mantreṇa juhuyāt tilān *arghasya[→aghasya] śāntaye //¹⁹⁶
 oṃ vajrāyuṣe svāhā /¹⁹⁷ iti dūrvām āyuspravṛddhaye //¹⁹⁸
 oṃ vajrapuṣṭaye svāhā /¹⁹⁹ iti taṇḍulaṃ gr̥hapuṣṭaye //²⁰⁰
 anyeṣāṃ api ghṛtāktāḥ sarve 'mī hotavyā yoginā sadā /²⁰¹ tata ācamaṇaṃ paryukṣaṇaṃ ca
 kuryāt //73//²⁰²
 vahnīm saṃtarpya jvālākāreṇa pariṇāmya kuṇḍamadhye svādhipaṃ karmānurūpa-
 varṇābharaṇādyupetaṃ dhyāyād iti //74//²⁰³
 yathāsvavarṇābhedaḍi varṇaṃ vahner iha lakṣayet /²⁰⁴
 śāntike sitavarṇābhāḥ pauṣṭike pītasamṇibhāḥ /²⁰⁵
 vidrumābhas tathā vaśye nīla *kr̥ṣṇābhicāruke[→kr̥ṣṇo 'bhicāruke] //75//²⁰⁶

¹⁸⁴ paryukṣyā-] paryukṣā — C.: sārva-karmikavāriṇā] sarvikarmikavāriṇa — C./ sarvakarmavidhāriṇe — T.

¹⁸⁵ dadyād abhīmata-] datvā dadyād abhīmata — C./ datvād abhīśata — T.

¹⁸⁶ jānvabhyantara-] jānvābhyantara — C.: śubha-] subha — C.

¹⁸⁷ aśubhe] asubhe — C.: -hastena] haste vā — C.

¹⁸⁸ sarvān daha] sarvā na — T.

¹⁸⁹ karmānurūpa-] karmānurūpa — C.: -rūpavidarbhaṇāgnimantram] vidarbhanā instead of vidarbhanā — C./ rūpe vidarbheṇāgnēyantaṃ — T.

¹⁹⁰ ghṛtasya(dadhyannasya)] zho zan gyi — Tib. This, oṃ sarvasaṃpade svāhā, is in general a mantra of dadhyanna as Tib reads. cf. JM (2.1.i).(28)), AKS (21a5), SvUT (23.43), HHV of Kṛṣṇa (341b1), CSHV (369b4), and some other manuals.

¹⁹¹ agnaye] agneye — T.

¹⁹² iti dadhyannasya(ghṛtasya)] dadhyasya — T./ mar gyi — Tib. Generally, this is a mantra of ghṛta as Tib reads. cf. JM (Skt ed: 2.1.i).(28)), AKS (Skt ms: 21a4), and many other manuals.

¹⁹³ apratihata-] apratiha — T.

¹⁹⁴ iti kuśānām] omits — C.

¹⁹⁵ omits this mantra — C.

¹⁹⁶ arghasya(aghasya)] sdig pa — Tib. cf. STTSS (1139), aghān dahet.: śāntaye] śāntaye — C.

¹⁹⁷ -yuṣe] puṣṭe — C./ yudhe — T./ yu ṣe — Tib. cf. STTSS (1139), oṃ vajrāyuṣe svāhā, and many manuals.: svāhā] bhyāhā — C.

¹⁹⁸ iti] omits — C.: dūrvām] pūrvam — T.: -pravṛddhaye] pravṛddhaye svā — C_{ac}./ pravṛttaye — T.

¹⁹⁹ vajrapuṣṭaye] vajrāyuṣṭaye — C./ vajramuṣṭaye — T.: svāhā] omits — T.

²⁰⁰ iti] omits — T.: gr̥ha-] gr̥hya — C.: -puṣṭaye] muṣṭaye — T.

²⁰¹ 'bru la sogs pa gzhan dag kyang 'dir mar gyis bsgos te bsreg par bya for this line — Tib.: ghṛtāktāḥ] ghṛtāḥ — T.: sarve 'mī hotavyā] sarve vriho dravyā — C.

²⁰² tata ācamaṇaṃ] tatas cācamaṇaṃ — C./ tata ācanaṃ — T.: paryukṣaṇaṃ] payukṣaṇāṃ — T.

²⁰³ vahnīm saṃtarpya] vahni satarpa — C./ vahna santarpa — T_{ac}./ vahni santarpa — T_{pc}.: svādhipaṃ] svādhipa — C.: karmānurūpa-] karmānurūpe — T.: -varṇābharaṇādyupetaṃ] karṇābharaṇādyupetaṃ — C./ varābharaṇāḅkṣepetaṃ — T.: dhyāyād] dhyāyed — T.

²⁰⁴ -svavarṇa-] svavarṇā — C./ varṇa — T.: varṇaṃ vahner] varṇe vahner — C./ vahner — T.

²⁰⁵ -saṃnibhāḥ] sannibhāḥ — C.

²⁰⁶ vidrumābhas] vidyadābha — T.: vaśye] vasye — C.

nimittāni ca jñeyāni /

śrīvatsavajracakrādisvajvālāsuvibhūṣaṇaḥ /²⁰⁷

surabhi*sobhano[→śobhano] vahniḥ śubha*karmāṇi[→karmaṇi] siddhidāḥ //76//²⁰⁸

śavagandhāmagandho vā bahudhūmo mahādhvaniḥ /²⁰⁹

hotur dahanarūpaś ca pāvakaḥ aśubho mataḥ //77//²¹⁰

aśubhaṃ yac chubhe proktaṃ tac chubhaṃ krūrakarmasu /²¹¹

abhicāre śubhaṃ yac ca tac chubhe 'śubham iṣyate //78//²¹²

vighnocchādanaṃ kṛtvā paścāt karma samārabhet /

punaḥ svādhipamantreṇa paryukṣya taddhutāśane /²¹³

pūrṇāhutitrayaṃ dadyāt pūrṇapātrād *yathā vidhiḥ[=yathāvidhi] //79//²¹⁴

oṃ agnaye *amukaṃ[→amukasya śāntiṃ] kuru svāhā iti mantreṇa satkramāt /²¹⁵

devatāpyāyanārthaṃ tu tryakṣarapūrvakaṃ budhaḥ //80//²¹⁶

paścāt svamantrasaṃyogāj juhuyād vai yathākramataḥ /²¹⁷

samidhānantaraṃ sarpis tathā godhūmatilādayaḥ //81//²¹⁸

tataḥ khādyādayaḥ sarve tato annaṃ punar dadhi /²¹⁹

tataḥ kṣīraṃ phalādyās ca lehyapeyādisaṃcayāḥ //82//²²⁰

hotavyā yoginā sadā tatas tāmbūlakusumādayaḥ /²²¹

evaṃ cādhipam āpūjya prārthya siddhiṃ samīhitāṃ //83//²²²

visarjayituṃ taṃ nāthaṃ śiṣyaiḥ saṃpūjya cālanam /²²³

visarjayet tato yogī syād abhīṣṭaṃ phalaṃ dadet //84//²²⁴

iti homavidhiḥ //

²⁰⁷ śrīvatsa-] śrīrvat sarvaṃ — C./ śrīmat sarva — T./ dpal gyi be'u — Tib. cf. JM (2.1.i).(9) and AKS (20a8), śrīvatsa, and HV of Subhūtipālita (190a2–a3), dpal be'u.: -svajvālā-] sajvālā — T.: -suvibhūṣaṇaḥ] svavibhūṣaṇaḥ — C.

²⁰⁸ siddhidāḥ] siddhidāḥ — C_{pc}.

²⁰⁹ śavagandhāmagandho vā] savagandho āmagandho vā — C./ savagandho — T.: -dhvaniḥ] dhvani — C.

²¹⁰ aśubho] asubho — C.

²¹¹ aśubhaṃ] asubhaṃ — C.: yac chubhe] yat subhe — C.: tac chubhaṃ] tat suṃ — C./ yac chubhaṃ — T.: krūra-] kūra — C.

²¹² abhicāre] abhicāra — C./ abhicārā — T.: śubhaṃ] subha — C.: tac chubhe] tat śubhaṃ — T.: 'śubham] cchubham — C.

²¹³ punaḥ] puna — T.: paryukṣya] paryukṣā — T.: taddhutāśane] taddhutāśanaḥ — C./ taddhutāśanaṃ — T./ no word for tad — Tib.

²¹⁴ dadyāt] datvā — C.: pūrṇa-] pūrṇā — T.

²¹⁵ amukaṃ(amukasya śāntiṃ)] a mu ka pa sa a ti kaṃ — Tib. cf. SvUT (23.25), HV of Saroruhavajra (30a8), CSHV (369a5, 369b2, 369b3), JM (2.1.i).(25)), and JAJHV (271b3), amukasya śāntiṃ.

²¹⁶ -nārthaṃ tu] na — T.

²¹⁷ -saṃyogāj] saṃyogāta — T.

²¹⁸ samidhānantaraṃ] samidhāni turaṃ — T.

²¹⁹ annaṃ] unna — C.: dadhi] dadhiḥ — C.

²²⁰ lehyapeyā-] lehyāḥ yeyā — T.

²²¹ tāmbūla-] tācūla — C.: -kusumādayaḥ] kusumādayaḥ — C_{ac}./ kusukumādayaḥ — T.

²²² cādhipam āpūjya] cāpi payā pūjya saṃ — T.: prārthya] prārtha — C.: siddhiṃ samīhitāṃ] siddhiṃ ihitāṃ — C./ siddhi samīhitā — T.

²²³ visarjayituṃ taṃ] visarjayitun ūn — C./ visahr̥tra taṃ — T.: cālanam] me lha — Tib.

²²⁴ abhīṣṭaṃ] abhīṣṭa — C.: phalaṃ dadet] dalaṃ dadeti — C.

48.7. Prescriptions concerning the big ladle and the small ladle

suvarṇarajataṃ vāpi tāmrayajñakāṣṭhamayaṃ vāpi /²²⁵
pīṭhādī**bhū*[→*bhūr*] daṇḍamānaṃ tadūrdhvaṃ caturasraṃ suśobhanaṃ //85//²²⁶
dvyāṅgulanimnakhātaṃ ca jñānavajravirājitam /
punas tadūrdhvaṃ caturaṅgulaṃ padmadalākṛti //86//
chidraṃ tasyā bhaved devi kaniṣṭhāṅgulapramāṇataḥ /
tasyā daṇḍādho dadyād vajraratnaṃ tu ṣaḍaṅgulaṃ //87//²²⁷
pātrī dharmadayitā mātā /²²⁸
sruvaṃ tu rasanopāyaṃ sarvasattvahiṭāṃkaram //88//²²⁹
padmapatrākṛtimukhaṃ mānād dvyāṅgulavistaram /²³⁰
pūrvavallakṣaṇopetaṃ madhye vajrāṅkaśobhanaṃ //89//²³¹
pañcāṅgulasamāyogāt pūrṇāhutir udāhṛtā /²³²
itarāhutiyogena saha tair aṅgulitrikaiḥ //90//²³³
grāhyau śāntau tu bodhya**grā*[→*gryā*] puṣṭau maṇimuṣṭinā /²³⁴
padmamauṣṭyā tathā grāhyau **vasyā*[→*vaśyā*]karṣaṇayor api /²³⁵
krodhamauṣṭyā tathā cāpi krūrakarmaṇi yatnataḥ //91//²³⁶
iti pātrī**śruvā*[=*sruva*]vidhiḥ //²³⁷

48.8. Prescriptions concerning the manner of making oblations

āhutam iti pūrṇāhutyādikam /²³⁸ atha tadvidhiṃ vakṣye śāntipuṣṭau vaśyasya ca /²³⁹
śubhakarmaṇi mukulite mukhe 'śubhe vivṛtavahnivaktre samidhau juhuyād iti //92//²⁴⁰

48.9. Concluding words

tattvasaṃgrāhe saṃvare vā guhye vajrabhairave /²⁴¹
tilakāḍau na kathitaṃ devi homa eṣa samāsataḥ //93//²⁴²

²²⁵ -rajataṃ] rajatāṃ — C./ ratam — T.: (First) vāpi] cāpi — T.: -kāṣṭha-] kaś ca — C.: (Second) vāpi] cāpi — C.

²²⁶ pīṭhādībhū(bhūr)] This is a metaphoric expression in this system meaning twenty-four *anṅulas*, which is the size of the daṇḍa of pātrī.: tadūrdhvaṃ] taddhṛā — C.: caturasraṃ] caturasra — T.: suśobhanaṃ] susobhanaṃ — C.

²²⁷ vajraratnaṃ] vajraṃ ratnaṃ — C.

²²⁸ pātrī dharmadayitā mātā] pātrī dharmādayitā — T.

²²⁹ sruvaṃ tu rasanopāyaṃ] śruvaṃ instead of sruvan — C./ suvarṇarasanopāya — T.: sarvasattva-] satvā — C.

²³⁰ -mukhaṃ] mukhya — C.: mānād] mānā — C./ mānā tu — T.: -vistaram] vista — T.

²³¹ -lakṣaṇopetaṃ] laṇopetaṃ — C.: -śobhanaṃ] susobhanaṃ — C./ saśobhanaṃ — T./ mdzes pa — Tib.

²³² -hutir] hutid — T.

²³³ -hutiyogena] hutayo aneka — T.: saha] saṃghaha — T.

²³⁴ grāhyau śāntau] grāhyaiḥ śānto — T.: tu] bhu — T.

²³⁵ -muṣṭyā] muṣṭā — C.: grāhyau] grāhyauda — C./ grāhye — T.

²³⁶ -muṣṭyā] muṣṭryā — C./ muṣṭā — T.: cāpi] cāti — C./ gamena — T.: krūrakarmaṇi] kūrakarmaṇi — C./ kūrakarmāṇi — T.

²³⁷ iti] omits — T.

²³⁸ -hutyādikam] hutyiditam — C._{ac}/ hutyāditam — C._{pc}.

²³⁹ tadvidhiṃ] tadvidhi — T.: vaśyasya ca] vasasya ca — C./ ca vaśyatāṃ — T.

²⁴⁰ śubhakarmaṇi] subhakarmaṇi — C.: mukulite] muktalite — C./ mukulate — T._{ac}.: 'śubhe] asubhe — C.: vivṛta-] vivṛtāṃ — C./ vivṛtakṛta — T.: samidhau] śamidhau — C./ yam shing la sogs — Tib.

²⁴¹ tattvasaṃgrāhe] tatvasaṃgrāha — T.: guhye] guhye vā — C.

²⁴² tilakāḍau] tilakādike — T.

ity āha bhagavān vajrī vajrasattvas tathāgataḥ /
 sarvaḍākinīsamāyogavajradākaḥ paraṃ sukham //94//²⁴³
 iti sarvakarmaprasararahasyārthahomavidhipaṭalo 'ṣṭacatvāriṃśattamaḥ //²⁴⁴

Abbreviations and sources

Primary sources

Skt ms(s). Sanskrit manuscript(s).

Skt ed. Sanskrit text critically edited.

Tib. Tibetan translation.

Otani. Otani University catalogue of Tibetan Tripiṭaka.

AKS. The *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* of Jagaddarpaṇa, Skt ms: Goshima/Noguchi catalogue no 8 (E 236, Kyoto University).

AM. The *Śrīsamputatantrarājaṭikā āmnāyamañjarī* of Abhayākara Gupta, Tib: Otani no 2328.

KYMU. The *Kṛṣṇayamāriṃśatopāyikā* (*gShin rje gshed nag po'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga*) of Śrīdhara (dPal 'dzin), Tib Otani no 4795.

CSHV. The *Śrīcakrasaṃvarahomavidhi* (*dPal bde mchog 'khor lo'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga*) of Kṛṣṇapāda (Nag po zhabs), Tib: Tohoku no 1447, Otani no 2165.

CST. The *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* alias *Herukābbhidhānatantra*. Skt ms, accession no 13290, Oriental Institute Baroda. Skt ed: Janardan Shastri Pandey, *Cakrasaṃvaratantram with Vivṛti Commentary of Bhavabhaṭṭa*, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, 2002.

DHV. The *Śrīcakrasaṃvaratantrahomavidhiratnasūryakānta* of Jayasena, Tib Otani no 2236. (In the Sde dge edition, it is titled the *Śrīḍākārnavahomavidhi* (*dPal mkha' 'gro rgya mtho'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga*.)

JAJHV. The *Jñānāgnijvālāhomavidhi* (*Ye shes kyi me sbar ba zhes bya ba'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga*) of Samantaśrī, Tib Otani no 2626.

JM. The *Jyotirmañjarī homopāyikā* of Abhayākara Gupta, Skt ed: Naoji Okuyama, "A Study of the *Jyotirmañjarī* (I)," *Culture* 47-1 and 2, Tohoku University, 1983, pp.29–46, and "A Study of the *Jyotirmañjarī* (II)," *Ronshu : Studies in Religions East and West* 13, Tohoku University, 1986, pp.1–18. Tib Otani no 3963.

Brahmayāmala. The *Brahmayāmala* alias *Picumata*, Skt ms: NGMPP (The Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project), reel no A42/6.

Mukhāgama. The *Dvikramatattvabhāvanā nāma mukhāgama* of Buddhajñānapāda, Tib Otani no 2716.

MJT. The *Māyājālatantra*, Tib Otani no 102.

RYMU. The *Raktayamāriṃśatopāyikā* (*gshin rje gshed dmar po'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga*) of Śrīdhara (dPal 'dzin), Tib Otani no 2880.

Vivṛti. The *Śrīvajradākanāmamahātantrarājasya vivṛti* of Bhavavajra, Tib Otani no 2131.

VT. The *Vasantatilakā* of Kṛṣṇācārya, Skt ed: Samdhong Rinpoche and Vrajvallabh Dwivedi, *Vasantatilakā by Caryāvrati ŚrīKṛṣṇācārya with Commentary: Rahasyadīpikā by Vanaratna*, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, 1990.

VŚT. The *Vināśīkhatantra*, Skt ed: Teun Goudriaan, *The Vināśīkhatantra: A Śaiva Tantra of the Left Current*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1985, Delhi.

²⁴³ sarvaḍākinīsamāyoga-] vajradākasamāyogaḥ — T.

²⁴⁴ -prasararahasyā-] prasarasāyā — C.: [-vidhi-] vidhiḥ — C.: -catvāriṃśattamaḥ] catvāriṃśatitama — C./ catvāriṃśatitamaḥ — T.

- STTSS. The *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgrahamaḥyānābhisambodhisūtra*, Skt ed: Kanjin Horiuchi, *Shoe-kongōchōkyō no kenkyū*, The Research Institute of Esoteric Buddhist Culture, Wakayama, 1983.
- SpUT. The *Samputodbhavantra*, Skt ms: Cowell and Eggeling catalogue (“Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1876, pp.5–50) no 37.
- SPMU. The *Suparigrahanāmamaṇḍalopāyikāvidhi* (*dKyil ’khor gyi cho ga’ i sgrub thabs bzang po yong su bsung ba*) of Durjayacandara (Thub dka’ zla ba), Tib Otani no 2369.
- SvUT. The *Samvarodayatantra*, Skt ed: Shin’ichi Tsuda, *The Samvarodayatantra — selected chapters*, The Hokuseido Press, Tokyo, 1974.
- HAT. The *Herukābhyudayantra*, Tib Otani no 21.
Herukādyavajravārāhīyogarājottamottama. The *Herukādyavajravārāhīyogarājottamottamaparamarabasya*, Skt ms: Goshima/Noguchi no 133 (E 313, Kyoto University).
- HBhMU. The *Śriherukabhūtanāmamaṇḍalopāyikā* (*dPal he ru ka ’byung pa zhes bya ba’ i dkyil ’khor gyi cho ga*) of Divākaracandra (Ñin mo’i ’byung gnas zla ba’i zhabs), Tib Otani no. 2390.
- HV of Saroruhavajra. The *Homavidhi* (*sByin sreg gi cho ga*) of Saroruhavajra (mTsho skyes rdo rje), Tib Tohoku no 1223, Otani no 2352.
- HV of Subhīmavajra. The *Homavidhi* (*sByin sreg gi cho ga*) of Subhīmavajra (Rab ’jigs rdo rje), Tib Otani no 2689.
- HV of Subhūtipālita. The *Homavidhi* (*Sbyin sreg gi cho ga*) of Subhūtipālita (Rab ’byor bskyañs), Tib Tohoku no 2525.
- HHV of Kṛṣṇa. The *Śrīhevajrahomavidhi* (*dPal dgyes pa rdo rje’ i sbyin sreg gi cho ga*) of Kṛṣṇa (Nag po) Tib Otani no 2385.
- HHV of Bodhigarbha. The *Śrīhevajrahomavidhi* (*dPal kye rdo rje las sbyin sreg gi cho ga*) of Bodhigarbha, Tib Otani no 2356.

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Some Notes on Editing the Sanskrit Manuscript of the
Advayasamatāvijayamahākālparāja
With Reference to the Chinese and Tibetan Translations*

FAN Muyou

A brief report on the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Advayasamatāvijayamahākālparāja* (hereafter abbreviated ASVM) has been given in my paper previously published in the *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*.¹ In this article I would like to further discuss my method for editing the text of the ASVM, and give some applications of this method.

As stated in my abovementioned paper, the manuscript of the ASVM is the only witness of this work extant in Sanskrit. This is the manuscript which was used for the translation from Sanskrit into Tibetan.² Therefore, the Sanskrit manuscript is the chief primary authority for this work. The Chinese³ and Tibetan translations, and parallel passages from related tantric works; for example the *Guhyasamājantra*,⁴ *Jñānasiddhi*, *Guhyasiddhi* etc. are subsidiary sources.

In preparing my Sanskrit edition, I have used four editions of the Tibetan translation of this text: the Derge, London, Peking, and sTog Palace editions. It is also worth noting that the Tibetan translation often reflects the scribal errors and illegible parts of the manuscript. Therefore, we cannot rely too much on the Tibetan in correcting or restoring the corresponding sections of the Sanskrit text.

The Chinese translation is earlier than both the Tibetan translation and our manuscript. The manuscript could probably be dated to the 11th–12th century.⁵ It therefore is of some

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¹ Cf. Fan Muyou, "Some Remarks on the Relationship between a Sanskrit Manuscript of the *Advayasamatāvijaya* from Tibet and its Tibetan Translation", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* Vol. XI, (Tokyo, March 2008), pp.375–380.

² The Tibetan translation was made by Bu ston Rin chen grub (1296–1364), on the basis of the Sanskrit manuscript, of which the first folio was missing already at that time. Later the missing part was translated by Gung mGon po skyabs from the version in the Chinese canon between the 17th–18th centuries. Cf. G. N. Roerich, trans., *The Blue Annals*, (Calcutta, 1953), p. 417, note 4.

³ The Chinese translation was made by Dānapāla (施護) in A.D. 1006. Cf. *The Catalogue of Dharma-Jewels during the Period from Dazhong to Xiangfu* (大中祥符法寶錄), vol. 14, pp. 4–5.

⁴ Yukei Matsunaga ed., *A New critical edition of the Guhyasamājantra* (Osaka, 1978).

⁵ For the date of the script, see Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana, "Sanskrit Palm-leaf MSS. in Tibet", *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XII, Part I (Patna, 1937), the Table of System of Figures, and see Cecil Bendall, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge* (Cambridge, repr.

use in restoring the Sanskrit text and correcting scribal errors, though it may draw on a recension which is slightly different to that of the manuscript. Nonetheless, the Chinese version is regrettably not of high quality. Many misunderstandings and mistranslations are evident. Hence we must be cautious when referring to this source.

As for the related tantric works mentioned above, we should first briefly discuss the nature of the ASVM and its relationship with the *Gubhyasamājatantra* (hereafter GS). The ASVM was considered by Bu ston to be an *ākhyānatantra* (explanatory tantra) of the GS. However, scholars have different opinions on the status of this work. Alex Wayman has questioned the classification of the ASVM as an *ākhyānatantra* of the GS, since Bu ston's commentary on the *Pradīpodyotana* cited passages from almost all commentaries on the GS, but did not quote the ASVM.⁶ Nevertheless I do not think Wayman's evidence is strong enough to refute Bu ston's argument. First of all, the ASVM was believed by Bu ston to be useless since the text available to him was incomplete.⁷ He said he translated the ASVM just to prove that the other *gNyis su med pa* is not authentic.⁸ Hence it is very likely that the ASVM was ignored by Bu ston because he did not think it important.

Secondly, through the comparison of the ASVM with the GS, it can be seen that the essential ideas of the two texts are virtually identical, and most of the ceremonies in the ASVM have the same origin as the GS; particularly, there are a lot of common passages in both. Of course we admit that there are some differences between both texts, however, it is natural that the commentarial tantras have different teachings and practices since the tantras were not compiled with a uniform goal in mind. Consequently, we support the classification of the ASVM within the Jñānapada school of the GS, following the Japanese scholar Tadashi Okuyama.⁹

Since the text of the sole extant manuscript includes many metrical, grammatical and syntactic aberrations, the editor's task might be considered as an effort to restore, what Snellgrove says, "an originally imperfect text".¹⁰ Nevertheless we do not do not agree with his argument since he does not take the complicated nature of the language of the tantras into account.

The language of the ASVM is similar to that of the *Samvarodaya*, as described by Tsuda: "The author intended to write the *Samvarodayatantra* in grammatically correct Sanskrit. But, when he felt difficulty in establishing a correct meter, he gave priority to the meter, especially to the fifth, sixth and seventh syllables (or more exactly, the fourth, the third, and the second syllables from the last, respectively) of each pāda of śloka, and consequently introduced various kinds of grammatical distortion."¹¹

We should then take into account Snellgrove's requirement that "the editor should first be able to edit with some consistency."¹² Whatever method is adopted should be applied

1983), "Table of Selected Letters".

⁶ Cf. Alex Wayman, *Yoga of the Gubhyasamājatantra* (Delhi, 1977), p. 87.

⁷ Cf. Helmut Eimer, *Der Tantra-Katalog des Bu ston im Vergleich mit der Abteilung Tantra des Tibetischer Kanjur*, (Bonn, 1990), pp. 74–75.

⁸ See note 3 above.

⁹ Cf. Keisho Tsukamoto 塚本啓祥, Yukei Matsunaga 松長有慶 and Hirofumi Isoda 磯田熙文, eds., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, Vol. IV: The Buddhist Tantra* 梵語仏典の研究 IV: 密教經典篇 (Kyoto, 1990), p. 244.

¹⁰ Cf. D. L. Snellgrove, ed. and tr. *The Hevajratana: A Critical Study* (hereafter abbreviated HVT), Part 2: Sanskrit and Tibetan texts (London, 1959), "Note on the Texts", p.x.

¹¹ Shinichi Tsuda, ed. and tr., *The Samvarodaya Tantra: Selected Chapters* (Tokyo, 1974), p.13.

¹² Cf. HVT, "Note on the Texts", p.ix.

consistently. When restorations or corrections are given, they must be in conformity with the characteristics of the Sanskrit text, especially its metrical character. In the following section, some examples of the application of this method are presented.

Restoration of illegible akṣaras and lacunae

The manuscript contains blurred or smudged sections which are extremely difficult to read, and some akṣaras are missing from the manuscript. In the Tibetan translation, the corresponding parts are frequently omitted. However the Sanskrit may be conjecturally restored by referring to the Chinese translation, to the context, and to parallel passages in the ASVM and other tantric works. In the following examples, restorations are marked by parentheses:

- 1.1 *sarvva*<*m*> *tad eva kartavya*<*m*> (*anyathā naiṣva*)[▼] *bhāvayet** | (fol. 2v2–3)
thams cad de nyid du bya ste || *bsgom par bya* || (D 60b7, L 250b3, Q_3a6, S 295a6)
 所作依此說， 異此非觀想。 (T 515b19)

In the verse above, the illegible akṣaras in the second pāda have nothing that corresponds to them in the Tibetan. *bsgom par bya* corresponds to *bhāvayet*. We note that the Chinese translation consistently uses 異此...非 to render *anyathā naiṣva*, as in the following:

- tad eva tasya dhyāyita anyathā naiṣva sidhyati* | (fol. 4r6)
 應當如是如理觀 異此而觀非成就。 (T 517c17)
- prārabhet*<*> *vidhānājño anyathā naiṣva bhāvayet** | (fol. 6v1)
 依法想者得成就 異此而觀非觀想 (T 520b2)

- 1.2 (*candramaṇḍala*)[▼] *yogena buddhabimbam vibhāvayet** | (fol. 2v6–7)
sbyor rnams su || *sangs rgyas gzugs ni rnam bsgom bya* || (D 61b2, L 251a5, Q_3b7, S296a3)
 四印曼拏羅， 亦觀想成就。 (T 515b19)

As in the previous example, there is a hiatus in the Tibetan translation corresponding to illegible akṣaras in the MS, in this case at the end of the sixth line. The Chinese suggests *caturmaṇḍala*; although the presence of *yin* 印 would suggest *caturmudrāmaṇḍala*, this character is presumably the translator's insertion. The Chinese 四印曼拏羅 may therefore correspond to either *caturmaṇḍala* or *candramaṇḍala*. There are two possibilities: one is that the manuscript upon which the Chinese translation is based has *caturmaṇḍala*; the other is that the Chinese translator misread *candramaṇḍala* as *caturmaṇḍala* due to the similarity of the glyphs *tu* and *ndra*. According to the context *candramaṇḍala* is indicated.

- 1.3 (*ity āha bhagavāṃ*)[▼] *nāṃ dharmarājah* <|> (fol. 2v7–3r1)
chos kyi rgyal || (D 61b5, L 251a8, Q_4a2, S 296a6)
 此名金剛手菩薩法王法門。 (T 516a13)

A translation corresponding to the illegible akṣaras is again absent in the Tibetan text. Nonetheless, we can just make out *ity āha*, and conjecture that the remaining akṣaras could

be *bhagavām* in accordance with the the Chinese translation. The Chinese rendering suggests *ity āba bhagavām vajrapāṇir dharmarājaḥ*; the MS however has only one syllable before *ṇām*, so it seems to have had a different reading.

- 1.4 *ākāśadhātum āpūrṇṇa<ṃ bimbaiḥ> kṛtvā vicakṣaṇaḥ <|>* (fol. 6v6)
nam mkha'i khams ni kun bkang bar || mkhas pas de ltar bsam byas nas || (D 70a2, L 260b2, Q_12a4, S 306a7)
 大智觀影像，遍滿虛空界。 (T 520c13)

In the MS there is a blank space between *āpūrṇṇa* and *kṛtvā*. Sometimes space in the MS indicates punctuation, but here it is evident that two syllables are missing in the second pāda according to the meter. The Tibetan translation seems to have read *dhyānam*, while the Chinese corresponds to *bimbaiḥ*.¹³ Both restorations are metrically correct, but *bimbaiḥ* seems to yield better sense within the context. Other verses support this choice, for instance:

- kbadhātu<ṃ> buddhabimbais tu paripūrṇṇaṃ vibhāvayet* |* (fol. 10v2)

The treatment of scribal errors in the manuscript

About the first quarter of the AVSM manuscript seems to have been written relatively carefully. Errors increase dramatically between the 7th to the 10th folios. Although we are sometimes able to improve the Sanskrit text by referring to the Chinese translation, the Sanskrit text has no Chinese equivalent from the verso side of folio 8 to the verso side of folio 10.

- 2.1 *bodhicittaṃ samutpādya tantrātmāna<ṃ> vibhāvayet* |* (fol.3r1)
byang chub sems ni yang dag bskyed || rgyun tu bdag nyid rnam bsgom bya || (D 61b6, L 251b1, Q_4a4, S 296b1)
 從菩提心生 想現佛影像 (T 516a18)

The word *tantrātmānaṃ* here is incomprehensible, even though the reading is supported by the Tibetan *rgyun tu bdag nyid*. The Chinese possibly reads *buddhabimbam*, which is acceptable in terms of the meter and the sense. However, it is less easy to accept on orthographic grounds. Since *ntra* and *tra* are similar glyphs, it seems likely to me that *tantrātmānaṃ* is a scribal error for *tatrātmānaṃ*.

- 2.2 *pañcasūrya nyased vajrāṃ bṛdayesu vidhānataḥ |* (fol. 3r6)
rdo rje thugs su cho ga las || nyi ma lnga ni dgod bya ba || (D 62b3; L 252a7; Q_4b8; S 297b1)
 五銛金剛杵 依法想於心 (T 516b26)

The problem here is with the word *pañcasūrya* (five suns) which corresponds to *nyi ma lnga ni* in the Tibetan. The term *pañcasūrya* can hardly be employed to modify *vajra* (thunderbolt). There must be some scribal error. The Chinese translation 五銛金剛杵 indicates *pañcaśūlam vajraṃ* (five-pronged thunderbolt). In our manuscript and in other tantric works *pañcaśūla* (or *pañcaśūci(ka)*) is a common attribute of the vajra:

¹³ From the Chinese translation *bimba* might be understood in the accusative, but according to the context and grammar, it should be instrumental.

*pañcaśūlam mahāvajram nāsāgre tu vibhāvayet**] (fol. 9v7)
pañcaśūlam mahāvajram bhāvayed yogavit sadā | (GS X.11)
khadbātumadhyagatam vajram pañcaśūlam caturmukham | (GS XII.43)¹⁴
antarikṣagatam vajram pañcaśūlam prabhāvayet | (GS XII.73)¹⁵

- 2.3 *akṣarāṇām pramāṇena vakābimbaṃ vibhāvayet* | (fol.3v2)
yi ge rnams kyi tshad kyis ni || wa yi gzugs ni rnam bsgom bya || (D 63a1, L 252b6–7, Q 5a6, S 298a1)
 諸有文字相 其量廣無邊 想依法相應 成金剛影像 (T 516c19–20)

The word *vakābimbaṃ* in the second pāda is read as *vakārabimbaṃ* in the Tibetan. It is likely that here the translator tries to identify *vakā* with *vakāra* (the letter *va*), though this would be highly unusual, or perhaps wishes to emend to *vakāra*, though that would be metrically problematic. In this case the Chinese offers the satisfactory suggestion *vajrabimbaṃ* (image of a thunderbolt) which is metrically correct and yields better sense. Thus this seems to be a case of scribal error, with the Tibetan translator making an unsuccessful attempt to correct or interpret the corrupt text.

- 2.4 *yoṣitā{m} drṣṭamātreṇa p<r>īyante nātra saṃśayaḥ* | (fol. 5v4)
btsun mo mthung ba tsam gyis ni || 'thung 'gyur 'dir ni the tshom med || (D 67b2, Q 9b6, S 303b5, L 257b5–6)
 妙色最上眾莊嚴，見應愛樂勿生怖。 (T 519b10)

Although the word *pīyante* (drink) is confirmed by the Tibetan translation, it is strange in the context. The Chinese suggests *priyante*, as does a similar pāda in the GS:

pañcabuddhās ca sarvajñāḥ prīnante nātra saṃśayaḥ | (GS XVI.100)¹⁶

Thus *priyante* seems to be the original sense, as in “the women (*yoṣitā*) are pleased (*priyante*)”.

- 2.5 *padmaṃ tatra vibhāvītvā buddhabimbaṃ vibhāvītvā* | (fol. 6r2)
padma de la rnam bsgoms shing || sangs rgyas gzugs ni rnam bsgoms nas || (D 68a7, L 258b5, Q 10b3, S 304b6)
 中現妙色淨蓮華，華中諦想諸佛相。 (T 519c17)

For *vibhāvītvā*, the Tibetan rendering suggests *vibhāvanā* which does not fit the meter. The Chinese translation may correspond to *samutpādya* or *vibhāvītvā*, which are both acceptable for the context and the meter. The second *vibhāvītvā* should be corrected to *vibhāvayet* or *vibhāvanā* for metrical reasons, even though it agrees with the Tibetan translation.

- 2.6 *pārśve yoṣitām kṛtvā sarvabuddhas tu pūjāyet** | (fol. 6r3–4)
gzhogs su btsun mo byas nas su || sangs rgyas gzugs ni mchod par bya || (D 68b3, L 259a1, Q 10b7, S 305a3)
 左右想現踰始多，以諸印作供養事。 (T 519c29)

The word *sarvabuddhas* in the second pāda is poor grammar; we would expect something like *sarvabuddhāms*. The Tibetan suggests *buddhabimbaṃ* (image of the Buddha), while the Chinese indicates *sarvamudrām* (all the seals). All three suggestions are metrically and

¹⁶ GS, p. 95.

semantically permissible. However *buddhabimbam* is preferable if we take into account the following verse, which refers to ‘settling in one’s own image’:

*sūryamaṇḍalavidhiṃ kṛtvā svabimban tu niveśayet** || (fol.6r4)

- 2.7 *buddhabimbe vidhānajño bimbe bimbam vibhāvayet** | (fol. 6v4)
cho ga shes pas sangs rgyas gzugs || gzugs la gzugs su rnam bsgom bya || (D 69b6, Q 12a1, S 306a3, L 260a7)
 諸佛影像依法現，那羅延天相亦然。 (T 520b27)

The reading *bimbe bimbam* in the second pāda is followed by the Tibetan translation, but the sense is strange and not in accordance with the context. The Chinese suggests *viṣṇubimbam*, which is preferable given the context, which mainly treats the visualization of various kinds of gods. An intermediate verse in particular refers to the visualization of Viṣṇu’s image (*viṣṇubimbavibhāvanā*):

hastamātram atikramya viṣṇubimba{ṃ}vibhāvanā | (fol. 6v5)

We may assume that *bimbe bimbam* is a scribal error for *viṣṇubimbam*, whereas it is not easy to interpret the reason why the error could be that. And we cannot completely ascertain that here the Chinese reading is closer to the original text. Hence we could only give the footnote with the possibility of the emendation.

- 2.8 *kapotodbhavasambhūtā padmotpalādivannajāḥ |* ○ (fol. 7v2)
padma autpala la sogs pa || ’dam skyes yang dag byung ma skyes || (D 71b2, L 262a4, Q 13b3–4, S 308b)
 如泥中出生，優鉢羅華等。 (T 520c27)

Scribal error is evident in the word *kapota*, meaning “pigeon”; the compound *kapotodbhava-sambhūtā* is incomprehensible in the context. In this case both translations agree that the original should read *kardamodbhavasambhūtā*, meaning “arisen from the mud”. Then it is possible for the compound to connect with the following word *padmotpalādi-vannajāḥ*¹⁷ (the lotus, the water-lily and so on).

- 2.9 *moṣitāncāpi bhumbhita yad evam asod vratī ||* (fol. 8r2)
bslus pa dang yang sa la ’jigs || de ltar gang ’di brtul zbugs can || (D 72b1, L 263a5, Q 14b2, S 309b7)
 所作依此說，異此非觀想。 (T 515b19)

Here scribal errors cause great difficulties. First of all, the first pāda with the words *moṣitān* and *bhumbhita* yields no sense. Unfortunately the Tibetan translation reads in accordance with the manuscript, attempting to translate literally a senseless text (*bhumbhita* is rendered as if we had the words *bhū* and *bhīta*). Moreover the Chinese, as has been mentioned, omits this portion. Considering the context, which refers to the enjoyment of flesh (*māmsa*) and clarified butter (*sarpis*), we could assume that *moṣitān* is a scribal error for *yoṣitān* (woman), and *bhumbhita* is an error for *bhuñjīta* (enjoy). These emendations are paleographically and metrically feasible. Moreover, similar pādas can be cited as supporting evidence, for example:

tām{s} cāpi yoṣitām kṛtvā upabhuñjīta sarvathā || (fol. 7r4)

¹⁷ The last part of this word seems also to be corrupt, but I am not quite sure how it should be corrected.

With regard to the second pāda, the word *asod* is evidently a scribal error, but no convincing alternative suggests itself to me.

2.10 *vicaret siddhibuddhyartham yoṣitāsamkhyapotibbiḥ* | (fol.9r5)
mtsun mo grangs med po ti yis || *dnegos grub rtogs phyir rnam par spyod* || (D 75a1, Q17a1–2, S 312b7)
所作依此說，異此非觀想。 (T 515b19)

It is worth noting that the Tibetan translation often follows a convention such that when the manuscript reading is uncertain, a phonetic transcription will be applied. The verse quoted above is an example. Since *-poṭi* in the compound *yoṣitāsamkhyapotī* could not be interpreted by the Tibetan translator, it is rendered with the Tibetan phonetic transcription པོཏི. There is no corresponding word in the Chinese translation.

Since the words *asamkhyā* and *koṭi* are frequently joined to express the sense of “innumerable”, we may guess that *poṭi* is a scribal error for *koṭi*. Although the compound *asamkhyakoṭi* occurs only once in the AVSM, it is common in other works, for example:

anāgate ’dhvāni asamkhyakoty kṛtvāna pūjāṃ dvīpadottamānām ||
(Saddhp, XI. 1)

Conclusion

1. Our aim is to constitute a Sanskrit text based on the present manuscript, and to critically improve this text with the help of the Chinese and Tibetan translations and of the evidence of parallels within the text and with other texts. Some examples of such improvements have been given above. It is however difficult to make definite decisions in many cases because of the lack of evidence. Although we aim to make the text as close to the original as possible, there will remain several doubtful passages.

2. The Chinese translation, as we have stated, is based on a different manuscript. Though it does not correspond to our manuscript precisely, and in some places seems to insert foreign material, while in others it may have deliberately omitted material, it is highly likely that the manuscript used as the basis of the Chinese translation belongs to a common line of transmission, judging from the commonalities between both texts. Thus it is appropriate to use the Chinese translation as a source for conjectural emendation.

3. My position that the Tibetan translation was made directly from the extant Sanskrit manuscript has been supported with further evidence given in this article. Moreover, some consistent strategies employed by the Tibetan translator have been discovered. For instance, illegible parts of the manuscript are omitted in the translation; and uncertain readings are rendered using phonetic transcription.

Preliminary Edition (to the end of *paṭala* 2)

Conventions

Symbols

()	restorations in a gap
< >	omission of (part of) an akṣara(s) without lacuna in the Ms.
*	virāma
[]	damaged akṣara(s)
.	illegible part of an akṣara
..	one illegible akṣara
▼	line break
○	string hole

Punctuation

Ms.	ed.
gap for punctuation	◇
	-
daṇḍa	or

Abbreviations

D	Derge (sDe dge) blockprint edition of the bKa' 'gyur and bsTan'gyur: <i>rGyud</i> 'bum (cha) 58b–103a.
L	London Manuscript version of the bKa' 'gyur in the British Library: <i>rGyud</i> (ca) 454b–517a. ¹⁸
Q	Peking edition of Kanjur and Tanjur, <i>The Tibetan Tripiṭaka</i> , ed. D. T. Suzuki, Kyoto, 155–61: <i>rGyud</i> (cha) 1–42b (Vol. 3, No. 87, 265-1-1 to 282-4-3).
S	sTog Palace Manuscript version of the bKa' 'gyur: <i>rGyud</i> (ca) 293a–346b (Vol. 96, No. 414, pp. 587–694).
Saddhp	<i>Saddharmapuṇḍarīka</i> , Hendrik Kern and Bunyiu Nanjio, eds., St. Petersburg, 1908–12, reprint Tokyo 1977 (Bibliotheca Buddhica 10).
T	Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō 大正新脩大藏經, J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, eds., 100 vols., Tokyo 1924–34: Vol. 18, No. 887.
Ch.	Chinese (see T)
Tib.	Tibetan

¹⁸ Microfiche copy of the London Kanjur at the Bavarian State Library, Munich.

Advayasamatāvijayamahākālparāja

fol. 2r1–3v3

fol. 2r1, D 59b5–6, L 249a1–3, Q 1a1–5, 1b1–5, S 293a7–293b2, T 514c19–25

▼ sahasrapramāṇaṃ mahāsūryamaṇḍalam adhiṣṭhāya tasya madhye āsīno¹⁹ bhūt* || atha bhagavantaḥ sarvvatathāgatāḥ punaḥ samājam āpadyedaṃ sarvvatathāgatasvāminam adhyeṣitavantaḥ <|>

sādhu te vajradharmāya | vajranetrāya sādhu te ||
sādhu te vajraḥ jñānāya buddhajñānāya sādhu te || peyālam ||

stong phrag gi tshad du nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor chen por²⁰ byin gyis brlabs nas || de'i dbus su gnas par gyur to || de nas bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad slar yang 'dus par gyur nas || de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi rje bo la gsol ba btab po ||

rdo rje chos phyir khyod legs so || rdo rje'i spyen phyir khyod legs so ||
rdo rje ye shes phyir khyod legs || sangs rgyas ye shes phyir khyod legs ||
gong bzhin du sbyar ro ||

復從一切如來心現大日曼拏羅，量廣無數百千世界。還復本身，於其中間安詳而坐。爾時所集一切如來即時各各向金剛手菩薩合掌頂禮勸請說法，說伽陀曰，

善哉金剛最上法， 善哉金剛清淨眼。
善哉金剛最勝智， 普攝諸佛一切智。

fol. 2r1–2, D 59b6–7, L 249a3–4, Q 1a5–1a8, S 293b2–4, T 514c26–27

atha bhagavantaḥ sarvvatathāgatāḥ bhagavantaṃ mahāvajradharaṃ pra[n]i▼ patyaivam āhuḥ | adhyeṣayāma<s> tvām²¹ nātha sarvvabuddhahitaṅkara²² || deśaya paramaṃ yānaṃ mahāyānanayaṃ vibho

de nas bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa rnams thams cad bcom ldan 'das rdo rje chang chen po la phyag 'tshal nas 'di skad ces gsol to ||
sangs rgyas kun la phan par mdzad || sems can mgon la gsol ba ni ||
khyab bdag theg pa chen po'i tshul || theg pa'i mchog ni bstan tu gsol ||

我等勸請金剛手， 普為諸佛作利樂。
宣說自他智所生， 最上大乘祕密法。

fol. 2r2–3, D 60a1–2, L 249a5–8, Q 2a2–4, S 293b5–7, T 514c28–515a4

aḥtha bhagavaṃ vajrapāṇiḥ sarvvatathāgatān evam āha²³ || nāham bhagavantaḥ sarvvatathāgatāḥ utsahe paramatattvanayaṃ nirdeṣṭuṃ <|> sarvatathāgatāḥ prāhuḥ || ko hetuḥ

¹⁹ Ms reads *āsīno*.

²⁰ Q, S, L *po*.

²¹ Ms reads *tvan*.

²² Ms reads ° *hitāṅkaraḥ*.

²³ Ms reads *āhuḥ*.

<|> vajradhara<ḥ> prāha || santi²⁴ bhagavantaḥ sarvvatathāgatā²⁵ {} asminn eva mahā-
pa<r>-ṣanmaṇḍale maitre ▼ yapramukhā mahābodhisatvā idam mahāmahāyānaparamārtha-
nayaṃ śrutvā sahasradhā viśiryante²⁶ ||

de nas bcom ldan 'das phyag na rdo rjes de bzhin gshegs pa rnam thams cad la 'di skad
ces bka' stsal to || bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa rnam thams cad de skad ma zer cig ||
spro ba mchog gi de kho na nyid kyi tshul nges par bstan par de bzhin gshegs pa thams
cad kyi rab tu gsungs so || ci'i rgyus rdo rje 'dzin rab tu gsung || bcom ldan 'das de bzhin
gshegs pa rnam thams cad kyi dgongs || de nyid kyi tshe 'khor chen po'i dkyil 'khor du
byams pa la sogs pa'i byang chub sems dpa' chen po rnam theg pa chen po mchog gi don
gyi tshul chen po 'di thos nas || rnam pa stong du rnam par bsnyil bar gyur to ||

爾時金剛手大執金剛者白諸如來言，諸佛如來不應勸請令我宣說祕密法門。諸如來
言，何因緣故？而汝不說。金剛手言，諸佛當知，今此大會諸菩薩摩訶薩衆中，或
有聞說如是大乘第一義諦祕密法已，乃有多種破壞等相。

fol. 2r3, D 60a2-3, Q 2a4-5, L 249a8-249b1, S 293b7-294a1, T 515a4-5

sarvvatathāga-○tāḥ prāhuḥ ||
adhiṣṭhānaṃ tvayā śāntaṃ buddhānaṃ kāritaṃ vibho <|>
tad eva <sarva>vajrāṇāṃ²⁷ adhiṣṭhānaṃ samācāret* ||
de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad la gsol pa ||
khyod kyi zhi bar byin brlabs pas || sangs rgyas rnam kyi rnam pa can ||
khyab bdag de nyid rdo rje can || byin brlabs²⁸ mnyam par kun du spyod ||

諸如來言，我等各以神力加持會衆復令悉成大金剛衆。汝今但當施作佛事。

fol. 2r3-4, D 60a3-4, L 249b1-3, Q 2a5-8, S 294a1-3, T 515a6-9

atha bhagavāṃ vajrapāṇiḥ ○ utphullalocanaḥ²⁹ sarvvatathāgatānā<m> sādhu-kāraṃ
datvā sarvvatathāgatānāṃ mahācakraraśmibhir³⁰ āpūrya sa<r>vata ▼ thāgatahṛdayasaṃ-
codanī-<m> nāma³¹ samādhiṃ samāpannaḥ samanantarasaṃpannasya catvāro mahā-
sūryama-ṇḍalā<ḥ>○prādu<r>bhūtāḥ ||

de nas bcom ldan 'das phyag na rdo rjes spyang gdangs nas de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad
la legs so byin nas || de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi 'khor lo chen po'i 'od zer gyis bkang
nas || de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi thugs yang dag par skul³² bar byed pa zhes bya ba'i
ting nge 'dzin la snyoms par zhugs so || snyoms par zhugs ma thag tu nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor
chen po bzhi rab tu byung bar gyur te ||

爾時金剛手大執金剛者熙怡微笑瞻仰諸佛。讚諸佛言，善哉善哉。即入一切如來大輪
光明普照一切如來心三摩地，從是三摩地出已。於其四方現四大日曼拏羅。

fol. 2r4-5, D 60a4-6, L 249b3-6, Q 2a8-2b2, S 294a4-6, T 515a10-12

²⁴ Both Tib. and Ch. understand *mantī*, but *santi* is more reasonable considering the grammar and the sense.

²⁵ Ms reads °*gatāḥ*.

²⁶ Ms reads *visir*.

²⁷ The Tibetan rendering is omitted, while Ch. suggests *mahāvajrāṇāṃ*.

²⁸ D, S *rlabs*.

²⁹ Ms reads °*locanāḥ*.

³⁰ Ms reads °*rasmibhir*.

³¹ Ms reads *nāne*.

³² L *bskul*.

pūrvasyāṃ³³ diśi akṣayarūpadhārī<ḥ> nāma mahāsūryamaṇḍala<ḥ> prādurbhūtaḥ³⁴ ||
da-kṣiṇasyāṃ diśi ratnacintāmaṇivajro nāma mahāsūryamaṇḍala<ḥ> prādurbhūtaḥ ||
paści- māyāṃ diśi amṛtavajro nāma mahāsūryamaṇḍala<ḥ> prādurbhūtaḥ || [u]ttarasyā-
<ṃ> diśi amoghasamayavajro nāma mahāsūryamaṇḍala<ḥ> prādurbhūtaḥ |

shar gyi phyogs su³⁵ mi zad pa'i gzugs 'dzin ma zhes bya ba'i nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor chen
po rab tu shin tu byung bar gyur to || lho phyogs su³⁶ rin po che yid bzhin gyi nor bu'i
rdo rje zhes bya ba'i nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor rab tu shin tu byung bar gyur to || nub phyogs su
'chi med rdo rje zhes bya ba'i nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor rab tu shin tu byung bar gyur to || byang
phyogs su don yod pa'i dam tshig gi rdo rje zhes bya ba'i nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor rab tu shin tu
byung bar gyur to ||

東方名持無盡色大日曼拏羅，南方名如意寶金剛大日曼拏羅，西方名無量金剛大日
曼拏羅，北方名不空三昧金剛大日曼拏羅，如是現已。

fol. 2r5–6, D 60a6–7, L 249b6–8, Q 2b2–4, S 294a6–294b2, T 515a13–17

atha bhagavāṃ³⁷ vajrapāṇiḥ sa rrvatathāgatānāṃ sarvabodhisattvānāṃ ca advayasama-
tāvijayaṃ nāma mahākālparājaṃ deśayati sma || vajracaryābhīyukta<ṃ> nāma sa rrvva-
tathāgatānāṃ ca evaṃ daśasu dikṣu³⁸ sa eva bhagavāṃ vajrapāṇiḥ evaṃ guṇaviśiṣṭayā [ṛddh]
yā evaṃ guṇayuktena parśanmaṇḍalena sārddhaṃ daśasu dikṣu viharati ||

de nas bcom ldan 'das phyag na rdo rje de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad dang byang chub
sems dpa' thams cad kyi gnyis su med pa mnyam pa nyid rnam par rgyal ba zhes bya ba'i
rtog pa'i rgyal po chen po ston to || rdo rje'i spyod pa mngon par brtson pa shes bya ba'i de
bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyang³⁹ bcom ldan 'das phyag na rdo rje de nyid kyi phyogs bcu
rnams su de bzhin no || de bzhin du yon tan khyad par du 'phags pa'i rdzu 'phrul dang ||
de bzhin du yon tan dang ldan pa'i 'khor gyi dkyil 'khor dang thabs cig⁴⁰ tu phyogs bcu
bzhugs so ||

乃為一切如來一切菩薩眾會宣說無二平等最勝大儀軌王祕密法門。其所宣說與一切
菩薩如理相應，令一切菩薩成就一切如來最勝功德神通事業，普遍眾會，乃至盡十
方界一切佛菩薩如理而住。

fol. 2r6, D 60a7–60b2, L 249b8–250a2, Q 2b4–6, S 294b2–4, T 515a18–21

tad yathāpi nāma trisāhasramahāsāha sro lokadhātuḥ khadyotaprabhayā saṃcchan-
no bhavet* || sarvasūryamaṇḍalaprabhayā sahānumātram⁴¹ api na kṣamate prabhāṃ kar-
tum evaṃ e va sarvatathāgatāḥ ni(ṣ)prabhāḥ vajrasatvaprabhayā dhyāmībhūta<ḥ> saṃ-
tiṣṭhante⁴² sma ||

³³ Ms reads °*syān*.

³⁴ Ms reads °*bhūtāḥ*.

³⁵ Q *nas*.

³⁶ Q *nas*.

³⁷ Ms reads *bhagavam*.

³⁸ Ms reads *dikṣuḥ*. The visarga here is used as punctuation; cf. John Brough, “The Language of the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, Vol. 16, No. 2 (1954), p. 361.

³⁹ S omits *kyang*.

⁴⁰ Q, L *gcig*.

⁴¹ Ms reads *sahānu*.

⁴² Ms reads *santiṣṭhante*.

'di lta ste || yang stong gsum gyi stong chen po zhes bya ba'i 'jig rten gyi khams rnams⁴³
mkha' snang gi 'od zer gyis g'yogs par gyur to || nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor thams cad kyi 'od zer
gyis lhan cig pa dang mthun pa tsam du'ng mi bzod pa'i 'od zer du byas pa de lta kho nar
de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi 'od rdo rje sems dpa'i 'od kyi mog mog por gyur nas kun
tu gnas so ||

譬如虛空光明遍照三千大千世界。所有一切日輪光明隨量而照亦悉周遍。所有一切
如來光明，金剛手菩薩光明亦復如是，光光混融平等照耀。如實觀者如理而住。

fol. 2r7–2v1, D 60b2–4, L 250a2–5, Q 2b6–3a1, S 294b4–7, T 515a22–28

atha bhagavantah sarvva ▼ tathāgatāḥ || vajrapāṇim bodhisatvaṃ⁴⁴ sarvvatathāgatapūjāme-
ghaiḥ sampūjya <|> samantabhadra iti nāma-m-○utpādyā⁴⁵ tūṣṇī<m> vyavasthitā 'bhūvan*
atha samantabhadro {mantabhadro} mahāvajradharaḥ sarvvabodhisatvāṃ⁴⁶ svahrdaye⁴⁷
sthāpya jñānakula<m> so○tpatti<m> sarahasyaṅ ca sarvvatathāgataguhyasphuṭikaraṇa-
hetoḥ svasamādhisamāpanaḥ <|> jñānakula ▼ svasamādhi<m> [de]śayati sma ||

de nas bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad phyag na rdo rje de la byang chub
sems dpa' dang || de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad mchod pa'i sprin rnams kyi yang dag par
mchod de || kun tu bzang po zhes bya ba bskyed de cang mi gsung ba'i rnam par gnas par
gyur to || de nas kun tu bzang po rdo rje chang chen po byang chub sems dpa' thams cad
kyi rang gi thugs la bzhags nas ye shes kyi rigs de bskyed pa gsang chen dang bcas pa de
bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi gsang ba gsal bar byed pa'i rgyu⁴⁸ rang gi ting nge 'dzin la
snyoms par zhugs te || ye shes kyi rigs rang gi ting nge 'dzin ston to ||

爾時一切如來即以一切如來普賢出生供養雲海供養金剛手菩薩，作供養已。彼諸如
來默然而住。爾時金剛手大執金剛者即入觀照一切菩薩心智部出生一切如來最上祕
密破諸暗因自三摩地，從是三摩地出已，宣說智部三摩地法門。

fol. 2v1, D 60b4–5, L 250a5–7, Q 3a1–2, S 294b7–95a2, T 515a29–515b5

caturasraṃ catuṣkoṇaṃ catūratnasamāgataṃ⁴⁹ ||
kṣīrodadhi<m> samākīrṇaṃ⁵⁰ kṛtvā dhyānaṃ samārabhe○t* ||
tasya madhye mahāpadmaṃ sphaṭikendusamaprabhaṃ ||
svacchamaṇḍalasa<m>yogān maṇḍalaṃ tat[ra] bhāvayet* ||
logs bzhi pa la zur bzhi pa || rin chen bzhi dang yang dag ldan ||
'o ma zho ni kun bkram par || byas nas bsam gtan yang dag brtsam ||
de yi dbus su padma che || shel dang zla ba mnyam pa'i 'od ||
gsal ba'i dkyil 'khor yang dag ldan || dkyil 'khor rgyun du bsgom par bya ||

當住禪定心， 觀清淨乳海。
觀自心種子， 與自法相應。

⁴³ L omits *rnams*.

⁴⁴ Ms reads °*satvo*. The emendation is made on the basis of Ch. and the context.

⁴⁵ We take the *-m-* here as a hiatus-bridger.

⁴⁶ Ms reads °*satvaṃ*.

⁴⁷ Tib. suggests *sarvvabodhisatvasvahrdaye*. However the sense clearly requires us to separate the words.

⁴⁸ L *rgyud*.

⁴⁹ Ms reads *caturatnasayogataṃ*.

⁵⁰ Ms reads °*kīrṇāṃ*.

由是觀想成， 自心曼拏羅。
 而此曼拏羅， 縱廣一肘量。
 四方及四隅， 四寶勝莊嚴。

fol. 2v1–2, D 60b5–6, L 250a7–8, Q 3a2–4, S 295a2–3, T 515b6–9

teṣu jvālāsamājeṣu buddhabimbam vibhāvayet* ||
 vi○<ṃ>śatihasta[ṃ]⁵¹ dhyāyīta⁵² sama[ntāt] parima[ṇḍa]lam ||
 tasya madhye vidhānājño svabi[mba]<ṃ> bhāvaye[c chubham ||]
 [ātmātmīyavikalpām]▼ś ca tyaktvā dhyānaṃ samārabhet* ||
 'bar ba'i⁵³ 'dus pa de rnam su || sangs rgyas gzugs ni rnam par bsgom ||
 kun nas yongs su zlum po ni || khru ni nyi shu bsams par bya ||
 cho ga shes pas⁵⁴ de dbus su || rang gzugs dge ba bsgom par bya ||
 bdag dang bdag gir rnam rtog pa || dor ba'i bsam gtan yang dag brtsam ||

依法而想成， 住心不散亂。
 周匝有光明， 熾盛普照耀。
 彼中依法儀， 觀自身清淨。
 離我等分別， 即想成佛身。

fol.2v2, D 60b6–7, L 250a8–250b2, Q 3a4–5, S 295a3–5, T 515b10–16

jñānakulavidhānena mantram cedam anusmaret ||
 om sarvatathā{gatā}gatajñānakulasvabhā○vātmako 'ham <|>
 anena mudrā{samā}samāsenā sarvvapāpām⁵⁵ parityajet[*] ||
 raśmau daśasāhasrādya[ṃ] dhyāyīta vimalodgatam ||
 ye she rigs kyi cho ga yis || gsang sngags sems la rje dran bya ||
 om sa rba ta thā ga tā dznyā na kula sva bhā ba ātma ko 'ham ||
 'dis phyag rgya mnyam par 'dus pas || sdig pa thams cad yongs su dor bar bya'o ||
 'od zer stong phrag bcu pa ni || dang por bsams nas dri ma⁵⁶ dbyung⁵⁷ ||

如是觀想已， 成就曼拏羅。
 次依智部儀， 大明如是稱。
 唵引一句薩哩嚩二合怛他引識多二倪也二合引那莎婆引嚩引怛摩二合酷引欣呼郎切三
 大明所用印， 並依智部儀。
 而此大明力， 能滅一切罪。
 觀想有百千， 無垢最上光。

fol. 2v2–3, D.60b7, L 250b2–3, Q 3a5–6, S 295a5–6, T 515b17–20

⁵¹ Ms reads *vimsati*°.

⁵² Ms reads *dhyāyīt**.

⁵³ D, Q, S *ba*.

⁵⁴ Q *pa*.

⁵⁵ The gender is changed to masc. m.c.

⁵⁶ Q *med*.

⁵⁷ L *dbug*.

jñānakula{ṃ}vi-○ dhānena vidyārājam vibhā[va]yet* ||
 sū[kṣ]masitāmsūjvālādyamvinyaset[*] ||
 sarvva<ṃ> tad e[va karttavya<ṃ>] (anyathā naiva)⁵⁸▼[bhāva]yet* ||
 ity āha bhagavāṃ sarvvatathāgatavajrābhīṣekaḥ ||
 ye shes rigs kyi cho ga yis || rig pa'i rgyal po rnam par bsgom ||
 'od dkar phra mo 'bar ba ni || teng ni kun tu rnam par dgod ||
 thams cad de nyid du bya ste || bsgom par bya ||
 bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi rdo rje'i dbang bskur ba 'di
 gsungs so ||

復依智部儀， 觀想明王等。
 微妙白淨光， 依法想安布。
 所作依此說， 異此非觀想。
 此名一切如來金剛灌頂法門。

fol. 2v3, D 60b7–61a2, L 250b3–4, Q_3a6–7, S 295a6–295b1, T 515b21–26

svadehaṃ sudṛḍhaṃ kṛtvā raśmiyogavidhānataḥ ||
 bu○ddhabimbasamājais tu lakṣaṇaiḥ vajrasatvajaiḥ ||
 prārabhed vidhānajño siddhis⁵⁹ tasya na durlabhā⁶⁰ ||
 svabimba<ṃ> niścalaṃ kṛtvā vajrasatvavidhāna○taḥ <|>
 rang lus shin tu brtan byas nas || 'od kyi tshul gyi cho ga rnam ||
 sangs rgyas gzugs ni 'dus pas ni || mtshon pas rdor sems bskyed pas so ||
 cho ga shes pas rab brtsams nas⁶¹ || de yi dngos grub snyed mi dka' ||
 rang gi gzugs ni mi g'yo bar || byas nas rdor sems cho ga rnam ||

住自心堅固， 出相應光明。
 觀想佛影像， 及金剛手相。
 諸求悉地者， 依金剛手法。
 彼依法相應， 悉地不難得。
 若依此法者， 如理而觀想。
 自影像不動， 即成金剛手。

fol. 2v3–4, D 61a2–4, L 250b4–7, Q_3a7–3b2, S 295b1–3, T 515b27–515c4

sphārayīta vidhānajño yāvad ākāśalaṅghanam ||
 buddhabimba<ṃ> svabimbañ ca savyam⁶² [kṛtvā saṃyogalakṣaṇaiḥ]⁶³ ||
 ▼⁶⁴yogadhyānavelāyāṃ niśpādyam tatra prakṣipet* ||
 svabimbaṃ buddhabimbañ ca pañcasthāneṣ<u>⁶⁵ buddhimān[*] ||

⁵⁸ Restored in accordance with Ch.

⁵⁹ Ms reads *siddhin*.

⁶⁰ Ms reads *durlabbāḥ*.

⁶¹ L *na*.

⁶² Ch. understands *caikyam*.

⁶³ Two more syllables in the pāda.

⁶⁴ One syllable is missing here.

⁶⁵ Ms reads *yathe sthāneṣa*, and Tib. suggests *yathāsthāneṣu*. It is corrected according to Ch. which makes more sense.

yojayan hi⁶⁶○yathānyāyaṃ vajrasatva<ṃ> vibhāvayet* ||
ity āha bhagavāṃ sarvvatathāgatasvāmī ||

ji srid nam mkha' 'gongs⁶⁷ gyur pa || cho ga shes pas spro bar bya ||
sangs rgyas gzugs dang rang gzugs shing || byas nas kun sbyor mtshan nyid kyis⁶⁸ ||
rnal 'byor bsam gtan dus su ni || rdzogs bya de la rab tu gzhug⁶⁹ ||
rang gi gzugs dang sangs rgyas gzugs || ji ltar gnas ltar blo dang ldan ||
ji ltar rigs par sbyor⁷⁰ ba ni || rdo rje sems dpar bsgom par bya ||
de bzhin gshegs pa kun gyi rje || bcom ldan 'das kyis 'di gsungs so ||⁷¹

諸有知法者， 依法而觀想。
乃至彼虛空， 亦無過越罪。
佛相與自相， 同一相應相。
彼定心相應， 諸所作成就。
自影像佛相， 智者五處觀。
依相應法門， 想金剛薩埵。
此名一切如來主法門。

fol. 2v4-5, D 61a4-5, L 250b7-8, Q 3b2-3, S 295b3-5, T 515c5-9

svadehaṃ bhāvayed yogī jvālāmālākulaprabhaṃ ||
tatrai○va vajrayogena tad vajrābhedyabhāvanāt ||
pañcaraśmiṣu⁷² niścārya [bodh]i[c]i[ttam v]ibhāvaye[t*] ||
[hṛdaye] ▼ ... [sa]r[vva]buddhā<ṃ>[s] tu p[ū]jayet* ||
ity āha bhagavāṃ sarvvatathāgatasvāmī ||

'bar ba'i phreng ba 'khrugs pa'i 'od || rang lus bsgom bya rnal 'byor pa ||
de nyid rdo rje'i tshul gyis ni || rdo rje dbyer med de sgom mo ||
'od lnga shin tu phyung nas ni || byang chub sems ni rnam par bsgom ||

snying gar ||
sangs rgyas kun ni mchod par bya || de bzhin gshegs pa kun gyi rje ||
bcom ldan 'das kyis 'di gsungs so ||

想自心大明， 出焰鬘部光。
中現金剛杵， 摧破一切惡。
自心心所作， 想成菩提心。
出現五光明， 供養一切佛。
此復名一切如來主法門。

fol. 2v5, D 61a5-6, L 250b8-251a2, Q 295b3-5, S 295b5-7, T 515c10-13

maṇḍalam pañca⁷³ dhyāyīta jvālāmāl<ā>-○kulaprabhaṃ ||

⁶⁶ Ms reads *yojayanti*.

⁶⁷ Q 'geng.

⁶⁹ Q, L *gzhugs*.

⁷⁰ Q sbyar.

⁷¹ The prose in Sanskrit is interpreted as a verse in Tib.

⁷² Ms reads *pañcarasmisu*.

⁷³ It should be corrected to *pañcam*. The form is retained m.c.

buddhabimbaṃ samājais tu āpūrya mantrabhāvanāt* ||
 buddhabimbam iti kṛtvā bhāvayet bhāvanātmakaḥ ||
 svabimban tatra dhyāy[i]ta ka{1}○lp<o>[t]pādaividhānataḥ ||
 'bar ba'i phreng ba 'khrugs pa'i 'od || dkyil 'khor lnga ni bsam par⁷⁴ bya ||
 sangs rgyas gzugs ni 'dus pas⁷⁵ ni || bkang ste sngags ni bsgoms pa las ||
 sangs rgyas gzugs bsnyan ltar byas nas || sgom pa'i bdag nyid can bsgom bya ||
 rang gi gzugs ni⁷⁶ der bsam bya || rtog pa bskyed⁷⁷ pa'i cho ga las ||

觀五曼拏羅， 周匝焰光明。◦
 普遍佛影像， 想大明成就。◦
 定心觀自身， 離取相分別。◦
 諦想自影像， 等諸佛無異。◦

fol. 2v5–6, D 61a6–61b1, L 251a2–4, Q 3b5–6, S 295b7–296a1, T 515c14–19

hṛdaye bodhicittaṅ ca bhāvayet tatra yogajā[m] ||
 [niścārayed v]idhāna[j]ño vajra[satvā]m (v)[i](bhū)▼[ṣ]itā[m]⁷⁸ ||
 teṣu⁷⁹ ca vajrasatveṣu buddhabimbam vibhāvayet* ||
 buddhabimbeṣu vidhānajñāḥ⁸⁰ akṣarāṇu<m> vibhāvayet* ||
 thugs la byang chub sems kyang ni || bsgom bya de la rnal 'byor skyes ||
 rdo rje sems dpas rnam par brgyan⁸¹ || cho ga shes pas dbyung bar bya ||
 der⁸² yang rdo rje sems dpa' la || sangs rgyas gzugs ni rnam bsgom bya ||
 cho ga shes pas sangs rgyas gzugs || yi ge phra mo rnam par bsgom ||

自心菩提心， 想相應出生。◦
 金剛手莊嚴， 出生諸儀法。◦
 若住相應觀， 觀金剛手者。◦
 但當依法儀， 想諸佛影像。◦
 欲觀佛影像， 當諦觀文字。◦
 觀文字真實， 即見佛影像。◦

fol. 2v6, D 61b1–2, L 251a4–5, Q 3b6–7, S 296a1–3, T 515c20–25

akṣa○reṣu ca sarveṣu buddhabimbām vibhāvayet* ||
 teṣu cākṣaradvayeṣu svabimbākāravibhāvanāt*⁸³ <|>
 sūryamaṇḍalayogena svabimbam bhāvayed budhaḥ || ○
 aṃśuvyāptam⁸⁴ idaṃ kṣetraṃ yāvad ākāśalaṅghana[m] ||

⁷⁴ D, Q, S *pa*.

⁷⁵ Q *pa*.

⁷⁶ L omits *ni*.

⁷⁷ Q *skyed*.

⁷⁸ Tib. understands both words as a compound, namely, *vajrasatvavibhūṣitām*.

⁷⁹ Ms reads °*tesu*.

⁸⁰ Ms reads °*jñāḥ*.

⁸¹ L *rgyan*.

⁸² L *rgyan*.

⁸³ Ms reads *svabimbaṃ kāra*°.

⁸⁴ The Ms is indistinct, resembling *aṅga*°. It is probable that the omission of *aṃśu* in Tib. is due to the indistinctness of the akṣara.

yi ge rnams su'ang⁸⁵ thams cad du || sangs rgyas gzugs ni rnam bsgom bya ||
 de rnams dang ni yi ge gnyis || rang gzugs rnam par rnam⁸⁶ bsgom la ||
 nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor tshul gyis ni || mkhas pas rang gzugs bsgom par bya ||
 ji srid nam mkha' 'gongs⁸⁷ gyur pa || zhing 'di khyab par g.yog⁸⁸ par bya ||

然於文字中， 觀影像離相。
 若如是觀時， 成相應觀想。
 先住心一處， 想日曼拏羅。
 觀自身清淨， 在曼拏羅中。
 次想遍虛空， 普現曼拏羅。
 依法如是觀， 即觀想成就。

fol. 2v6-7, D 61b2-3, L 251a5-6, Q 3b7-4a1, S296a3-4, T 515c26-516a4

sūryamaṇḍalayogena vajrayogam vibhāvayet(* ||)
 (candraṇḍala)▼yogena⁸⁹ buddhabimbam vibhāvayet* ||
 sūryamaṇḍalayogaiś ca lokadhātum idaṃ spharet* ||
 aṃśuvyāptam i○daṃ kṣetraṃ yāvad ākāśalaṅghana[m]⁹⁰ ||
 nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor tshul gyis ni || rdo rje'i rnal 'byor rnam bsgom bya ||
 sbyor rnams su ||⁹¹ sangs rgyas gzugs ni rnam bsgom bya ||
 nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor tshul gyis ni || 'jig rten khams 'dir spro bar bya ||
 ji srid nam mkha' 'gongs⁹² gyur pa'i || zhing 'di khyab par g.yog par bya ||

彼日曼拏羅， 若觀想相應。
 即彼金剛手， 觀想而成就。
 若彼金剛手， 依法相應者。
 即諸佛影像， 觀想得相應。
 又日曼拏羅， 若觀想相應。
 四印曼拏羅， 亦觀想成就。
 若住心一處， 或復遍世界。
 乃至盡虛空， 依法無過越。

fol. 2v7-3r1, D 61b3-5, L 251a6-8, Q 4a1-2, S 296a4-6, T 516a5-13

candraṇḍalayogena sūryamaṇḍalabhāvanā{ta} ||
 sūryamaṇḍalayogena⁹³ buddhabimbavibhāvanā ||
 buddha○bimbavibhāvena candramaṇḍala[vi]bhāvanā ||
 candramaṇḍala[yoge]na [buddhabimbavi]bhāvanā []

⁸⁵ L *su*.

⁸⁶ D, L, S *mnyam*.

⁸⁷ Q *'gengs*.

⁸⁸ Q *g.yogs*.

⁸⁹ Ms reads ° *yogesū*. It is corrected according to the parallels. The emendation is made in accordance with Ch.

⁹⁰ Ms reads ° *laighatam*.

⁹¹ L omits this verse.

⁹² Q *'gengs*.

⁹³ Ms reads *sūryamaṇḍalo*.

(ity āha bhagavām)⁹⁴.. ▼ nām dharmarājāḥ⁹⁵ <|>

zla ba'i dkyil 'khor tshul gyis ni || nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor sgom pa las ||
nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor tshul gyis ni || sangs rgyas gzugs ni rnam bsgom pa ||
sangs rgyas gzugs ni rnam bsgoms pas || zla ba'i dkyil 'khor rnam bsgom pa ||
zla ba'i dkyil 'khor tshul gyis ni || sangs rgyas gzugs ni rnam bsgom pa ||
chos kyi rgyal ||

四印曼拏羅， 即觀想相應。◦
彼日曼拏羅， 觀想亦成就。◦
若日曼拏羅， 觀想相應者。◦
即諸佛影像， 觀想亦相應。◦
由如是依法， 觀諸佛影像。◦
亦如是觀想， 四印曼拏羅。◦
若如是相應， 四印曼拏羅。◦
即如是觀想， 彼諸佛影像。◦
此名金剛手菩薩法王法門。◦

fol. 3r1, D 61b5–6, L 251a8–251b1, Q 4a2–4, S 296a6–296b1, T 516a14–17

padmayogavidhānena bhāvanā sarvva⁹⁶ kalpayet* ||
anyathā naiva yujyante⁹⁷ bhāvanādiparigraḥ⁹⁸ hāt* ||
buddhabimbam vibhāvitvā sudṛḍhaṃ sthiracetasaḥ ||
bodhicittaṃ samutpādyā tatrātmāna<m>⁹⁸ vibhāvayet* ||

padma'i rnal 'byor cho ga yis || sgom bya thams cad brtag par bya ||
sgom pa la sogs yongs 'dzin las || gzhan du mchod bya min pa nyid ||
sangs rgyas gzugs ni rnam bsgoms nas || shin tu brtan par brtan pa'i sems ||
byang chub sems ni yang dag bskyed || rgyun tu bdag nyid rnam bsgom bya ||

觀一切儀軌， 想蓮華相應。◦
攝觀想等法， 異此非相應。◦
當觀想自身， 善住堅固心。◦
從菩提心生， 想現佛影像。◦

fol. 3r1, D 61b6–7, L 251b1–2, Q 4a4, S 296b1–2, T 516a18–22

idam vajranayaṃ śāntaṃ tikṣṇa{m}dhāraḥ samaprabhaṃ ||
āpūryate vidhānajño vajrasatvavibhāvanair <|>
ity āha bhagavām samantabhadraḥ ||●||

'di ni rdo rje'i tshul zhi ba || rnon po gzhi⁹⁹ dang mnyam pa'i 'od ||
rdo rje sems dpa' rnam bsgoms pas || cho ga shes pas dgang¹⁰⁰ bar bya ||

⁹⁴ The emendation is made in accordance with Ch.

⁹⁵ Ms reads *rājāḥ*.

⁹⁶ There are some problems with the usage of *bhāvanā* and *sarva* which might be corrected to *bhāvanām sarvām*, whereas the forms should be retained m.c.

⁹⁷ Tib. understands *pūjyante*. It is highly likely that the misreading derives from the similarity of *pa* and *ya*, and the confusion of *u* and *ū*. The context and Ch. support *yujyante*.

⁹⁸ Ms reads *tantrā*. It is corrected in accordance with the parallel passages and the context.

⁹⁹ S *bzhi*.

¹⁰⁰ Q *dgod*.

zhes bcom ldan 'das kun tu bzang pos gsungs so ||

此最上祕密， 金剛寂靜教。
大利智慧光， 平等而照耀。
若依法觀想， 能滿一切願。
想金剛薩埵， 是名金剛法
此名普賢持金剛法門。

fol. 3r1–2, D 61b7–62a1, L 251b2–4, Q 4a4–6, S 296b2,¹⁰¹ T 516a23–25

[atha sa]▼ mantabhadro mahāvajradharāḥ sarvvabodhisatvāṃ hṛdayān niścacāra || atha te mahābodhisatvāḥ sarvvā○kāśadhātum āpūrya sarvvabodhisatvapūjāmeghaiḥ sampūjya ||¹⁰² bhagavantam mahāvajradharan namasyamānāḥ sthitā abhūvan* ||

de nas kun tu bzang po rdo rje 'chang chen po byang chub sems dpa' thams cad kyi thugs las byung¹⁰³ ngo || de nas byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po de rnam nam mkha'i khams thams cad bkang ste || byang chub sems dpa' thams cad mchod pa'i sprin rnam kyi yang dag par mchod de || bcom ldan 'das rdo rje 'chang chen po la 'dud pa dang ldan par kun tu gnas par gyur to ||

爾時普賢菩薩摩訶薩觀察衆會，即雨一切菩薩供養雲海，滿虛空界。供養金剛手大執金剛者，作供養已，又復至誠頂禮歸命依法而住。

fol. 3r2–3, D 62a1–3, L 251b4–7, Q 4a6–8, S lost, T 516a26–29

atha sarvva○tathāgatāḥ punaḥ samājam āgamyā samantabhadram mahābodhisattvaṃ sarvvatathāgatamahāpūjāmeghaiḥ sampū▼jya¹⁰⁴ praṇipatyocu<ḥ>¹⁰⁵ || bodhicittavajre praviśya sarvvatathāgataśmi<bhi>r¹⁰⁶ āpūrya tāṃs ca raśmayāḥ¹⁰⁷ sarvvata○thāgatākārām¹⁰⁸ samcodayanti sma ||

de nas de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad slar yang 'dus par gyur nas kun tu bzang po byang chub sems dpa' chen po la || de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad mchod pa'i sprin chen po rnam kyi yang dag par mchod de phyag 'tshal nas || byang chub kyi sems rdo rje la rab tu zhugs nas || de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi 'od zer kun tu gang ste || 'od zer de rnam de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi 'byung gnas yang dag par bskul bar gyur to ||

爾時所集一切如來復於會中雨一切如來供養雲海，供養普賢菩薩摩訶薩，作供養已。從金剛菩提心出現照一切如來相圓滿光明，普遍照耀。

fol. 3r3–4, D 62a3–5, L 251b7–252a1, Q 4a8–4b2, S 297a1, T 516b1–516b4

atha samantabhadro mahāvajradharāḥ sarvvatathāgatāṃ dṛḍhikṛtya [[]] asya jñānakulasya sphītikara○ṇahetoḥ svabimbaṃ vairocanabimbam adhiṣṭhāya svabimbākārā<ṃ>¹⁰⁹

¹⁰¹ There are only two lines of writing on the page.

¹⁰² Visarga as daṇḍa.

¹⁰³ D, L, S *phyung*.

¹⁰⁴ Visarga as daṇḍa.

¹⁰⁵ MS reads °*patyocu*.

¹⁰⁶ Ms reads °*rasmir*. It is obvious that Tib. is influenced by the omission of *bhi* which is probably a scribal error. The absence of an instrumental particle in the Tib. is therefore not surprising.

¹⁰⁷ Ms reads *rasmayah*.

¹⁰⁸ Ms reads *ākāram*.

¹⁰⁹ Tib. reads the akṣaras as a compound, namely *svabimbārāśmibhir*. However the context requires this to be corrected.

raśmibhir¹¹⁰ niścārya sarvvatathāgatasama[ya]▼[s]ā[ra]ṃ jñānakulasamādhipaṭala<ṃ> bhāṣa-
te sma ||

de nas kun tu bzang po rdo rje 'chang chen po de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad brtan par
mdzad nas || ye shes kyi rigs¹¹¹ 'di rgyas par byed pa'i gyu rang gi gzugs rnam par snang
mdzad kyi gzugs su byin gyi brlabs nas || rang gi gzugs kyi rnam pa'i 'od zer rnam kyis
phyung ste de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi dam tshig gi snying po ye shes rigs kyi ting
nge 'dzin gyi le'u¹¹² gsungs so ||

是時普賢菩薩摩訶薩即現自影像光明。其光名為一切如來堅固用智部破暗因。於是
光中隱自身相。現毘盧遮那佛相。即說一切如來三昧真實智部三摩地法門。

fol. 3r4, D 62a5–6, L 252a1–2, Q 4b2–3, S 297a1–3, T 516b5–8

tad eva sarvvaṃ kurvīta dhyānasamyogalakṣaṇaiḥ ||
prārabhet¹¹³ vidhānājño idam tatvanayaṃ śubhaṃ ||
sahasrahastaṃ dhyāyīta sūryamaṇḍalam uttamaṃ ||
candraṇḍalamadhyasthaṃ vakāraṃ tatra bhāvayet* ||

de nyid thams cad byed bzhin pa'i || bsam gtan kun sbyor mtshan nyid kyis ||
cho ga shes pas rab tu brtsam || 'di ni de nyid tshul dag pa'o ||
nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor mchog gyur pa¹¹⁴ || khru ni stong phrag bsam par bya ||
zla ba'i dkyil 'khor dbus gnas par || wa yig de la bsgom par bya ||

知法者了知， 彼一切所作。
禪定相應相， 真實清淨法。
想日曼拏羅， 最上千肘量。
內有月輪壇， 中觀想字。

fol. 3r4–5, D 62a6–7, L 252a2–4, Q 4b3–5, S 297a3–4, T 516b9–13

vitastimātraṃ dhyāyīta¹¹⁵ samantāt parimaṇḍalam ||
jvālāṃ tatra vidhānājño nānāvarṇṇām vibhā▼vayet* ||
teṣu jvālāsamutpanne buddhabimbam vibhāvayet* ||
dikṣu sarvāsu oṃkāraṃ nānāvarṇṇam¹¹⁶ vicintayet* ||

kun nas yongs su zlum por ni || mthe¹¹⁷ chung mtho¹¹⁸ tsam bsam par bya ||
'bar ba de la cho ga shes || sna tshogs kha dog rnam par bsgom ||
der¹¹⁹ ni 'bar ba yang dag skyes || sangs rgyas gzugs ni rnam bsgom bya ||
phyogs rnam kun tu oṃ yig ni || kha dog sna tshogs rnam bsam bya ||

¹¹⁰ Ms reads *rasmī*°.

¹¹¹ L *gas*.

¹¹² S adds *gsum*.

¹¹³ The form *prārabheta* is the appropriate choice m.c., but the form *prārabhet* is consistently applied in the Ms, so it is retained.

¹¹⁴ L *pas*.

¹¹⁵ Ms reads *dhyāyeta*. The *virāma* is not distinct here, however the form is expected to be *dhyāyīta* since it is consistently used in the Ms.

¹¹⁶ Ms reads °*varṇṇām*.

¹¹⁷ S *mthe'u*.

¹¹⁸ S *ma*.

¹¹⁹ L *de*.

字周匝復觀， 四方曼拏羅。
 縱廣一尺量， 有種種色光。
 彼焰光普遍， 想諸佛影像。
 四方及四隅， 各觀想唵字。
 彼字一一現， 種種微妙色。

fol. 3r5, D 62a7–62b1, L 252a4–5, Q 4b5–6, S 297a4–6, T 516b14–19

nirvarttayed vidhānajño vairocanādivibhāvanaiḥ ||
 sūryamaṇḍalamadhyasthaṃ candramaṇḍalabhāvanā ||
 ātmānaṃ ta○tra dhyāyīta harṣotpādavidhānataḥ ||
 ḥṛdi madhyagataṃ sūkṣmaṃ nirmalaṃ candramaṇḍalaṃ ||
 rnam snang la sogs rnam bsgoms bas || cho ga shes pas bskyed par bya ||
 nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor dbus gnas par || zla ba'i dkyil 'khor sgom pa'o ||
 bdag nyid de la bsam pa ni || dga' ba bskyed¹²⁰ pa'i cho ga las ||
 snying gi dbus son phra mo ni || dri med zla ba'i dkyil 'khor la ||

次當依法儀， 於曼拏羅中。
 如理而諦想， 毘盧遮那佛。
 及曼拏羅中， 所有諸賢聖。
 日曼拏羅中， 想月曼拏羅。
 中復想自身， 大喜樂法生。
 從微妙心現， 淨月曼拏羅。

fol. 3r5–6, D 62b1–3, L 252a5–7, Q 4b6–7, S 297a6–7, T 516b20–24

mantrākṣaraṇu ▼ rūpeṇa dhyāyītotta..¹²¹ cetasaḥ ||
 oṃkāraṃ raśmisaṃyogaṃ¹²² jvālāmālāsamaṃprabhaṃ¹²³ ||
 ni○ścārayed vidhānajño buddhabimbādilakṣaṇaiḥ ||
 buddhabimbeṣu sarveṣu candramaṇḍalabhāvanā ||
 sngags yig phra mo'i gzugs rnams kyis || de de sems la bsam par bya ||
 oṃ yig 'od zer yang dag sbyor || 'bar ba'i phreng pa mnyam pa'i 'od ||
 sangs rgyas gzugs sogs mtshan nyid kyis || cho ga shes pas dbyung bar bya ||
 sangs rgyas gzugs rnams thams cad du || zla ba'i dkyil 'khor sgom pa ni ||

大明文字相， 復想於心現。
 次當想唵字， 普遍焰光明。
 從是光明中， 出生諸儀軌。
 然想佛影像， 及諸賢聖相。
 彼即成觀想， 四印曼拏羅。

fol. 3r6–7, D 62b3–4, L 252a7–8, Q 4b7–5a1, S 297a7–297b2, T 516b25–28

¹²⁰ L *skyed*.

¹²¹ The akṣaras are unreadable. One possibility is *uttama*.

¹²² Ms reads *rasmī*.

¹²³ Ms reads *jvālāmāla*.

svabimbaṃ tatra kurvīta buddhotpā○davidhānataḥ ||
 pañcaśūlaṃ¹²⁴ nyased vajraṃ¹²⁵ hṛdayesu vidhānataḥ ||
 candramaṇḍalakaṃ mantrī lalāṭe tu vibhāvaye▼t* ||
 buddhabimbaṃ vibhāvet* raśmijvālasamaprabhaṃ¹²⁶ ||

sangs rgyas bskyed pa'i cho ga las || rang gi gzugs su de la bya'o ||
 rdo rje thugs su cho ga las ||¹²⁷ nyi ma lnga ni dgod bya ba ||
 sngags pas zla ba'i dkyil 'khor can || dpral ba ru ni rnam par bsgom ||
 'od zer 'bar ba mnyam pa'i 'od || sangs rgyas gzugs rnam par bsgom ||

自身諸所作， 皆諸佛法生。
 五鈷金剛杵， 依法想於心。
 四印曼拏羅， 大明想於額。
 即想成佛相， 周匝焰光明。

fol. 3r7–3v1, D 62b4–5, L 252a8–252b2, Q 5a1–2, S 297b2–4, T 516b29–516c3

lokadhātum¹²⁸ atikramya punas tatra praveśa○yet* ||
 hastamātraṃ atikramya candramaṇḍalabhāvanā ||
 tha 25○| tha 3 ||¹²⁹
 vajrasattvaṃ samutpādya svarūpeṇaiva bhāvayet* ||
 tha 13▼ity āha bhagavāṃ samantabhadraḥ ||
 jñānakulavijayo nāma samādhiḥ ||●||

jig rten khams rnam rim par 'das || slar yang de la rab gzhus bya ||
 khru yi tshad las 'das pa yis || zla ba'i dkyil 'khor bsgom pa ni ||
 rdo rje sems dpa' yang dag bskyed || rang gi gzugs nyid bsgom par bya ||
 bcom ldan 'das kun tu gzang pos de skad ces gsungs so ||
 ye shes kyi rigs rnam par rgyal ba zhes bya ba'i ting nge 'dzin no¹³⁰ ||

想過此世界， 復入別剎中。
 觀想一肘量， 妙月曼拏羅。
 中觀想自身， 金剛薩埵生。
 此名普賢智部最勝三摩地法門。

fol. 3v1, D 62b5–6, L 252b2–3, Q 5a2–3, S 297b4–5, T 516c4–8

sūryamaṇḍalamadhyasthaṃ svabi○mbam bhāvayec chubhaṃ ||
 koṇe vairocanaṃ sthāpya vajrasatvaṃ vibhāvayed <|>
 ity āha bhagavāṃ vajrasatvaḥ ||
 nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor dbus gnas par || rang gi gzugs ni bsgom bya dge ||

¹²⁴ Ms reads °sūrya which is supported by Tib., however Ch. indicates pañcaśūla which is a more feasible modifier of vajra.

¹²⁵ Ms reads vajrām.

¹²⁶ Ms reads rasmi°.

¹²⁷ S, L nyi ma lnga ni dgod bya ba || rdo rje thugs su cho ga las || nyi ma lnga ni dgod bya ba ||

¹²⁸ Tib. has plural.

¹²⁹ It is likely that there is a flaw in the exemplar which led the scribe to write a string of tha characters. There is neither a Chinese nor Tibetan equivalent here.

¹³⁰ S, L to.

zur tu rnam snang gzhang bya ste || rdo rje sems dpa' rnam sgom bya ||
zhes bcom ldan 'das rdo rje sems dpa' gsungs so ||

當依法觀想， 日輪曼拏羅。
想自身清淨， 現曼拏羅中。
次於其四隅， 想毘盧遮那。
後復想自身， 成金剛薩埵。
此名金剛薩埵法門。

fol. 3v1, D 62b6-7, L 252b3-4, Q 5a3-4, S 297b5-6, T 516c9-12

ṣoḍaśaṃ bimba<ṃ> vidhānājño caturvarṇaṃ¹³¹ vicintayet<*> ||
hr̥dayeṣu ca sarveṣu devatā<ṃ>¹³² tatra bhāvayet* ||
ity āha bhagavāṃ vajradharaḥ ||

cho ga shes pas gzugs bcu drug || kha dog bzhir ni rnam bsam bya ||
snying ga rnam dang thams cad du || lha rnam de la bsgom par bya ||
zhes bcom ldan 'das rdo rje 'chang gis gsungs so ||

復次當依法， 分別十六尊。
作四分觀想， 各依位而住。
自餘諸賢聖， 各想心大明。
此名持金剛法門。

fol. 3v1-2, D 62b7-63a1, L 252b4-5, Q 5a4-5, S 297b6-7, T 516c13-16

svabimba<ṃ> vighnaha[▼] ntāraṃ bhāvayet* sthiraśeṣaḥ ||
huṃkāraṃ vā samuccārya raśmyākāraṃ praveśayet* ||
ity āha bhagavāṃ sarva[○]tathāgataḥ ||

rang gi gzugs la bgegs 'joms par || sems¹³³ la brtan¹³⁴ par bsgom par bya ||
huṃ yig dbugs nas¹³⁵ phyung nas ni || 'od zer rnam par rab tu gzhus ||
ces¹³⁶ bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyis gsungs so ||

復次當依法， 觀想於自身。
有微妙吽字， 左旋而住心。
出現光明相， 能破諸魔惡。
此復名一切如來主法門。

fol. 3v2-3, D 63a1-2, L 252b5-7, Q 5a5-7, S 297b7-298a2, T 516c17-26

sa bhavet tat* kṣaṇād eva¹³⁷ svabimbādisamaprabhaṃ ||
akṣarāṇaṃ pramāṇena vakābimbaṃ¹³⁸ vibhāvayet ||

¹³¹ Ms reads °varṇāṃ.

¹³² It is interpreted as nominative in Tib.

¹³³ L adds *ba*.

¹³⁴ L *rtan*.

¹³⁵ D, Q *las*.

¹³⁶ Q *zhes*.

¹³⁷ Tib. translates as if reading or interpreting *tatkṣaṇād deva*.

¹³⁸ Tib. translates as if reading or interpreting *vakāra*, while Ch. suggests *vajra* which makes more sense.

madhye-m-evākṣara<ṃ>-¹³⁹○mantrī datvā karma samārabhet ||
lalāṭasyopari mantrī yāvan nābhir iti smṛta<ṃ> ||●||
advayasama▼ tāvijaye mahākālpe vinyā<sa>paṭalaḥ prathamah samāptaḥ ||●||

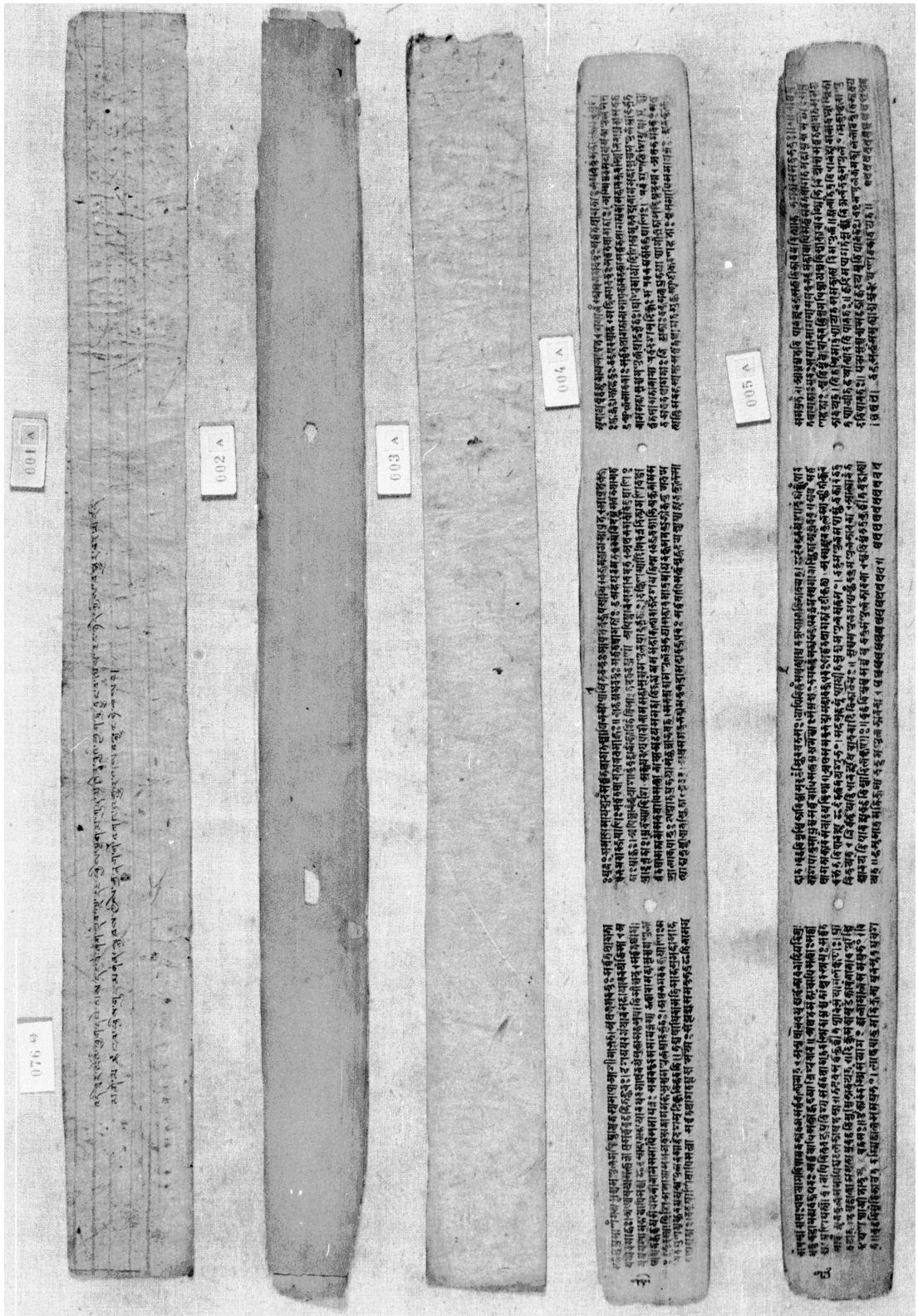
rang gzugs la sogs mtshung pa'i 'od || lha ru skad cig de 'gyur ro ||
yi ge rnam kyī tshad kyis ni || wa yig¹⁴⁰ gzugs ni rnam bsgom bya ||
sngags pas dbus su yi ge nyid || byin nas las ni kun tu btsam ||
sngags pas dpral ba'i steng nas ni || ji srid lte ba zhes par dran ||
gnyis su med pa mnyam pa nyid rnam par rgyal ba'i rtog pa chen po las
rnam par 'god¹⁴¹ pa'i le'u dang po rdzogs so ||

復想剎那中， 出生諸賢聖。
現影像光明， 普遍而照耀。
諸有文字相， 其量廣無邊。
想依法相應， 成金剛影像。
是中諸文字， 出生大明句。
此無數大明， 成就一切法。
從額至臍輪， 觀想大明字。
此觀想相應， 一切觀無異。
無二平等最勝大儀軌王智部三摩地分第二

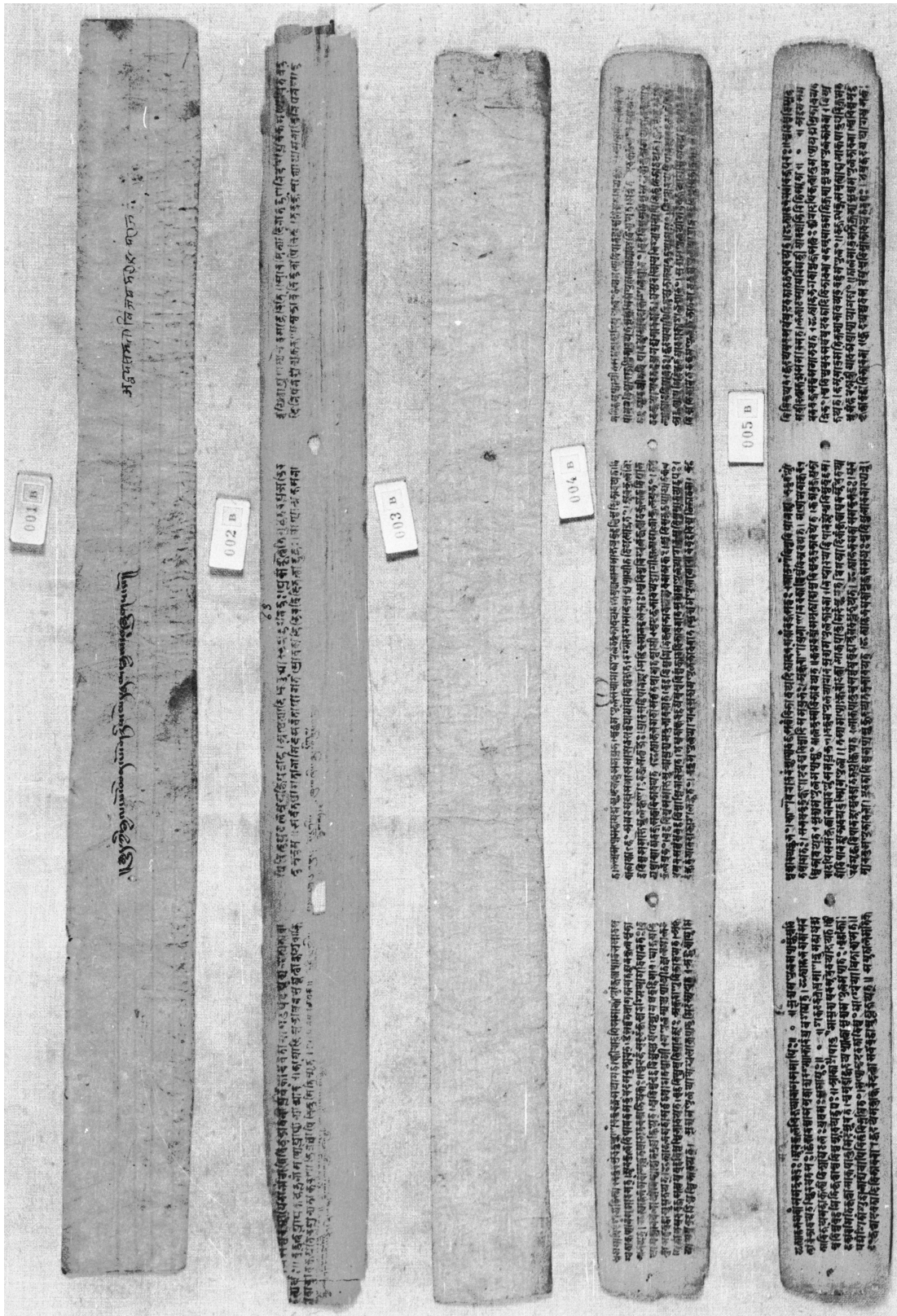
¹³⁹ -m- here is used as a hiatus bridger. Nevertheless it should be corrected to *madhyaivā*° m.c.

¹⁴⁰ D, Q, L *yi*.

¹⁴¹ Q, S, L *dgod*.



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Re-editing the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*: Some Textual Problems

Yong-Hyun LEE

I. Introductory Remarks¹

The Sanskrit text of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (NPY) of *mahāpaṇḍita* Abhayākaragupta (Abhaya) was first edited by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya and subsequently published in 1949.² Ever since its publication, the NPY, along with the *Sādhnamālā*, has proved to be a mine of information on Buddhist iconography and an excellent source for the investigation of *bhāvya*maṇḍalas (visualized *maṇḍalas*), because it prescribes with great precision how to visualize the most representative *maṇḍalas* of late Indian Buddhism. As Abhaya states, this treatise is a complement to the *Vajrāvalī* (VA), his *magnum opus* on ritual, describing the “condensed essence” (*saṃkṣiptasāra*) of the *bhāvya*maṇḍalas.³

In the VA Abhaya describes how to draw two-dimensional *lekhyamaṇḍalas* (*maṇḍalas* drawn with powder), whereas in the NPY he instructs on how to visualize their mental counterparts, the three-dimensional *bhāvya*maṇḍalas, the higher form of the *maṇḍala*. Together these two works can serve as a standard guide to *maṇḍalas*, which are the basis of many tantric rituals. Moreover, the intrinsic value of the NPY has increased over time because most of the original Sanskrit texts from which Abhaya drew on in his descriptions of *maṇḍalas* are no longer available.

Although Bhattacharyya’s edition (Bh) has the merit of having popularised the NPY in Western Indology and Buddhology, it suffers from many incorrect readings. Thus, despite Bhattacharyya’s pioneering work, deserving of high praise, his edition is inadequate when judged by present scholarly standards. Although a few of the twenty-six chapters of the

¹ This paper was initially read at the 13th World Sanskrit Conference held in Edinburgh in July 2006. I wish to express my utmost gratitude to Professor Harunaga Isaacson, who not only gave me some valuable suggestions for this paper but also accepted it for *Tantric Studies*. I also wish to express my sincere thanks to Professor Alexis Sanderson who corrected some readings in my revised edition of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* during the International Conference on Esoteric Buddhist Studies held at Koyasan in September 2006. I am also grateful to Dr. Toru Tomabechi for giving me some valuable suggestions. My thanks also go to Mr. Iain Sinclair for not only improving my English but also for a number of valuable suggestions. None of the above-mentioned scholars, however, should be held responsible for any fault in this article.

² Abhayākaragupta is supposed to have lived from the latter half of the eleventh century to the early half of the twelfth century CE. Abhayākaragupta is also called Abhaya by himself and others. Some colophons of Abhayākaragupta’s works also call him Abhayākara. Henceforth, Abhaya, the more informal name, is used in this article. On Abhaya’s dates, see Bühnemann & Tachikawa 1991: xiii–xiv; see also Lee 2003: 21–24.

³ “Since the sequence of visualization of those deities in the generation and completion stages has been elaborated in detail, as well as [their] mantras, according to the ritual prescriptions elsewhere (i.e. the NPY), they are not elaborated on in this [text]. [...] For those who have excellent intellects, however, I have taught in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* the sequence of visualization of the deities in the *maṇḍalas* [taught] here with its essence compressed, [and] it must be definitely practised [in that way]. For just this reason, the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, like the *Jyotirmañjarī*, is a complementary work of the *Vajrāvalī*” (*tāsām cōtṭpatyutpannakramadevatānām bhāvanākramo mantrās cānyatra yathāvidhi savistaram uttānita iti neha prapañcitāḥ* | [...] | *niṣpannayogāvalyam tv adhimātrabuddhīn adbikṛtyātratyamaṇḍaladevatābhāvanākramah saṃkṣiptasāro ’smābhir bhaṇito ’vaśyam abhyasyah | ata eva vajrāvalyā jyotirmañjarīva niṣpannayogāvalī parikaraha* |). Chandra 1977: 13, lines 7–14; see also Lee 2004: xii, note 27.

NPY have been critically edited by scholars since Bhattacharyya's critical edition,⁴ most of these too have many faulty readings. There are three major reasons for the defects in the editions of Bhattacharyya and others. First, a Sanskrit manuscript of good quality was not at their disposal: Bhattacharyya used only three Sanskrit MSS, all of which were copied in the nineteenth century.⁵ Secondly, few have utilized any of the three Tibetan versions of the NPY. Thirdly, the (direct) sources for the NPY, along with the parallels between the NPY and Abhaya's other works, were not identified and thus not utilized. Since addressing these problems was of the highest priority preparing in a new critical edition of the NPY, my basic principles for editing were naturally guided accordingly.

My critical edition of the Sanskrit text of the NPY, in which five Sanskrit MSS and the three Tibetan versions were used, was initially published in 2003 for circulation among a limited audience, and a revised version was subsequently published in 2004. Following the publication of my critically edited Sanskrit text, this article discusses textual problems involved in re-editing the NPY and proposes possible solutions. I have also been made aware, with the passing of time, that some readings in the revised version should be altered in accordance with some scholars' valuable suggestions. A list of *corrigenda* is appended to this article, although I cannot claim that it is final.

II. The Importance of the Oldest Sanskrit Manuscript Known to Us

At least twenty Sanskrit MSS of the NPY are preserved in various institutes.⁶ The Sanskrit MSS of the NPY currently available to us can be grouped according to date into three categories: 1200 CE (N1), 1566 (N2), and those dating from the eighteenth-twentieth centuries. N1 and N2, which were published by Gudrun Bühnemann and Musashi Tachikawa, have very similar readings; N2 appears to be a direct or indirect copy of N1. The Sanskrit manuscript which was used by Bhattacharyya and designated as B in his edition of the NPY also belongs to the same pedigree. Generally, the readings of the oldest manuscript are far superior to the readings of the late Sanskrit MSS.

Textual corruption in the NPY is likely to have been introduced within a hundred years of its composition. This can be illustrated by two shared errors, i.e. two lacunae, in the Sanskrit MSS used in my edition as well as in the two Tibetan translations of the NPY.⁷ These gaps may however be filled by the Tibetan translation of the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* (ĀKS), which preserves parallel readings. These two lacunae enable us to postulate a hyparchetype (N), which in any case must date from earlier than 1200 CE, the date of copying of N1, and which is the hypothesized locus of the initial corruption.⁸

⁴ NPY 1 (de Mallmann 1964; Meisezahl 1976; Mori 1994), NPY 11 (Mori 1996); NPY 12 (Meisezahl 1985); NPY 19 (Tachikawa 1995); NPY 20 (de Mallmann 1964); NPY 21 (de Mallmann 1964; Mori 1989).

⁵ A Sanskrit manuscript of good quality, i.e. the oldest manuscript known to us so far, however, has been used by Mori *ibid* (NPY 1, 11) and Tachikawa *ibid* (NPY 19).

⁶ Bühnemann & Tachikawa 1991: xviii–xix.

⁷ The first lacuna occurs in the Vajrasattvamaṇḍala (NPY 3) where the goddess Ādarśā is missing, when the members of the Vairocana family are mentioned. See, e.g. Bh 11, line 13. The second lacuna occurs in the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvaraṇḍala (NPY 21) where the goddess Tārā is missing, when the members of the Amoghasiddhi family are mentioned. See, e.g. Bh 65, line 18.

⁸ Another possibility is that Abhaya himself was responsible for these two errors. If the two errors occurred in all extant Sanskrit MSS of the NPY as well as in the Tibetan versions (excluding KT), they would have happened from the very outset due to the author's carelessness. Then we would not need to postulate the existence of a hyparchetype N. It is hard to believe, however, that highly learned scholars such as Abhaya made such blatant errors. Thus it should be assumed that Abhaya's original text was free from such obvious errors, general human fallibility notwithstanding.

Although the importance of N1's readings can be demonstrated in many cases, the two opening verses of the NPY are particularly worthy of note, because the other Sanskrit witnesses for these two verses are hopelessly faulty.⁹ Even the two Tibetan translations of the NPY are largely incomprehensible without the aid of the Sanskrit text. Among the materials at our disposal, N1 and N2 together offer the best readings that can be determined. N1's reading and my tentative English translation, with the matching Sanskrit words in brackets, run as follows:

jyotirbhir vijitam yad asya jagatījīṣṇv antar andhan (corrected to °m) *tamo*
yac cādvaitadaśollasaty api pariṇāmo guṇaughaśriyām |
yat kārunyatarāmṛtārdrabr̥dayair ujṛmbhitam vajriṇas
*tair etaccaritādbhūtāni nijadhīdhāmāni dhāvantu vah ||*¹⁰
vajrāvalīmaṇḍitamaṇḍaleṣu drāg vajrabhṛc cārucaritam uccaiḥ |
*udañcad uccāvacanirmitaughair amogham agryām śriyam ādadhātu*¹¹ ||

[Given] that (*yad*) innately blinding darkness (*antar andham tamo*), which is victorious over the world (*jagatījīṣṇv*), is conquered (*vijitam*) by His [i.e. Vajra-holder's] lights (*asya jyotirbhir*);

and (*ca*) that (*yac*) the non-dual state actually arises (*advaitadaśollasaty api*) as a transformation (*pariṇāmo*) of the glories [caused] by [his] mass of virtues (*guṇaughaśriyām*),

that (*yat*) [the Bodhisattvas] whose hearts are moist with nectar of superior compassion (*kārunyatarāmṛtārdrabr̥dayair*) manifest (*ujṛmbhitam*), being related to the Vajra-holder (*vajriṇas*)—

⁹ Bhattacharyya (Bh 1, lines 5–10) gives the following:

jyotirbhir vijitam yad asya jagati jīṣṇum taraty antaśo
yac cādvaitadaśārṇasaty api pariṇāmo guṇaughaśriyam |
yat kārunyatarāmṛtārdrabr̥dayair uhyanti tam vajriṇas
tair etaccaritādbhūtāni nijadhīdhāmāni dhāvantu vah ||
vajrāvalīmaṇḍitamaṇḍaleṣu dāg vajrabhṛc cārucaritam uccaiḥ |
tadañcитайs tadvacanirmitādyair amogham agryām śriyam ādadhātu ||

de Mallmann 1964:

jyotirbhir vijitam yad asya jagati jīṣṇum taraly antaśo
yac cādvaitadaśārṇasaty api pariṇāmo guṇaughaśriyam |
yat kārunyatarāmṛtārdrabr̥dayair uhyanti tam vajriṇas
tair etac caritād bhūtāni nijadhīdhāmāni dhāvantu vah ||
vajrāvalīmaṇḍitamaṇḍaleṣu dāgvajrabhṛc cārucaritam uccaiḥ |
tadañcитайs tadvacanirmitādyair amogham agryām śriyam ādadhātu ||

Meisezahl 1976: 223–24:

jyotirbhir vijitam yad asya jagatīm jīṣṇv antaravatomo
yac cādvaitadaśārṇasaty api pariṇāmo guṇaughaśriyām |
yat kārunyatarāmṛtārdrabr̥dayair uhyanti tam vajriṇas
tair etac caritādbhūtāni nijadhīdhāmāni dhāvantu vah ||
vajrāvalīmaṇḍitamaṇḍaleṣu drāg vajrabhṛc cārucaritam uccaiḥ |
tadañcитайs tadvacanirmitaughair amogham agryām śriyam ādadhātu ||

¹⁰ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹¹ Metre: Upajāti. Underlines indicate where my edition of these verses differs from the published editions.

Because of these (*tair*) [facts], may these (or His) miracles of behaviour (*etac-caritādbbutāni*) purify (*dhāvantu*) the energies of your own minds for you (*nijadbidhāmāni vah*).

May the Vajra-holder (*vajrabhr̥c*) hold (*ādadhātu*) infallibility [and] foremost glory (*amoghan agryām śriyam*) through [his] many higher and lower emanations (*uccāvacanirmitaugbair*), elevating (*udañcad*) a pleasant practice (*cāru-caritram*) [both] highly (*uccaiḥ*) and quickly (*drāg*) in *maṇḍalas* adorned by *vajra*-garlands (*vajrāvalimaṇḍitamāṇḍalesu*).

III. The Importance of the Tibetan Versions of the NPY

In editing Buddhist texts, it is unreasonable to insist on the authority of a Sanskrit text over a corresponding Tibetan translation in every case.¹² The textual quality of Sanskrit MSS varies greatly and depends in part on the dates when they were copied. In re-editing the NPY, we have two Sanskrit MSS from the early medieval period, viz. N1 and N2. Quite a few readings derived from the Tibetan versions of the NPY should be accepted against the parallel readings of all available Sanskrit MSS.¹³

There are three Tibetan sources for the NPY:

- S: Translated by Śākyaśrībhadrā and Dānaśīla in the Sol nag Thang po che monastery in central Tibet and preserved in the Peking (#5023) and Narthang (#3014) *bsTan* 'gyur editions.
- T: Translated by Sarvajñaśrībhadrā in the sMon 'gro monastery, revised by Ratnarakṣita, Revendra, and Chag lo tsā ba dPal gyi mtha' can, and preserved in all four *bsTan* 'gyur editions (Peking #3962; Derge #3141; Chone #3141; Narthang #1957).
- KT: The Tibetan translation of the ĀKS of Jagaddarpaṇa which was translated by Mañjuśrī and bLo gros rgyal mtshan and revised by Vajraśrī (P #5012).¹⁴

¹² For the view that Sanskrit sources have authority over Tibetan translations, see, e.g., Tsuda 1974:9.

¹³ In my revised edition of the NPY, the following readings deriving from Tibetan versions of the NPY were accepted against previous editions and the Sanskrit MSS (for convenience, the corresponding page numbers of Bhattacharyya's edition are mentioned): *viṣkambhīparyantā* should be corrected to *samantabhadra*° in accordance with KT and T (Bh 5, line 13); *cakrāṅkitam āmnāyāt* should be corrected to *cakrāṅkitam* in accordance with T (Bh 6, line 6); Bh should add *kṛṣṇa* between *vajrāṅka* and *daṇḍa* in accordance with T (Bh 6, line 19); *vajradharaḥ* should be corrected to *vajrasattvaḥ* in accordance with S and T (Bh 8, line 17); Bh should add *ādarśā* between *vaṃśā* and *vajrāṅkuśīnām* in accordance with KT (Bh 11, line 13); *vetāli* should be corrected to *vetāli* in accordance with S (Bh 13, line 7); Bh should add *sitaḥ* just after *bhayabhiṣaṇaḥ* in accordance with KT, S, and T (Bh 19, line 1); Bh should add *rakto* just after *bayarūpā* in accordance with T (Bh 19, line 2); Bh should add *harito* just after *gaṇanāyako* in accordance with T (Bh 19, line 3); *ādarśādījñānasvabhāvaḥ* should be corrected to °*svabhāvā* in accordance with KT, S, and T (Bh 52, line 23); *gandhabhājanabhujā* should be corrected to *rasabhājanabhujā* in accordance with KT, S, and T (Bh 61, line 5); Bh should add *śadbhujah* just after *ṣaṇmukhaḥ* in accordance with KT, S, and T (Bh 62, line 3); Bh should add *śyāmaś* just after *jayakaraś* in accordance with KT, S, and T (Bh 63, line 5); Bh should add *tārā* just after *catvāro* in accordance with KT (Bh 65, line 18); *kapilaspārībrūśmaśruḥ* should be corrected to *jvalatkapilabhrū*° in accordance with T (Bh 73, line 24); *indrābrahmarudrakāmadevabalabhadraḥṣaṇakavemacitribalayaḥ* should be corrected to *indravarūṇabrahmarudrakāmadevabalabhadravemacitribalayaḥ* in accordance with KT, S, and T (Bh 77, lines 3–4); [...] *samastān paśyanti | te tu maṇḍalesaṃ tair āliṅgitās tāḥ |* should be corrected to [...] *samāḥ | tāḥ paśyanti tān te tu maṇḍalesaṃ tais āliṅgitās tāḥ |* in accordance with KT, S, and T (Bh 89, line 18); *bandhaneccā* should be corrected to *vandaneccā* in accordance with S and T (Bh 92, line 3).

¹⁴ Jagaddarpaṇa is supposed to have lived between the latter half of the twelfth century and the middle of

The older Tibetan translation of the NPY, S, has a long title: “the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, a collection of clear realizations [associated with the visualization] process of Glorious Mañjuvajra and other [central deities]” (*Śrīmañjuvajrādīkramābhisamayamuccayanīṣpannayogāvalī*). As suggested by this Sanskrit title (which no doubt should not be given too much authority, but rather regarded as a possibly late reconstruction by a redactor of the Tibetan canon), the NPY is characterized, like Mitrāyogin’s *Abhisamayamuktāmālā*, as a collection of “clear realizations” (*abhisamaya*) of deities.¹⁵ S includes some archaic Tibetan words, e.g. *dal* for the *maṇḍala* instead of *dkyil ’khor*. The Sanskrit manuscript from which S was translated, which presumably dates to around 1200 CE at the latest, belongs to a different pedigree to N1. S, however, cannot be said to be of good quality, although some readings of S, especially where they agree with the parallel readings of KT or T, should be accepted against the parallel readings of all Sanskrit MSS I have used.

T, a later Tibetan translation of the NPY, is superior to S, as indicated by the many readings of T which I accepted in my revised edition of the NPY. The Sanskrit MSS which formed the basis of S and T also belong to different pedigrees. The unknown Sanskrit manuscript from which T was translated presumably also dates from at the latest the early thirteenth century, and its quality is similar to N1, although it belongs to a different pedigree. Since N1 and T are probably the two best textual materials available to us, wherever their readings accord with each other they are mostly to be preferred.

KT is also indispensable for re-editing the NPY, as shown not only by the above-mentioned examples, but by its many excellent readings that accord with N1, T, or both. Moreover, certain old Sanskrit MSS of the ĀKS may be utilized in places where the existing old Sanskrit MSS of the NPY are insufficient. However, there are serious limitations involved in using the ĀKS due to differences of wording with the NPY. The variants of the ĀKS are mostly substitutions of synonyms, e.g. *śukla* for *sita*, *pūrve* for *pūrvasyām*, and *abja* for *padma*, etc. It should also be remarked that KT has important omissions, such as the NPY’s opening and concluding verses of the NPY, as well as new additions.¹⁶

IV. The Importance of the (Direct) Sources for the NPY

A formidable problem involved in editing the NPY is to establish the correct forms of the heart-seed-syllables (*hr̥dbija*) of deities, which are prescribed mostly at the end of each chapter of the NPY and are particularly susceptible to scribal errors. Even the use of all available Sanskrit MSS and the Tibetan versions would not help us without formulating criteria for determining the correctness of heart-seed-syllables of deities. A resolution of this problem seems at first sight connected with the identification of the original tantric sources for the NPY. There are, however, at least two problems involved with treating the original tantras or *sādhana*s as sources of authoritative readings: first, the difficulty of locating precise parallels in these tantras; second, the original tantras themselves may not yield better

the thirteenth century. The entire NPY, along with the VA, is included in the ĀKS with slight changes of wording. See Bühnemann 1993: 20.

¹⁵ On Mitrāyogin, see Roerich 1976 (1949): 1030–39) and Chandra 1965: 161–170.

¹⁶ The following passages are omitted in KT (for convenience, corresponding references in Bh are given here): Bh 1, lines 5–10; Bh 4, line 6; Bh 28, lines 7–8; Bh 93, lines 8–13. KT adds *rgyas ’debs kyi de bzhin gshes pa thams cad ni rang ’od kyi yum dang bcas pa ’khor los sgyur pa’i gzugs can no* (reconstructed as *sarve mudraṇatathāgatāḥ [sa-]svābhaprajñās cakravartirūpiṇaḥ*) just after *iti*. See Bh 7, line 22. KT also adds *de ni mi rigs te chags pa dang ldan pa’i gzugs can ’khor los sgyur pa’i gzugs su mngon par sprul ba’o zhes bcom ldan ’das kyis gsungs pa’i phyir ro* just after *āha*. Bh 68, line 4.

readings for the heart-seed-syllables of deities, unless they have been edited with care. Moreover, even where we have critically edited Sanskrit texts, some heart-seed-syllables of deities may be disputed: for example, *HRAM* versus *HŪM* for the heart-seed-syllable of Kālacakra.¹⁷ As criteria for correctness are almost impossible to establish, I propose to compare the heart-seed-syllables in a variety of related materials. The (direct) sources for the NPY, Abhaya's relevant works, and ICang skya I's *rDzogs 'phreng dang rdor 'phreng gnyis kyi cho ga phyag len gyi rim pa lag tu blangs bde bar dgod pa* should be considered for this purpose. Particularly, the work of ICang skya I is helpful despite its reliance on Tibetan translations, not only because he was well-versed in *sādhana* literature, but also because he was proficient in a number of Buddhist tantras related to the NPY.

The identification of Abhaya's sources is of importance not just for establishing the heart-seed-syllables, but for other attributes of the deities. For example, with regards to the Jñānaḍākinīmaṇḍala (NPY 4), S and T go against the readings of the Sanskrit MSS and KT for the body-colours of two goddesses. These two Tibetan versions prescribe red Vetālī and dark Caṇḍālī instead of dark Vetālī and red Caṇḍālī.¹⁸ In S, the translators Śākyaśrībhadrā and Dānaśīla identify the *Catuspīṭhatantra* as the source for NPY 4,¹⁹ and if this identification were correct, the readings found in this tantra would be preferable.²⁰ Although there is no mention of T's source, the translators (Sarvajñaśrībhadrā or Ratnarakṣita) may have considered the *Catuspīṭhatantra* to be its source. Mitrayogin and ICang skya also identify the source of the *maṇḍala* as the *Catuspīṭhatantra* in their relevant works.²¹ NPY 4 is however in fact based rather on the *Samputatantra* (SPT), which interestingly enough reversed only the body-colours of the two goddesses in question when it adopted the Jñānaḍākinīmaṇḍala from the *Catuspīṭha* tradition. The fact that NPY 4 is based on the SPT is suggested by the order of its appearance in the NPY, and supported by the content of Abhaya's *Jñānaḍākinīsādhana* (P #2489).²² Thus the readings of S and T should be rejected in this case.

In composing the NPY, Abhaya drew on both tantras and independent *sādhana*s when composing the descriptions of its *maṇḍalas*. Unfortunately, in the NPY itself he only mentions by name the *Pinḍikramasādhana*, the SPT, the *Vajrāmṛttatantra*, the *Māyājālatantra*, the *Abhidhānottaratantra*, and the *Vimalaprabhā* as the sources for NPY 2, 3, 7, 20, 25, and 26, respectively.²³ When we try to identify other sources for the NPY, the above-mentioned work of ICang skya can help us greatly. However, although ICang skya identifies many sources, which attests to his vast knowledge of Tantric Buddhism, his identifications are not always correct, and some *maṇḍalas* of the NPY such as NPY 19, 22, and 23 appear to have composite forms drawn from two or more sources.²⁴

¹⁷ I prefer *HRAM* to *HŪM* for the heart-seed-syllable for Kālacakra, following the second volume of the critical edition of the *Vimalaprabhā* (VP) and N1. See verse 82 of the third chapter of the *Kālacakratāntra* (VP II 80, line 14). The editors of VP II misread their MS Ca, the excellent old Bengali manuscript, as *HŪM* instead of *HRAM*, probably the correct reading.

¹⁸ P, vol. 80, Thu, 125b8; P, vol. 87, Yu, 126a5–6.

¹⁹ Ibid., 125b6.

²⁰ See the Yogāmbaramaṇḍala (NPY 14): [...] *vetālī raktā* | [...] *caṇḍālī nilā** | (Bh 32, lines 10–11). *Bh *caṇḍālīnī* instead of *caṇḍālī nilā*.

²¹ P, vol. 87, Yu 97a8; P, vol. 163, p. 1.

²² For the body colours of Vetālī and Caṇḍālī in the *Jñānaḍākinīsādhana*, see P, vol. 57, ḥa, 187b4.

²³ Bh 5, line 2; Bh 8, line 2; Bh 19, line 11; Bh 52, line 12; Bh 79, line 7; Bh 83, line 8; Bh 86, lines 14–15; Bh 87, line 5; Bh 92, line 14.

²⁴ The (direct) sources for the twenty-six *maṇḍalas* of the NPY we have identified are:

NPY 1, *Samantabhadrasādhana* by Buddhaśrījñāna (P #2718).

Abhaya gives several quotations prior to his prescription for the Kālacakraṃḍala (NPY 26), in all cases without naming any source.²⁵ For example, at the outset of the NPY, Abhaya quotes a stanza in *anuṣṭubh* metre which may be translated: “one who is endowed with all excellent aspects is the agent of emission and resorption. To perfect gnosis instantly is called the ‘yoga of perfection’ (*niṣpannayoga*).”²⁶ The same stanza is also found in Candrakīrti’s *Pradīpodyotana* commentary on the *Gubhyasamājantra* where its source is identified as the *Māyājālatantra*.²⁷ Another example is seen in the Mahāmāyāṃḍala (NPY 9) in which Abhaya quotes a stanza in *anuṣṭubh* metre on Buddhaḍākinī, the consort of Mahāmāyā, which is found in the *Mahāmāyāsādhana* of Ratnākaraśānti (where it may have been quoted from an unidentified source, though it is also possible that it was composed by Ratnākaraśānti himself).²⁸

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- NPY 2, *Piṇḍīkramasādhana* by the tantric Nāgārjuna (P #2661).
 NPY 3, fourth section (*prakaraṇa*) of the third chapter of the SPT.
 NPY 4, second section of the third chapter of the SPT.
 NPY 5, first section of the third chapter of the SPT.
 NPY 6, third section of the third chapter of the SPT.
 NPY 7, first chapter of the *Śrīvajrāmṛtatantrarājasya tīkā** by Bhaga (P #2523).
 NPY 8, fifth chapter of part two of the *Hevajratantra**.
 NPY 9, *Mahāmāyāsādhana** by Ratnākaraśānti (= *Sādhnamālā*, no. 239).
 NPY 10, fourth chapter of the *Buddhakapālatantra*.
 NPY 11, fourth chapter of the *Abhidhānottaratāntra*.
 NPY 12, *Śrībhagavadabhisamaya** by Lūyīpa (P #2144).
 NPY 13, seventh chapter of the *Buddhakapālatantra*.
 NPY 14, third chapter of the Parapīṭha of the *Catuspīṭhatantra*; *Yogāmbaṛopāyikā* by Vijayendrasena (P #2491).
 NPY 15, first and fourth chapters of the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*.
 NPY 16, eighth chapter of the *Dākinīvajrapaṅjaratantra*.
 NPY 17, *Māricītantra* (P #183).
 NPY 18, *Pañcarakṣā* (P #177-#181).
 NPY 19, first chapter of the *Sarvatathāgatattvaśaṃgraha* and the first chapter of the *Durgatipariśodhanatantra*.
 NPY 20, second chapter of the *Māyājālatantra*.
 NPY 21, *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvaramaṅjuśrīmaṇḍalavidhī** by Mañjuśrīkīrti (P #3416).
 NPY 22, first and third* chapters of the *Durgatipariśodhanatantra*.
 NPY 23, fourth and seventeenth chapters of the *Bhūtaḍāmaratantra*.
 NPY 24, first chapter of the *Dākinīvajrapaṅjaratantra*.
 NPY 25, twenty-fourth chapter of the *Abhidhānottaratāntra*.
 NPY 26, third, fourth, and fifth chapters of the *Vimalaprabhā**.

This list is not yet definitive and may be subject to further changes. Only a few have been definitely identified, designated here by a trailing asterisk (*). Among these sources, the Sanskrit original of the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvaramaṅjuśrīmaṇḍalavidhī* of Mañjuśrīkīrti is apparently no longer extant. Some of the direct sources may have never been translated into Tibetan, and thus were eventually lost.

²⁵ See Bh 1, lines 12–13; Bh 4, line 17; Bh 22, lines 7–8; Bh 72, lines 10–11; Bh 78, lines 17–19.

²⁶ *sarvākāraavaropetaḥ sphuratsambhārakāraḥ | jhaṭīti jñānanispanno yogo niṣpanna ucyate ||*
 cf. Bh 1, lines 12–13.

²⁷ Chakravarti 1984: 119, lines 20–21. I am grateful to Professor Harunaga Isaacson for providing this information.

²⁸ Bhattacharyya’s Sanskrit text is unmetrical, probably because the Sanskrit MSS at his disposal read “haritamukhī” instead of “harinmukhī” at the end of the fourth *pāda*. Among the Sanskrit MSS I have used, only N1 and N2 have the better reading, though they wrongly treat the following prose for the four attendant dākinīs as if it were verse. Thus, as with Ratnākaraśānti’s *Mahāmāyāsādhana*, the preferred reading is:

priyatulyāyudhā raktā tatkaṅṭhāsleśidordvayā |
śrībuddhaḍākinī raktapītaśvetaharinmukhī ||

cf. Bh 22, lines 7–8; cf. Samdhong Rinpoche & Dwivedi 1992: 49, lines 15–16. I am grateful to Professor

Many more quotes are found in NPY 26, where Bhattacharyya's edition has more textual corruptions than any other chapter of the NPY. One of the primary reasons for this defect lies in Bhattacharyya's lack of access to a critically edited Sanskrit text of the VP. A careful examination reveals that Abhaya composed NPY 26 by consulting not only the second great topic of the fourth chapter of the VP, but also by gleaning information from the second and third great topics of its third chapter and the first great topic of its fifth chapter. Thus, some readings in NPY 26 could be improved by consulting parallel readings in the VP.

There are, nonetheless, other problems with regard to the sources that Abhaya may have used. For example, in the *Vajrāmṛtamaṇḍala* (NPY 7) almost all materials I have used mention four male Krodhās as the four gate-guardians, viz. Bhṛkuṭitarāṅga, Bhaya-bhīṣaṇa, Hayarūpa, and Gaṇanāyaka. In the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* itself, which is a *yoginī-tantra*, the four gate-guardians are female Krodhās, viz. Bhṛkuṭitarāṅgā, Bhayabhīṣaṇā, Hayarūpā, and Gaṇanāyikā.²⁹ The abovementioned male Krodhās are actually found in the *Śrīvajrāmṛtamahātāntrarājasya tīkā* (P #2523) of Bhaga, which is presumed to have been the direct source for NPY 7.³⁰ Another example is seen in NPY 26, where Abhaya seems to have quoted a *pāda* of a stanza from the *Kālacakratantra* (KCT),³¹ which he calls the “mūla,” as confirmed in the Sanskrit MSS and the Tibetan translations of the NPY. However, in the Kālacakra tradition, the Root-tantra (*mūlatantra*) is the *Paramādibuddha*, and the KCT is its Abridged-tantra (*laghutantra*).³² It is not plausible that Abhaya would call the KCT the Root-tantra against the Kālacakra tradition, in which “mūla” would be interpreted as referring to the *Paramādibuddha*. Moreover, the Sanskrit text, unlike the KCT, at this point lacks a compound, i.e. a group of deities (*devatāgaṇa*), as shown by the Sanskrit MSS and the Tibetan translations of the NPY. In view of this irregular Sanskrit syntax, we could postulate that Abhaya in fact quoted this *pāda* from the legendary Root-tantra. The KT, however, reads “laghutantre” instead of “mūle.” Although the Sanskrit syntax of this *pāda* would require this compound, the same omission in the KT suggests that it would be allowed. In fact the direct source for NPY 26 is the VP, the authoritative commentary on the KCT, and thus in this context “mūla” should be interpreted as the “root” of the VP, i.e. the KCT.

Among Abhaya's other works, the VA and the *Śrīsaṃvarābhīsamayopāyikā* are the only two works he mentions in the NPY as having further information about the heart-mantras of the deities.³³ Particularly, there are three ritual prescriptions of the VA in which parallels with the NPY are found: “nailing impediments with spikes” (*vighnakīlana*);³⁴ “preparation of the vases” (*kalaśādhivāsana*);³⁵ and “scattering coloured powders” (*rajaḥpātana*).³⁶

Some chapters of the NPY have parallels in Abhaya's other works:

Harunaga Isaacson for this information.

²⁹ See P, vol. 3, Ca, 18a1–2.

³⁰ For the four male gate-guardians, see 68b8–69b1.

³¹ Verse 23b of the third chapter of the KCT. See VP II, 21, 22.

³² On the *Paramādibuddha*, see Newman 1987.

³³ Bh 4, line 6; Bh 4, line 17; Bh 28, line 8.

³⁴ In this ritual prescription, Abhaya describes the iconography of Vajrahūṃkāra in detail, and parallel passages are found in NPY 11. See Chandra 1977: 33, line 3–34, line 3.

³⁵ In this ritual prescription, Abhaya prescribes the heart-mantras of some deities in NPY 1, 2, 3, 5, 19. See *ibid.*, 46, line 2–48, line 5.

³⁶ For the Sanskrit text of “scattering coloured powders,” see Bhattacharyya 1981: 71–95.

- NPY 1, *Raktayamāntakanīṣpannayoga*.³⁷
 NPY 3, *Āmnāyamañjarī* (ĀM).³⁸
 NPY 4, ĀM and the *Jñānaḍākinīsādhana*.³⁹
 NPY 5, ĀM.⁴⁰
 NPY 6, ĀM.⁴¹
 NPY 11, *Ucchuṣmajambhalasādhana*.⁴²
 NPY 12, *Śrisaṃvarābhisamayopāyikā*.⁴³
 NPY 13, *Abhayapaddhati*, a commentary on the *Buddhakaṭālantra*.⁴⁴

V. Some Linguistic Problems of the NPY

The Sanskrit of the NPY does not belong to so-called “Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.” It is by no means an inferior Sanskrit of a kind seen in some Buddhist tantras; it is Classical Sanskrit.⁴⁵ Some peculiarities of Buddhist tantric texts, however, are also seen in the NPY. One peculiarity is the unusual word “pālī,” which appears several times in Bhattacharyya’s edition as well as in the Sanskrit MSS, referring to the feminine form of the Sanskrit word “pāla” (guardian). Franklin Edgerton does not gloss this word in his dictionary.⁴⁶ There is a similar case in the Saṃvaramaṇḍala (NPY 12) in which the goddess Yamadaṃṣṭrī, whose name is attested in this form in Sanskrit MSS such as N1, is found instead of “Yamadaṃṣṭrīṇī,” a grammatically correct form. Yamadaṃṣṭrī might be a textual corruption, because Yamadaṃṣṭrīṇī is found in some texts related to the Saṃvara tradition.⁴⁷ However, Yamadaṃṣṭrī also appears in the Ṣaṭcakraṃvartimaṇḍala (NPY 25), which borrowed the forty-eight names of its “heroes (*vīra*) and heroines (*vīriṇī*)” from the Saṃvaramaṇḍala. Thus I propose to keep “pālī” and “yamadaṃṣṭrī” in the Sanskrit text of the NPY, since they were fully acceptable within the textual transmission.

“Coded language” (*sandhābhāṣā/sandhyābhāṣā*), which appears in some Buddhist tantras, also poses slight difficulties throughout the NPY. Several terms of coded language, which were probably employed in the sources Abhaya used, are found in the NPY. For example, “padmabhājana” (a skull-cup) and “pañcapradīpa” (the five kinds of flesh) are frequently used in the NPY.⁴⁸ Besides these well-known examples of coded language, “kṛpīṭa” (a rattle-drum) and “niraṃśu” (bone-ornaments),⁴⁹ which are among the twenty-

³⁷ cf. Bh 1, lines 21–23; cf. P, vol. 67, Pi, 448b7–449a2.

³⁸ cf. P, vol 55, Dsa, 142b2–143b5; 145a3–b1; 151a4–8, etc.

³⁹ cf. *ibid.*, Dsa, 112b3, etc.; P, vol. 57, ḥa, 187b6–188a5; 188b6–8; 189a7–8.

⁴⁰ cf. *ibid.*, Dsa, 108b5–109a3, etc.

⁴¹ cf. *ibid.*, Dsa, 117a3–4, 117a8–b1, etc.

⁴² cf. Bh 24, lines 5–8; cf. Bhattacharyya 1968: 500, lines 11–15.

⁴³ cf. P, vol. 48, Pa, 224b6–226a8. The full title of this work is identified by Abhaya himself as the *Śrisaṃvarābhisamayopāyikā* in the NPY, although the title in the Tibetan Canon is the *Śṛīcakrasaṃvarābhisamaya*.

⁴⁴ cf. P, vol. 58, Ya, 227b3–228a2, etc.

⁴⁵ John Newman insists that the Sanskrit in Buddhist tantric texts such as the KCT and the VP should not be classed as Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. See Newman 1988. Unlike the VP, however, Abhaya does not use “devatā” (a male deity) and “devatī” (a female deity) together, a compound which belongs to Buddhist Sanskrit, at any point in the NPY. For “devatādevatī” in the VP, see VP II 163, 4, etc.

⁴⁶ Edgerton glosses *pālīka* (Skt. *pālaka*) instead of *pālī*.

⁴⁷ See, e.g. Cicuzza 2001: 19; English 2002: 191.

⁴⁸ The term “pañcapradīpa” means the flesh of five animals, usually horse, donkey, elephant, dog, and camel. See Shendge 1962: 27, note 11.

⁴⁹ For the term “kṛpīṭa,” see Snellgrove 1959: 60. For the term “niraṃśu,” see *ibid.*, 60.

two terms of coded language listed in the *Hevajratāntra*, are also found in the NPY.⁵⁰ The “yogapātrī” (a skull-cup) or “yogapātrikā,” which is not included in this list but appears elsewhere in the *Hevajratāntra*, is another coded term and is found in the NPY.⁵¹

Other Sanskrit words in the NPY which are not found in available Sanskrit lexicons can be understood from the Tibetan translations or from parallels in other works, particularly those of Abhaya. For instance, in the Vajrasattvamaṇḍala (NPY 3) the Sanskrit word “piṭṭanī” or “piṭṭini” should mean “salutation” (*añjali*).⁵² Another example is seen in the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvaramaṇḍala (NPY 21), where the meaning of the compound “jotkāra” is not certain.⁵³ Although this is translated as the “sound of an auspicious verse” in T⁵⁴, it seems to be an onomatopoeic expression.

Appendix: A List of *Corrigenda*

- p. 1, line 1: *antar andham* may be better than *antarandham*
- p. 2, lines 3–4: *parapunyāvadhīm* should be corrected to *parapunyāvadhi*.
- p. 6, line 5: *LĀM, MĀM, PĀM, TĀM* may be better than *LAM, MAM, PAM, TAM*.
- p. 7, line 7: *yathā bāhyam tathādhyātmam* should be emphasized as a quote.
- p. 10, line 19: *kaniṣṭhāsūciḥ* should be corrected to *kaniṣṭhe sūci*.
- p. 10, lines 19–20: *samsaktapradeśīnyau* should be corrected to *samsakte pradeśīnyau*.
- p. 11, line 9: *'paradavatāḥ* should be corrected to *'paradevatāḥ*. A typographical error.
- p. 11, line 14: *LĀM, MĀM, PĀM, TĀM* may be better than *LAM, MAM, PAM, TAM*.
- p. 13, line 15: *°karotācakrī kuṇḍala°* should be corrected to *°karotācakrī-kuṇḍala°*. A typographical error.
- p. 21, line 1: *JVALABHYO* should be corrected to *JVALA BHYO*.
- p. 22, line 13: *dvārapālās* should be corrected to *dvārapālyās*.
- p. 30, line 1: *JVALABHYO* should be corrected to *JVALA BHYO*.
- p. 81, line 9: *veśeṣaḥ* should be corrected to *viśeṣaḥ*. A typographical error.
- p. 87, line 6: *sitāirāvatacandre* should be corrected to *sitairāvatacandre*. A typographical error.
- p. 91, line 15: *tathātra* should be corrected to *tathā | atra*.
- p. 91, line 18: *pañcabuddhamukuṭāḥ* should be corrected to *°mukuṭāḥ*.
- p. 99, line 12: *dharmodayāyām madhye* should be corrected to *dharmodayāyā madhye*.
- p. 108, line 7: [...] *samastān paśyanti te tu maṇḍaleśam tair āliṅgitās tān* should be corrected to [...] *samāḥ | tāḥ paśyanti <tān> te tu maṇḍaleśam tais āliṅgitās tāḥ*
- p. 113, line 11: *paraṣparābbhiḥ* should be corrected to *paramparābbhiḥ*.

⁵⁰ Bh 20, line 17 (Bh reads *kṛṣṇa*); Bh 31, line 2 (Bh reads *nīraṃśu*).

⁵¹ Snellgrove 1959: 80; Bh 20, line 19.

⁵² See the ĀM of Abhaya. P, vol. 55, Dsa, 149a6.

⁵³ Bh 65, line 7.

⁵⁴ *bkra sbis kyi tshigs su bcad pa'i sgra*. P, vol. 80, Thu, 161b7.

ABBREVIATIONS

- ĀKS: *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* of Jagaddarpaṇa.
ĀM: *Āmnāyamañjarī* of Abhayākaragupta
Bh: Bhattacharyya 1949.
KCT: *Kālacakratāntra*.
NPY: *Niṣpannayogāvalī* of Abhayākaragupta.
P: The Tibetan Tripiṭaka. Peking Edition. Reprinted under the Supervision of the Otani University, Kyoto. Edited by D. T. Suzuki. 168 vols. Tokyo and Kyoto, 1955–61.
SPT: *Saṃputātāntra*.
VA: *Vajrāvalī* of Abhayākaragupta.
VP: *Vimalaprabhā* Commentary of Puṇḍarīka on the KCT.
VP II & VP III: *Vimalaprabhāṭīkā of Kalkin Śrīpuṇḍarīka on Śrīlaghukālacakratāntrārāja of Kalkin Śrīmañjuśrīyaśas*, vols. II–III, critically edited and annotated with notes by V. V. Dwivedi and S. S. Bahulkar (Rare Buddhist Text Series 12–13). Sarnath 1994.

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The Vaimala Sect of the Pāśupatas. New Data from Old Javanese Sources*

Andrea ACRI

Various forms of Pāśupatism existed in the early medieval Indian Subcontinent. Beyond the Pāñcārthika tradition, mainly known to us through the *Pāśupatasūtra* with Kauṇḍinya's *Pañcārthabbāṣya*, and the *Gaṇakārikā* with Bhāsarvajña's *Ratnaṭikā*, other sub-schools arose from the middle of the first millennium AD. These groups included the Lākulas, Vaimalas, Kārukas and Mausulas, which left scant data about their beliefs and practices after the complete disappearance of their scriptural corpora.¹

In the first part of this paper I focus on the Vaimalas, presenting passages referring to this group in the Śaiva religious literature of the Subcontinent. In the second part I shall introduce the Śaiva sect of the Alepakas, mentioned in Old Javanese sources of the Tutar class side by side with the Pāśupatas and the mainstream Śaivas. In part three I shall present additional evidence on the Alepakas found in Old Javanese Kakavins.

As early as 1958, Ziesenis suggested the possibility of a linkage between the two sects, mainly on account of the similarity of their names (*alepaka* = *vimala* = 'immaculate'). The evidence analyzed in this paper vindicates Ziesenis' hypothesis, and on its basis I suggest to identify the Alepakas as a localised form of the Indian Vaimalas (part four). Beyond adding further data on this little-known group, the proposed identification might be of some importance in reconstructing the history of the Śaiva religion in the Archipelago, implying as it does that different varieties of Pāśupatism were extant in Java at least by the 9th century AD.

1 The Vaimalas in Sanskrit Sources

In the absence of any original scripture, information about the Vaimalas (i.e. 'those devoted to the immaculate one')² can only be retrieved from second-hand references scattered in the Śaiva Tantric literature from the Subcontinent. The earliest textual source referring to this group is the *Niśvāsātattvasamhitā*, a Siddhāntatantra preserved in a Nepalese manuscript

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¹ A presentation and discussion of the available evidence on these groups can be found in Sanderson 2006.

² A Rudra called Vimala appears, among four others headed by Prabhava, in the cosmological accounts of the *Svacchandatantra*, *Niśvāsātattvasamhitā*, *Niśvāsakārikā/Dikṣottara* (see Sanderson 2006:201). A sacred place of pilgrimage named after this Rudra is found throughout Tantric scriptures (cf., e.g., *Maṭaṅgapārameśvara, Vidyāpāda* 20.53cd: *vimalaṃ vimalasyoktaṃ sthānaṃ rudrasya śobhanam*).

dating back to the 8–9th century AD.³ In the final section of the text, i.e. the *Guhyasūtra*, we find a mention of the Vaimalas as one of the systems forming the Śaiva stream:

NTS, GS 12.4–5ab:⁴

What by it (*atrapadam haradi?*) [*lac.*], beginningless, found multifariously in the Pramāṇa, the Vaimala and the Śaiva. What is to be realized in other mantras, is fixed in the *pañcārthajñāna*.⁵

Further below, the Vaimala system is presented within a quadripartite division of the Atimārga, dominated by the mainstream Śaivas originating from the upper face of Īśāna:

NTS, GS 12.17–18:⁶

Thus through the five the whole [of the Śaiva knowledge] that was and will be [is covered]: the Śaiva has arisen in Īśāna, and the Vaimala is said [to have arisen] from [Tat]puruṣa.

The Pramāṇa was born from the heart (i.e. Aghora), the Kāruka from Vāmadeva. From Sadya (i.e. Sadyojāta) the followers of the doctrine of Lakuliśa [have arisen]. [Thus] the five divisions have been proclaimed.

Another obscure reference to the Vaimalas is found in *Guhyasūtra* 13.107cd–108ab, where they are mentioned in the context of the *aghoramantra*.⁷ Although the connection remains unclear, it should be mentioned that a seven-verse fragment of the *Pañcārthapramāṇa*, a lost Pāśupata scripture quoted by Kṣemarāja (first half of the 11th century AD) in his commentary ad *Svacchandatantra* 1.41–43, contains an analysis of the *aghoramantra*. As noted by Bakker (2000:6), this account shows that those Pāśupata groups that followed the lost Pramāṇas, in contrast with Kauṇḍinya's system, developed a hierarchical system of worlds (*bhuvana*) governed by various manifestations of Rudras divided into the three categories of *aghora*, *ghora* and *ghoraghoratara*.

As shown by Sanderson (2001:29; 2006:169–175; 200–201), the Pramāṇa texts were probably the basis on which the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā* built its cosmological system, further extending the ascending hierarchy of worlds and relegating the Pāśupatas, the followers of the Pramāṇas and the Vaimalas to lower stages. In *Guhyasūtra* 7.261–262ab⁸ we find

³ This remarkably old text is of primary importance for documenting archaic forms of Pāśupata Śaivism (see Sanderson 2001:28–31). The first of its five sections, i.e. the *Niśvāsasamukha*, gives an account of the Atimārga practices and observances which almost paraphrases parts of the *Pāśupatasūtra* (see Goudriaan 1981:35).

⁴ NTS, GS folio 87v, 1–2 (on the basis of the original Nepalese ms. and its two apographs transcribed and collated by Dominic Goodall and Diwakar Acharya): *yat tayātrapradam haradi [lac.] / pramāṇe vaimale caiva śaive ca babudhā sthitam // paramantreṣu yatsādhyam pañcārthajñānaniścitam*.

⁵ According to Peter Bisschop (p.c., January 2007) the term *Pañcārthajñāna* is used in the *Samskārakārikā* and in a newly recovered manuscript of the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* to indicate the seminal scripture of the Pāśupata sect, i.e. the *Pāśupatasūtra*. On the other hand, the author of the *Ratnaṭikā* seems to use it as a reference to the philosophical system based on the *sūtras* along with Kauṇḍinya's commentary.

⁶ NTS, GS folio 87v, 5: *pañcabhis tu tataḥ sarvaṃ yad bhūtam yac ca bhāvayati / iśāne śaivam utpannam vaimalam puruṣāt smṛtam / pramāṇam hr̥dayāj jātam vāmadevāt tu kārūkam // sadyāc ca lakuliśāntāḥ pañcabhedāḥ prakīrtitāḥ • 17d puruṣāt] conj.; puruṣā ms. • 18ab jātam vāmadevāt tu kārūkam] conj.; ja [lac.] ntu kārūkam ms. • 18c lakuliśāntāḥ] ms.; lakuliśottham conj. Sanderson (2001:29–30, fn. 32).*

⁷ NTS, GS folio 91v, 3: *saptamam tu punas tasmin tena prakīrtistham nigadyate (hypermetrical) // sa eṣa vaimalānām tu mokṣadam parikīrtitam*.

⁸ NTS, GS folio 68r1–2: *tejīśas ca dhrūvas caiva pramāṇādhvāntakīrtitam / kapālavratam āsthāya pramāṇāgamasiddhaye // gatā dhrūvapadam ye tu dikṣājñānavisodhitāḥ • 261b °ādhvāntakīrtitam] conj. Sanderson; °ādhvānakīrtitam ms. • 261d °āgamasiddhaye] conj. Sanderson (2006:170); °āgamasī [lac.] ms.*

a mention of certain *kapālavratins* (i.e. ‘[adepts] following the observance of the skull’), purified by initiation and gnosis (*dikṣājñānaviśodhitāḥ*)⁹ and having their ultimate goal in the worlds of Tejśa and Dhruva:

Tejśa and Dhruva are taught to be the end of the world–path of the Pramāṇa [system]. Purified by initiation and gnosis and having carried out the observance of the skull in order to fulfill [the command of] the Pramāṇa scriptures those [adepts] reach the level of Dhruva.

The Vaimalas and the followers of the Pramāṇas are meant in the verses above, as can be seen by comparing this passage with a similar one in the *Svacchandatantra* (11.72cd–73).¹⁰ Here the Vaimalas are placed in the world of the Rudra Tejśa, the followers of the Pramāṇas in the world of Dhruva:

For the Vaimalas, the goal is Tejśa, and for the Pramāṇa [system] it is Dhruva. Their soul being purified by initiation and gnosis, by keeping their discipline until death, and by practicing the observance of the skull, they reach their respective goals.

Further information can be drawn from Kṣemarāja’s commentary (*Uddyota*) ad *Svacchandatantra* 11.73–74ab. Here the Kashmirian exegete seems to distinguish two streams within Lākula Pāśupatism, namely the followers of the Pramāṇaśāstras and the Vaimalas. As suggested by Kṣemarāja, both practiced the observances of the skull (*kapālavrata*) and the lying in ashes, on the basis of the injunction given in *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.3 — ‘one should lie in ashes’ (*bhasmani śayīta*).¹¹ The observances of *kapāla*, *khaṭvāṅga* and *bhasmavāsa* are also mentioned in *Guhyasūtra* 12.10–12, seemingly in connection with the followers of the Pramāṇas and the Vaimalas.¹²

The *Niśvāsakārikā/Dikṣottara*, a later appendix to the *Niśvāsātattvasamhitā* preserved only in badly corrupt South Indian manuscripts, places the Vaimalas in the cosmic level of Dhruva:

The Vaimalas, Kārukas and the Pāśupatas: Dhruva is the god of the Vaimalas, [standing] above that of the Kārukas. Those resting above the barrier of Dhruva dwell in the creation of Śiva; that station is the highest *tattva* of those, whose Soul has been purified from [the hold of] the cosmic path by means of initiation. Īśvara is said to be the station of the Pāśupatas; [one] who has his soul purified from [the hold of] the cosmic path by means of conduct, he goes [there]. About this there is no doubt.¹³

⁹ And not (primarily) by ritual action, as in the case of the Mausulas and Kārukas, who followed the chiefly ritualistic Pramāṇas (see Bakker 2000:4, 7).

¹⁰ SvT 11.72cd–73: *tejśo vaimalānām ca pramāṇe ca dhruvaṃ padam // dikṣājñānaviśuddhātmā dehāntaṃ yāva caryayā / kapālavratam āsthāya svaṃ svaṃ gacchati tatpadam.*

¹¹ *Svacchandatantrōddyota*, 11.74ab: *ye tu kapālādyaṣṭhivratadhārīṇaḥ pūrvoṅkalākulāmnāyāt — bhasmani śayīta ityādīpāśupataśāstracodanātaḥ japabhasmakriyāniṣṭhās te vrajanty aiśvaram padam.*

¹² NTS, GS folio 83v, 3–4: *kapālam caiva khaṭvāṅgam bhasmavāsam ca sarvadā / caturvarṇikabhaiḥ ca vastavyaṃ vijane vane // jñānānveṣi śive bhaktir yogadhyānaparāyaṇaḥ / [lac.] brahmacaryaṃ ca yathālabdhena vartayet // evaṃ carati vidvāṃso jitakrodho jitendriyaḥ / vaimalācāryadikṣā śivasāyojyam ucyate • 12c vaimalācāryadikṣā] conj.; vaimalācāryadikṣā ms. (unmetrical).*

¹³ *Niśvāsakārikā/Dikṣottara* 19.123–125 (collated from IFP transcripts A, B, C): *vaimalā kārūkās caiva tathā pāśupatās ca ye / vaimalānām dhruvaṃ devaṃ kārūkānām tathopari // granthidhruvanadhīnānām śivasṛṣṭer avasthitā / teṣāṃ tattvaparam sthānam dikṣādhvānaviśodhitam // iśvaram pāśupatānām sthānam caivam udāhṛtam / caryādhvānaviśuddhātmā gacchate nātra saṃśayaḥ // • 123a kārūkās] em.; kārūkās ABC • 123b pāśupatās ca] BC; pāśupatā A • 123d kārūkānām] em.; kārūkānām ABC • 124a granthidhruvanadhīnānām] em.; granthidhruvaṃ māhīnām A; granthī dhruvanadhīnām B; granthī dhruvanadhīnānām C • 124b śivasṛṣṭer avasthitā] A; śivaṃ ghrṣṭer avasthitā B; śivaṃ drṣṭe svasthitā C • 125a pāśupatānām] em.; pāśupatyānām ABC • 125c caryādhvānaviśuddhātmā] A; caryādhvānaviśuddhātmā B; caryādhvānaviśuddhātmā C.*

In another passage of the same text,¹⁴ the Vaimalas are mentioned, along with the Kārukas, the Pāśupatas and other schools, as attainers of an inferior kind of liberation in comparison with the one achieved by the followers of the Śaivasiddhānta. A similar account is found in Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka* (13.305), where Śaivas, Vaimalas, the followers of the Siddhānta, Ārhatas and Kārukas are all listed as systems hierarchically lower than those based on the teachings of the Bhairavatantras.¹⁵

The above survey of all currently known attestations of the name Vaimalas clearly shows that there is still hardly any knowledge about the practices and beliefs of this sect. Although they probably had their own set of *sāstras*, the Vaimalas also followed the scriptural authority of the *Pāśupatasūtra*¹⁶ and carried out the observance of *bhasmasāyana* there enjoined. On the other hand, the Vaimalas also developed an extended hierarchy of Rudra-worlds and practiced additional observances, such as the *kapālavrata*, thus standing midway between the Pāñcārthika Pāśupatas and more extreme groups like the Kāpālikas.

2 The Alepakas in Sanskrit-Old Javanese Texts

So far, no attestation of the term *vaimala* has been found in Old Javanese sources.¹⁷ On the other hand, the sect of the Alepakas, i.e. 'the immaculate ones',¹⁸ is mentioned in a

¹⁴ *Niśvāsakārikā/Dikṣottara* transcripts A, B, C 12.24–26, also found, with minor variants, in 13.6–9ab. The text quoted here is from transcript A 12.24–26, which strikes me as the least corrupt: *vedāntaviduṣaiś caiva giyate paramēśvarah/ pañcarātram tu tattvajñaiḥ sa eva parikīrtitah/ vaimalā kārukaś caiva tathā pāśupatāś ca ye/ bauddhaś cārhatāś caiva nyāyavaiśeṣikāś tathā/ itihāsapurāṇajñā dharmasāstraparāyaṇāḥ/ sarve mokṣavidō devī svasamjñā pratipādītāḥ/ • 25a kārukaś] em.; kārukaś A.*

¹⁵ Abhinavagupta here is quoting from a lost Tantra of the Kaula stream named *Sarvācārahṛdayatantra: śaivavāimalasiddhāntā ārhatāḥ kārukaś ca ye/ sarve te paśavo jñeyā bhairave mātrīmaṇḍale* (the reference to the Vaimalas is not commented upon by Jayaratha).

¹⁶ This claim, suggested by the words of Kṣemarāja in *Svacchandatantrōdyota* 11.74ab, has been supported by Bakker (2000:6) on the basis of epigraphic evidence in which we find mention of a lineage of gurus with names ending in *-vimala*, whose origin goes back to Kuśika, the first disciple of Lakulīśa, the mythical author of the *Pāśupatasūtra*.

¹⁷ The adjective *vimala* is, however, well attested in a wide variety of Archipelago texts with the meaning 'immaculate' (cf. OJD 2281). In Old Javanese charters it is found as a personal name of laymen (cf. Damais 1970:686). The compound *vimalāśrama* ('the *āśrama* of Vimala/the immaculate *āśrama*?) appears four times on a series of inscribed copper plates of probable East Javanese origin, describing a freehold grant to a religious establishment (OJO CXII, pp. 243–247, nr. 16a, 11ab; van Stein Callenfels 1924:26, where the reading *dhimalāśrama* by the earlier transcriber Hageman should be corrected to *vimalāśrama*). The establishment is qualified as a *vihāra* and a *kuṭi*, both terms implying a Buddhist affiliation (in spite of the Śaiva persuasion of the final invocation of the charter, mentioning, among other deities, Haricaṇḍana Agasti Mahārṣi). Of more definite interest is the mention of an *ācārya vimaleśvara*, native of Muṅgvatan, in the area of Tira, found in two inscriptions from Caṇḍi Kedulan in Central Java, both dated 791 Śaka (867 AD), which have been discovered in 2003 by Indonesian archaeologists. (These data have been drawn from the oral presentation by Timbul Haryono, 'Two Stone Inscriptions recently found at [a] Hindu Temple in Yogyakarta', delivered during a Colloquium on Asian Art and Archaeology, National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, 12 November 2007. Dr. Haryono has shown a transcription and translation of both inscriptions, but provided no handouts.) The appellation may denote a Śaiva *ācārya* named after the Rudra Vimala/Vimaleśvara, although the possibility that the compound could just mean 'the immaculate Īśvara', and hence refer to a Saiddhāntika *ācārya*, cannot be ruled out. Note that, outside of the Subcontinent, the god Vimaleśvara is attested in Sanskrit and Old Khmer inscription from Cambodia (see Sanderson 2003–04:408).

¹⁸ The word *alepaka* is attested in Sanskrit sources from the Subcontinent as an epithet of either the soul or Śiva; cf. e.g. *Niśvāsakārikā/Dikṣottara* 2.28ab: *evam jñātvā bhaven mantrī śivah sāksād alepakaḥ; Svacchandatantra* 12.133ab: *alepako viśuddhātmā siddhiṃ prāpya śivo bhavet; Netratantra* 14.8cd: *yadā tadā hi sarveṣāṃ ātmabhūto hy alepakaḥ*. In this respect, its usage is similar to *vimala*, also widespread in Tantric scriptures from

number of Archipelago sources, mostly belonging to the corpus of Sanskrit-Old Javanese texts called Tuturs. The majority of these scriptures, largely unpublished, are preserved on palm-leaf manuscripts from the island of Bali, although many of them were probably composed on Java in the period going from the 9th to the 15th century AD (see Acri 2006). These texts can be regarded as the remains of the scriptural basis of the Śaiva religion in ancient Indonesia, embedding Sanskrit *ślokas* in an Old Javanese commentarial framework.

Sparse references to the Alepakas are to be found in Tuturs listing various denominations of sects of Śaiva orientation, where the Alepakas usually appear side by side with the Pāśupatas, both distinct from the followers of mainstream Śaiva Siddhānta. The incipit of Tuttur *Śivaśāsana* runs:¹⁹

Thus [starts] the holy *Śivaśāsana*; all the *sādhakas* should pay attention to it; all the religious teachers of the Śaiva stream, namely: the Śaivasiddhāntas, the Śaivas, the Pāśupatas, the [A]lepakas,²⁰ the Canakas, the Ratnaharas, the Śambhus. Thus are the kinds of *sādhakas* of the Śaiva stream.²¹

A reference found in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, a text of Śaiva Siddhānta persuasion but containing Pāśupata-influenced strands (see Nihom 1995b) was pointed out many decades ago by Zieseniss (1958:19). The Old Javanese commentary ad *śloka* 2 opens by listing Śaivas, Pāśupatas and Alepakas in reply to the question directed to Śiva by Vṛhaspati (i.e. Bṛhaspati), who is confused about what is the best among the three paths into which the Śaiva stream is divided:

O Lord, be kind to your son, tell me about all the sacred scriptures, the reason why so many are their varieties [that have been instituted] by the Lord, while teaching to all the gods. There are those called Śaivas, those called Pāśupatas, and those called Alepakas.²² These all are the different doctrines of the Lord, [mentioned] one by one, along with their own scriptures; many are their sorts. Why is it so? For what reason so many ways and scriptures have been made?²³

Further on in the commentary ad *śloka* 3, Śiva himself replies that each one of them is equally effective in leading to liberation from the cycle of rebirth:

The reverend Vṛhaspati asked: which is the most excellent kind of gnosis? O Lord, is it Śaiva, is it Pāśupata, or is it Alepaka?

The Lord answered: there is no inferior or superior heaven (*svarga*), my son, if it will be made equal by those who follow [one of those] ways; because this gnosis has already been equally and properly enunciated by me into these three ways. If there is

both the Subcontinent and the Archipelago.

¹⁹ The spelling of the Sanskrit technical designations has been standardized, but *vṛddhis* have not been implemented in the four, rarely attested sect names of *alepaka*, *canaka ratnahara* and *śambhu*.

²⁰ The spelling *lepaka* is most probably due to the frequent loss of initial *a-* in Sanskrit loan-words in Old Javanese (see Gonda 1973:391) and in Archipelago Sanskrit (see Goudriaan and Hooykaas 1971:12).

²¹ *Śivaśāsana* (LOr ms. 9127), p. 1: *nihan sañ hyaṇi śivasasana, kayatnakēna de sañ vatēk sadaka makabēhan, sahananira para dañ ascarya sevapaksa, lvirnira sevasidanta, seva, pasupata, lepaka, canaka, ratnahara, sambhu, naban lvirnira sañ sadaka sevapaksa.*

²² I follow the spelling of the religious sects standardized by the editor (i.e. ms. *seva*→ Śaiva; *pasupata*→ Pāśupata).

²³ Vṛh 2.1–6 (Devi 1957:34): *sājñā bhaṭāra, kaṣihana rānak bhaṭāra. Varabhēn ika sañ hyaṇi aji kabeh, mataṇyan akveh prabhedanira de bhaṭāra, an pavarah ri sañ vatēk devatā kabeh. Hana śaiva nāranya, hana pāśupata nāranya, hana alepaka nāranya. Ika ta kabeh kapva dudū pavarah bhaṭāra sovañ-sovañ lavan ikañ śāstra vih akveh ata prakāranya. Nāya ta kaliṇan ika. Mataṇyan vineh makveha ikanañ mārga kalavan aji de bhaṭāra.*

a mistake, [it is made] by those who adhere to the view that there is a gnosis [which is] inferior to all the others. That is the cause of a confused mind, which is liable to err. Thus spoke the Lord.²⁴

Although the above passages — as is usual in this kind of literature — unfortunately do not make things very clear, they testify to the existence in Java of at least three varieties of Śaiva traditions, each one provided with a different set of scriptures. The mention of those who, in contrast with the conciliatory position expressed by the Old Javanese text, regard those traditions as leading to inferior and superior heavens (*svarga*) reminds us of those accounts, found in Sanskrit sources like the *Niśvāsataṭṭvasaṃhitā* and the *Svacchandatantra*, in which various types of liberations reached through an ascendent hierarchy of cosmic levels are attributed to different Śaiva sects.

Another, hitherto unnoticed, reference to the Alepakas is found in Tatur *Brahmokta Vidhi Śāstra*.²⁵ Having opened with the invocation *om paśupataye namaḥ*, the text describes — through the mouth of Bhaṭāra Paśupati himself — the origin of the world and of the four Vedas, using a series of *ślokas* listing various auxiliary sciences (*vedāṅga*) and other philosophical systems. Each one of these is connected with a part of the body of the holy Veda (*sañ hyañ veddha*):

The teaching of the Ars Amatoria is in the genital organ; in the belly is placed the Mimāṃsā. The Pāśupata is in the heart and the Māhānātha on the chest.

On the neck there is the Vaiśeṣika, the Śikṣā is on the tongue; the Alepaka is in the head.²⁶

These verses are paraphrased in the Old Javanese commentary, in which it is stated that the *alepakajñānaśāstra* represents the head of the Veda (*kunañ ikañ alepakajñānaśāstra pinakasirsa pakenan ika de sañ hyañ veddha*), while the *pāśupataśāstra* represents the heart (*ikañ paśupataśāstra pinakabati pakenan ika teka sañ hyañ veddha*). It is in itself remarkable that the Pāśupatas, Māhānāthas and Alepakas are presented in these verses as belonging to the Vedic stream, standing side by side with other orthodox schools.²⁷ Equally interesting is the appearance of the term Alepaka as a sect-name in a Sanskrit verse, to my knowledge the only instance in all of Sanskrit literature known so far. The heavily corrupt Sanskrit, which goes beyond the kind of *aīsa* register common in Tantric scriptures from the Subcontinent, suggests that these verses have been composed in the Archipelago. However, as

²⁴ Vṛh 3.36–43 (Devi 1957:36): *sumabur bhagavān vṛhaspati, linnira: ndya ta viśeṣa nika sañ hyañ jñāna, sājnā bhaṭāra, ikañ śaiva kari ya, ikañ pāśupata kari ya, ikañ alepaka kari ya. Sumabur bhaṭāra, linnira: tan hana sor tan hana lēvih ikañ svarga anaku yan paḍākēna de sañ makamārga, apan paḍa tēlas litubayu denku gumēlar ikañ jñāna nīkāna mārga tēlu. Yapvan salah denya mañgēgō jñāna hana sor ikañ vaneh. Ya ta matañyan ikañ bhrāntajñāna, yekāgēlēm analahi. Mañkana liñ bhaṭāra.*

²⁵ LOr 14.763 (see Pigeaud 1980:8). A slightly less corrupt version can be retrieved from a romanized copy of a ms. (Kirtya 6575 IIIb, p. 31) containing two texts, namely the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and the *Brahmokta Vidhi Śāstra* (from p. 32 onwards).

²⁶ *Brahmokta Vidhi Śāstra* (ms. Kirtya 6575 IIIb), *ślokas* 2–3 (p. 32): *kāmatantro 'pi viguhye kuḥsau mimāṃsaḥ saṃsthitah/ pāśupato 'pi hr̥daye māhānāthas ca urake/ | kañṭhe vaiśeṣikaś caiva jibve śikṣā tathaiḥ ca/ alepakas tu śīrṣāyām iti vedaśarīra vai • 2a kāmatantro] em.; kamatanthro ms. • viguhya] irregular metrical pattern • 2b kuḥsau] em.; kuḥso ms. • 2b mimāṃsaḥ] declined as a masculine (unmetrical) • 2d ca urake] non-standard hiatus to avoid hypermetrism, although the *anuṣṭubh* cadence is still irregular • 3b śikṣā] em.; śikṣa ms. • 3c śīrṣāyām] em.; śīrṣayam ms. (declined as a feminine) • 3d śarīra] declined as a masculine with irregular *sandhi*, m.c.*

²⁷ It is worth mentioning that according to Dyczkowski (1988:24–25), there existed an early tradition of smārta Pāśupatas who were considered to be orthodox by the followers of the Vedas and opposed to the heterodox ones belonging to the Lākula stream.

is often the case of *slokas* contained in Tuttur texts, the above verses do not show any trace of Javanisation, such as the influence of Old Javanese morpheme, which would make them belong to the kind of hybrid language known as Archipelago Sanskrit (see Goudriaan and Hooykaas 1971:11–12). Therefore, the possibility that these verses were composed in the Subcontinent after all cannot be ruled out.²⁸

3 The Alepakas in Old Javanese Kakawins

I shall now consider two passages of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* Kakavin²⁹ containing additional evidence on the Alepakas, namely stanza 20cd of *sarga* 25 and 111cd of *sarga* 24. Sections 24.95–126 and 25.11–117, characterized by a difficult and allusive poetic language, featuring a high density of poetic niceties such as *yamakas* and double-entendres, depict in allegorical terms various animals — mostly birds. Each of these represent human alter-egos, i.e. ascetics of different sects who take every opportunity to tease one another about their respective behaviours and religious observances. The satirical aim of the author results evidently from the *mise-en-scène* effected by the birds that are made use of for parody. Several of these allegorically represent the followers of sects carrying out a form of asceticism characterized by observances proper to the groups of the Śaiva Atimārga, as opposed to the householder-oriented or mild monastic form of religiosity represented by their critics.³⁰

The motif of the bird-ascetic is not unknown in India. For instance, in the Sanskrit Śaiva scriptural literature we find parallel passages mentioning various categories of Śaiva forest-dwellers (*vānaprastha*) and mendicants (*bhikṣu/yati*), some of which are named after birds, apparently on account of the similarity of their behaviours.³¹ Furthermore, sources containing parodies of Śaiva ascetics written by their opponents are common in the Subcontinent (see Bloomfield 1924; Rossella *2007). These parodies are especially important because, as Lorenzen (2000:81) pointed out in commenting on the *Mattavilāsa*, it is only by reading between their lines that we can get a picture of the beliefs and practices of such groups. This is a feature that applies also to *sargas* 24 and 25 of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, which represent an unique source for retrieving data on little-known religious groups in early Java.

As noted by Nihom (1995b), several stanzas of the section 24.95–126 have their counterparts in *sarga* 25, which seem to add further elements helping the reader to connect the mentioned birds to certain religious sects.³² As I argue below, this happens to be the case

²⁸ As I have shown elsewhere (Acri 2006:118–124), several of the verses contained in Tuturs do have exact parallels in Sanskrit Siddhāntatantras, and their dilapidated state is often due to poor Balinese manuscript transmission.

²⁹ This poem in Sanskrit metres is considered to be the oldest Old Javanese Kakavin, “dating back to the first half of the 9th century AD.”

³⁰ Nihom (1995a), having translated two closely-related stanzas of *sargas* 24 and 25 and analysed them from the standpoint of Indology, arrived at the conclusion that the author had a detailed knowledge of the tenets of Pāśupata Śaivism (pp. 666–667) and that ‘despite their own unmistakable Javanese nature, [they] are not likely to be understood without consideration of the beliefs of various schools of Indian religious sects’ (p. 654). On p. 657, note 19, he expressed his intention to discuss verse 25.20 in another study, which, however, has not yet appeared. This task has therefore been taken up by the present writer.

³¹ See *Kiraṇatantra*, *caryāpāda* ch. 9 (vv. 1–29) and *Suprabhedāgama*, *caryāpāda* ch. 6 (vv. 1–85). For a detailed description of the passages, see Barazer-Billoret 2001:33–49 (I thank this author for having pointed out to me the relevant passages and having provided me with digital romanized versions from the Grantha manuscripts).

³² For example, the coot in 24.117ab is connected with the Pāśupatas in 25.25 (see Nihom 1995a).

of the couplet 24.111cd and 25.20cd. For the sake of clarity, I begin with the latter. Regrettably, this line provides a difficult task to the translator, and it cannot be rendered into English without loosing the polysemic and allusive power of the Old Javanese:

si puyuh alepaka apan panēmēh kapitūt ikū viku mutil makipū

The quails are spotless for they are a cause of filth; dragged away by the tail, pilfering and rummaging on the ground (Hooykaas 1958b:368).

The flawless *puyuh*-bird is not really clean, as her tail is always full of dust since she always bathes in it (Santoso 1980:689).

Hooykaas' translation is literal at the expense of intelligibility: why would quails which are 'a cause of filth' (*panēmēh*) be called 'spotless' (*alepaka*)? Santoso's more readable translation surely has the merit of putting the matter in a more elegant and allusive way, although it does not follow the text, being probably based on his intuition of the presence of a *sleṣa*. Both renderings, although conveying the first, obvious level of interpretation of the line, fail to disclose its allegorical meaning, i.e. the reference to the quail's human alter-ego. As I will try to show below, the line contains various puns that make it capable of being interpreted as simultaneously referring — with evident comic effect — to a nesting quail (*puyuh*) and an Alepaka ascetic (*alepaka/viku*) performing his observances.³³

The occurrence of *alepaka* in connection with the Vaimalas did not escape Hooykaas (1958b:368, fn. 37), who detected the presence of puns although he did not advance any double-translation or explanation of the line.³⁴ As noted by that scholar, the term *alepaka* is intentionally ambiguous, since — as is the case with many Old Javanese forms based on Sanskrit words — the initial *a-* may be taken not only as an alpha privans (*a-lepaka*, 'without stain') but also as the Old Javanese prefix *a-*, which means just the opposite, i.e. 'being stained', hence the pun.³⁵ Hooykaas (ibid. fn. 38) detected another ambiguity in the second half-line, depending on the *v* of *viku* being read or not.³⁶ *Viku* in Java is a common denomination for a category of wandering ascetics, mendicants and solitary hermits mostly connected with Śaivism (cf. OJD 2274).³⁷ Apparently the author here was intentionally playing with words, making a subtle analogy between a quail, which is said to be *alepaka*,

³³ We may contrast this with a certain way of punning found in Sanskrit satirical poetry, where 'one appreciates sentences that can be read in different ways, leading to two opposite interpretations. Here asceticism and the virile virtues of kings are mocked mercilessly as much as they are subtly, also through the deceptive praises named *vyājastuti*. Polysemy is exploited to the maximum, and deliberately cultivated. Despite the extreme refinement of this type of stanza, one cannot exclude that — at least to a certain extent — also the less cultured audience is able to grasp their humour' (Rossella *2007).

³⁴ Incidentally, his suggestion concerning a pun based on the play between *puyuh* (quail) and *uyuh* (urine), *puyuh*(*h*)-*puyuh*ēn (urged to urinate), is, in my opinion, unlikely. Cf. below, fn. 41, for an alternative suggestion.

³⁵ See OJD 1021: *lepaka*, 'Skt *lepaka* ifc. = *lepa*; *alepaka*, 'stainless'; *alepaka*, '(*a-* here prob. Javanese prefix) stained, soiled, smeared (or: without disguise, shameless?)'. The only locus mentioned is the present stanza.

³⁶ The cluster formed by the long *ū* followed by the glide *v* is required for the sake of preserving the syllable quantity of the metre and hardly makes any difference in metrical reading. *Iku* is an Old Javanese demonstrative pronoun meaning 'that' (over there), which in this position can be translated as a possessive, and had been rendered as such by the previous translators. Cf., for a similar use of the substantive *ikū* 'tail' plus a demonstrative pronoun (*ikā*), OJR 25.95b: *nān mayūra saguṇēn ikū ikā*, 'take the peacock, he has all the virtues in its tail'.

³⁷ The term, traced back to the Middle Indo-Arian *bhikkhu* rather than to the Sanskrit *bhikṣu* by Gonda (1973:274), as a verb denotes 'to ordain'. Cf. also *Vṛhaspatitattva*, Old Javanese commentary ad verse 25, which explains the item *bhikṣā* in the *śloka* — *bhikṣu* in the commentary — as *dikṣita*; the passage is clearly referring to a Śaiva form of initiation. For the use of *bhikṣu* as a reference to Śaiva ascetics in the Subcontinent, cf. e.g. *Kiraṇa* and *Suprabheda*, see supra, fn. 31. On account of a passage of the Old Javanese poem *Kuñjarakarna*

i.e. ‘without stain’ or — just the contrary — ‘stained, soiled, smeared’ (OJD 1021), and a *vikū* belonging to the sect of the Alepakas.

The passive form *kapitūt* (from the root *tūt*, ‘to follow’), was referred by Hooykaas to the quail’s tail and rendered as ‘dragged away’. While this is correct from the point of view of grammar, one has to cope with the problem of the relationship between a tail (*ikū*) and a *vikū*. The only solution I can imagine is to take into account the possibility of a double-translation for this line.³⁸ The form *kapitūt* seems to be intentionally polysemic: literally meaning ‘being made to follow’ [hence ‘dragged away’], it is rendered by OJD (2081) as ‘feeling impelled or forced to follow, going along with others (against one’s own inclination, willy-nilly)’.³⁹ If we accept this reading, it follows that the substantive *ikū* cannot mean ‘tail’ anymore. One possibility would be to take it as the demonstrative pronoun *iku*, whose short *u* is turned into a long one for metrical reasons (as may happen in the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* and in Kakavins in general). Thus, the present instance might be interpreted as alluding to the following of ‘injunctions’, and hence fitting well in the context of Pāsupata Śaivism. Indeed the ascetic observances of the Pāsupatas and the Vaimalas were carried out on account of the injunctions prescribed in their scriptural authority, i.e. the *Pāsupatasūtra*, or uttered by a teacher.⁴⁰ The term *makipū*, a verbal form derived from **kipū* (‘to scratch or throw away the earth in making a resting-place’, OJD 874), is to be understood as alluding to the preparation of a place in the ground to perform the observance of lying in ashes, as prescribed in the *Pāsupatasūtra*.⁴¹

The hapax *mutil* is obscure. Its discussion, however, would bring us too far away from the present issue without adding any conclusive data. Suffice it to say that this hapax, connected to the root **kutīl* II (probably from the Sanskrit *kuṭīla*), is in OJD (940) conjecturally linked to *kutīlēn* and translated as ‘suffering from pimples? wriggling?’ (*sic*). While ‘wriggling’ fits the context of the line as denoting the act of moving crookedly on the ground,

(23.1d–3) connecting some *visikki* (i.e. Skt. *visikhin*, ‘without a topknot’) with the Śaiva *vikus*, distinct from the Ṛṣi-Pāsupatas and the Buddhists, Lokesh Chandra (1986:404) suggests that ‘there was another Pāsupata sect which shaved the head completely, like Buddhist monks, and hence was known as *vikū*’. On the sect of the Muṇḍapāsupatas, i.e. ‘the sect of Pāsupatas whose members shaved their head’, see Acharya 2005:210, fn. 13.

³⁸ I feel confident to advance this possibility here also on account of its having been already proposed by Nihom (1995a:657) in order to explain the allegorical content of line 25.25c.

³⁹ The term is formed from the root *tūt* (‘to follow, be in accord, go along with, be in harmony with, etc.’) plus the passive prefix *ka-* (which, by contrast with *-in-*, does not require the expression of an agent in Old Javanese). According to Thomas Hunter (p.c.), ‘the infix *-pi-* is used in the formation of derived transitives expressing an act of ‘pointing’ through the *-pi-* morpheme, implying a mediating agent in the action; hence, *kapitūt* may be translated as ‘one who is made to follow through an act of pointing out’ (cf. e.g. the similar form *ka-pi-reñēn*, ‘be made to hear’ and by extension ‘be instructed’).

⁴⁰ The Old Javanese form *kapitūt* aptly describes the act of emulation prescribed by the commandment of *guruśrūṣā*, i.e. the willingness to follow or emulate the *guru* and obey his precepts, listed in the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* among the good qualities required of the Pāsupata practitioner. Note that an allusive reference to this commandment had been detected by Nihom (1995a:659) in verse 25.25 of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*.

⁴¹ The careful inspection and preparation of the spot on the ground (in order to avoid the killing of any living being, in observance of the Pāsupata’s commandment of *abimsā*) where lying in ashes (*bhasmaśayana*) is to be performed is prescribed in *Matanīgāpārameśvara*, *Caryāpāda* 9.7cd–8ab (see Sanderson 2006:203): *viṣecanena satatam bhūmim āpūya paṇḍitaḥ/ śanakair nivīset tatra bhasma dattvā tatopari*, ‘the wise should purify the site by examining it carefully. He should then lay down a covering of ash [on the ground] and then seat himself gently upon it’. Further on, verse 9 specifies that the practitioner should then meditate (i.e. visualize Rudra) with a ‘spotless’ heart (*vimalena hṛdā*). I leave to the reader’s own judgement the suggestion that the Sanskrit root *pū*, ‘to purify’, also featured in verse 7d, may have suggested to the Old Javanese readers an etymological connection between the *puyuh* and purity.

and hence, by way of allegory, referring to some kind of observance, I can offer no definitive solution for this problem.

The parallel translation of the line resulting from the interpretation advanced above runs as follows:

The quail is an Alepaka, for he is dirty; he is impelled [by injunction] to imitate that wandering ascetic, who wriggles about as he scratches the ground to make a resting-place (i.e. to lie in ashes).

As a consequence of his observances, the quail/Alepaka ascetic is referred to as ‘dirty’ or ‘polluting’ (*pañēmēḥ*).⁴² I believe that the attachment of the predicate ‘polluting’ to those who call themselves Alepaka or ‘the immaculate ones’ adds a further sarcastic tone and might have deeper doctrinal implications in the context of Pāśupata Śaivism. Given the general satirical aim of the *sarga*, it is likely that the author here was ridiculing the observances involving the contact with ashes, used by the various Atimārga groups as an effective means of purification from sin; this in turn presupposes that he had some knowledge of the doctrine of purity (*śauca*) and freedom from impurity (*mala*), which was sought after by the Pāśupata sects — including the Vaimalas, as can be gathered from *Svacchandatanthroddyota* 11.73–74ab — on the basis of injunctions such as *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.3, etc.⁴³ To the eyes of the poet, those who claim to be, on a metaphysical level, free from maculation (*mala*), are only stained by their very same ascetic practices. From the above, it necessarily follows that the Alepaka *vikus* are mocked and ridiculed from the perspective of another sect, in all probability the form of mainstream Śaivasiddhānta attested in 9th century Central Java, claiming superiority over the Alepakas by criticizing their useless ascetic observances.⁴⁴

A similar attitude is apparent in verse 111bc of the preceding *sarga* 24 of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, also describing a quail:

*prēñjak-prēñjak tumañjak n̄ hiji mañajir umah tiñjo puyuh i sor
de nin̄ buddhy ardha mūḍa n̄ pakidupuh akipū tan pomah aramēḥ*

The Prinias are eating with eagerness; the weaver-bird plaits a house, looking at the quail beneath, which — because of its very stupid mind — is squatting on the ground, scratching about to make a resting-place, without running a household, dirty.

⁴² Instead of a noun, *pañēmēḥ* could also be the de-nasalized verbal form *mañēmēḥ*, hence meaning ‘polluting [himself]’.

⁴³ Cf. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* on *bhasmasnāna*, p. 9, line 6–11 (transl. Hara 2002:64): ‘Here bathing (*snāna*) means that one must purify oneself, that is, by ashes one must remove from the body its adventitious oiliness and grease, dirt and smell of skin. (In the ordinary sense of the term) bathing consists in the contact of the substance ashes with the body (*bhasma-dravya-gātra-samyojana*). But in the true sense (*paramārthatas*), bathing and others (that is, lying in ashes) means purification of the soul (*ātma-śauca*) [...] And since it speaks of ‘(the man whose mind is) free from impurity (*akaluṣa-mateḥ*: PS 1.18)’ and ‘freed of evil (*apabata-pāpman*: PS 3.6),’ owing simply to bathing etc., we may explain bathing as purification of the soul’ [...]; *Pañcārthabhāṣya* 1.2, 18–21: *atra snānam śaucakāryeṇa śarīreṣv āgantukānām snehatvaglepamalagandhādīnām bhasmanāpakarṣaṇam kartavyam|| snānam tu bhasmadravyagātrasamyojanam|| paramārthatas tu snānādi punyaphalasamyogadharmātmarvacanād ātmaśaucam evaitat|| kevalam snānādyakaluṣāpabatapāpmādivacanāt kāryakaraṇavyapadeśenātmaśaucam vyākhyāyate.*

⁴⁴ There is little doubt that the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, although narrating the adventures of Rāma — a character typically associated with Viṣṇu — was a thoroughly Śaiva poem (see, for example, *sarga* 26, stanza 49). Poerbatjaraka (1932:169) defined it as ‘bordering on [Śaiva] fanaticism’.

Just as in stanza 25.20, the quail (alias Alepaka) is described as ‘dirty’, ‘impure’ (*aramēḥ*), preparing a place to lie on the ground (*akipū*), without a proper house.⁴⁵ The quail alter-ego is here represented by a wandering anchorite (living a celibate life), sitting in a hole on the ground, dirty on account of his observances with ashes.⁴⁶ This behaviour is clearly being ridiculed, looked upon with disregard by the industrious weaver-bird, representing a quintessential householder involved in his worldly activities. The description of the quail as having a very stupid mind (*buddhy arḍha mūḍa*)⁴⁷ reminds us of the attitude of the common people toward Pāśupata ascetics. Compare, for instance, *Pāśupatasūtra* 4.8: *unmatto mūḍhā ity evaṃ manyante itare janāḥ*, ‘other people will thus think: “he [i.e. the adept] is a stupid madman”’.⁴⁸

I shall conclude by presenting a passage from a stanza of the unpublished *Sumanasāntaka* (LOR 13.081), a later Old Javanese Kakavin of East Javanese provenance written by Mpu Monaguna (ca. 13th century AD, see Zoetmulder 1974:307–311). In canto 37, sharing the same allegorical motif of the animal-ascetics with *sargas* 24 and 25 of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, we find the following description of serpents and quails engaged in observances (line 8c):

mwanī sarpātapa-tapan abrata lanānalusa puyuh ikākipū-kipū

The serpents⁴⁹ performed penance, carrying out their observances at all times. The quails were dirty [or: led the life of hermits], continuously scratching away the earth to make a resting-place.

⁴⁵ *Pomah* (from the root **umah* plus the verbal prefix *ma-*, preceded by the negation *tan* and hence denasalized into *pa-*), means ‘to have/build an house; run a household’; in the reduplicated form *momah-omah/pomah-omah* it means ‘to lead a married life’ (OJD 2116).

⁴⁶ It is interesting to point out that Santoso (1980:640) translated *pakidupuh akipū* as ‘sitting in a hole bathing in the dust’, without explaining whether his rendering was due to the presence of a hidden reference to the observances of the Pāśupatas. On the other hand, about the stanzas 109 ff., he pointed out that ‘only by closely studying the behaviour of those animals in their natural habitat can a translator be inspired to make a good translation [...]’ (ibid., p. 802).

⁴⁷ See OJD 1153 s.v. *mūḍha*, ‘silly, stupid, foolish, unwise, ignorant’, and also s.v. *mūḍhabuddhi*, ‘dull-witted’. *Arḍdha*, deriving from the Sanskrit *ṛddha*, in Old Javanese means ‘very, to the highest degree’, etc.

⁴⁸ The courting of dishonour was one of the aims of the Pāśupatas, whose extravagant practices, including wandering alone, lying in ashes, going naked, acting improperly, etc., were intended to give the impression of madness (*unmatta*) and provoke the hilarity and disregard of the people. This was a technique used as a means to transfer the merit of other people to the Pāśupata practitioner, who was only ‘acting’ while doing silly things, being in reality a Brahmin of good repute unjustly accused. Such false accusations were considered to be a way to purify oneself and acquire the merits of the accusers (see Hara 2002:126–136).

⁴⁹ Cf. OJR 25.30: *kavaśāni ulā sava savarga viku brata bāyubhakṣa maṇusir vaśatā*, ‘obedient to the others’ will are the pythons, cousins of the wandering ascetics. The observance of feeding only on air results in the supernatural power of subduing all to one’s own will’ (*vaśatā* for *vaśitā*, OJD 2215). Given that serpents live perpetually in contact with the ground, their identification with Pāśupata wandering ascetics performing the observance of lying in ashes may be advanced. A piece of evidence is provided by the fact that in Java and Bali the term *ṛṣi bhujaniga* (i.e. the serpent-Brahman) refers to a type of priest who has been connected with Atimārga Śaivism (see Sanderson 2003–04:376), probably bearing this name on account of the habit of wearing a sacred Brahmanical thread made from the skin of a serpent, as prescribed for the Pāśupatas (an attentive visitor of the temple of Prambanan in Central Java may note that many of the Śiva images depicted in the reliefs wear a serpent as a Brahmanical thread). Gonda (1973:557–559) suggested the derivation from the Sanskrit word meaning ‘serpent’, without omitting to express some perplexities on the reason of such a derivation. However, as he himself remarked, in the East Javanese temple of Panataran (ca. 13th–14th century AD) the ascetics of the Ṛṣi group were depicted as snakes wearing the particular kind of turban characteristic of this sect.

Just as in the above-mentioned lines of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, the quails are here described as preparing a lying-place (*akipū-kipū*), being ‘dirty’ or ‘polluting’ (*aṅaluṣa*, synonym to *mañēmēh* and *aramēh*). The form *aṅaluṣa*, an Old Javanese verbal derivation from the root *kaluṣa* (OJD 780, ‘foul, impure, stained, dirty’) of Sanskrit origin, conveys a pun: indeed, there exists also a second identical form which according to OJD (s.v. *kaluṣa* II) means ‘to seek solitude, to lead the life of a hermit’.

The *Sumanasāntaka* post-dates by at least three centuries the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, but the striking similarity of the lexical items suggests that its author here deliberately followed the earlier Kakavin. This strongly supports the hypothesis that, even though the word *alepaka* does not appear in the line, the quails were still easily identified by the contemporary audience as the alter-egos of Alepaka ascetics, associated with impurity and Pāsupata-like asceticism.

4 The Alepakas as a localized form of the Vaimalas?

More than fifty years ago, Zieseniss (1958:19) suspected that the Javanese Alepakas were likely to be the descendants of an Indian sect rather than an entirely local tradition. In his study on the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, the scholar suggested a linkage between the Alepakas and the Indian Vaimalas, which by his time were only known from the single reference found in *Tantrāloka* 13.305, on account of the similarity of their names (‘die Fleckenlosen’ = *nirlepa/nirmala/vimala*):

Als Sektename kommt ein dem Ausdruck *alepaka* verwandter Terminus vor Tantrāloka 13, 305 [...]. Die Vaimalas, deren Name von dem mit *alepaka* gleichbedeutenden *vimala* abgeleitet ist, scheinen also eine besondere Sekte des Śivaismus zu sein, über die Näheres auch aus dem Kommentar des Tantrāloka nicht zu entnehmen ist. Es ist recht wahrscheinlich, dass diese Vaimalas mit den Alepakas des Vṛh. identisch sind.

In subsequent years, Sudarshana Devi (1957, comm. p. 12), Hooykaas (1958b:368) and Gonda (1973:234) repeated Zieseniss’ identification without providing any additional evidence.⁵⁰

One may object that the meaning of Alepakas as ‘the spotless ones’ posited by Zieseniss and Gonda does not exactly match that of the Vaimalas, which mean ‘those devoted to Vimala (the immaculate one)’. The equivalent of Vaimala would rather be *Ālepaka, i.e. ‘those devoted to Alepa (the immaculate one)’.⁵¹ The implementation of the reading **ālepaka* for all the instances of *alepaka* attested in Tuturs would be unproblematic, for the constant and widespread loss of initial *vṛddhi* in Sanskrit words in Archipelago texts is a well-known phe-

⁵⁰ Although they incorrectly held the Vaimalas to be identical to Bhairavikas. Gonda (1973:274) remarked: ‘in the Old Jav. *Vṛhaspatitattva*, st. 2 three sects are mentioned, the Śaiva, Pāsupata, and Alepaka. Whereas the former two are well-known the Alepakas are found nowhere. As their name means “the spotless ones” it is quite likely that they are identical with the Vaimalas who are enumerated among the Bhairava sects (TĀ 13,305)’. However, cf. Zieseniss’ own description of the passage: ‘Dort werden nacheinander gegenüber der Bhairava-Richtung des Śivaismus als minderwertig aufgezählt die Śaivas [...], Vaimalas, Siddhāntas (für Saiddhāntas), Ārhatas [...] und Kārukas [...]’ (Zieseniss 1958:19).

⁵¹ Renou (1996:244–247) lists no less than six principal uses of the suffix *-ka*, both with and without *vṛddhi* of the theme: it may belonging; it may form abstracts, agent nouns, technical terms of quantity and diminutives; it may have expletive function; it may be used as *samāsānta*. The use of *-ka* to express belonging does require *vṛddhi*.

nomenon.⁵² The possibility that the sect-name *Ālepaka may have been already attested in the Subcontinent finds indirect support in a passage of the *Atharvavedaparīṣiṣṭas* focused on the cult of Ucchuṣma Rudras,⁵³ in which we find a reference to a Rudra invoked as *alepa* ('the immaculate one') and appearing in one context with the mention of Mahāpaśupati and Ucchuṣma (*Atharvavedaparīṣiṣṭa* 36.9.20–24, see Bisschop and Griffiths 2007:26–27):

alepāya namaḥ svāhā //
paśave namaḥ svāhā //
mahāpaśupataye namaḥ svāhā //
ucchuṣmāya namaḥ svāhā //
ucchuṣmarudrāya namaḥ svāhā //

To my knowledge, this is the only attestation of a Rudra named Alepa in Sanskrit sources, which in the present instance may also have been used as an epithet of Ucchuṣma.⁵⁴ Is there any connection between this passage and some ancient worshippers of a Rudra called Alepa/Vimala, after which they were named? Although the scant evidence at our disposal does not enable us to draw any certain conclusion, there is a concrete possibility that the denominations of *Ālepaka and Vaimala might have designated one and the same sect, i.e. 'the followers of the immaculate one'. This interpretation does not preclude the possibility that the Alepakas were in Java connected with purity, as testified to in the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, for it is obvious that their name provided the skillful poet with a tempting occasion to pun on the other possible meaning of the term, i.e. 'the immaculate ones/the stained ones'.

Apart from their names, another point of similarity between the Vaimalas and the Alepakas is their analogous treatment in Indian sources and Old Javanese Tuturs, where they are mentioned as Śaiva groups, appearing side by side with the Pāśupatas and distinguished from the mainstream Siddhānta. The allegorical descriptions of the Alepakas' observances found in the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Sumanasāntaka* clearly characterize them as belonging to a Śaiva Atimārga milieu. These data are in turn compatible with the information on the Vaimalas provided by the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā* and the *Svacchāndatantra* with Kṣemarāja's commentary, where they are said to follow a set of Pāśupata observances including *bhasmaśayana*. Being associated with the ascetic category of the *vikus*, it is likely that the Javanese Alepakas, just like the Indian Vaimalas, remained in the periphery of the religious scene, dominated by the court-centred official variety of Śaiva Siddhānta.

⁵² Cf., e.g., the instances of the sect names in the Tuturs quoted above, all devoid of *vṛddhi* in manuscript. Note also that, as a matter of fact, Old Javanese makes no distinction between short and long vowels. Such distinction is rarely and unsystematically observed in prose texts, but implemented with remarkable accuracy in Kakavins, for obvious metrical reasons.

⁵³ In a recent pair of articles, Bisschop and Griffiths (2003, 2007) have pointed out the importance of those Pāśupata-influenced passages of the *Atharvavedaparīṣiṣṭas* that may throw light on little-known aspects of the Śaiva Atimārga, including the Pāśupata observance (*pāśupatavrata*).

⁵⁴ The authors (Bisschop and Griffiths 2007:27) remarked that 'the use of *alepa* in an invocation to Ucchuṣma is in any case noteworthy in the light of Ucchuṣma's connection with impurities in esoteric Buddhism'.

List of abbreviations

GS	=	<i>Gubhyasūtra</i> .
IFP	=	French Institute, Pondicherry.
LOr	=	Leiden Oriental manuscript.
NGMPP	=	Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project.
NTS	=	<i>Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā</i> .
OJD	=	Old Javanese-English Dictionary (Zoetmulder 1982).
OJO	=	Oud-Javaansche oorkonden, see Brandes 1913.
OJR	=	Old Javanese <i>Rāmāyaṇa</i> .
PS	=	<i>Pāśupatasūtra</i> .
SvT	=	<i>Svacchandatantra</i> .
Vṛh	=	<i>Vṛhaspatitattva</i> .

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The Last Stanzas of the *Paramārthasevā*

FRANCESCO SFERRA

Introductory Note

Of the 344 stanzas of the *Paramārthasevā* by Puṇḍarīka (X–XI cent.), only 92 stanzas, including quotations and fragments, have been published in the Sanskrit original. This amounts to just over a quarter of the work (cf. Sferra 2007a, 2007b).

A transcription of the last stanza and of words taken from other verses at the end of the text was published by Watanabe Kaikyoku in 1908 and 1909 (reprinted in 1933a and 1933b) on the basis of a photo that Friedrich Hackmann made, probably between 1901 and 1903, of a MS kept in South China at the Gaomingsi Monastery. The same MS (henceforth G) had already been seen and partly transcribed by A. Otto Franke in 1894, and was photographed again in 1914 by Henry Maspero. Unfortunately, notwithstanding this, no photo has come down to us and the actual manuscript has apparently been lost. Franke's transcription, which only covered stanzas 5–8 and the colophon, was published by Franz Kielhorn in 1894. There is no need to dwell on the manuscript and its history at length here, since this has been dealt with in the two above-mentioned papers I have already published on this text. The reader is referred to those papers also for a general introduction to the work and its extant sources.

While hoping that other manuscript sources may come to light in the near future, the transcription by Watanabe is presently the only testimony at our disposal for reading the final part of the text in the original language.

This brief paper attempts a partial restoration of the Sanskrit text of stanzas 334–336 and a new restoration of stanzas 343–344, the last two stanzas of the work, on the basis of the transcription made by Watanabe, and of the Tibetan translation (*dPal don dam pa'i bsñen pa*) made in the eleventh century by the Kashmirian paṇḍita Zla ba mgon po (Somanātha). A previous attempt to restore stanzas 343–344 was made by Sakai Shinten in 1960: 353 (56).

Words quoted from lines 1–3 of G 24r have been reproduced here without any changes (even in sandhi); words from stanzas 334–336 and the colophon have been arranged metrically and reproduced with some changes from Watanabe 1933a: 558. Words and *akṣaras* in italics are doubtful.

I wish to thank Harunaga Isaacson for having discussed with me all the emendations and conjectures in the text and apparatus below, and for having kindly accepted the publication of this short note in *Tantric Studies*.

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Sigla and Abbreviations

- r* *recto*
v *verso*
D Tibetan translation: sDe dge edition, bsTan 'gyur rgyud, vol. NA, # 1348, fols. 1v₁–20r₃
G See above, *Introductory Note*
N Tibetan translation: sNar thañ edition, bsTan 'gyur rgyud, vol. 5, fols. 1v₁–22r₆
P Tibetan translation: Peking edition, bsTan 'gyur rgyud, vol. 47, # 2065, fols. 1v₁–25r₄
T Tibetan translation
conj. conjecture
em. emendation
<...> enclose *akṣaras* not present in the transcription by Watanabe that have been retranslated from Tibetan
(...) enclose the numbers of the stanzas which are absent in the transcription by Watanabe and likely in the original manuscript
[...] enclose the pagination (the subscript numbers indicate the line change)

Sanskrit Text

- [G 24r₁] ... *kābhira aprakāśya hi catuṣ...*
[G 24r₂] ... *namā ... diśu ...*
[G 24r₃] ... *nisyati ... pa ... sama... catuṣkaṃ gati tat jarārtha ...*

<prṭhyādikaṃ pañca>[G 24r₄]kam eva ṣaṭkaṃ
tan maṅgalādyam ca tathā catuṣkaṃ |
bhūmyāṃ catuṣkaṃ pratibhāgam <uktam
rūpādikaṃ pañcakam etad uktam> || (334)

334b *tan maṅgalādyam ca* em.] *tat maṅgalā pañca* Watanabe ◇ *tathā* em. based on T] °*tatnā* Watanabe 334c *bhūmyāṃ* (this form for *bhūmau* is well attested in the *Vimalaprabhā*, cf. *exempli gratia ad* 4.35, ed. vol. 2, pp. 36–37, and in the *Laghukālacakratantra*, cf. 2.24c) em. based on T] *rūpya*° Watanabe ◇ *pratibhāgam* sic for *pravibhāgam* ?

guṇatrikaṃ ca trikaṃ antaram ca
samd<– U – – U U – U >[G 24r₅]to *pi* |
ānandavijñānarajaś ca śukraś
catuṣka<m> ādau kulasañjayārtham || (335)

335a °*trikaṃ* em.] °*trikaṃś* Watanabe ◇ *antaram ca* conj. (Isaacson)] *atra śradohaḥ* Watanabe 335b *samd* (improbable sandhi, but sic in Watanabe, followed by six dots) 335c *śukraś* em. based on T] *śubhāś* Watanabe 335d °*sañjayārtham* conj. based on T] °*saptacārtham* Watanabe

asthyādikaṃ bhūtajapañcakam syān
netrādiṣaṭkaṃ ca tataś catuṣkaṃ |
karonti puṇyā <U U – U – +>
<+ – U – – U U – U – +> || (336)

336a *asthy°* conj. based on T] *asm°* Watanabe 336b *netrādi* conj. based on T] *tatrādi* Watanabe 336c The form *karonti* (see also below 343d) for *kurvanti* is well attested in Mahāyāna Sanskrit literature (cf. *exempli gratia*, *Samādhirājasūtra* 10.57–58, *Suvarṇaṣṭakāśāstra* 1.18, 15.53, *Dharmapada* 5.16; cf. also BHSG § 28.68), however, no trace of words corresponding to *karonti* or *punya* is apparently present in T. On the basis of T and of the parallel text of *Laghukālacakratantra* 5.236cd, we would expect something like *karāṅghriyugmaṃ ca hi pañcakaṃ syāt pañcāṅgulīnāṃ ca tatas trikaṃ yat* ||

NOTE: Stanzas 333–336 of the *Paramārthasevā* are closely related to *Laghukālacakratantra* 5.235–236, which explain the appearance of the sets (*kulāgamah*) either in the external world or in the body. The correlations that are described in both texts (quite laconically in the *Paramārthasevā*) and in the *Vimalaprabhā* (ed. vol. 3, pp. 145–146) can be summarized in the following table:

	<i>bāhye</i> (5.235)	<i>dehamadhye</i> (5.236)
catuṣkaṃ	rāhuḥ kālagṇiḥ candraḥ sūryaḥ	ānandaḥ [ālaya]vijñānaṃ rajas śukraṃ
pañcakaṃ	kṣiti/prṥthvī jalaṃ hutabhuj vāyuḥ śūnyaṃ/ākāsāṃ	asthi pittaṃ raktaṃ māṃsacarman majjā
ṣaṭkaṃ	bhaumaḥ/maṅgalaḥ budhaḥ br̥haspatiḥ śukraḥ śanaīścaraḥ ketuḥ	cakṣus/netraṃ śrotraṃ jihvā nāsā karmendriyaṃ mana-indriyaṃ
catuṣkaṃ	pūrvadvīpaṃ dakṣiṇadvīpaṃ paścimadvīpaṃ uttaradvīpaṃ	vāmahastaḥ dakṣiṇahastaḥ dakṣiṇapādaḥ vāmapādaḥ
pañcakaṃ	gandhaḥ rasaḥ rūpaṃ sparśaḥ śabdaḥ	aṅguṣṭhaḥ tarjanī madhyamā anāmikā kaniṣṭhikā
trikaṃ	sattvaguṇaḥ rajoguṇaḥ tamoguṇaḥ	prathamam parvan madhyamam parvan antimam parvan

[... || (337–342)]

<sarvajña eko gurur asti caiko
jñānaṃ tathai>[G 24v₁]kaṃ bhavamokṣam eka<m> |
anekahetor api yoganaṣṭāḥ
karonti yuddham svaparārthanāśam || (343)

343ab *sarvajña eko gurur asti caiko jñānaṃ tathāi°* retranslation based on T] *sarvajña eko, guru vā 'pi eko jñānaṃ pi e°* retranslation by Sakai ◊ *ekam* em. Sakai] *eka* Watanabe **343c** *anekahetor* em. Sakai] *anekahetor* Watanabe **343d** *yuddhaṃ* em. (*yuddhe* is also possible)] *purvvaṃ (?)* Watanabe; *pūrva°* Sakai ◊ *ārthanāsāṃ* em. Sakai] *ārtham āsāṃ* Watanabe

buddhānubhāvena gatā śamaṃ me
 drṣṭir yathā hy astu tathā janānām |
 anekamārgāśrayiṇo sama[G 24v₂]ntāc
 cittaṃ mahākāruṇikaṃ jinasya || (344)

344a *buddhānubhāvena* em.] *buddhānubhāvene* Sakai; *buddhārubbhāvena* Watanabe **344ab** *gatā śamaṃ me drṣṭir yathā hy astu tathā janānām* conj. (*śamaṃ me* conj. Isaacson)] *gatānām arthaṃ drṣṭiḥ yam ayaṃ tu (?) tathā janānā* Watanabe; *yathātmadrṣṭiḥ śānta tathā vā pariṇāmayeta* Sakai **344c** *āśrayiṇo* em. based on the palaeographical similarity between the *aḥṣaras śra* and *gra* and the Tibetan translation (see below)] *ā-grayiṇo* Watanabe; *āgrabino* Sakai ◊ *samantāc* em.] *samatvāt* Sakai; *samatāt* Watanabe **344d** *cittaṃ* em. Sakai] *cittā* Watanabe ◊ *kāruṇikaṃ jinasya* em. Sakai] *kārunikā ginasya* Watanabe

Colophon of the Sanskrit Text

iti paramārthasevānāmaśaddarśanācāryāgocarattvāvalokanasevā samāptā ||
 kṛtir iyaṃ [G 24v₃] śrīpuṇḍarīkapādānām ||

SOURCES: Kielhorn 1894: unnumbered page between p. 934 and 935; Watanabe 1933a: 555, 558; Sakai 1960: 353–352 (56–57). All quote also the concluding sentence of the copyist: *likhitam rāmadattenaiva [rāmadattena vai Kielhorn; rāmadatteva and rāmadatteneva in Watanabe] || subhāḥ ||*. Kielhorn specifies that these words and the colophon are the concluding lines of p. 24 (= G fol. 24v)

VARIANTS: *°nāma°* em.] *nāma* Sakai; *nāmaḥ* Kielhorn, Watanabe ◊ *°acāryāgocara°* highly hypothetical conj. (cf. the beginning of the text where Puṇḍarīka says that he will teach the *Paramārthasevā* which is *śaddarśanānekaśatair agamyā* [st. 2a])] *°āchārggocara°* Kielhorn; *°āvagrahaṇa°* Sakai; *°āvagrācirā (?)* Watanabe ◊ *iyaṃ* Kielhorn, Watanabe (p. 555)] *iam* Watanabe (p. 558), Sakai ◊ *°pādānām* Kielhorn, Watanabe (p. 555), Sakai] *°pādām* Watanabe (p. 558)

Tibetan Translation

[D 19v₂ N 21v₄ P 24r₇]

sa la sogs pa lña po yin te drug po ni ||
 bkra śis la sogs yin te de bzin bzi po ni ||
 sa la rab tu dbye bas bzi po bśad pa'o ||
 gzugs la sogs pa lña po 'di ñid brjod pa yin || (334)

bar du gsum po dag ni yon tan gsum yin [P 24v] te ||
bha ga'i dkyil du phyi mo ma lus don yin no ||
rigs ni yañ dag skye phyir thog mar bži po ni ||
dga' ba dañ ni rnam śes rdul dañ sa bon no || (335)

rus pa la sogs 'byuñ ba las skyes lña po yin ||
drug po mig la sogs te de nas bži po ni ||
lag pa dañ ni rkañ pa bzuñ ste lña po ni ||
sor mo lña ñid rnam te gsum po gañ žig ni || (336)

[...] [D 20r₁ N 22r₄ P24v₈]

thams cad mkhyen pa gcig yin [P25r] bla ma gcig yin te ||
de bžin ye śes gcig yin srid dañ thar pa gcig ||
gcig min rgyu ru yañ ni rnal 'byor ñams pa yis ||
rañ dañ gžan gyi don ñams byed pa'i 'khrug par byed || (343)

343b *thar* D P] *mtbar* N

ji ltar sañs rgyas mthu yis bdag gi lta ba ni ||
ži 'gyur de bžin mi rnam la ni 'gyur bar śog ||
thams cad du ni du ma lam la brten pa yi ||
sems ni rgyal ba'i thugs rje chen por 'gyur bar śog || (344)

344c *du ma* D] *du ma'i* N P ◇ *brten pa yi* D N] *brten pa yis* P

Colophon of the Tibetan Translation

dpal 'jig rten dbañ phyug gi sprul pa'i sku padma dkar pos mdzad pa rdzogs so || ||
kha che'i pañḍita zla ba'i mgon pos bsgyur nas gtan la phab pa'o ||

VARIANTS: *phyug gi* D N] *phyug gis* P

Reviews

The Cakrasamvara Tantra (The Discourse of Śrī Heruka): Study and Annotated Translation. Translated by David B. Gray. New York: American Institute of Buddhist Studies (Columbia University Press), 2007. \$ 49.00 / £ 29.00. ISBN: 978-0-9753734-6-0.

Though a relatively young series, the Treasury of Buddhist Sciences has already published several valuable translations of works of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism and promises many more volumes for the future. The volume under review, the publication of which was announced already several years ago, has been awaited eagerly. Everyone working within the field of Tantric Buddhism is fully aware that an undertaking such as this — a critical, annotated, translation of a very influential and highly obscure *yogīnītantra* — is a groundbreaking effort.

The volume starts with an introduction to the *Cakrasamvara Tantra* (CS) in three long chapters: the first placing the scripture in a historical and cultural context (pp. 3–28), the second presenting its mythical history and traditional descriptions on the emergence of the main deity (pp. 28–54), and the third its basic and most influential teachings, never losing sight of the testimonies of the large corpus of explanatory tantras and commentaries (pp. 54–136). The fourth introductory chapter deals with the employed ‘texts’ (i.e. manuscripts, the Tibetan translations, and commentaries), translation methodology and technical notes (pp. 137–152). The bulk of the book is occupied by the following complete and richly annotated translation (pp. 154–383). The volume closes with a trilingual glossary of technical terms (pp. 385–404), a *Conspectus Siglorum* (pp. 405–408), a large bibliography (pp. 409–436) and a very welcome, though unfortunately not very thorough, index (pp. 437–447).

It might well be objected that producing a critical translation before a critical edition has been published is not dissimilar to putting the cart in front of the horse. The author is fully aware of this problem, and promises a (much awaited) critical edition in the near future. For the time being the reader is invited to consult the *editio princeps* produced at the CIHTS in Sarnath. Gray is certainly right to voice (especially p. 142. *ff.*) a common complaint among students and scholars of Tantric Buddhism, concerning the rather unreliable nature of the pioneering editions that have been published by the CIHTS. Fortunately his disagreements with the mentioned edition are scrupulously recorded in the footnotes, which thus give a preview of his forthcoming work.

The manuscript material used to check and improve on the Sarnath edition comprises the best manuscript of the tantra available at present (the incomplete palm-leaf codex Oriental Institute, Baroda, 13290), and two paper manuscripts, which Gray has rightly identified as apographs of the former (pp. 138–139). Regarding the manuscripts of the commentaries, however, there are a few regrettable omissions. Gray is aware of only two mss. of Jayabhadra’s *Pañjikā*, both paper and rather recent (p. 139). In fact, two palm-leaf mss. of the same work are extant (NAK 5-212/vi. bauddha tantra 18 Kha = NGMPP B 30/43 and NAK 3-365/vi. bauddha tantra 18 Kha = NGMPP B 30/41) which are obviously much older and more reliable; and they have even been used for an edition of the commentary by Tsunehiko SUGIKI in *The Chisan Gakuho / Journal of Chisan Studies* no. 64. March 2001,

of which Gray was evidently unaware.¹ Gray has also overlooked the fact that another important commentary, Kambala's *Sādbhananidhi*, is extant in its Sanskrit original as well, though this fact could have been ascertained, not only from the work of, again, Sugiki,² but also from the brief notice by Janārdana Pāṇḍeya, published in *Dhīḥ* 28 (1999), of a palm-leaf manuscript (NAK 4-122/vi. bauddhatantra 87 = NGMPP B 31/20) of the text, or from an even older paper by Karunesha Shukla.³

Of the two commentaries surviving in Sanskrit that Gray has used, Jayabhadra's readings are of course of capital importance. As Gray is aware (p. 21), he is probably the earliest exegete, knowing what appears to be an earlier redaction of the text: he comments on the CS only up to 50.19, and knows no chapter-divisions. The other commentary drawn on in Sanskrit by Gray is that of Bhavabhaṭṭa/Bhavabhadra, who — thus Gray — “emended the text in these places [i.e. where it more or less clearly betrays Śaiva origins] to more orthodox Buddhist readings” (p. 10 and n. 26). The assumption that it is Bhavabhaṭṭa himself who is responsible for these changes may, however, be questioned. Working with the same author's commentary to the *Catuspīṭhatantra*, I have found Bhavabhaṭṭa to be the most ‘honest’ commentator, frequently preserving highly irregular and puzzling readings in places where his successors (Kalyāṇavarman and Durjayacandra in my case) clearly seem to have tweaked the text to make more sense. He also tends to report variant readings. It could well be that Bhavabhaṭṭa already received an ‘emended’ text of the CS, and that the editorial amelioration is not his work (or at least not entirely). If this is the case, then Tāranātha's list of tantric abbots at Vikramaśīla might well be right to assign a gap of one generation (i.e. that of Śrīdhara) between the two commentators. Clearly much more work needs to be done on the commentators, and the relationship between them and between the texts of the CS known to them; a part, but by no means all, of this has been done by Gray, who has with admirable industry, if not complete thoroughness, compared the different lemmata (or presumed lemmata, on the basis of the Tibetan translations) of no less than a dozen commentaries.

Let us now turn to the question of the date of the CS. In his first chapter, Gray restates his position⁴ that the text was composed “by to” [sic] “the mid- to late eighth century” (p. 13). The only evidence that is adduced for so early a date, however, is an alleged quotation from and reference to it in Vilāsavajra's commentary on the *Nāmasaṃgīti*. The claim that Vilāsavajra provides a *terminus post quem* for the CS in the latter half of the eighth century had already been made by Davidson.⁵ Much to his credit, Gray has noticed that ‘most of the passages in this text that are identified as quotes from the *Samvaratantra* (bde

¹ It is a pity that SUGIKI's not inconsiderable body of relevant work appears not to have been known to Gray. One must mention however that much of the Japanese scholarship on Vajrayāna has unfortunately long been difficult to gain access to even in the best libraries. Digital archives on the Internet have only slowly been bringing some improvement in this (cf. e.g. the following note).

² E.g. Tsunehiko SUGIKI, “Five Types of Internal Maṇḍala Described in the Cakrasaṃvara Buddhist Literature” in: *Memoirs of the Institute for Oriental Culture* 144 (2003), pp. 157–231, now available online at <http://repository.dl.itc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/dspace/handle/2261/1996> (accessed on February 13, 2008).

³ Karunesha Shukla: ‘Vajrayāna Tradition and Kāmbalāpāda’, in: J.S. Jha (general editor): *K.P. Jayaswal Commemoration Volume*. Patna, 1981. pp. 234–241.

⁴ Already made public in his paper ‘Eating the Heart of the Brahmin: Representations of Alterity and the Formation of Identity in Tantric Buddhist Discourse’, in: *History of Religions* 44 (2005), pp. 45–69 [henceforth Gray 2005], p. 54, with n. 38 referring to this very translation, then ‘forthcoming’, for more detailed discussion.

⁵ Ronald M. Davidson: ‘The *Litany of Names of Mañjuśrī*: Text and Translation of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, in: Michel Strickmann (ed.): *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein*. Vol. I. Bruxelles. Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques 20. pp. 1–69, pp. 7–8.

mchog gi rgyud) derive not from the *Cakrasamvara/Laghusamvara* but are quotations from the *Samayoga*⁶ (p. 13).

There is, however, according to Gray, one quote that is from the *Cakrasamvara Tantra*: *glang chen ko rlon gos su gyon // zhes pa ni dpal 'khor lo bde mchog gi rgyud las te* is a citation, he claims (p. 14 and n. 43), of ‘*hasticarmaviruddham ca*’ (a slip for *hasticarmāvaruddham ca*) in CS chapter 2. But here Gray has been less than sufficiently careful. The Sanskrit of the pāda concerned is (as could have been ascertained, if Gray had consulted one of the rather numerous surviving manuscripts of the commentary) not *hasticarmāvaruddham ca* but rather the *Nāmasaṃgīti*’s *gajacarmapaṭārdradhṛk*. This is, in fact, part of a larger section in which Vilāsavajra attempts to provide for each name or epithet of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* a source reference to a tantra. These include instances where the tantra named is one to which no other reference has yet been found (e.g. a *Vajrakirīṭitantra*, mentioned for *ekajaṭātopa*), or where, though the tantra is known to us, the epithet can not be found literally in it (e.g. *vajrahūṃkārahūṃkrīti*, which does not occur in the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, named by Vilāsavajra as source). The entire passage seems to require considerable further study, and just how much can be concluded from this reference to the/a CS is therefore at present rather uncertain.

As for the reference to the forty-eighth chapter of the CS which Gray finds in the same work of Vilāsavajra, it is part of the same passage, and subject to similar doubts; it concerns also solely the word *kaṅkāla*. One notes that whereas in his main text Gray asserts positively that Vilāsavajra ‘makes a reference to its forty-eighth chapter’ (p. 14), in the note on the very same sentence he expresses himself — rightly — with greater caution, writing only “This may” (my emphasis) “be a reference to CS ch. 48”.

Gray has thus overstated the strength of the evidence for Vilāsavajra having known the CS. It must be acknowledged, however, at least that the early exegete appears to distinguish between *Samvara* (the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga*, in which, incidentally, an even approximate parallel for *gajacarmapaṭārdradhṛk* has not been located) and *Cakrasamvara*, and that the two references to the latter text could conceivably be to some form of the CS, though here the case is not exactly conclusive. We may hope that further study will yet uncover more and stronger evidence that will allow a secure dating of the tantra.

More controversial than its date, perhaps, is the question of the origins of the CS. In an important article, Sanderson has tabulated some of the main Śaiva sources of this scripture, clearly showing the direction of borrowing (Sanderson 2001, pp. 41–47; cf. also Sanderson 1994, and already Sanderson 1985 p. 214 n. 106). An attempt to take issue with these findings has been made by Ronald Davidson.⁷ Gray here appears to wish to take a cautious middle ground in this controversy (pp. 8–9 *passim*).⁸ But Gray’s characterization here of Sanderson’s position as arguing “that the Śaiva versions of the textual passages are the sources for the Buddhist versions, due to the fact that the Śaiva texts provide the

⁶ I.e. from the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinijālasamvara* root tantra. The orthography *Samayoga* (instead of *Samāyoga*), which Gray prefers, though common in Tibetan translations from Sanskrit and in indigenous Tibetan literature, does not seem to be attested in surviving Sanskrit sources.

⁷ Ronald M. Davidson: *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002 [henceforth Davidson 2002], especially chapter 5.

⁸ It is striking, however, that in Gray 2005, p. 54 n. 37, he had written that “my research on the *CST* generally confirms Sanderson’s conclusions” and “Despite... uncertainty, I believe that the preponderance of evidence supports Sanderson’s thesis”; and at p. 62 n. 65 of the same paper that “There is important evidence confirming that Jayabhadra’s commentary is the oldest extant commentary. It is used as a source for many of the later commentators, and it also preserves a number of older readings of the *CST* indicating Śaiva influence, many of which were emended in later versions of the text and its commentaries.”

clearer readings, while the Buddhist versions of the text are often ungrammatical”, and his assertion that “Sanderson has not, in fact, demonstrated that the more grammatical Śaiva texts are earlier; their grammaticality itself does not demonstrate this”, appear to miss the point, and certainly do not do justice to Sanderson’s detailed and nuanced discussions of the relationship between parallel passages.

In the same line, Gray raises an objection first voiced by Ronald Davidson: “Sanderson’s assumption that the clearest reading is the earliest one violates the longstanding rule in textual criticism of *difficilior lectio*” (p. 8 n. 19; cf. Davidson 2002, p. 386 n. 105). Again, stating that Sanderson ‘assumes’ that ‘the clearest reading is the earliest one’ seriously misrepresents Sanderson’s arguments; but leaving this aside, the implication made here is that since the language of the CS is more irregular (many times bordering on incomprehensibility) it should — according to a ‘longstanding rule in textual criticism’ — be the original/older, and hence that the borrowers are the Śaiva scriptures where—curiously—all these passages fit neatly into context and make sense. But this is a misunderstanding. What is in fact not a rule but a ‘rule of thumb’ (actually a simplified specialization of the more fundamental principle that the reading which is more likely to have given rise to the other reading(s), through transmissional processes that can be well-attested, be they types of scribal error or deliberate changes, is, obviously, correspondingly likely to be older), which should be applied only with considerable caution and careful weighting of probabilities, can not be mechanically invoked to justify dubious syntax or contextual incoherence.

There is no doubt that the translation is a very considerable achievement, and that there is much in it, and in the accompanying annotation, which will be very helpful to students of the text and of Tantric Buddhism. It is natural, with a pioneering work of this kind, that problems and some errors remain.

For example, in chapter II, verse 21, a significant feature of the vases is mentioned: *ka-lāśān ... mūlakālādivarjitān*. This means that the vases which play a crucial role in *abhiṣeka* where water is poured repeatedly on the initiate and which, as we are informed from other texts on initiation, should be smeared with a white substance, should not be black or have black spots on their base — presumably a sign of careless baking in a kiln. This passage is translated as follows (p. 169.): “Then make the vases, without bases, black [in color], and so forth.”

The translation of chapter 50 includes some problematic renderings. For example, verse 7 with some variants goes: *jāgratasuptakṛtottiṣṭhabhuñjāno mithuno 'pi vā | *mahākālo / sadā kāle* jāpen mantrī *samyagvelā na vidyate | tasya māraṃ na jāyate**. However the verse is construed, it is impossible to arrive at the following (p. 371.): “If the mantrin always repeats [the mantra], while awake, asleep, or arising, eating, or engaging in sexual intercourse, there will be no fixed limit [to his lifespan].” First of all, Gray seems to prefer here a composite reading (I have listed first the presumably older version). While it is clear from the notes that he consulted Bhavabhaṭṭa on this matter, he omits translating *kṛta* which the exegete glosses as *kāryaṃ kurvan*, “going about one’s own business.” The forced “if” comes from misunderstanding *velā* as “fixed timespan” rather than “fixed time to undertake a ritual action.” What the verse in fact says is: “Whether awake, asleep, going about his business, getting up, eating or even in sexual intercourse, the mantrin should *[, — visualizing himself as identical with] Mahākāla — / always* recite [the hāsamantra]; *there is no fixed time for this / no[ne of the four] Māra[s] will arise against him.*”

Another curious mistranslation concerns 50.16d.: *ko hi nāma daridratā* is translated as “who is deprived of a name?” This is obviously a rhetoric question as the Tibetans correctly

translated (*dbul po nyid du ga la 'gyur*): “[when one has achieved mastery in yoga] how can he be [considered] poor?” And this is the way that Bhavabhaṭṭa too understood the text, since he tells us that what should be a (feminine) abstract noun is to be taken here as equivalent with a (masculine) adjective agreeing with the interrogative pronoun (*daridra eva daridratā*).

It adds greatly to the value of the book that in the footnotes to the translation of the tantra and in the introduction Gray has translated — from Sanskrit or from Tibetan — numerous extracts from the commentaries. Mistakes in the passages cited in Sanskrit from the commentaries are, however, rather numerous; sometimes these seem not to be merely printing errors. The bizarre-looking *ibhyaḥ ṣaṭtriṃśat yoginya eva pūjā iti bhāvaḥ* (for *ity etāḥ ṣaṭtriṃśad yoginya eva pūjyā iti bhāvaḥ*, as is given quite correctly in Pandey’s edition) is translated rather nebulously “There is thus the worship of the thirty-six yoginis” (p. 158 n. 10). In the same note, the name of the yoginī Yamadādhī appears both in the Sanskrit passage quoted and in the translation thereof wrongly as Yamadhī.

Indeed it seems that Gray has quite frequently ‘emended’ Pandey’s edition where he need not have. In a curious note (p. 202 n. 1) Pandey is accused of producing a nonsensical reading when in fact his text makes perfectly good sense. Pandey’s correct *tasil*, which is of course the grammarians’ term for the *-taḥ* suffix, is first altered to *trasilā* as per the more recent ms. and then analyzed extremely implausibly as *trasin* ‘possessing movement’ plus *lā* (more likely to have been an *-l* plus a *danḍa* with scribal omission of the *virāma*) as a ‘verbal particle “giving”’ and translated as “animating from the first to the last”.

Throughout this chapter, for which Gray quotes in more detail than usual from Bhavabhaṭṭa’s commentary, one is advised to read Pandey’s edition rather than the text given in Gray’s footnotes. Thus where Pandey quite clearly recognized quoted verses and had them typeset accordingly, there is nothing in Gray’s text or translation to indicate that he is aware that Bhavabhaṭṭa’s *tathā cāha* — a conventional exegetical formula before quotations — introduces three verses in the *sragdharā* metre, which are in fact from the *Trikāyastava*/*Kāyatrayastava* attributed to Nāgārjuna (though neither Pandey nor Gray has identified the source). Recognizing the metrical nature of these passages — or simply making better use of Pandey’s printed text — would have allowed a number of misreadings to be avoided. Thus in p. 203 n. 2 *nirlepa-* ought to be *nirlepaṃ* as per Pandey and the exigencies of the metre; in p. 203 n. 3 *sukṛtasatphalām* ought to read *sukṛtasaphalatām* as per Pandey’s correction and the metrical pattern (here the translation also is very implausible); and in p. 204 n. 4 *daśadigantagataṃ* ought to read *daśadiganugataṃ* as per Pandey and metre (with, incidentally, *dīpyamānaḥ* for *dīptamānaḥ*).

Even where the text of a commentary-passage is given correctly, there are occasional mistranslations: e.g. *tantrāntaroktalakṣaṇāyām* is not ‘whose defining marks are stated within the Tantra’ (p. 159 n. 13) but ‘whose defining marks are stated in other tantras’.

There is a great deal to be said for this groundbreaking work, which is quite clearly the product of long and dedicated labour. It should certainly find a place on the bookshelf of anyone studying Tantric Buddhism. At the same time, it is of course by no means the last word on the CS; and one looks forward to the time that one will be able to put next to it on the bookshelf a revised or new translation, based on a completed critical edition of the text, and taking into account some important manuscript material (especially of the commentaries) that has not been used here, as well as the forthcoming detailed study by Sanderson of the relationship between the CS and its Śaiva parallels.

— Péter-Dániel Szántó

Vidyādhara: Früheste Zeit bis zur kaschmirischen Br̥hatkathā by Jörg Grafe. Frankfurt am Main; Berlin; Bern; Brussels; New York; Oxford; Vienna: Peter Lang, Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2001. 350 pages. € 57.00. ISSN 0721-3581; ISBN 3-631-37654-5.

Jörg Grafe (henceforth JG) earned a diploma in library science from the University of Applied Sciences and Arts, Hannover and studied Indian Philology, Art History and History of Religion at the Freie Universität Berlin, where he received his MA (1995) and PhD (1998) degrees. The study under review is his doctoral dissertation in German submitted in 1998 and published in 2001.

JG rightly points out (p. 13) that in comparison to gods, such as Śiva and Viṣṇu, and founders of religions, such as Gautama Buddha, who have been objects of study, less prominent figures (*Gestalten*) of Indian polytheism have been rather neglected. One of the classes of beings that have not been studied adequately is that of the *vidyādhara*, that is, human or celestial beings (depending upon the religious and literary context) or occasionally also beings whose status was deliberately left ambivalent — who are said to be characterised by possession of supernatural abilities. The figure of the *vidyādhara* occurs in all three major Indian religions, namely, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Jainism, and while it is found in various literary genres, its presence is most conspicuous in secular narrative literature. As the author himself suggests (p. 20), his study is comparable to A.K. Coomaraswamy's study of *yakṣas* and G. Borsani's study of *apsaras*.

The study contains twelve chapters of varying length. In the first introductory chapter JG provides a brief overview (pp. 13–16) and critical appraisal (pp. 16–17) of previous studies (none of which offer an overall picture of the topic), a sketch of the choice of material, and a description of the approach, structure, and objective of the study (pp. 17–20). As JG himself recommends (p. 19), those who wish to gain a quick overview of the topic may go through the summaries (*Zwischensummen*) provided at the end of each chapter or subchapter. In keeping with the subtitle, the author proceeds, as far as possible, chronologically. The sources employed come from religious literature, treatises on aesthetics and other “scientific” (i.e. śāstric) expositions, inscriptions, and works of art. Chapter two (pp. 21–24) is concerned with the *vidyādhara* figure as presented in Vedic literature; chapter three (pp. 25–61), as presented in Theravāda Buddhism; chapter four (pp. 63–88), with how it is featured in Hindu epics, namely, the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana*; chapter five (pp. 89–124), with the same theme in Hindu Purāṇas; chapter six (pp. 125–145) with related material in epigraphic testimonies; and chapter seven (pp. 147–169) with such material in paintings and reliefs and in Śilpaśāstras (“Treatises on Artistry”). Chapters eight, nine, and ten, which constitute nearly half of the study, are about how the subject is dealt with in narrative literature, specifically, Jaina (pp. 171–233), Nepalese (pp. 235–263), and Kashmirian (pp. 265–333) versions of the *Br̥hatkathā*, respectively. Chapter eleven (pp. 335–338) contains a discussion of the lexeme *vidyādhara* as defined in indigenous dictionaries including the *Mahāvīyutpatti*. The twelfth and last chapter (pp. 339–350) draws conclusions on the basis of the study. This is followed by a list of symbols and abbreviations, a bibliography, and an index. References to primary and secondary sources have been provided, and occasionally relevant texts have also been cited in the footnotes.

As the author himself states (p. 349), the study does not cover the entire range of sources evenly. Only samples of the pertinent Buddhist literature of Śrāvakayāna, Mahāyāna (ob-

viously meant in the sense of non-Tantric Mahāyāna) and Vajrayāna, and of hagiographical and entertaining texts of the Jainas have been considered. Given the complexity and pervasiveness of the subject, it is understandable that treating all relevant and accessible sources in equal depth and detail in one study is impossible. A detailed investigation of the *vidyādhara* figure as found in Buddhist literature (particularly Tantric and non-Tantric Mahāyāna) remains a desideratum. Having said that, any attempt along these lines will have to first consider JG's excellent study. This work would be particularly useful for those who have no access to non-Buddhist Indian primary sources. Readers who are interested in the topic but do not read German will certainly lament that the dissertation was not written in English.

Adequate tribute can be paid to this comprehensive and informative work only by someone well acquainted with the diverse Buddhist and non-Buddhist Indian sources that JG has employed for his study. As someone whose main fields of interest lie in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism, the present reviewer, who is currently pursuing his own study of the Tibetan Buddhist concept and cult of the *vidyādhara*, will only make a few selective comments on points related to Buddhism. The issues raised here are in a way marginal in JG's study, and hence can hardly be taken as detracting from his treatment of the chosen topic or diminishing the value of the book.

In the concluding part of his discussion of the *vidyādhara* figure in Theravāda Buddhism, JG states (p. 61): "Given the misogynist attitude of the Buddhist sacral literature, the *vidyādhara* is not yet a seducer or abductor (Aufgrund der misogynen Haltung der buddhistischen Sakralliteratur ist der Vdh [*vidyādhara*] noch nicht Verführer oder Entführer)." The thrust of this statement is misconceived, the use of the adjective "misogynist" being unfortunate. While elements of androcentrism and gender disparity can indeed be found in Buddhist sources, hatred of any sentient being, let alone women, would be at odds with the ethical purport of Buddhist scriptures. Theoretical and practical measures prescribed therein — primarily for monks, the main addressees — for distancing themselves, as part of their spiritual training, from objects of their own intellectual-emotional defilements (*kleśa*) — including attractive women — can hardly be regarded as misogynist.⁹

JG maintains (p. 120) that the word *vidyādhara* in Buddhism is also used in the sense of *dhāraṇī*. This claim is weak and requires further argumentation. It seems to be mainly based on the assumption that the title *Dhāraṇīpīṭaka* is used interchangeably with *Vidyādharaṇīpīṭaka*, and hence that *dhāraṇī* must be synonymous with *vidyādhara*. I shall argue elsewhere that while the title *Vidyādharaṇīpīṭaka* is well attested, *Dhāraṇīpīṭaka* seems to be a reconstruction (based on Chinese sources) and is actually nonexistent in Sanskrit, the correct reconstruction possibly being **Mantrapīṭaka*, at least to judge by Indian Buddhist sources in Tibetan translation. Furthermore, the fact that the term *Vidyādharaṇīpīṭaka* is employed as an alternative to **Mantrapīṭaka* (or **Dhāraṇīpīṭaka* for that matter) need not imply that *vidyādhara* is a synonym of *mantra* (or *dhāraṇī*) in the sense of magical formula: obviously *Vidyādharaṇīpīṭaka* means "(Canonical) Basket of the Vidyādhara" and **Mantra(dhāraṇī)pīṭaka* "(Canonical) Basket of Magical Formulas."

JG occasionally expounds the *vidyādhara* concept in Tibetan Buddhism solely on the basis of secondary sources. For example, he speaks of the group of eight *vidyādhara*s known in Tibet (pp. 148, 168), of which he has learnt only from Lokesh Chandra's *Buddhist Icono-*

⁹ For my brief discussion of gender issues in Buddhism, see Dorji Wangchuk, *The Resolve to Become a Buddha: A Study of the Bodhicitta Concept in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*. Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series 23. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 2007, pp. 137–138 (cf. pp. 327–328).

graphy of Tibet (vol. 2, Plates, 1184–1189). But this source is incomplete and imprecise. The collective Tibetan term for the eight *vidyādhara*s is not *rig 'dzin brgyad pa*, which means “the eighth *vidyādhara*,” but rather *rig 'dzin brgyad*. Only six of the eight *vidyādhara*s are mentioned by name, and some of these in an incomplete form (obviously for want of space) and hence misleadingly. The complete and correct list of the eight, already discussed in earlier secondary sources, is: (1) Hūṃkāra, (2) Mañjuśrimitra, (3) Nāgārjuna(garbha), (4) Prabhāhasti (or alternatively, in some sources, Padmasambhava), (5) Dhanasamkr̥ta, (6) Rom-bu Guhya(deva)candra, (7) Vimalamitra, and (8) Śāntigarbha.¹⁰ JG could not possibly know the context in which the concept and cult of the eight *vidyādhara*s occur in Tibetan Buddhism by solely relying on L. Chandra’s book on iconography. It may be pointed out that the cult of the eight *vidyādhara*s occurs mainly in the *sādhana*-category (*sgrub sde*) or the bKa’-brgyad (“Eight Pronouncements”) tradition of the Mahāyoga class of the rNying-ma (“Ancient”) school of Tibetan Buddhism, and as will be shown elsewhere, it served as the core or foundation stone of the Padmasambhava cult in Tibet. This cult has exerted its influence far beyond the rNying-ma school with which it is normally associated.

JG also alludes to the *vidyādhara* concept found in the *Bar do thos grol* brought to light by the treasure revealer (*gter ston/bton/ bton*) Karma-gling-pa (b. 14th century), without, however, mentioning the four (actually five) kinds of *vidyādhara*s found there (i.e. *tshe la dbang ba’i rig 'dzin*, *rnam par smin pa’i rig 'dzin*, *phyag rgya chen po’i rig 'dzin*, *lhun gyis grub pa’i rig 'dzin*, and *sa la gnas pa’i rig 'dzin*). Apparently, these various types of *vidyādhara*s, most of which derive from the Tantric literature associated with the **Guhyagarbhatantra*, have been brought together here to occupy *maṇḍalas* that are oriented to five directions (i.e. the four cardinal directions and the centre). The reviewer intends to examine this topic more closely elsewhere.

Given the extent of the work, the index is extremely selective, with numerous key terms, names, and titles in the work having not been recorded. It is not clear what the criteria for the choice of entries were. A more detailed index would have enormously enhanced the usefulness of this impressive study. Nonetheless, the relatively detailed table of contents and the summaries of the individual chapters partly make up for this deficiency. Furthermore, the italicisation of all entries, of both German and Sanskrit terms (including both proper and common names) is somewhat confusing.

In sum, despite the few minor points raised here, the reviewer can only applaud JG’s outstanding study of the *vidyādhara*. This well-researched and well-structured study, loaded with valuable information, reflects the author’s hard work and skill in employing historical-philological tools and techniques. It is the first major study on the subject, and its authoritativeness and value are bound to endure.

— Dorji Wangchuk

¹⁰ See, for example, Gyurme Dorje & Mathew Kapstein, tr. & ed., *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History*. Dudjom Rinpoche, Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1991, p. 159: s.v. *rig 'dzin (chen po) brgyad*; Eva M. Dargyay, *The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1998 (first published in 1977), pp. 36–37.

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